Watch and learn: rhetorical devices in classroom teaching films after 1940

Masson, E.

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FRAMING FILM

EEF MASSON
WATCH AND LEARN

Rhetorical Devices
in Classroom Films after 1940

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Introduction

Tidings of any 'new' audio-visual medium entering the domain of public con-
sumption invariably seem to cause commentators to speculate on its poten-
tial educational use. In recent decades, it was the advent of innovative digital
applications that provoked such thought; earlier on, it was the promise of ana-
logue media such as still and moving photographic images. Pronouncements
on the subject tend to be made in rather grandiloquent terms: authors claim
that the particular technologies they advocate might in some way revolution-
ise current educational practice. The media they deal with are considered to
hold the potential of radically changing didactic methodologies, and by the
same token, solve century-old problems, both on the teachers' part and on the
pupils' or students'.

In practice, of course, the objects of such speculation do not always find
access very easily in (regular, formal) education. As a rule, compulsory school-
ing is financed at least in part out of public funds; therefore, the institutions
that provide it can rarely keep abreast of the most up-to-date audio-visual
developments. In addition to this, optimistic predictions are often countered
with objections, originating among others in the teaching field itself. If any
consensus between proponents and adversaries is eventually reached – often
at a time when the technology concerned has not been so new for quite a
while – one of the conclusions is that while it may indeed have certain didactic
benefits, its educational use ultimately depends on the production of media
texts that are sufficiently adapted to the specific purposes they should serve in
schools. The immediate implication is that such texts necessarily differ from
the kinds of material that are already available, and that are used in other,
non-educational environments.

'CLASSROOM FILMS': WHAT'S IN A NAME?

In the early 1940s, entrepreneur A. A. Schoevers produced a memo, addressed to the Dutch government, that contained a number of guidelines for the establishment of a new, official body. The agency he had in mind would take on the task of coordinating the supply of films for use in regular (compulsory) education. The document was part of a larger corpus of texts which, collectively, make a plea for the conception of such an organisation with money provided by the Dutch government. The first few paragraphs of Schoevers' text read:

> If a film deals with a subject in its entirety, and from life – for example a business, a region, the life or fortunes of people, animals, plants etc. – then it belongs, since feature films are not being considered here, to the category of the *Classroom films, Propaganda* (Educational) films or *Cultural* films. [...]
> *Classroom films*, however, need [...] to fulfil the following conditions [...], by which they strongly distinguish themselves from Educational and Cultural films.
> 1. They provide a piece of reality, whereby *subjects* are addressed *that fit into the curricula of all primary schools*. [...]
> 2. Life should be represented in such a way, that the suggestion is made to the pupils that they experience the events in reality. [...]
> 3. A minimum of visuality needs to be provided [...]. Redundant details need to be left out or kept in the background [...]. [...]
> 4. The events should be recorded and arranged in such a way, that the connection between them does not give insurmountable problems.[1]

In most of the documents that are part of the corpus, the author's strategy is to question the intentions of other (existing) distributors of so-called 'educational' films. Arguing that their purposes are often purely commercial, he implies that the films they provide cannot possibly be geared towards the educational needs of the children they target.[2] In this particular text, however, he focuses instead on the qualities of the items that the new institute is meant to supply: on the subjects they should deal with, and on the ways in which they should select and structure their material. In the process, Schoevers basically specifies how these films, as texts, distinguish themselves from other, more broadly educational shorts – shorts which, therefore, he does *not* designate as *onderwijsfilms*: 'classroom' or 'teaching films'.[3]

Considered retrospectively, the author's approach is not so self-evident. The requirements he formulates, after all, form part of a programme for *intended* production: the writer stipulates, even before the establishment of the body

he advocates, the standards to which its films will be held. In the same movement he also creates, or gives substance to, a supposedly non-existent genre. He personally underlines this fact by making use of a newly-forged label.[4]

In those circumstances, it is remarkable that the chosen term found acceptance quite readily in subsequent months and years. As soon as the proposed organisation, which immediately integrated the label into its company name, became operational, commentators readily adopted it.[5] In most cases, the term's users also employed it without questioning its semantic scope. From the moment it was introduced, then, authors seem to have known intuitively what sort of material it covered.

Once again, this is striking, especially if one considers the fact that the label itself does not foreground the films' presumed characteristic features, but rather the purpose they were meant to serve – or more accurately, the institution within which they were supposed to function.[6] Apparently, then, the term *onderwijsfilm*, much like its German and French counterparts (*Unterrichtsfilm* and *film d'enseignement*/*film scolaire*), did not owe its semantic transparency to the fact that it concerned a textually well-delineated category of films, but rather to its relation to a very specific screening location, a set of institutionalised practices, and/or a given audience.[7] As such, it may have derived extra resonance from the fact that the first half of the compound highlights what is exceptional about this type of film (as classrooms were not the sort of settings with which the medium was most commonly associated). At the same time, it evoked a number of connotations: it called up memories of a series of then-recent discussions on the role which film might play in the teaching of children, and of experiments with moving images projected in schools.[8]

Of course, the decision of the Dutch author to emphasise instead the textual singularity of the films he deals with should be seen as part of his endeavours at that point in time. The documents he produced were primarily a means to get something out of his intended sponsors, the national government – a fact which in turn accounts for their highly normative character. Yet in spite of this, his views show a remarkable similarity to the sorts of claims that have been made about these films in more recent years.

ACADEMIC DEBATES

Within the field of media studies, academic interest in what is sometimes referred to as 'utility films' – a term which, like 'teaching films', foregrounds the material's utilitarian aspects – has increased considerably in the last decade or so.[9] Recent attention to such material is part of a more general inquisi-

tiveness among researchers about so-called 'ephemeral' genres: bodies of film which, despite the fact that they formed part of the cultural experience of several generations of people, have figured less prominently in (national) media histories.[10] Inquiry of this type, some argue, has in turn been encouraged by people working in archives and repositories, and in particular, keepers of so-called 'orphan films' (yet another label that has recently gained more widespread use) (Massit-Folléa 2004, 131).[11]

So far, the relevant research has focused to a considerable extent on aspects of technological development and mechanisms of the market – resulting, among other things, in histories of production and/or distribution. In work on films deployed specifically for classroom purposes, authors sometimes also address issues concerning the medium's educational success or effectiveness. Studies of this type tend to be carried out by historians of pedagogy, sociologists or psychologists, whose research goals are often of a more instrumental nature, in the sense that they are geared towards the improvement of the audio-visual teaching aids that are presently available.[12]

In my own contribution to the utility film debate, I shift the emphasis away from aspects of production, distribution and effectiveness to textual and rhetorical matters. Despite the general interest in ephemeral corpora in recent years, few scholars so far have dealt specifically with the films as texts, or even made suggestions as to how this might be done. Some questions, mostly methodological, have already been formulated (see, for instance, Prelinger 2006), but the majority of them have yet to be answered. Doing so, I believe, is pre-eminently a task for media scholars.

The Problem of Textual Specificity

One of the few people who *have* ventured into a thorough analysis of a body of such work is the French author Geneviève Jacquinot. *Image et pédagogie: Analyse sémiologique du film à intention didactique* (1977) is a study of films which specifically address an audience of schoolchildren, with the proclaimed goal of helping them acquire insights specified by the formal curricula. The book marks the beginning of the author's long career as a theorist of audio-visual media for didactic purposes.[13] Written well before the interest in utility films began to gain its present momentum, it positions itself within a semiotic tradition, and sets out to uncover how the films under scrutiny make use of the so-called 'cinematographic language' (*langage cinématographique*). Jacquinot describes the process of coding and decoding classroom films, with the ultimate purpose of crafting the means by which, eventually, the potential effects of a cinematic mode of expression on the learning process could be explored.

Borrowing Christian Metz' descriptive terminology (Metz 1968 and 1971), she works towards a taxonomy of didactic films and television programmes which centres around the question of cinematic specificity. Her final conclusion is that, in general, audio-visual media for teaching merely reproduce a traditional model of pedagogical communication, and that they therefore have more in common with other tools used in classrooms than with films shown elsewhere.[14]

Despite the fact that Jacquinot's work came about within a scientific framework that has now been abandoned, her views are still very much alive. In the absence of relevant research in the intervening years, the stock image of classroom films as extremely formulaic seems to endure – even in academic circles.[15] Apparently, most observers continue to think of such material in terms of deviations from a particular filmic norm. However, whereas Jacquinot explicitly identified this standard as that of narrative fiction film (1977, 29) most of her colleagues do not, and simply neglect to specify a reference point.

In all of these cases, one of the factors that contribute to an overly generalising assessment of the films' textual appearance seems to be the way in which these writers demarcate their corpus (or even neglect to do so at all). In an article on the topic, I pointed out that Jacquinot reasons in a circular manner, in the sense that she takes the same traits that she considers to constitute the genre's divergence from the cinematic norm as a yardstick for her choice of sample texts (Masson 2006, 12-16). The picture that results from such a *modus operandi* is not only highly selective but also insufficiently specific, if only because a good deal of the textual features of so-called 'didactic' films are also common in other texts, including items that do not fit the more pragmatic criteria which the use of that term indicates.

OBJECTIVES

The main purpose of this work, then, is to suggest an alternative to the aforementioned approaches. However, while I take a corpus of classroom films as my analytical object, my ultimate purpose is to subvert some of the clichés that govern thinking about a much wider range of texts, and that includes most titles that are not normally considered to qualify as entertainment films. An endeavour of this type seems long overdue, especially if one considers that audio-visual media have by now been applied to an almost incalculable number of more 'prosaic' purposes. In this study, I look back upon a period in which practices of this type had literally multiplied, and continued to proliferate: the decades immediately after the Second World War.[16] While thus exploiting the advantages of retrospective research (among others, a sufficient

amount of distance, in the diachronic sense, from my object of study), I aim to produce results that can in turn provide a starting point for a consideration of contemporary media.

The method which is needed, it follows from the above, should fulfil two basic conditions. On the one hand, it has to allow users to sketch a more varied, and therefore, more complete picture of the range of films that such utility corpora hold. On the other hand, it has to enable them to determine more accurately what distinguishes films within a given category from those that do not qualify for membership. By implication, then, it also has to allow for consideration of the elements that mutually connect them.

The first condition stems from my own experience that classroom films cannot be described in terms of sets of 'typical' features: textual elements characteristic of, and determinate for, the genre as such (if this term is at all appropriate here). First, because the titles I viewed seem to deploy an extremely wide array of filmic resources – so wide even that family resemblances, to use Ludwig Wittgenstein's phrase, between sample texts are sometimes hard to find (1973, 31-32, 65-67). Second, because those resources (a term I use to refer not only to technical procedures, such as recording or editing techniques, but also to the more encompassing rhetorical strategies of which they form part) are in no way unique to this particular material. As it turns out, they show up in films that were available for exhibition in different settings, including noneducational ones. As such, they inevitably encourage an observer to notice the connections with cinematic conventions and traditions that exceed the corpus' boundaries – even conventions that some of the above authors might consider to belong strictly to the domain of narrative fiction film (compare Masson 2006, 13). Therefore, it is imperative that I leave room in what follows for those non-specific features.

A crucial step in the process of finding a method that fulfils both the aforementioned conditions, of course, is to ask the most productive research question. One of the dangers of the analytical approaches discussed above is that of immanentism: the consideration of films without reference to the historical conditions – material, ideological, institutional – in which they acquired meaning.[17] Here, in contrast, I discuss issues which, strictly speaking, exceed the boundaries of the text itself. Specifically, I deal with matters of rhetorical address: I try to answer the question of *how classroom films 'speak to' the audience they target*. This requires that in the course of analysis, I also consider, or 'implicate', the films' consumers – not so much as actual beings, but in terms of their presence (in absence) in the text itself.[18] In order for this to be possible, I need to shift my attention away from a given set of titles to the relation between those, and the functional frameworks in which they operated.

In doing so, I use the notion of *dispositif*: a term that designates the set-

up of technology, text and viewing position that is relevant, for instance, to a particular corpus (see chapter 2). In operationalising this notion as an instrument for analysis, I introduce the more specific denominator 'pedagogical *dispositif*'. I use this phrase to refer to the particular features of the set-up that is most relevant to the corpus that serves as a model here. Turning the *dispositif* notion into an analytical tool is also a crucial step in the methodological endeavour that is central to this work.

Analytical Model: The Classroom Film

Having pointed out that the classroom film functions in this book as an analytical model, I still need to elucidate what makes it such a good example. My main reason for choosing it is that among the more 'utilitarian' genres, classroom films have received comparatively little attention, even in the last few years. If the recent revival in the study of the cinema's peripheries has clearly lead to more academic interest in, for example, amateur and family films, or films produced/screened in a corporate context (sometimes called 'industrial films'), teaching films have not raised the same level of curiosity – especially those that were made in the period that I characterise in the following pages as one of (limited) institutionalisation.[19] In other words, in pursuing my more general research goals, I want to take the opportunity to call attention to a hitherto somewhat neglected corpus.

An added benefit of focusing on a corpus of classroom films is its exceptionally close connection with the social institution within which it was once exhibited. Let me illustrate this point by making the comparison between the corpus discussed here, and another body of utility titles: the industrial films of the Dutch Heineken corporation.

On the face of it, there is an obvious filiation (Perkins 1992) between this corpus and a given institution (a term referring here not only to the specific company with which it is associated but also to business or industry as such). However, this changes if one tries to make the relation between the two more concrete; for instance, by considering the collection in terms of the audiences to which the films were shown. Among the Heineken titles, one can distinguish between items that were screened for spectators employed by the firm (for example, workers who had to be trained in operating, or cleaning, tools and machines) and for outside audiences (for instance, an ensemble of entertainment film viewers, the people targeted by the company's many commercials and promotional shorts). Subsequently, one can further diversify within each of those categories; for instance, in terms of the various professional, and therefore, institutional, echelons of each audience group.[20] In the case of the

collection that I deal with in this work, none of this applies. The reason is that the material contained in it, according to the distributing agency's bylaws, could only be shown to schoolchildren, and on the premises of subscribing institutions.[21] I believe that focusing on a corpus with such tight links with a receiving institution is an advantage, because it makes for a very firm guideline in the process of devising the most appropriate analytical approach.

CORPUS

One difficulty I encounter when taking the classroom film as my object is that it is a category of which the boundaries are extremely blurry. This blurriness, of course, is a problem for anyone who deals with any sort of class, textual or otherwise. However, when focusing on an under-researched genre, the difficulty is even greater, because no one has yet uncovered the discursive conventions that form the basis for the ways in which we think and speak about that particular category. In the case of teaching films, the class indeterminacy is underscored by the fact that there is no generally accepted term to refer to it. In literature dealing with corpora comparable to my own, such items are alternately designated as 'educational' (Saettler 1990), 'didactic' (Jacquinot 1977), 'pedagogical' (Odin 1984), 'classroom' (Horníček 2007) or 'teaching' films (Masson 2002), and sometimes even 'instructional' films (Saettler 1990) – or any of their foreign-language equivalents. Each of these phrases, however, highlights a different feature in its respective group of referents, even if the distinctions between them are sometimes quite subtle.[22]

The easiest solution to this problem, of course, is to choose a method of selection based on textual characteristics, as this leads to a neat, easily surveyable corpus. The downside of such an approach is that it may provoke rather predictable conclusions. Therefore, I give preference to a delimitation on the basis of purely *pragmatic* grounds. The one feature which connects all the adjectives mentioned above is the fact that each focuses the user's attention on the relation between the films as texts, and some sort of framework – whether in the physical sense, or a more metaphorical one – *within which a process of teaching takes place*. The link between those two, in turn, is what I designate here as their 'deployment'. The most significant connection between the films I study, in other words, is the fact that they were all used within institutions of formal education – a given which necessarily had far-reaching implications as to the ways in which they acquired meaning. Considering the importance of the relation between texts and their functional frameworks in the process of interpretation, it is also the most logical basis for corpus selection in this work.

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Collection and Provenance

The ensemble of texts which I choose to concentrate on fully complies with the above criterion. The corpus is composed of materials that originate from the collection of a *médiathèque* which catered to the user group most relevant to the institutions mentioned: one consisting exclusively of classroom personnel.[23] After the film medium became obsolete as a didactic aid, the collection was deposited with a research institute (the former Stichting Film en Wetenschap [Foundation for Film and Science]) and later on, with an audio-visual archive (the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision).[24] Although I cannot consider all the films that have been distributed in the period I focus on – if only because there are too many – I do not make a further preliminary selection within this corpus on the basis of additional (for instance, textual) criteria.[25]

All the films included in the analysis were once part of the catalogue of Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film (Netherlands Foundation for Educational Film, more widely known as 'NOF'). NOF was a national, semi-official body for the production and distribution (rental) of audio-visual media for education, set up in the early years of the Second World War. (Its instigator was Schoevers, the author of the document I quoted from at the beginning of this introduction.) [26] With its activities, the foundation primarily targeted what was known in the Netherlands as 'primary education' (*lager onderwijs*, comprising those schools which catered for children of the compulsory school age, from six to twelve) and 'extended primary education' (*voortgezet* or *uitgebreid lager onderwijs* – umbrella terms for a wide variety of short-term, advanced training courses, usually aimed at pupils who would not pursue academic study). Most of the films it distributed dealt with subjects which, according to the institute, tied in with the curriculum of those two types of education. In addition to this, NOF also administered a smaller number of titles which addressed specialist topics, either intended for children in vocational schools or for what was known as 'secondary education' (*middelbaar onderwijs*, the kind which prepared students for further studies).

In its first few years, the foundation concentrated on the age group from nine to fourteen. Later on, it also targeted older children (up to sixteen/eighteen) and younger ones (those in the first few years of lower school).[27] For the latter two categories, however, the selection was limited – a circumstance that also made for fewer rentals among users involved with those categories of pupils. In the mid-1950s (NOF's peak years for the period under consideration, which runs until 1963) the foundation serviced around 4,000 schools, attended by about one-third of the Dutch school population at the time.[28]

In the first decade of its existence, NOF distributed only mute 16mm

films.[29] Later, from 1954 onwards, it also provided titles with sound. In the first half of the 1950s, it added filmstrips to the collection: short stretches of 35mm celluloid, used for stationary projection. In subsequent decades, the institute's media repertoire was extended once more with video (various formats) and software for computers (several generations). This evolution was eventually also marked by a change in name (in 1970, 'NOF' became 'NIAM', Stichting Nederlands Instituut voor Audio-visuele Media [Netherlands Institute for Audio-visual Media]) (Ottenheim 1991, 49-50, 55-63).

Exemplary Status

As I consider the texts under scrutiny here primarily as objects of usage, I pay only limited attention to the circumstances of the films' production. In the course of analysis, for instance, I do not, as a rule, distinguish between materials made by NOF itself and titles acquired elsewhere (from specialist or non-educational suppliers, in Holland or abroad). Distinctions of this type, I believe, do not help to answer the questions I ask. Therefore, I only mention them if this is essential for the historical and/or theoretical positioning of my research object – the purpose of the entire first half of this work. (For interested readers, however, some basic data on the films' production and acquisition are provided in a separate filmography.)

Another reason for this is that not only the classroom film as such, but also the particular corpus which I study functions as an exemplary one, i.e. as a mere analytical model. The observations I make in the following chapters are based on a viewing of a Dutch audio-visual collection which was distributed on a national scale. Therefore, the research inevitably contributes to the film historiography of the Netherlands (at least, if the latter is conceived of, again, in broader terms than mere productional ones). In my first chapter, for instance, I occasionally point out that a given criterion for production or distribution, or certain features of the films which NOF supplied, were exceptional from an international point of view (in the sense that they were absent in writings from, or items released by, foreign providers). However, it is not my main purpose to write a specifically *Dutch* film history.

As I explained, I am choosing to consider the NOF collection because the films that constitute it were once deployed in formal educational institutions, mostly by teachers in primary and (early) secondary schools. Within the context of an inquiry into aspects of rhetorical address, however, this provides insufficient analytical guidance. For even if those films, by virtue of the distribution principles of their suppliers, could only be put to use in those particular types of institution, this still leaves room for a whole range of possibilities in

terms of the material's actual deployment, and therefore, in terms of the ways in which those texts could acquire meaning. Chapter 2 will be devoted to an exploration of the conditions for the corpus' use, and subsequently, an explication of the conceptual choices that I make before embarking upon analysis.

First, however, I position my research object in another way: as a *historical* construct. A circumstance which makes the notion of a 'classroom film' particularly problematic is its close connection with a series of past ideas, ideals and practices. At the beginning of this introduction I pointed out that this denominator cannot be pried loose from the entrepreneurial activities of the people who first deployed it in a more or less systematic fashion. It originated within, or more precisely, caught on as the result of, a very specific endeavour, with its own ideological, but also economical and political roots and implications. As such, then, the term is all but neutral; it cannot be used as an empty container, easily 'filled up'. The purpose of chapter 1 is to investigate the many historical connotations that stick to it – and by the same token, to the films that I analyse.

TIME FRAME

In this work, I exclusively deal with films made and released between 1941 and 1963. The first is the year in which NOF began production. The starting point of the period which my inquiry covers, in other words, is very simply the moment of establishment of the collection studied. However, there is also a more fundamental reason why I let my research commence here. The early 1940s, I argue further on, is actually the era in which the supply of films for teaching slowly began to reach a degree of what one might call 'institutionalisation'. In those years, distribution activities were carried out more and more often by specialised bodies who occupied themselves primarily, or even exclusively, with that particular task. At the same time, and because of it, the use of the medium in schools could take on a more systematic form – a level of organisation that was also a condition for its deployment as an actual didactic tool. The latter circumstance is of considerable importance because it touches upon the core of my elucidation (in subsequent chapters) of the concept of classroom film. In addition, 1963 is the year in which school television was introduced in the Netherlands. Justification of my choice for the latter date requires a little more elaboration.

Even the roughest preliminary survey of the NOF collection shows that a comprehensive study of all of its contents exceeds the scope of a single project. (According to archive sources, the total number of titles in the lot is around 2,000.[30]) Sketching a picture of the material's textual variety along the whole

breadth of the corpus – a project that involves a comparison of as many texts as possible – therefore requires a temporal restriction.

One period that can be excluded right away is that which begins with the introduction of video (in 1974; see Ottenheim 1991, 49, 68). The reason for this is not so much the different material characteristics of the format as such, but rather the fact that it allows for much more flexibility than film in terms of deployment. For instance, video offers a good deal more possibilities when it comes to the selection of what is shown – a circumstance which, in extreme cases, can even lead to alterations with respect to what one might designate as the film 'text'. In addition to this, the use of video (VCR systems, in particular) also provides more options in terms of a screening's insertion into a lesson or lesson sequence. Historically, both of these factors must have had their bearing on the ways in which the programmes shown acquired meaning. While the juxtaposition of texts on film/tape would make for a very interesting comparative analysis, it clearly exceeds the scope of this work.

Meanwhile, the period under scrutiny must at the very least extend to the time when the use of film in schools had reached a (first) level of saturation: a stage when all teachers who were willing to employ the medium were in a position to do so. In the first years after the Second World War, the use of film in education was gradually winning ground, but the process was still hampered by shortages, both in terms of suitable titles and in terms of operational projection equipment. By the mid- to late 1950s, supply and demand matched each other more closely. At the same time, a stagnation seems to have occurred in the intensity of classroom film use (see chapter 1). Considering that it is my aim here to focus on *systematic* deployment (also from a conceptual/methodological point of view), items that were available at that point in time must be included. The most obvious choice, therefore, is a time frame that covers the period between 1941 and the early 1960s, or shortly thereafter. This way, the research covers the entire process of classroom film institutionalisation up until the point where the medium had reached its peak in popularity.

My final cut-off date (1963) is the year in which Dutch school television was launched (under the name of Nederlandse Onderwijs Televisie [NOT]).[31] My choice for this date is inspired, once again, by practical considerations. As in the case of video, television's particular deployment options must have entailed that the programmes shown acquired meaning in different ways than 16mm films – albeit this time as a result of the medium's *lesser* flexibility (for instance, in terms of the timing of presentations). As opposed to magnetic tape, which was first used about ten years later, (school) television was not introduced with the express purpose of eventually replacing a less up-to-date format, and also in practice, both media were long used alongside one another. A study which covers the period until after the time of TV's classroom

debut should take into account the above-mentioned distinctions. In addition to this, it should also consider the possibility of intermedial interaction or exchange between film and television as such (as the latter medium had by then secured itself a place in most middle-class households; see Bank 1994). Again, however, I have to exclude such directions from my research, as they exceed the scope of a single monograph.[32]

APPROACH

This work consists of two main parts, each of which fulfils a specific function in the text as a whole. Both therefore also require their own, separate methods. As my analytical approach is largely based on observations I make at the end of part I, I consider them only briefly here, elucidating them further at the beginning of part II (chapter 3).

The purpose of the first half of the book is to position my research object. Above I emphasised the close connection between the term (and concept) 'classroom film' and a series of historical practices, but also ideas and ideals pertaining to the use of film as an educational tool. These ideas are explored through a discursive analysis of mostly primary texts. Apart from conceptions relevant to the film corpus which I analyse later on, I also look at notions that were entertained in earlier decades – a time when, incidentally, the medium was used in ways that disturbed the authors of later years. In addition to this, I consider how the supply of film for education (in the widest sense of that phrase) was organised at the time. For the latter purpose, I draw to a large extent on the research of others.

A second goal of part I, in addition to historically locating the concept which I work with, is to delineate, or construct, my own object of analysis. I mentioned that my interest in the NOF collection is due primarily to its status as an object of *usage*: the fact that the films it contains, collectively, were subject to a series of very specific practices. Necessarily, this also has its bearing on the choices I make in the process of delimiting my research object, and by the same token, my concept of classroom film as such. In order to be able to make those choices, I first need to learn more about the aforementioned practices. Since primary sources on the subject are hard to come by, my observations here are largely of a hypothetical nature. In most cases, my statements are based on a combination of retrospective accounts and the results of a re-evaluation of the same sources that I rely on in the first half of part I.[33]

The primary purpose of this study, however, is to find an answer to the question of how the films under scrutiny address their spectators. The main portion of the text, therefore, is devoted to a rhetorical analysis. The word

'rhetorical', here, should be interpreted in its widest possible sense: not as the means by which the films discussed persuade their audiences that what they show or say is reliable or true, but rather as the ways in which they may help establish, or keep up, a communication with the spectators they target. My focus on what I call the films' 'modes of address' necessarily implies that I conceive of textual meaning not as something that is fixed, or enclosed, within the text itself, but as something that needs to be activated within a very specific (performative) situation.[34] The configuration of elements which I consider to be characteristic of this situation inevitably constitutes an abstraction, a simplification of a more diverse reality. Its main features, however, are derived from my findings on historical practice, as obtained in part I.

In order to structure my discussion, I take my departure from two preliminary observations. The first is that classroom films – like all rhetorical constructs – are primarily oriented towards encouraging, or motivating, their addressees to watch or listen, or to continue watching/listening. In this process, they make use of a wide array of strategies, which differ considerably from one another in terms of the assumptions they make about what appeals to their audience. What connects these strategies is their basic *modus operandi*: one way or another, they all seek to motivate by 'implicating' (i.e., integrating, somehow, into the text itself) the readers they target. It is a search for the mechanisms behind this principle of implication that will guide me in making an inventory of the strategies that teaching films use.[35]

My second preliminary observation is that in this process of implication, many of the films discussed – although by no means all – seem to direct, or re-direct, their audience's attention towards the specific (institutional, pedagogical) set-ups in which viewing takes place, and in which textual meaning comes about. In doing so, I believe, they contribute to the positioning of their readers: they steer them towards the most desirable viewing attitude for those particular films. Again, they do so by means of textual elements – some very inconspicuous, and restricted in time to a single shot or sequence; some more prominent, and sometimes also repeated, or stretched out, along the entire span of the film. The ultimate purpose of my analysis is to also identify those 'ingredients', and subsequently, to classify them according to the discursive levels on which they manifest themselves. In this process, I make use primarily of concepts borrowed from narratology.[36]

ORGANISATION OF THE BOOK

In the first half of this work, I explained, I position my research object: I explore the concept of classroom film, question it, and subsequently (re-)delimit it, in view of the textual interpretation that follows. This section of the book in turn consists of two chapters. In the first I consider discourse pertaining to film as an educational means and practices that are aimed at making the medium available for didactic use. I concentrate, first, on the years and decades leading up to the Second World War, and then, on the subsequent period, in which the aforementioned practices had reached a certain level of institutionalisation. In the second (post-war) section of the chapter I rely primarily on the (often highly normative) writings produced by NOF. In chapter 2 I formulate some hypotheses on the deployment of teaching films in the schools which the institute catered to, partly on the basis of those same sources. I concentrate here on two of the most common usage patterns. The conclusions I draw in turn inform the conceptual choices which I make in the second half of the chapter, where I also expound my notion of a pedagogical *dispositif*.

Part II begins with a short methodological chapter, in which I make explicit some of my basic analytical assumptions. In this section I discuss the concept of rhetoric, and explain how I deploy it in the chapters that follow. I argue that rhetoric should be conceived of as a textual potential: something that can come to activation within a given, functional framework, and as part of a very specific *dispositif*. In the following chapter, the first analytical one, I discuss some of the strategies that classroom films use to motivate their readers to watch/keep watching. I classify them, first, according to the types of rhetorical potential which they exploit, and second, in terms of the level of directness with which the texts in which they turn up address pedagogically relevant issues (or in other words, how they deal with so-called 'didactic' matter).[37] The fifth and final chapter concerns the ways in which the films themselves seem to manoeuvre their readers into the most desirable viewing role: that of *pupil*-viewers. I conceptualise the textual elements that serve this purpose as references to the pedagogical *dispositif*. At the end of this section, I also speculate on the significance of such elements for the relations of authority between all sorts of teacher figures (filmic and real) – an issue that seems to have preoccupied the minds of many contemporary authors.

Finally, I also want to draw attention to two web sites that contain a sample of films from the NOF collection: www.filminnederland.nl and www.openbeelden.nl. Each of these sites features nine NOF produced films.[38] The films that are available online are marked in this text with an asterisk (*); in addition, an overview of the relevant titles is provided at the end of the book.

PART 1

Film for Education: Debates, Idea(l)s and Practices

INTRODUCTION

On 6 May 1941, about a year after the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands had begun, the Dutch Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences ratified the establishment of a new public body: Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film or NOF.[1] The foundation's remit was to centrally organise the production, acquisition and distribution of films for primary and early secondary education in Holland. The establishment of the new institute was an ambitious enterprise. In previous decades, attempts had been made to facilitate the use of film for teaching, but never before on such a scale. After a mere four years of operation, NOF boasted sixty-five employees and claimed that it had distributed films to about 1,000 schools. Supposedly, 4,000 teachers from all parts of the country, dealing with 100,000 pupils among them, had made use of the new didactic aid.[2] However, the institute itself took more pride in the fact that it offered purpose-produced materials. Its representatives claimed that unlike previous initiatives in the field, it provided titles designed specifically to match the official school curricula ([Schreuder] 1948, 8).

Although NOF emphatically dissociated itself from all earlier forms of educational film use – and most notably, from the so-called 'school cinema' system of the 1920s and 1930s – the texts in which it praised its goods and services contain arguments that are much older. The claims it made derive from public debates that had emerged several decades earlier, and that involved not only film entrepreneurs and pedagogues, but representatives of a much wider array of social pressure groups. These discussions, dating back to the beginning of the century, are marked by a tension between two sets of convictions. On the one hand, primary sources attest to an awareness of, and in some cases, to an almost unconditional belief in, the unprecedented didactic potential of film.

On the other hand, they show apprehension of the dangers attached to what was taken to be a 'transfer' of the medium from an entertainment context to a traditional educational environment (especially if in unmodified form). The same opposition also manifests itself in the way in which NOF presented itself to its users, and in its day-to-day production and acquisition policies.

In what follows, I take a closer look at the above-mentioned debates, making an inventory of the arguments used by both parties. In addition to this, I discuss some actual film practices: some of the ways in which, in the period up to the classroom film's heyday, teachers, producers and distributors applied the medium to so-called 'educational' purposes, or encouraged others to do so. In this process, I focus very specifically on how said debates, ideas and ideals helped shape those concrete praxes. The ultimate purpose of this exercise is to situate the corpus under scrutiny here within a set of historical discourses, and thus to demonstrate its constructedness as a research object.

One of the tendencies that manifests itself in the practice-oriented sections of this chapter is one towards specialisation. In what follows, I trace the shift from a series of unconnected, *ad hoc* initiatives for the application of film to various didactic purposes towards more diversification, and at the same time, concentration, in terms of intended uses and target audiences. In the period up to the Second World War, the extent of the educational film business was extremely limited. While a desire for more large-scale organisation was expressed quite early on, one cannot speak of any form of institutionalisation until the mid-1940s – whether it be in terms of production or distribution, or the actual deployment of films in schools. After that, the practical conditions for more widespread use were slowly being fulfilled.

In section 1.1 I give an overview of the main themes that run through debates on film and education in the period up to the late 1930s.[3] First, I deal with ideas pertaining to the film medium's potential benefits for teaching and learning, and their respective historical contexts; after that, I discuss its perceived limitations. In section 1.2 I concentrate on the subsequent period, taking NOF (the institute *and* its collection) as my case. After giving a short overview of the foundation's organisation and procedures, I deal with issues of standardisation. In this second half of the chapter a trend towards regulation will emerge. As soon as the debates on film and education began, organisations and publications appeared that aimed at controlling and homogenising the relations between them; in the 1940s, the number of such initiatives increased considerably. In what follows, I discuss, successively, regulation in terms of the film material itself, and of its deployment in teaching.

1.1   FILM AS AN EDUCATIONAL TOOL

In his book *Teachers and Machines: The Classroom Use of Technology Since 1920* (1986), Larry Cuban quotes an extract from a 1925 publication, written in verse, in which California school teacher Virginia Church gives a somewhat sentimental account of her experience of classroom life. One of the topics she addresses is the introduction of audio-visual media, and more in particular, film. Her text reads as follows:

> Mr. Edison says
> That the radio will supplant the teacher.
> Already one may learn languages by means of Victrola records.
> The moving picture will visualize
> What the radio fails to get across.
> Teachers will be relegated to the backwoods,
> With fire-horses,
> And long-haired women;
> Or, perhaps shown in museums.
> Education will become a matter
> Of pressing the button.
> Perhaps I can get a position at the switchboard.
> (From "Antiquated," quoted in Cuban 1986, 4-5)

The above excerpt clearly demonstrates that the advent of film as an educational tool was greeted with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Two factions in particular voiced their thoughts on the matter with great passion. On the one hand, there were those who, like the 'Mr. Edison' referred to by Church, focused on the medium's advantages and envisaged a future in which the practical problems that plagued formal education – oversized classes, a lack of good teachers, etc. – would cease to exist. On the other hand, there were those who harboured considerable suspicion. Like Miss Church herself, they feared that teaching would become 'mechanised'; a prospect which they dreaded not only for personal reasons (among others, concerns about the potential obsolescence of their profession) but also because it might imply that the 'non-rational' aspects of classroom interaction would get neglected. Another reason for scepticism was the fact that the medium was so closely associated with the entertainment sector.

In retrospect, however, early opponents had little to be afraid of, as it would take another couple of decades before an infrastructure was in place that allowed for the large-scale use of moving images in schools. As soon as the first types of roll-film were commercially available, scientists and pedagogues

throughout the Western world began to experiment with the medium in their own teaching. However, these initiatives were very disparate, and did not yet take an organised form.[4] Producers and distributors as well took to playing the educational card early on, but once again, this cannot lead to far-reaching conclusions as to their films' day-to-day use. In many cases, titles earmarked as 'educational' served a variety of purposes, many of those bearing little or no relation to the objectives of formal teaching. Entrepreneurs of the 1910s and 1920s found the didactic market to be rather small and therefore unattractive. In order for the business to become viable, in other words, governments needed to get involved. In many countries, however, political leaders hesitated to take actual, practical measures.

As my own case illustrates, those involved in more organised forms of classroom film production and distribution often conceived of their own business as distinct from, and in some cases, even as a reaction *against*, earlier attempts to make the medium available for education. In reality, however, their activities involved a good deal of recycling, both in terms of the rhetoric used and in actual practice. Many of the ideas and ideals they defended have their roots in debates that originate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. If only because of this, it is necessary that I begin my exploration with a consideration of the issues that were at stake at the time.

1.1.1   Possibilities

In retrospect, the early years of film, like those of any other 'new' medium, are marked by an experience of unlimited possibilities, both theoretical and real. On the one hand, scientists, engineers and commercial entrepreneurs imagined a wealth of applications, many of which held the promise of changing modern life drastically. On the other hand, the period was characterised by an actual variety of uses – a diversity that would thin out over time, due in part to forces of the market.

One of the promises which the medium supposedly held was that of becoming an extremely powerful didactic tool. Well before the first films were produced, commentators foresaw their value as a means of 'universal' education (Raynal 1994, 98; Tosi 2005, 32). Also in later years, pronouncements on the topic often had highly utopian overtones.[5]

One of the best-known early advocates of film as an educational tool was the American inventor and businessman Thomas A. Edison, mentioned above. Among statements on the subject, his were, and still are, quoted the most often. Particularly famous is the pronouncement he made in 1913, when he predicted that in due course, books would no longer be the primary didactic means, and that scholars would "soon be instructed through the eye" (quoted in Saettler 1990, 98). In 1922, he elaborated:

> I believe that the motion picture is destined to revolutionize our edu-cational system and that in a few years it will supplant largely, if not entirely, the use of textbooks. I should say that on the average we get only about two percent efficiency out of schoolbooks as they are written to-day. The education of the future, as I see it, will be conducted through the medium of the motion picture, a visualized education, where it should be possible to obtain a one hundred percent efficiency. (Quoted in Wise 1939, 1) [6]

Although probably the most well-known, Edison was not the first to make known to the world his ideas on the educational use of film. In 1898, Polish cameraman Bolesław Matuszewski, author of one of the earliest pleas for the establishment of an official film repository, argued that the medium could become "a singularly effective teaching method" (Matuszewski [1898] 1974, 219). Charles Pathé and Frantz Dussaud, his personal advisor, proclaimed in the early 1910s: "The cinematograph will be the theatre, the newspaper and school of tomorrow" (quoted in Lefebvre 1993a, 86). Others, speaking around the same time as Edison, referred to the cinema as "the master of the future" (L. Jalabert, quoted in Gauthier 2004, 91) or believed that "The royal road to learning lies along the film highway" (an unnamed professor, quoted in Wise 1939, 2). At the time, in any case, many believed that the widespread use of film in schools was only a matter of time (compare also Pelletier 2011, 64).[7]

Arguments
In their statements on the topic, these and other commentators tended to conflate two sets of arguments. The first was based on the premise that film held the potential of functioning as a superior teaching aid. The medium was considered particularly fit to serve as a didactic tool – more so than others that already existed. Its greatest merit, supposedly, was the fact that it could help educational practice become more efficient.

The reasons quoted in turn varied widely. Some authors used arguments

that must have been relevant in particular to the people involved in educational administration: those concerned primarily with the practical aspects (and cost) of school organisation. In the publication mentioned above, Cuban notes that one of the dreams that inspired early advocates of any 'innovative' educational tool is that of increasing productivity; that is, "students acquiring more information with the same or even less teacher effort" (Cuban 1986, 3). In 1935, D. Charles Ottley, author of the British manual *The Cinema in Education*, recapitulated their logic as follows: "In times such as ours speed is of paramount importance, speed in assimilating facts and in applying them" (32). Film in particular was seen to help fulfil this purpose, as it was the only medium that could, for instance, "present to a class in the space of ten minutes the successive stages of fertilization, germination and growth, recorded [...] over a period of from one to five years" (18-19). What mattered as well was the number of pupils that could be reached at any one time. The cinema, Ottley was convinced, "can illustrate simultaneously [...] to every scholar in a class small or large what the teacher would need to illustrate individually" (29-30). Similar opinions had been voiced by scientists and film-makers in previous decades, from Dr. Eugène-Louis Doyen in the late 1890s (Lefebvre 2005, 71) to the director Jean Painlevé in the 1930s (Painlevé in L'Herbier 1946, 403-4).

Arguments like these still bear the marks of a late nineteenth century euphoria concerning the relation between modernity and progress: a conviction that machines would eventually help resolve all human problems and take away people's practical constraints. The above pronouncements were made at a time of rationalism (in the epistemic sense: unchallenged positivism, and a strong belief in the idea that the world is knowable) and rationalisation (production processes being made more efficient with the help of science).[8] Such notions went hand in hand with a hope for a more prosperous future, and the expectation that the world would become a better place to live in. Education, in this context, had an important role to play: the assumption was that intellectual enlightenment would eventually also contribute to peace and democracy (compare Amad 2001, 142).

Filmic representation not only allowed for the educational process to become more time- and cost-effective, it also made learning easier, and at the same time, more attractive for the pupils involved. Easier, because the medium was supposed to make matter both more accessible (according to a commentator in 1920, "subjects formerly taught in colleges are now being made understandable for children of ten") and easier to remember (a 1915 child psychologist argued that "the events which are portrayed in motion pictures remain indelibly in memory"; quotes from Wise 1939, 2-3). It made learning more attractive, because cinematography was considered to have an inherent appeal to those taught. A text by the Frenchman Hugues Besson (from 1920)

reads: "The appeal of the spectacle solicits the pupils' attention, even of those whose imagination is slow" (quoted in L'Herbier 1946, 400).[9] Fifteen years on, Ottley rephrased it as follows: "The voice (both human and mechanical) may tire, but the voice of animation [...] still sounds sweet when brain is weary and nerve jaded" (1935, 13).

Last but not least, the medium's potential for educational efficiency was ascribed to the fact that the information conveyed was of superior quality to that passed on in traditional teaching situations. First, because film allowed for a wide dissemination of knowledge by the best of teachers (Coissac 1925, 259; George 1935, 59-60). And second, because filmic matter was considered to be devoid of value judgements. As Ottley summarises, "[t]he Cinematograph is free from bias; it neither condemns nor condones" (1935, 23). And who, the author wonders, would expect the same to be true for a *human* teacher? (22)

Ottley's remark directly ties in with the second set of claims that were used to support the above utopian predictions. In his text, the author advances a number of arguments that duplicate prior statements on the cinema as an instrument for faithfully recording – and as such, storing and preserving – extratextual reality.

As Brian Winston points out, the idea of film as an inscription device has been with the medium since its inception (1993, 37-57; compare Cosandey 1997, 40). Particularly well-known are Matuszewski's assertions that views captured on film constitute a more reliable historical source, and therefore allow for greater insight into things past, than other documents ([1898] 1974, 220-21). The reason is that they are basically fragments or 'traces' of history itself. Convictions such as his would inspire those responsible for the earliest collections of animated photographic images (such as, the "Archives de la Planète" of Albert Kahn and Jean Brunhes in 1909) and the first repositories of film (for instance, at the Musée Pédagogique or the Cinémathèque de la Ville de Paris, both in the 1920s).[10] Matuszewski's notions were revived later on in debates between realists and formalists on the ontology and social function of the cinema. Theorists such as Walter Benjamin, representatives of what is sometimes called the '*photogénie* school' (Jean Epstein, Germaine Dulac, Louis Delluc) and later on also Siegfried Kracauer maintained that film's main asset was that it could capture and reveal aspects of reality – some of which were hitherto unknown to us. This characteristic, which Metz would later designate as *cosmophanie* (1968, 193), was often related to the medium's potential to manipulate time and scale (i.e. to speed up, slow down and enlarge aspects of referential reality).[11]

In the early decades, pedagogues also argued that film had no equal in terms of fidelity to that which it represents. Because of this, it was endowed with characteristics such as reality (or real-ness) and concreteness, but also

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truth, and even meaningfulness (compare Saettler 1990, 114). In his plea for the use of film in schools, Besson advances the argument that "the cinematograph is life" (Besson in L'Herbier 1946, 400).[12] Ottley states that film is "a record of life", and therefore, "a record of truth, since neither lens nor microphone can invent" (1935, 9, 23). In his view, the advantage in terms of education is that the medium forces teachers to confront their pupils with the actual *facts*, rather than renditions of those facts – or worse, mere opinions. Like the theorists just mentioned, he also attributes great value to the revelatory powers of film: the fact that it allows us to "behold what we should not, and indeed, *could not* behold with the human eye unaided" (11). Unlike the advocates of a *photogénie* idea, however, he does not see this in terms of nature's 'magical' dimensions, or in relation to the human unconscious, but purely as an asset to the learning of children.

Pedagogical Framework

The arguments outlined above can be related to concurrent discourse on the film medium and its epistemic potential, but also to a number of specifically pedagogical ideas and ideals: notions of why and how people should be taught. Many of these views are part of traditions which date back several centuries. In what follows, I single out two. First, I discuss the contemporary perception of a need for public education, which in turn coincides with a demand for the democratisation and popularisation of scientific knowledge. Next, I address the long-standing conviction that the most effective kinds of learning involve a variety of sensory experiences, and above all, confrontation with concrete, real-life objects or situations.

Public and Adult Education

The first organisations that advocated the education and development of all were set up in the late 1700s, at the onset of the Industrial Revolution. Supporters argued that generalised instruction was in the interest of society as a whole, because it could help fight poverty and criminality and elevate the average standard of living (Boekholt 1998, 11; Vignaux 2007, 24, 123). Initially, the movement was strongly inspired by bourgeois ideals, and it based its activities on the premise that the 'common' people should be 'edified' or 'civilised' in order to advance socially. The sort of education it had in mind can be characterised as personality training: the passing on of values and standards held by those in charge. Later on, socialist activists made a plea for public education as well, this time however for the sake of social equality. The type of instruction they favoured was aimed at the acquisition of specialist knowledge rather than a more general intellectual and/or moral enlightenment. It was intended to open up better job prospects for the working classes (Gout and Metz 1985, 8-12, 17).

At first, both branches of the movement dedicated themselves to the fight for a generalised, compulsory primary education, but they soon focused on the teaching of adults. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, initiatives in the field of adult education were booming; however, they still varied widely in terms of the organisations responsible, the didactic formats chosen and the sites where teaching took place (Gout and Metz 1985, 6, 16). In the Netherlands, for instance, lectures and courses were most often organised by clubs and associations (some with a party political or confessional slant) (Dibbets 2006, 47-48). In the US, early forms of adult education took root in lyceums and commercial or proprietary schools, but also in YMCA meeting rooms, town halls and community public libraries (Saettler 1990, 123-24). Centralisation occurred around the turn of the century, when official institutes of higher education for adults were set up. In Holland, the first such *volksuniversiteit* (in English usually called 'university extension', in French, *université populaire*) was established in 1913 (Haak 1994, 174-75).[13]

In his book *The Evolution of American Educational Technology* (1990), Paul Saettler points out that the adult education movement was very quick to recognise the potential of audio-visual teaching aids (124-25). Most often, its activities took the shape of lectures held in public spaces rather than in formal classrooms set up for drill and recitation; therefore, the projection of lantern slides was a particularly useful means of instruction. Later on, film began to fulfil a similar role. In France, the medium is reported to have been used for that purpose as early as 1912, by the labourers' cinema (*cinéma ouvrier*) of the northern industrial town of Roubaix. A year later, and in the same spirit, a Société du Cinéma du Peuple (Society for People's Cinema) was set up (Lapierre 1948, 305-6). In the early twenties, Dutch authors also called for the use of film in the context of what was commonly called *volksontwikkeling* (development of the people) and made mention of the first such initiatives.[14] In Germany, likewise, film was deployed for purposes of *Volksaufklärung* (Zimmermann 2006, 84).

Scientific Popularisation

Initiatives to educate, edify or enlighten the working classes went hand in hand with a call for the popularisation or democratisation of science: a making more accessible of the outcomes of scientific inquiry by what was necessarily an intellectual elite. In the late nineteenth century, scientists increasingly travelled the world to promote inventions and discoveries, and filled the pages of newly established magazines (León 2007, 8-10). At the same time, the number of museums rose spectacularly. According to Saettler, this numerical growth coincided with a change in policy. Museums stopped functioning as mere storage houses, and took on a manifest instructional role; new institu-

tions were seen by their founders as "social instruments for the educational progress of the masses" (Saettler 1990, 124). A commercialised form of scientific popularisation took place at world fairs and exhibitions – events which, Tom Gunning argues, were often explicitly designed as "educational texts" (1994, 425).[15]

Like those involved in adult education, scientific popularisers sought for alternative methods of instruction and took a keen interest in devices and machines that might help further their cause (Saettler 1990, 125). They were looking in particular for means that would allow them to reach larger audiences. Film, in this context, was considered to have a definite advantage over other aids, including visual ones. In the early twentieth century, the medium's popular appeal, due in part to its status as a means for entertainment, was seen as a powerful tool for making the acquisition of knowledge more attractive.

In a piece on the work of the French film-maker Jean Benoit-Lévy, Valérie Vignaux points out that the first initiatives to distribute film for educational purposes were meant to make teaching easier by means of visualisation (*par l'aspect*). This objective was relevant in particular to those who targeted adult audiences: people who had already finished their compulsory schooling, and had to be lured into attending lectures or seminars by the prospect of a non-formal, accessible presentation of the facts (Vignaux 2006, 18). Cinematography seemed to fit this goal perfectly. At the time, it was seen as a universal language: one that could be understood by all, regardless of nationality or cultural background, and that allowed for communication between the high (the world of science and learning) and the low (that of the 'common' man) (Comandon in L'Herbier 1946, 414; Vignaux 2007, 25).

Similar arguments were made with reference to the instruction of children. In a piece dating from 1912, the French journalist and novelist Lucien Descaves calls the cinema a "theatre of the people" (*théâtre du peuple*) and argues that teachers should turn this fact to their own advantage (Descaves in L'Herbier 1946, 391-92). Eventually, he predicts, the use of film in education will be unavoidable, because modern pupils will no longer accept being taught with 'tools from the past'. As a matter of fact, he is surprised that this time has not yet come:

> When I consider that in schools – secondary as well as primary education – children still recite geography from manuals with lists of words followed by descriptions!
> One probably finds a few more illustrations in them than one used to; however, with which indifference or mischievous spurn does the child who has just left the cinema across the road approach those images from

a different age, the era of stage-coaches and voyages around the world illustrated by copper engravings! (Descaves in L'Herbier 1946, 392)[16]

In some countries, the relation between the use of audio-visual media for the purpose of scientific popularisation and visual instruction in classrooms was a highly tangible one. In the US, for instance, the first facilities for the distribution of lantern slides, films, filmstrips and study prints to schools were exhibition centres. Examples are the American Museum of Natural History in New York City (founded in 1869, and renting out visual aids as of 1904) and the St. Louis Educational Museum (which in turn evolved from the 1904 World's Fair, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition) (Saettler 1990, 126, 28; Slide 1992, 61-62). In France as well, such institutions played a central role in the supply of audio-visual material to schools. The Musée Pédagogique, one of the first moving image repositories in the country, established a slide library in 1895, adding film to its collection in 1920 (Vignaux 2006, 29). Also the Cinémathèque de la Ville de Paris, founded a few years later, was set up as a combination of archival depot and educational distribution centre (Gauthier 2004, 81).

It is quite remarkable, therefore, that the films which, in those first few decades, were considered appropriate for use in schools were not always 'scientific' in the strictest sense of the word but often served a much broader educational purpose. Since the late nineteenth century, and even more so during the interwar period, there was a growing body of opinion that formal education should focus less on the acquisition of factual knowledge and more on what was commonly called 'life adjustment', or, in the 1920s and 1930s in particular, 'spiritual and moral rearmament'.[17] Like the early advocates of public education, proponents of visual instruction argued that one of the main tasks of pedagogy was to instil into children a community spirit and sense of civic duty. Christophe Gauthier observes that also in practice, the ideology of early educational film was inextricably linked to a conception of the school as a site of moral righteousness for the entire nation (2004, 97-98; compare also Pelletier 2011, 74-76).[18] A good deal of the titles that were distributed as fit for teaching reflected this philosophy.[19]

Learning through the Senses

The second pedagogical tradition that inspired early advocates of film for education is one that concerns the relation between learning and sensory perception. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, progressive pedagogues have advanced the idea that teaching with words alone might be insufficient, and that in order for children to acquire lasting knowledge, not only verbal understanding should be activated, but also other human capacities. In the early 1600s, the Italian philosopher Tomasso Campanella even argued that all

learning must take place through the senses (Slide 1992, 7). The influential pedagogue Johann Amos Comenius also supported this principle. His 1658 textbook *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (*The Visible World in Pictures*) is generally considered one of the first aids to visual instruction (Saettler 1990, 31). Among the champions of observation and other forms of sensory perception, Swiss educational scientist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, active in the late 1700s and early 1800s, is still the most widely known. He argued that first-hand physical experience is crucial to the acquisition of knowledge, and more effective than most kinds of drill (Saettler 1990, 37, 39, 43).

Although it never quite disappeared from liberal pedagogical agendas, the principle of learning though the senses received renewed attention, but also wider circulation, from the 1910s onwards, as the Western world was flooded by a wave of educational reform. In the decades leading up to the Second World War, educators in Europe and the US were responsible for what has retrospectively been termed the 'New Education': a conglomeration of ideas on the practicalities of teaching which were based on then-recent insights into how children learn. The reformists' views derived from such 'new' sciences as child psychology and paedology, and were based on the premise that the specific characteristics of children's cognition should serve as a guide in the choice of classroom activities.[20] Enlightened pedagogues strongly objected to the principle of class teaching because in their view, it ignored the individuality of each child, encouraged passivity and required strict discipline enforced by an authoritarian teacher (Aarts 1948, 35-36, 242). Instead, they preferred more active methods, which required children to carry out tasks of their own choosing and at their own pace. Such procedures severely conflicted with the principles of abstract learning favoured by Herbartianism, the eighteenth-century educational theory and praxis which, at the time, still prevailed in most Western schools (Ewert 1998, 41).

Even though some reformist ideas did penetrate the educational system as a whole, they were implemented the most rigorously by a limited number of experimental project schools. These institutions based their *modi operandi* on the concepts of such pioneers as Maria Montessori (Italy), Helen Parkhurst and John Dewey (US), Ellen Key (Sweden), Georg Kerschensteiner (Germany) or Kees Boeke (The Netherlands), and taught their pupils by means of purpose-made educational tools.[21] Of all the values they shared, the one that found the most ready access in more traditional pedagogical circles was a fervent anti-verbalism: the idea that too many words, especially when coming from a teacher, are detrimental to a balanced educational 'diet'.[22]

To those who promoted the use of film in classrooms, the above idea was an attractive one. Advocates collectively sold 'visual education' (in Dutch: *aanschouwelijk onderwijs*; in German: *Anschauungspädagogik*) as *the* solution to

the 'problem' of verbalism.[23] This way, in fact, they narrowed down the reformist cause for sensory stimulation (Ewert 1998, 41). However, opposition to this promotional strategy was simply brushed aside. In the early 1920s, the influential Dutch pedagogue Ph. A. Kohnstamm published a series of articles in which he argued that the use of films was diametrically opposed to the requirement of activity advanced by recent psychological research and supported by most champions of the New Education.[24] Proponents of audio-visual media, however, were not intimidated, and continued to recycle only those scientific claims which suited them best.[25]

Abstract vs. Concrete

One aspect of visual instruction rhetoric that was clearly borrowed from the educational reform movement was the argument that audio-visual media could help introduce concreteness into a learning environment that traditionally catered only to the transmission of dry, abstract ideas. Film, the slogan went, could 'bring the [outside] world to the classroom'.[26] Proponents were convinced that concreteness made education more effective because children, and *modern* pupils in particular, learnt faster through confrontation with actual, real-life situations. As Ottley summarised it in 1935: "It is of tremendous import, in all departments of teaching, that the film can picturize (materially) what the teacher can only visualize (mentally)" (xi).[27] In his book on educational technology, Saettler argues that this rationale inspired visual instruction activists over a period of half a century (1990, 8, 167-68). In the publications of manufacturers, it was even adhered to until the early 1960s, when the battle for legitimacy of visual classroom aids had long been won.

The main advantage of film over other photographic media, in this context, was taken to be the fact that it could also reproduce movement. For this reason, it was considered a closer approximation of reality, and therefore, a better teaching tool. Saettler relates this view to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century practice of compiling so-called 'concrete-abstract continuums': listings of types of instructional tools, classified according to their respective levels of concreteness, and by the same token, suitability for classroom use. The top position in any such list was taken by 'the real thing': an actual specimen of the particular plant, animal or object that the lesson concerned. The importance of real-life samples as educational tools can in turn be related to the turn-of-the-century pedagogical fashion of so-called 'object teaching' (known in Dutch as *zaakonderwijs*, or in French, *leçons de choses*): a didactic method based on the scrutiny of actual, tangible substances rather than description by means of words, and aimed at obtaining 'objective', universal truths.[28] Next in the hierarchy came all sorts of replicas of this 'original';

for instance, models of the object in question, or diagrams focusing on some aspect of it. Verbal renditions, as a rule, came last (140-43).

Although all proponents of visual instruction made it clear, either implicitly or explicitly, that film belonged in the higher regions of this classification, its exact position varied according to the author. Some suggested that the medium, by virtue of its ability to represent movement, should be considered the next best thing to 'the real thing'. Motion, according to the Dutch commentator H. Zanen, is what makes photography such a close ally of reality, and therefore, a means so easily accessible to the mind of a child.[29] Others were even more optimistic, and attributed to film the same didactic qualities as to material samples; some therefore mentioned the possibility of a 'cinematographic object lesson' (Lefebvre 1993a).[30] Finally, there were those who decided that the medium's potential to reproduce movement was a reason to classify it as a *superior* teaching aid. For instance, in comparing the act of watching a film in class to its (past) alternative, a curricular museum visit, Ottley argues:

> Although an improvement upon the purely oral discourse, the cabinet (and its contents) had definite limitations. The record was still static and unless the teacher was uncommonly brilliant, the presentment suffered from the same limitation.
>
> The record presented by the Cinematograph is animated … it lives and breathes and speaks. […] [T]o the classroom may be brought a record of life, taken from life, which, to the boy and girl who eagerly await the magic image, *is life*. (Ottley 1935, 8-9)

In addition to the fact that it brought liveness and contextualisation, another distinct advantage of film was its potential to manipulate – speed up or slow down – the movement which it represented, and thus, to make visible things that simply could not be observed in reality.[31] For the most optimistic group, this was yet another proof of the medium's educational superiority.

One of the premises that underlie such pronouncements is that seeing something is basically the same as experiencing it in real life. In his article on visual spectacle at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, Gunning observes: "The object lesson with its direct and visual evidence, seemed to short circuit the act of signification and to bring the things themselves before the spectating public" (1994, 425). The same assumption also surfaces in statements of the most ardent supporters of visual instruction in the first decades of the twentieth century. As Jacques Wallet has pointed out, the principle pedagogical objective of educational films at the time was to "open up a path to the real and to uncover the world" (2004, 100). The function which mediation fulfilled in this process, it seems, was not yet taken into consideration.[32]

Another assumption that clearly manifests itself in such statements is the idea that visual perception of something equals knowledge of it. Besson, in his 1920 evaluation of the uses of the cinematograph for education, quotes a colleague's claim that "seeing is almost the same as knowing" (Besson in L'Herbier 1946, 400).[33] Earlier on, the American George Brown Goode, employee of the Smithsonian Institute and responsible for exhibits at several world expositions, had argued even more confidently that "to see is to know" (quoted in Gunning 1994, 425). Interpretation on the part of the viewer, in other words, was not accounted for – at least, not explicitly.

As the above examples demonstrate, those in favour of film for education argued on the basis of a near-unshakeable belief in the merits of the visual, but rarely with reference to actual, scientific facts. Proponents did claim to take into account the results of experimental research, both where it concerned the psychological and cognitive functioning of their intended audiences and in relation to the didactic efficiency of the medium. In spite of this, the actual merits of the visual as a major channel for learning have never been demonstrated (Cuban 1986, 13-14).[34] One possible conclusion is that for visual instructionists, what happened in the scientific arena primarily served as a source of inspiration for marketing purposes. However, not all advocates of educational film use had commercial interests. Cuban therefore speculates that analysts, policy-makers and informed practitioners of the 1920s and 1930s in many cases actually "*believed* that the research demonstrated the motion picture's superiority as a teaching tool" (14).

Commercial Exploitation
Meanwhile, manufacturers and distributors did capitalise on the convictions of early visual instructionists. At the beginning of the century, Luke McKernan has pointed out, actualities, travelogues and scientific films were sometimes promoted as 'self-evidently' educational (2005, 214). In the advertising process, informative content was equalled with instructional value. This strategy had to allow entrepreneurs to tap the widest possible market for their products.

One set of sources which demonstrate this are early distribution catalogues: some of the first types of advertising tools producers and renters of films had at their disposal (Braun and Keil 2007). By the end of the 1900s, prospectuses appeared that specifically targeted exhibitors with educational objectives. In many cases, however, such directories merely listed a selection of what was already available. George Kleine's often mentioned *Catalogue of Educational Motion Pictures* (US, 1910), for instance, contains 1065 titles, distributed over some thirty (sub-)categories. Of course, not all of these films were purpose-made. The prospectus brings together actualities, 'scenic' and

industrial shorts as well as some films based on literary classics and historical events, many of which had previously been screened for general (entertainment) audiences (Welle 2007, 26). The first edition of Charles Urban's *Urbanora* catalogue (UK, technically predating Kleine's guide) is most well-known for its "animated films depicting various manifestations, transformations, and phenomena of nature" (quoted in Saettler 1990, 98).[35] Although some of them were first presented as part of Urban's own scientific and travel shows, bringing them together in a specifically educational catalogue was primarily a commercial move: an attempt to add a user group to that which the films already appealed to.[36]

Film exhibitors as well took their inspiration from public educators and visual instructionists. Building on a tradition of magic lantern lectures, they organised readings illustrated with scenic films and travelogues, actualities and popular science films: events that were advertised as having a distinct educational value. In some cases, the production companies themselves coordinated such screenings, like Urban did with his *Urbanora* shows (McKernan 2005, 214). Another format is that of the early projection service of the Maison de la Bonne Presse, a French (book) publishing company catering to the "informational and cultural needs" of its Catholic public.[37] In 1910s and 1920s Switzerland, travelling exhibitors showed industrial films in 'neutral' locations such as school buildings and community houses; allegedly, in an attempt to combine promotion with public education (Zimmermann 2006, 80-82).

The trend towards targeting various market sections at the same time even expanded as the distinction between theatrical and non-theatrical outlets grew more pronounced. In the early 1920s, natural history films shown in the supporting shorts programmes of entertainment venues were barely profitable, and therefore also got advertised, for instance, as classroom teaching aids.[38] About a decade earlier, producers of popular science films such as Pathé-Frères and Éclair had followed a similar impulse when producing 'safety' (non-flammable) versions of existing titles for use at home and in school. This way, these companies claimed to fulfil the highly idealistic goal of so-called 'extended education' (Lefebvre 1993b, 145-46).

In practice, it seems, the words 'education' and 'educational' were used without much discrimination. Not only were they tagged onto films with a wide variety of subjects, they also covered a broad range in terms of target audiences and viewing occasions. In the introduction to his 1910 catalogue, Kleine already recognises this. He writes:

> The word 'educational' is here used in a wide sense and does not indicate that these films are intended for school or college exclusively. They are intended rather for the education of the adult as well as the youth, for the

exhibition before miscellaneous audiences, as well as for more restricted use. (Quoted in Saettler 1990, 97)

Conversely, films that were considered to have educational value were labelled in different ways, depending on which seemed the most helpful from a promotional point of view.[39]

As such, then, these tags provide little insight into how the films they were attached to were actually employed. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the medium's educational potential was a definite selling point for those involved in the film business; the question remains, however, to what extent their product was used as an instructional tool. Another topic that needs to be addressed is the relation between production/distribution and what the first generation of educational film enthusiasts (policy-makers as well as actual users) eventually aimed to achieve. In what follows, I take a closer look at early practices involving films that served an educational purpose of some kind. | 43

EARLY FILM PRACTICES

Roughly speaking, two broad tendencies can be distinguished. On the one hand, there was a clear trend towards diversity. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, film (both the medium as such, and the specific titles that were released) was used for a variety of purposes. Productional intentions and actual deployment did not always correspond. On the other hand, there was a tendency towards specialisation: film supply was gradually attuned to the more specific needs of a given portion of the audience. Yet even so, it took several decades before some kind of a specialist teaching film business could take root.

Diversity

With respect to the film medium's educational use, the words that best describe what went on in the early decades are 'variety' and 'diversity'. Self-evident enough when it comes to the so-called 'pioneer years', this observation equally applies to the period *after* the consolidation of film as a primarily theatrical (entertainment) medium, which took place towards the end of the 1910s.

In order to give an idea of the extent of this diversity, I concentrate in what follows on an example. I focus here on films that claimed to discuss 'scientific' subjects, such as natural history topics (the genesis of plants, animals or humans) and (pseudo-) ethnographic ones. In many cases, those titles did indeed serve an educational purpose – but hardly ever exclusively so.

Vernacular vs. Specialist Use

Looking at examples taken from distribution catalogues published in the first decades of the century, I would argue that a good deal of these items can be associated with the category of what has retrospectively been termed 'vernacular' or 'popularising' science films. In one sense, this phrase is used to refer to the output of a number of (mostly French) production companies that were active between the late 1900s and the early 1910s, which specifically targeted a youthful audience and were meant to both educate and entertain. In most cases, they dealt with natural subjects, such as plant and animal life. Their purpose was scientific 'vernacularisation', or as Thierry Lefebvre puts it, "the social dissemination of knowledge" (1993a, 84). According to the same author, they should be distinguished from science films in the strict sense, which addressed a different audience (one of specialists) and were accompanied in a different way (by speakers who used scholarly language). Lefebvre directly relates their existence to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century tendency towards scientific democratisation (84-85 and 193).[40]

In a broader definition, which I adhere to for the sake of my current argument, the term 'vernacular' is used to refer to a temporally more extensive range of films with roughly the same objectives, varying from the work of the so-called *cinéastes scientifiques* of the thirties, forties, and on (for instance, Jean Painlevé or Pierre Thévenard) to wildlife television series such as those broadcast on television to this day.[41] In his work on the latter, Bienvenido León argues that what such films do is mediate between two types of knowledge: that of specialists (systematic, and logically structured) and that of layman-viewers (non-systematic, and much less organised). Their purpose, he believes, is primarily to establish a *rapport*: a bond with the audience that will encourage it to take an interest in, and subsequently learn about, the scientific facts discussed. According to León, this typically involves the use of some very specific cinematic techniques (2004; 2007, 18).[42]

Yet the question is whether the opposition between 'popular' and specialist science films which Lefebvre proposes is not too rigid. In any case, it cannot serve as a basis for a distinction between educational and non-educational types of use. The suggestion that this might be the case, indeed, is based on too narrow a conception of the purposes which the latter category served, and of the audiences for whom they were screened. Films with highly specialist subjects, after all, were not necessarily viewed by established scientists only, but also by people who still had to be trained. Items originating in a medical context, for instance, often simultaneously served as archival documents (records of a given phenomenon, illness or operation, available for presentations among peers or self-study) and that of instructional tools (instruments for training prospective doctors and paramedic personnel).[43] In addition to

this, they were sometimes used for the improvement of public relations, either by an individual or by an entire institute.[44]

In some cases, furthermore, such films were seen by a much larger audience – not just people who took a professional interest in what was shown. A good deal of evidence exists of the recycling of footage, with shifts in usage conditions as a result. Items that originated in a laboratory context, for instance, were taken on by commercial distributors and shown to popular audiences later on.[45] Particularly well-known is the example of the French Dr. Doyen, whose surgical films were shown to non-specialist audiences – very much against his own will (Lefebvre 1994, 73-74; Dijck 2001, 33).[46] Alternatively, the films' re-use in different circles was initiated by the film-makers themselves. Painlevé, a producer with both a scientific background and surrealist sympathies, is known to have shown his work in ciné-clubs and *avant-garde* theatres once the other screening options had been used up (Millet 1994, 92; Haméry 2006, 50).

Distributors who marketed the work of others tended to claim in the process that they had educational objectives, but the films they circulated often also served the purpose of sensationalist attractions. For instance, José van Dijck has argued that medical films frequently functioned as a means to amuse audiences of lay people. A telling example in this context is Doyen's registration of an intervention to separate a couple of conjoined ('Siamese') twins. According to the author, public screenings of such images can be traced back to a nineteenth-century tradition of freak shows in circuses and fairs, aimed at satisfying the viewers' tendency towards voyeurism (Dijck 2000, 29-30, 33).[47] Paula Amad, for her part, mentions the 'geographical explorations' produced for Kahn's "Archives de la Planète", which were meant to be shown exclusively to an intellectual elite. However, recent study shows that the films have also been appreciated by less 'cultured' viewers, this time as "entertaining spectacles" (Amad 2001, 151-53).

Retrospective Accounts: Matters of Origin

Another point that should be addressed here is that some of the authors who write about either of the above categories (vernacular, or specialist science films) are tempted to make inferences about the medium's supposedly scientific, or even educational beginnings. For instance, Anne Raynal, in her contribution to a French collection on the topic, argues that "the cinema is scientific by birth" (1994, 97). Some make even more lofty statements; for instance, to the effect that the scientific/educational film 'came first' (Drevon 1994, 55).[48]

Such pronouncements, of course, are based on very broad generalisations. In both the above cases, the speakers are insufficiently clear about what exactly the term 'scientific', in those particular contexts, is meant to refer to.

The first quote, which follows an enumeration of techniques used in the study of phenomena that cannot be observed with the naked eye (for instance, rapid movement) seemingly relates it to film's potential as a research instrument. The second, in contrast, is taken from a section which reads it as a means to educate, and more specifically, to influence or change human behaviour. Assessing Georges Demenÿ's use of chronophotography to teach the deaf-mute how to speak, the author literally refers to his subject as "a pioneer of film for school" (Drevon 1994, 55).[49]

Furthermore, statements such as these make abstraction of the great range of factors which helped facilitate the initial survival of, and later developments in, the film medium. For instance, some historians argue that the cinema (presumably, institutionalised entertainment film) is really no more than a by-product of methods for the study of locomotion, which were developed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and which many, including at least one of the above authors, consider to be at its origin.[50] However, researchers such as Étienne-Jules Marey, canonised as one of the pioneers of film, were interested in the analysis of movement rather than its reproduction or synthesis – to all accounts a most crucial step in the evolution towards film as we know it today (Tosi 2005, 114). Meanwhile, it required more commercial minds (for example, those of Edison and the Lumière brothers) to develop, and subsequently market, the potential which these scientists did *not* exploit. In addition to this, the researchers themselves were also dependent on developments made for economic reasons, for instance, the invention of roll film with sufficiently speedy photographic emulsions (111-12, 122-32, 155-56, 160-61).

For all those reasons, it seems inappropriate to suggest that, in retrospect, scientific and/or educational film can be considered a historical point of departure, and that all other applications of the medium can be seen as developments of, or even deviations from, this 'original' form. Another argument, perhaps even more important in the context of this work, is the fact that it obscures the distinction between the scientific-technological origins of film production and exhibition on the one hand, and the first more or less organised forms of film supply for educational use, on the other. As McKernan has pointed out, the systematic use of film for education – which, he argues, did not really take off until after the First World War – should be considered "a new enterprise, not an extension of that which already existed" (2005, 215).[51]

Before it could become successful as a didactic tool, two conditions had to be fulfilled. First, the teaching world had to be sufficiently prepared for the reception of the new medium – one that clearly required its own (but as yet largely experimental) pedagogical approach. Second, a reasonable amount of material had to be available: schools had to have access to enough films and

playback equipment that met their educational demands (compare Pelletier 2011, 76).

On the face of it, the first condition may seem to have been by far the most difficult to fulfil, considering that it required the breeding of a positive disposition among an entirely new, and as I demonstrate further on, at times very hostile user base. In reality, however, the second, more practical problem also took a good deal of time to resolve. The main reason for this appears to have been that if the teaching film business was to become more or less viable, relying purely on the workings of the market was not an option. And although governments in the twenties and thirties did recognise this, few of the authorised officials were in a financial position to prioritise the supply of visual aids to schools.[52]

First Steps towards Specialisation

In her monograph on the work of Benoit-Lévy, Vignaux quotes from "Rapport sur la création d'un office national du cinématographe" ("Report on the Creation of a National Cinematographic agency"), which came out in 1928. The text reads:

> The need to organise at last the cinematograph for educational and teaching purposes seems more and more urgent. [...] The present lack of coordination and cohesion between the relevant ministerial departments, between the various regional bureaus, between the programmes of social education, has the inevitable consequence both of a mutual ignorance of the obtained results and a fragmentation of efforts and, regrettably, of duplication of investments. (Vignaux 2007, 31) [53]

Although commenting very specifically on the situation in France, the above quote reflects the views of many visual education proponents at the time. Studies conducted in Europe and the United States indicate that by the end of the 1920s a good deal of support existed for the use of film in teaching. In many cases, moreover, this reinforcement was more than theoretical. In several countries, the state organised some form of educational film supply, occasionally even via multiple (regional and national) distribution points. At the same time, such pronouncements also show that the large-scale use of film for teaching was still an unrealised ideal. One of the factors which commentators attributed this to was a lack of coordination between the multitude of initiatives that co-existed.

Commissions and Reports

Among policy-makers, interest in the educational possibilities of film long predates the above-mentioned report. Throughout the Western world, the first disparate attempts to deploy film as a classroom aid were immediately followed by a variety of (semi-) official initiatives. From the 1910s onwards, all sorts of commissions gathered with the intended purpose of collecting information about, and subsequently, taking a stance on, the medium's suitability as a didactic tool. In France, for instance, the results of an early inquiry on the use of film for agricultural education were presented to both houses of parliament as early as 1912 (Vignaux 2007, 157). In Holland, the city council of The Hague created the Bioscoop-Commissie (Cinema Commission) to study the matter; the group reported back in 1913, after a delegation had returned from a work visit to the first Belgian 'school cinema' (Hogenkamp 1985, 42).

In most cases, the tone of the committees' deliberations can be characterised as cautiously optimistic. The Dutch report, for instance, assesses the future of education with film as very promising. At the same time, it stipulates a number of conditions for the medium's further use. On the one hand, it says, film should be deployed only if it can be expected to add something to the teacher's argument, and if it is likely to help clarify concepts or processes that cannot be illustrated by other means. On the other hand, teachers should use films that are made especially for educational purposes (Hogenkamp 1985, 42, and 1997, 56). Neither of these requirements, the document implies, were fulfilled at the time.

During the First World War, for obvious reasons, the teaching film was not high on the political agenda. Immediately after, however, issues pertaining to its use were addressed with renewed enthusiasm. In France, for instance, an extra-parliamentary commission under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Arts delivered its long-awaited report (the so-called 'Rapport Bessou'). This in turn gave impetus to the creation of a film service at the Musée Pédagogique and, a few years later, the set-up of a *cinémathèque* at the Ministry of Agriculture (Vignaux 2007, 61-2).[54] In Holland, the so-called 'Onderwijsraad' (Education Council) was asked to advise on the use of film as a teaching tool; its conclusions were made public in 1922 ([Schreuder] 1948, 6-7). In Britain, meanwhile, the Cinema Commission of Inquiry (1917), appointed by the National Council of Public Morals, had initiated the debate on the issue; its report came out a few years later (Marchant 1925). Seven years on, the Committee on Educational and Cultural Films produced the landmark paper, "The Film in National Life", which contained a plea for the establishment of a more permanent advisory body that would also implement the recommendations made (Cameron 1932).

The accumulation of government initiatives, it seems, bears a direct rela-

tion to the activities of various interest groups. In the course of the 1920s, the latter not only increased in number, but also began to organise themselves more professionally. The most telling example here is the American one. In the US, five national associations were established in as many years' time (1919 to 1923). Although some of these organisations merged later on, they represented an ever-expanding base of lobbyists for the teaching film cause (Saettler 1990, 144-45, 47).[55] Like their colleagues elsewhere, American visual instructionists proclaimed their views on the issue at conferences, in journals (*Moving Picture Age*; later *Visual Education* and *The Educational Screen*) and through practical courses for teachers in all subject fields (161-65, 149).

In the 1920s, the movement also began to internationalise. The first step in this direction was taken in 1921, when the League of Nations installed the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation whose sub-commission on cinematography deliberated on the relation between film and intellectual life (Vignaux 2007, 24-28). In 1926, the French branch of this organisation coordinated an international cinematographic congress; one of the topics discussed was 'teaching through cinema' (*l'enseignement par le cinéma*) (Gertiser 2006, 60). In subsequent years, more specialist conferences were held. From 1928 to 1934, these took place under the auspices of the newly established International Institute of Educational Cinematography, a League of Nations division with offices in Rome. Two of the goals they achieved were the standardisation of 16mm as an educational format, and an agreement on the exchange of films among member states.[56]

When compared to those of the first half of the 1910s, the minutes, reports and conventions of committees that met after the First World War tend to lay a somewhat different emphasis. In most cases, they no longer debate whether or not the film medium is suitable as a didactic aid. Rather, taking this fact as a premise, they demonstrate how the various subject fields can benefit from its use. In doing so, many of them make reference to the results of tests and experiments.[57] In addition to this, they also make concrete recommendations; for instance, with regard to the practical organisation of production and distribution. The general assessment is that in order for film to become a viable teaching tool, more government involvement is required (Saettler 1990, 146; Vignaux 2007, 29). Most of the reports envisage a combination of two things. On the one hand, they demand a more proactive approach to the logistics of teaching film supply (for example, through the coordination of national and/ or regional distribution networks, as in the French report quoted above). On the other hand, they ask for more initiative in terms of production, both regulatory and financial.

At the time, indeed, the availability of suitable films was still a major problem – despite up to twenty-five years of deliberation. The reason seems

to have been that private enterprise was in some kind of a deadlock. Because of the fact that most schools did not yet have the resources for teaching film use (often for infrastructural reasons, such as a lack of projection equipment, or because they could not afford to buy or rent films) investment in specialist production was still too risky. As a result, companies chose to produce material that served several purposes at once; films, in other words, that were 'educational' in the broadest possible sense of the term (see, for instance, Pelletier 2011, 58-59, 74). Such titles, however, did not meet the much more stringent demands of the people who had to put them to use.

Specialist Production
Even in the first two decades of the century, there were some commercial enterprises that catered specifically to those in formal education. In many cases, however, the long-term existence of these companies depended not on the production of teaching films, but on other, more lucrative activities. One example that illustrates this point is the Dutch firm Polygoon, which officially opened in 1920. Right from the start, its founder had the ambition to operate on the educational market. With the 1922 release of a film about the course of the River Rhine, the company earned the pedagogical recognition it required. Four years later, the firm also set up its own projection service, which presented specially compiled programmes to a public of schoolchildren (supposedly, in an effort to circumvent the country's lack of infrastructure for educational film viewing). Meanwhile, and in spite of claims that it was established with the intent purpose of providing 'good teaching films', Polygoon also marketed titles which targeted non-school audiences (Ochse [1926], 7-8; Hogenkamp 1988, 26-32). Eventually, historian Bert Hogenkamp argues, it was the production of newsreels which ensured the survival of the company (1988, 44).

In other countries as well, diversification turned out to be the solution for those who wished to engage in educational production. In the UK, Gaumont-British Instructional (G-BI), subsidiary of the Gaumont-British Picture Corporation, was established in 1933 to provide specifically for this market. While other branches of the concern concentrated on feature films and newsreels, G-BI specialised in titles for classroom use. The most well-known of its products was the so-called *Secrets of Life* series (initiated in 1934). Unlike *Secrets of Nature,* a well-known series produced by G-BI's predecessor British Instructional Films, *Secrets of Life* was geared specifically towards use in biology lessons (Buchanan 1951, 65-69).[58] Without the profits made from the sale of other genres, however, G-B's Instructional branch might not have been sustainable.

For completeness' sake, I should point out here that the above situation is most characteristic of Europe. In the US, specialist production has always been a little more successful. Not only did entrepreneurs venture onto the

educational market sooner (in fact, from the very beginning of the century), some of them actually managed to focus exclusively on the provision of material for classroom use. One possible explanation is that several of these early companies took on the entire cycle of production and distribution, including also the sale or rental of film-screening equipment (compare Saettler 1990, 99-101). This way, they attempted to break through the infrastructural deadlock which their European colleagues were still dealing with.

In addition to this, American producers also operated on a much larger scale – especially in the twenties and thirties. The reason for this, I believe, is twofold. First, many of the bigger firms maintained close relations with institutes of higher education which stimulated the use of audio-visual media in schools. Such cooperation, it seems, not only relieved those companies financially, it also increased the acceptability of film as a classroom tool, or the teachers' willingness to put it to use. Particularly well-known in this context are the various partnerships with the University of Chicago. Through all manner of collaboration, this institution contributed to the success of the Society for Visual Education (a production company founded in 1919, known also for its enormous filmstrip library), Eastman Teaching Films (1928, the outcome of an elaborate research-demonstration project headed by the university), ERPI (1929) and later on, its successor Encyclopaedia Britannica Films (future market leader in the field, and established with the financial support of the university's vice-president) (Saettler 1990, 102-3; Alexander 2010, 17-18, 20-23).[59]

The second reason that can be inferred is that companies such as the above also benefited from America's long-standing tradition of collaboration between public institutions on town, state and federal levels. Like many countries in Europe, the US harboured a wide range of facilities for the rental and exchange of teaching films and equipment. Yet in spite of complaints about a lack of harmony between the various agencies that coexisted (Saettler 1990, 115), distribution here seems to have functioned much more efficiently than in France, Holland or the UK.[60] At least to some degree, this may have been the result of a much more powerful central back-up system for communal initiatives. Authorities and organisations that were particularly helpful in this respect were the Motion Picture Department of the US Bureau of Education and the Association of School Film Libraries.[61]

Re-use and Resemblance
In many parts of Europe, in contrast, purpose-production was still an unattainable ideal, even in the 1930s. In practice, a great deal of the films which companies advertised as fit for curricular use had been recycled from other viewing contexts, including entertainment settings, but sometimes also more specialist scientific ones (Munz 2005, 52; Horníček 2007, 384). In some

cases, of course, they had been adapted so as to fit their new purpose. British Instructional Films, for instance, re-edited episodes from its *Secrets of Nature* series after they had been brought out commercially and refitted them with captions appropriate to a youthful audience (Buchanan 1951, 65-66). In Switzerland, distributors of teaching films re-cut documentaries in order to make them suitable as teaching tools, replacing intertitles and, later on, voice-over commentaries (Gertiser 2006, 58-60). In France, Benoît-Lévy's work was sometimes re-used to make 'specialist' classroom films. Essentially, however, these titles were mere reorganisations of images that had been assembled before (Vignaux 2006, 186).

In addition to this, films that were meant to function as teaching aids are often highly reminiscent of what was available for non-school audiences, even if they were in fact purpose-produced. This applies not only to their stylistic features (which seems logical, considering that such titles often only constituted part of a firm's output) but also to the thematic choices made. An example may help illustrate this point.

In the year 1926, Polygoon director B. D. Ochse published the brochure *De film ten dienste van onderwijs en volksontwikkeling* (*Film at the Service of Teaching and Public Education*) in order to spread the word about the company's newly established projection service. The last few pages of the booklet contain a selection of titles that were available for the achievement of this goal. At least some of those – although by no means all – were made with pupils in mind.[62] Speaking in 'curricular' terms, most of the films listed deal with subjects belonging to the domain of geography (economic or ethnographic); a single one covers a biology topic. Considered a little more closely, and in relation to the user comments that follow in the brochure, each of these titles conjures up images of films that were shown for more broadly educational purposes; for instance, as part of the supporting shorts sections of cinema programmes or during more *ad hoc* screenings. They evoke associations with the types of material which, at the time, were variously catalogued as 'travelogues', 'scenics', or 'manners and customs' (compare Griffiths 2005, 221); for instance, a film reported to feature "Eastern types" of people, animals and plants (Ochse [1926], 11).[63] Alternatively, they remind one of the kind of shorts which, retrospectively, have been called 'process films', and which show a product's manufacturing from raw material to consumable good (Gunning 1997, 17). The title of the biology film, in turn, leads one to suspect an ethologic-observational content, in line with that of popular science films made since the late 1900s.

Similar observations are made by other authors, who deal with educational catalogues released elsewhere. In his article on French geography teaching films, Wallet even goes so far as to state that "[n]othing distinguishes a documentary for school use from one intended for the general public" (2004,

102).[64] Pierre-Emmanuel Jaques, in turn, draws attention to the 'stereotypical' outlook of films dealing with the specificities of a location, both in terms of their topical focus and with respect to their common didactic approach. In his article on the subject, he attributes this to the relative 'closedness' or 'impenetrability' of the documentary utility film (Jaques 2006, 104-5). Whether or not the latter generalisation is a legitimate one, it is definitely safe to conclude that in those days, it was rarely the very specific *textual* characteristics of classroom films that made them seem fit for their specialist (i.e. institutionally restricted) use.

Official Intervention

As the American example already demonstrates, a sustainable system of teaching film supply ultimately could not be achieved without at least some form of material back-up from the state. As far as 'official' intervention is concerned, a favourable attitude towards educational film use simply was not enough. The schools themselves, oftentimes short on cash (especially during the interwar years) could not be expected to carry the financial burden of the entire enterprise. In order for it to succeed, monetary incentives were necessary as well. These could either take the form of direct subsidies to producers or of a more active engagement from the government in the organisation of film distribution or technical support. The best way to illustrate this point is by using a 'negative' example: the instance of a country where lack of official intervention eventually led to the failure of a whole chain of initiatives.

In France, the introduction of classroom films to schools at first seemed to progress rather well. After the publication of the above-mentioned 'Rapport Bessou' (1920) the government actively supported the development of educational film use – both in word and in deed. In subsequent years, several ministries set up or financed specialised libraries, often also providing the means to commission new, purpose-produced titles. In the second half of the decade, however, the state's interest in the matter gradually began to wane. A major blow to visual instructionists was the failure to materialise of the so-called 'Office national du cinématographe' (an institute that would, among others, coordinate the government's disparate efforts to have films screened in schools) (Vignaux 2007, 36-38, 124-31, 157-61). The result was that until the eve of the Second World War, the availability of audio-visual materials depended to a considerable extent on regional initiatives (for instance, those of the Offices régionaux du cinéma éducateur). Although these were oftentimes highly active, a lack of national support minimised the impact of their activities. Local providers as well had to draw on what was held by state-funded repositories, and, therefore, these institutions ended up getting paralysed by their own success (compare Gauthier 2004, 87).

Like France, most (Western) countries that did develop a well-coordinated, central support system for classroom film use tended to do so *after* the Second World War. The reason for this timing was primarily infrastructural. Much more so than had been the case twenty years earlier, governments in the early forties relied on the non-theatrical film circuit for purposes of information, education and propaganda (Buchanan 1951, 80; Masson 2002, 51-52; Saettler 178-96; Streible, Roepke and Mebold 2007, 340-41). In a mere four years' time, the market for small-gauge film grew spectacularly and the number of libraries that rented out such materials literally multiplied.[65] As far as mobile projection was concerned, 16mm effectively became the standard. In the peacetime that followed, the results of this evolution could immediately be redeemed. Post-war administrators benefited not only from what was left materially (equipment or films available for recycling, audio-visual departments requiring new assignments) but also in terms of know-how. In several countries, such assets were turned to the advantage of formal education (Alexander 2010, 17-20, 38; Aubert et al. 2004, 27; Masson 2000, 14-16, and 2002, 51-52; Saettler 1990, 114-15; Smith 1999, 26). This in turn gave an incentive to private enterprise.

Although valid for many countries in Europe, there is one distinct exception to the above observations.[66] In Germany, direct government involvement in the production and supply of classroom films – which, incidentally, took an extremely centralised form – began well before the Second World War. The first official teaching film institute, known by the name of RfdU (Reichsanstalt für den Unterrichtsfilm) was established in 1933.[67] The agency simultaneously acted as a commissioner of audio-visual material and as an administrator of the entire distribution chain (Ewert 1998, 93, 99, 102). Through a vast network of regional offices (*Landes-*, *Kreis-* and *Stadtbildstellen*) RfdU monitored the schools' needs and coordinated the transport of equipment and films (201-13). Although answering directly to the Ministry of Education, Science and Public Development, it functioned more or less independently. Funding was obtained directly from the pupils' parents in the form of a compulsory contribution per school-going child (Ewert 1998, 75-76; Keitz 2005a, 465-66). Because of this, it was unaffected by the outcome of governmental negotiations on the distribution of tax proceeds. In addition to this, the institute had complete authority over what was shown in schools. Without its explicit permission, teachers were not allowed to screen titles from outside RfdU, even if they had been approved as official propaganda tools (Ewert 1998, 191-96).

In spite of the fact that the institute emerged within a system of governance that favoured centrally managed public services of this kind, it should not be considered a mere product of national socialism. According to Malte Ewert, who wrote a history of RfdU up to 1945, the body would have materialised in any case – even if the political constellation had been radically different

(1998, 155-56).[68] The reason for this is that in the years and decades before, the Reichsanstalt's *modus operandi* had been thoroughly prepared. In Germany, the production of films, especially those with so-called 'edifying' qualities, had long been considered an activity that needed official support. Pressured to do so by a very active cinema reform movement, municipal councils (organised in a Bilderbühnenbund) committed themselves to the screening of *Kultur-* and *Lehrfilme* (the former targeting a general audience; the latter aiming specifically at schoolchildren and college students).[69] The federal government in turn sponsored the making of such films, both directly (for instance, via the Kulturabteilung of Universum Film AG [Ufa], which also received public funds) and indirectly (among others, through tax reliefs for the makers of films that were rated 'educationally fit').[70] Even more significant in terms of what RfdU achieved was the vast network of communal audio-visual libraries (*Bildstellen*) set up in the course of the 1920s, which operated on the level of towns and states. After 1933, they were converted into teaching film archives, and served as a basis for the institute's centralised system of storage and distribution (Keitz 2005a, 470-71; Ewert 1998, 201).

   Despite its association with a hostile political regime, Germany's production and distribution system caused envy among foreign proponents of the classroom film. In Holland, for instance, RfdU statistics were quoted whenever the necessity of government intervention had to be affirmed. The institute's success was attributed not only to its tight central organisation, but also to the way in which it was funded (Hogenkamp 1997, 59-60). From a pedagogical point of view, the Reichsanstalt was praised for providing films that were entirely suited to their goal.[71] Yet in spite of such arguments, it would take another while before foreign governments would begin to follow the Germans' lead.[72]

1.1.2   Limitations

In spite of the above, the slow development of specialist classroom film production in most Western countries was not purely an effect of a logic of the market. Ultimately, it had at least as much to do with the prospective users' reception of film as a classroom tool. If pedagogues and educators had been collectively convinced of the medium's usefulness as a didactic aid, the visual instruction movement would have been stronger, and might have been able to enforce the necessary government measures. In the twenties and thirties, however, enthusiasm among schoolteachers was less than overwhelming.

Much like the praise of early advocates, concerns about the pedagogical limitations and even dangers of film were voiced as soon as the medium emerged (Cuban 1986, 17-18; Grunder 2000, 61). On the face of it, objections to its use in school, often expressed by authors who spoke from personal experience, tended to be quite concrete. Roughly speaking, they can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, there were fundamental, methodological preoccupations, supposedly inspired by the psychological and pedagogical needs of the audience addressed. According to reports, educators were not convinced that the use of the medium could help young children learn; some even suggested that it might slow down their development. On the other hand, teachers were worried about the potential practical difficulties. This second type of objection indicates that according to prospective users, neither the pedagogical world nor the market were (logistically) prepared for the large-scale deployment of teaching films.

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In addition to this, the same sources attest to a kind of fear that seems at least equally profound, but much harder to pin down. The teachers' apprehensiveness, it seems, not only resulted from the assumption that film might not yet be adapted to its function as a teaching tool, but also from suspicion regarding the medium as such. Implicitly or explicitly, those who complained about the increasing presence of moving images in schools blamed their inherent corruptive potential – a danger primarily for the children watching, but to some degree also for the adults who put them to use. In what follows, I also address this last type of fear. First, however, I take a closer look at the more concrete, and therefore more 'visible' objections to the use of film in schools.

Psychosocial Concerns

Of all the concerns that were mentioned in questionnaires and reports, psychosocial ones were given by far the greatest weight. Regardless of whether or not they actually worried teachers the most, suspicions about the relation between film viewing and the (development of) children's perceptive, cognitive and/or interpersonal capacities often took centre stage. A possible reason for the prominence of such arguments is that their relevance to the discussion was beyond any doubt: if there was one issue educators were supposed to be concerned about, it was whether or not the intended audience could pedagogically benefit from the medium's use. In addition to this, teachers were confirmed in their intuitions by educational scientists who held similar views, and who argued in their books and articles that the effects of the medium on the way children learnt had not yet been sufficiently researched.[73]

In her contribution to a volume on French scientific and educational film, Annie Renonciat points out that in the course of the past centuries, pedagogues have not only stressed the advantages of sensory education but also underlined young children's perceptual constraints. In the late 1900s, visual representations were considered educationally fit only if they lived up to certain standards; for instance, in terms of clarity and readability, informational hierarchy and logical construction. For detractors of the didactic use of film, those were precisely the areas where the medium failed as an educational tool (Renonciat 2004, 71; compare Stach 2000, 207-9). On the one hand, this was the case because it presented an inordinately fast succession of 'views', ill-adapted to the cognitive processes of young pupils. The film image's inherent speed and fleetingness were considered to stand in the way of careful observation and to prevent viewers from remembering later what they had seen. On the other hand, it was because moving image technology, unlike graphics for instance, was considered to conflict with the pedagogical ideals of selection and simplification. Opponents argued that a camera pointed at a phenomenon or object worth knowing about was likely to record a host of irrelevant details as well. The children watching, meanwhile, could not be expected to differentiate between the two, and as a result, were bound to end up more confused.[74]

A more direct consequence of the transient quality of film which commentators noted was the fact that it did not involve the viewers' mind in an active way. According to the medium's adversaries, moving images caused in children passivity and mental laziness. Rather than encouraging them to think about what they saw, motion pictures subjected them to an uninterrupted stream of visual stimuli, leaving them only a number of unrelated, inconsequential impressions.[75] This circumstance, of course, was a thorn in the side of educational reformists. I have mentioned earlier that according to the Dutch professor Kohnstamm, film viewing was diametrically opposed to the principle of activity advanced by the New Education. In his view, even the use of words – otherwise a condition for priming thought – could not remedy this. Watching film, he believed, required such a degree of submission that listening to verbal clarifications at the same time was sure to interfere with the workings of the mind.[76]

Another, equally fundamental danger of film was what Renonciat characterises as "the almost hallucinatory power of the cinematographic image". For educators, the following problem posed itself:

> the film spectator, little by little, no longer sees before him moving images, but real beings; the obscurity in which he is immersed reinforces his illusion. Rationalist teachers of the most uncompromising kind

hate to let the cognitive processes of their pupils rest on the virtues of a simulacrum of which the buoyancy derives from *make-belief* rather than a process of *making* [pupils] *think*. (Renonciat 2004, 64) [77]

In other words, the very *same* characteristic that proponents of the medium considered a major advantage, its life-likeness, constituted a problem for its opponents. In their view, watching film made the children enter some sort of 'dream state', paralyzing their critical functions. The emotional condition it caused was taken to be the result of a purely physical process: the fast succession of single pictures, and more precisely, the flicker which this was supposed to entail.[78]

Last but not least, sceptical teachers also feared that use of the new medium might cause a disregard for the non-rational aspects of classroom education. As Cuban points out, pedagogues throughout the decades have tended to believe that interpersonal relations are essential in student learning; as a result, "the use of technologies that either displace, disrupt, or minimize that relationship between teacher and child [have been] viewed in a negative light" (1986, 60-61).[79] In the 1910s and 1920s such arguments gained additional weight, as they were supported by the findings of educational scientists who studied the workings of children's minds. In the interwar period, they were further reinforced due to the contemporary concern with 'personality training': the preparation of pupils for full membership of a peaceful society. Teachers who were already suspicious of the film medium argued that this task conflicted with the use of (too many) technical aids (Lapierre 1948, 295).

Practical Considerations

At least as important to users (although often less heavily emphasised in contemporary writings) were a series of more tangible problems: practical difficulties that prevented the large-scale deployment of moving images in schools. Cuban writes:

> Invariably, the following reasons turned up on lists of obstacles blocking increased film use in classrooms:
> – Teachers' lack of skills in using equipment and film
> – Cost of films, equipment, and upkeep
> – Inaccessibility of equipment when it is needed
> – Finding and fitting the right film to the class. (Cuban 1986, 18)

The first hurdle which Cuban mentions is part of a more diversified set of perceived practical constraints. Although many teachers may indeed have suffered from a fear of incompetence with respect to the mechanical aspects

of film screening, the reasons for this apprehensiveness were not necessarily technical in themselves. In his book on American educational technology, Saettler quotes from a 1930s report investigating the causes of the slow uptake of classroom film use. One of the explanations it suggests is that heads of schools tended to devote little or no time or energy to the implementation of visual education. Teachers, in other words, were not given sufficient guidance, and therefore approached the new challenge with excessive trepidation. Another reason quoted by the same report is a lack of standards in terms of both film production and application. If the great variety of available tools and methods confused even school boards and executives, it was inevitable that it should also intimidate those who had to put them to use (Saettler 1990, 107).

The third and fourth items on Cuban's list suggest problems in terms of how the new technology could be made to fit into both the school curriculum and established teaching routines. On the one hand, many commentators complained that although the medium might be useful in principle, insufficient amounts of suitable films were available. In order for teachers to welcome the tool into their classrooms, titles had to be provided that dealt with subjects relevant to formal education, and in ways that could appeal to the age groups concerned.[80] On the other hand, the material had to be usable at the times and places which the lesson programme ordained. Teachers of the 1920s and 1930s disapproved of the fact that they should adapt their schedules to those of the film distributors. They believed that the medium could only be effective didactically if this logic was radically turned around.[81]

Another practical concern that is not mentioned explicitly by Cuban but is often referred to in primary sources is the time-consuming nature of classroom film use. Many teachers seem to have been bothered by the fact that the use of any item (however short) required several hours of lesson time. Teaching with audio-visual means, after all, was not only a matter of screening the chosen title; an equally important part of the process was verification of the acquired knowledge or skills. This excess time, however, had to be skimmed off the school hours that were available – hours that could be spent more 'safely' on faster methods that were also well-tried. Another, related consideration was that showing film required extra preparation. Even if a title did deal with subjects that were part of the school programme, teachers still had to preview it and adapt any relevant lesson plans.[82]

Remarkable about this last argument is that it often appears in texts which characterise the use of audio-visual media in general as a 'hassle' or 'rigmarole'.[83] Pronouncements of this kind tend to confirm Cuban's observation that resistance to the introduction of new teaching tools in part also derives from a fear of anything that might make the teacher's task more complicated to perform (1993, 265ff). (I address this assertion more thoroughly in chapter

2.) It is quite likely, then, that some of the more down-to-earth reservations about classroom film use (for instance, the last of Cuban's obstacles: that of maintenance and cost) should be seen as attempts to give a more concrete or tangible expression to an otherwise rather elusive concern.[84]

Underlying Fears

Although both the above clusters of considerations may indeed have mattered to some of the teachers involved, I would like to point out that they probably also constituted a front for a series of other fears. These anxieties are very different in nature to the ones I already mentioned. Meanwhile, they seem to have been at least equally heartfelt. The problem for an outside observer is that although they are sometimes named in primary sources, it is not always clear how exactly they would have affected the professional group concerned.

Cinema and Moral Decline

Objections which derive from a sense of maladjustment of the new teaching tool to the children's minds often occur in combination with another set of concerns: reservations about the film medium's relation with entertainment theatres. In the 1920s and 1930s, the gloomiest of cultural commentators systematically associated cinemas with moral decline. Affected by such tidings, teachers balked at the prospect of adopting the medium with which these venues were most closely affiliated (Gauthier 2004, 83; Grunder 2000, 62). However, few of them seem to have been able to pinpoint the danger's precise nature or extent.

As a matter of fact, the issue not only confused pedagogues, but cinema opponents more in general. In articles written by objectors, the emphasis wavers from aspects pertaining to the films' content to the circumstances in which they were shown. On the one hand, authors opposed to the type of productions screened, which were at best frivolous and at worst provocative or even sexually titillating. The objections they raised were largely the same ones that had been directed earlier at the more popular genres of literature, music and art. On the other hand, commentators struck out at the sort of activities that cinema visits presumably entailed: drinking, inappropriate physical contact and even criminal behaviour. Such conditions, it was argued, were inconducive to the ethical upbringing of the young.[85] The general permissiveness which opponents associated with the cinema was in turn related to the fact that the entertainment sector was run by men with purely commercial interests, who tolerated whatever guaranteed them the highest profits. Defenders of religious values in particular (but not exclusively) mercilessly denounced them for their negative moral influence on society at large.[86]

Amongst those who came up with remedies against this perceived 'moral

decline', two main groups can be distinguished. On the one hand, there were commentators who targeted the act of film viewing itself, and saw regulation as the only solution. Again, the rules they proposed either pertained to the types of film that were shown (censorship) or to the circumstances in which viewing took place (supervision of exploitation, sometimes combined with attendance restrictions).[87] On the other hand, there were those who believed that the so-called 'cinema problem' was not inherent to either film-making or film viewing, but a result of the way in which moving images had been 'abused' in the course of time. They strongly believed in the uplifting potential of film and thought that 'positive' action was needed: the provision of an alternative to that which commercial entrepreneurs put on screen. The cause of the second group was defended by a variety of associations whose members believed that the promotion of superior productions would help restore the film medium to its original mission or state.[88]

Extreme opponents of the use of film in class had no sympathy whatsoever for the latter's arguments. According to them, the only way in which teachers could help minimise the effects of the so-called 'cinema threat' was by protecting pupils from all exposure to the medium, among others by banning it from school grounds. The results of studies and questionnaires, plentiful at the time, showed that children had no problems whatsoever finding their way to entertainment theatres. Making use of the latest 'fad' in didactic tools, adversaries thought, would only give off a sign of approval. In their opinion, it would encourage youngsters to go to cinemas instead of bringing attendance figures down.[89]

The official reason for this exceptionally repressive attitude was that children were particularly vulnerable to the perils of cinema-going. The frequenting of film theatres was dangerous for everyone, but grown-ups at least were supposed to know the difference between right and wrong. Whether or not they acted accordingly, then, was primarily a matter of will-power. Children, in contrast, could not be expected to make moral judgements, because they had not yet reached the age of discretion.[90] Their minds were much more impressionable, and therefore required extra protection from the potentially negative influences of such environments (compare Jung 2005a).[91]

However, it is just as likely that pronouncements like these can be related to an unspoken fear of the unknown. Like the so-called 'new media' of every age – but according to some, visual technologies in particular (Grunder 2000) – film terrified teachers, because its semantic potential seemed to have no bounds. Educators were aware that the methods for 'decoding' moving images deviated from those that could be applied to other didactic texts. How exactly the reading process was executed, however, was not known. As a result, teachers had no clue as to how to supervise a film viewing, and above all, as to how to steer the pupils' interpretation of what was seen.

As I argue later on, a driving force behind this fear was the suspicion that the above situation might lead to a loss of classroom control. Cuban and Saettler both suggest that resistance among teachers towards the introduction of film might be inspired by the conviction that popular media would have a negative effect on the image of seriousness which they had established over time (Cuban 1986, 61; Saettler 1990, 106). However, educators probably also experienced a much more direct threat: one that concerned their day-to-day functioning in class. This threat was all the more pertinent to those who understood that the children they taught were much more familiar with the new medium than they were themselves – not only as a technological given, but also as a source of signification (Grunder 2000, 68; Depaepe and Henkens 2000, 14).

The Threat of Mechanisation

In my section on psychosocial concerns, I touched upon the argument that the deployment of too many 'machineries' might entail negligence of the so-called 'non-rational' aspects of education: those insights or abilities that can only be passed on through interaction with real, living people. The official explanation was that the mechanical, automatic side of film usage was harmful primarily for the intended audience. At the same time, however, primary sources also contain evidence of the teachers' own fear of the unknown, and more specifically, of the uncontrollable 'robotic' potential of the new classroom tool. A fear, in other words, that seems much more profound than a mere insecurity about their own technical competencies.

In the essay version of a lecture held in 1967 (at the dawn of what would later become known as 'computerised instruction') Philip W. Jackson gives an overview of the various manifestations of this anxiety: from the classroom introduction of what he calls 'the humble crystal set' (the earlier versions of wireless technique) to the information technologies of that time. His conclusion is that in the instances he quotes, the teachers' fear did not so much concern the possibilities of the machine itself, but rather the so-called 'mechanistic ideology' that advocates of new media upheld (Jackson 1968, 2, 65). A crucial ingredient of this ideology was the vision or hope that the use of such automatons might eventually make real teachers obsolete.

Primary sources attest that the threat which film technology posed to the teaching profession was strongly felt. In an article in a 1938 issue of the journal *Lichtbeeld en cultuur* (*Projected Image and Culture*, the periodical of one of Holland's main action groups for the revaluation of the film medium), Zanen uses some rather revealing imagery:

> Often the fear has been expressed that film, once allowed into the school, will show the behaviour of a cuckoo in the nest; and even if it may not

succeed in throwing the teacher overboard, it will try to corner him with Hollywood-esque dexterity. We know the power of film and dread its domination. All too often, we see it sit enthroned as a second queen of the earth.[92]

Of course, reactions of this kind were (involuntarily) provoked. The efficiency-crazed enthusiasts of the early decades had actively promoted a mechanist ideal; after that, it had been adopted by the first specialised production and distribution companies, who turned it into a publicity tool (Saettler 1990, 106). Because of this, the users' anxiety was extremely hard to expunge.[93]

Once again, analysts agree that what put teachers off the most was the prospect of losing classroom control. As Cuban points out, advocates of automation projected a shift in the learning process from a communication between educators and pupils to one between students and machines (1986, 90; compare Saettler 1990, 403). Further on in this work, I argue that the latter situation posed two types of threats to the instructors' authority: first, that of a weakening of their functional classroom power, and second, that of a certain degree of intellectual impotence.

CONDITIONS

In as far as it was considered acceptable at all, then, the deployment of film in schools was subject to some very strict conditions. Even those who were optimistic about the medium's educational potential rarely expressed their enthusiasm without adding at least some 'buts' and 'ifs'. Pieces that presented arguments in favour of its use most often contained a series of specifications. The reasoning was that if readers took these into account, the risks involved could be considerably reduced.

Generally speaking, two types of conditions were laid down. The first variety were textual specifications. One of the sceptics' strongest convictions was that schoolchildren should not be shown the same films as grown-ups – even if those too could be of a highly informative kind. Youngsters were considered to have a different sort of mind, and the teachers' choice of screening material should reflect this.[94] Authors therefore took to enumerating rules and standards which aspiring producers and distributors were encouraged to take into account. In due course, these developed into actual benchmarks: criteria for what constituted a good classroom film, and by implication, what did not. The second set of conditions concerned aspects of usage: how classroom films should ideally be deployed. From a retrospective point of view, the latter kind seem more prominent: publications sug-

gest that a film's effectiveness as an educational tool depends primarily on how it is used.

Ultimately, the above recommendations can all be traced back to the same concern: that the use of the medium should be made to fit into the established structures of formal education. Only in this way could film be given the role it was due: that of a tool, a (mere) means in the hands of a pedagogue. This purely instrumental function was stressed in the great majority of publications and considered an absolute condition for the medium's didactic use.[95] For those who were opposed to (commercially-organised) off-site projections, it also functioned as an argument in favour of its deployment in schools.[96]

What is remarkable about these conditions is that they show a good deal of continuity, both geographically and historically. Not only did variations on the same requirements turn up all over the Western world, they were also reiterated for several decades. Even so, variation is noticeable over time. Texts from the 1920s and 1930s (often appearing in pedagogical and film-related journals and magazines) tend to have highly restrictive overtones. Rather than spelling out how things can best be done, they focus on what should above all be avoided. In the specialist brochures and monographs from later on, prohibitive rules figure as well, but they gradually become less prominent. Recommendations increasingly take the form of affirmative guidelines: they function as recipes for the medium's successful use. At the same time, the tone of the advice is more reassuring. In those publications the unspoken message is that if readers do follow the rules, a positive teaching result is likely to ensue.

Arguably, the above development can be related to a shift in the authorship of the documents concerned. If the job of formulating the conditions for film production and use was in the hands of (moderate) enthusiasts at first, it was taken over increasingly by parties which depended for their existence on a more than sporadic deployment of the medium; for instance, producers and distributors. Companies that took their educational activities at all seriously advised prospective users in every way they could. As a rule, they did so in more encouraging ways than their predecessors.

In the second half of this chapter, I explore in more detail the recommendations that were made in publications of this kind. Using examples relating to the Dutch NOF, I consider the specific production conditions and user advice that were laid down. First, however, I need to clarify the nature of these writings, and their difference in status from the articles and leaflets that were brought out before.

Formalisation and Appropriation

The two most popular types of post-war publications were classroom film manuals and so-called 'teachers' notes'. The first, which appeared in book

form, provided general advice. Presumably, their purpose was to bring together the recommendations which up until then had been distributed in a more unorganised form. Most of these manuals contained overviews of the different kinds of film available, provided pedagogical guidelines for its use, and gave practical tips as to the choice, purchase and operation of projection equipment. Sometimes they also contained a brief history of the medium and its didactic application. Although their number increased as the educational use of film got institutionalised, they had by then been in existence for quite a while.[97] Producers and distributors in the 1940s therefore had to compete for the audience's attention with the authors of independent guides.[98]

Teachers' notes (in Dutch, *instructieboekjes*; in German, *Beihefte*; in French, often simply called *notices explicatives*) were either small booklets or leaflets, which were distributed with the films themselves. Each brochure or sheet provided details on the length, subject area and intended audience of the film which it accompanied. It gave an overview of its content and structure, contained some factual background information (often highlighting relevant vocabulary) and specified related tasks and/or added a short bibliography. In the case of sound films, the booklets sometimes contained transcripts of a voice-over commentary. In addition, most of them also reiterated some of the more general user guidelines. Apart from serving as a concrete starting point for the preparation of a lesson, they were meant to help teachers in their search for appropriate films.

Cover of a 1944 issue of the teachers' notes for the film *Kaas* (NOF, 1943). (From the collection of Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum, Rotterdam)
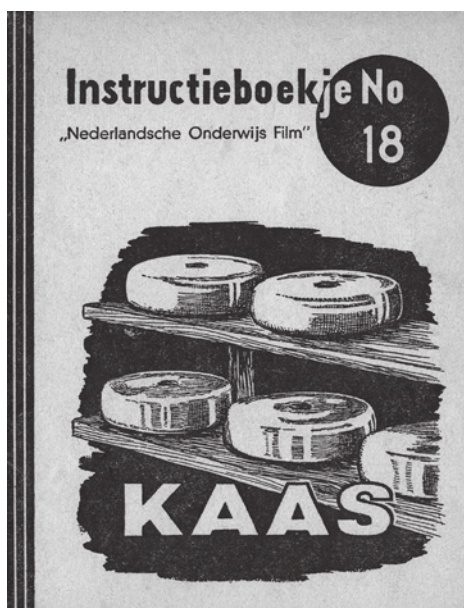
The second type of publications in particular need to be interpreted as a token of, and perhaps even as a step towards, the institutionalisation of film as an educational tool. By systematising the provision of user advice in the form of teachers' notes, the parties responsible subscribed to an age-old tradition of assisting users in the deployment of didactic aids. The editors' choice for a recognisable format – similar sorts of instructions, after all, were also provided with other teaching tools – helped create an impression of solidity and reliability, and thus, bestowed didactic legitimacy onto the film medium itself.

What happened here, in other words, is a kind of formalisation: a practice that had been in existence for a considerable period of time (that of advising and regulating) was moulded into a more permanent shape. The benefit to users was that it could give them a sense of security. The promise of a practical didactic guide accompanying each new item gave them the reassurance that they would never have to use the films unassisted.[99] Meanwhile, those responsible for the booklets' contents set some sort of a standard, thus making the implicit promise that they would produce at least the same quality in every issue they subsequently released.

At the same time, however, the publication of such books and leaflets should also be seen as a form of appropriation. After all, the taking over of an advisory/regulatory task by a party that could gain by it materially coincided with a shift in the practice's function. The same rules that first served as a means of reducing the dangers associated with the medium subsequently did precisely the opposite: they helped demonstrate the tool's efficiency, and therefore, the legitimacy of its use. This way, they implicitly subverted the reservations on which these recommendations were based.[100]

1.2   THE CLASSROOM FILM: INSTITUTIONALISATION

In the first half of this chapter I have argued that the information and propaganda policies of governments in the early forties greatly contributed to the expansion of the non-theatrical film circuit, and that this in turn affected the supply of material for educational use. Both in Europe and in the United States, wartime events helped lay the infrastructural basis for much more professionally organised networks for the provision of audio-visual aids to schools. For the first time in history, political leaders with an interest in the matter were actually in a position to facilitate the deployment of film for teaching. By repurposing already existing structures and institutions, the authorities of towns, states and countries could fulfil the practical conditions for the medium's educational use. This way, they also encouraged commercial entrepreneurs to engage in the production of specialist films.

Despite the fact that not all governments made this choice, it is reasonable to conclude that the immediate post-war period is marked by a general tendency towards institutionalisation. Throughout the Western world, agencies were set up to coordinate – and in a few places monopolise – the production and supply of film for education.[101] In most cases, these bodies received some form of support from the state, financial and/or logistic. Their success in bringing films to schools depended on a range of factors: not only the diligence or practical insight of the responsible administrators but also how they publicised their services, and at least as important, the enthusiasm of their users. Even without precise usage rates to rely on, it is safe to say that from that time onwards, an increasing number of teachers in an ever-expanding geographical area were at least given the opportunity to deploy the medium in class.[102]

Although the Second World War was an important turning point in this respect, the institutionalisation of film as a teaching tool did not happen overnight. As far as infrastructure for distribution and screening is concerned, some crucial conditions had indeed been fulfilled, in terms of know-how if not in actual fact. In many locations, however, few suitable films were as yet available because purpose-production still had not taken root (Masson 2000, 14-15; Saettler 1990, 116). From the second half of the 1940s, this situation gradually got remedied. As the quantities of useable titles increased, so did the numbers of distribution channels and their respective subdivisions. With some delay, a rise also took place in the amount of play-back equipment in schools.[103] This trend continued until the late 1950s, when stagnation occurred, most likely because of a combination of market saturation and the (anticipated) ascent of newer audio-visual aids.[104]

When considered in an international context, the Dutch NOF stands out as a textbook example of the above tendency. Making their first moves during the Second World War, the institute's founders immediately capitalised on the recent proliferation of film as an instrument of information and persuasion. In those years, of course, resources for education were limited; therefore, Holland's head start in terms of the medium's actual use in schools was minimal. In the longer run, however, the country's teachers definitely benefited from the timing of NOF's establishment. In his article on the institute's early years, Hogenkamp points out that the German occupation provided an ideal opportunity for the forging of a centrally organised, government-funded body handling the production and distribution of classroom films (1997). After the war, the foundation managed to maintain a connection with the state, and thus, to further expand its services within the relative security of a semi-official enterprise.[105]

Due to the conditions of its emergence, NOF constitutes a particularly useful – because exemplary – historical case. It stands out not only for the almost

symbolic timing of its establishment, but also for its double organisational structure. Like many of its foreign counterparts, NOF was supported by the government only up to a certain degree. While the Ministry of Education fully endorsed the institute's activities, the financial implications of this arrangement were limited. After the war, the foundation's funding was scaled down, and had to be supplemented with contributions from subscribing schools. Therefore, its existence also depended to a considerable extent on the enthusiasm of its users.[106]

In the next few paragraphs, I explore the process of classroom film institutionalisation through practices and ideas related to the Dutch NOF. First, I briefly outline the foundation's structure and day-to-day operation. After a short preamble on its organisation, I focus more closely on some of the protocols which it developed over time. These procedures primarily concern the ways in which the institute communicated with its prospective users. As a rule, they show evidence of its attempts to influence educators' attitudes towards its activities and products, and by extension, of its efforts to accelerate the educational institutionalisation of the film medium as such.

Next, I deal with matters of regulation. As I explained earlier, the formulation of conditions for the production and use of teaching film was an important part of the distributors' attempts to demonstrate its legitimacy as an educational tool, and thereby, of their own efforts in bringing it to schools. One purpose of the above-mentioned procedures was to ensure an efficient communication of NOF's rules and standards. A consideration of NOF's routines therefore constitutes a first step towards uncovering how this justification process worked. At least as important, however, is an evaluation of the conditions themselves – my objective in the last section of this chapter.

Fully in line with the tendencies I mentioned before, the rules which NOF laid down can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, books and brochures edited by the institute contain prescripts as to the content and form of the film material itself: specifications that are conceived of as benchmarks for the production and identification of (good) audio-visual tools. On the other hand, NOF's publications spell out how the medium should be used. Ultimately, however, both types of rules can be considered to serve the same basic purpose: to control the users' conception of teaching films as such. In fact, all the conditions made highlight the shorts' inherent specificity. The first do so by stressing the distinction with other (non-educational) audio-visual texts; the second by insisting on their functional relatedness to a given pedagogical exchange.

For practical reasons, I derive my argument in what follows from sources that relate very specifically to the Dutch NOF. I should emphasise however that the practices and ideas discussed function here as a mere example. Very often they are illustrative of developments that took place internationally, and

therefore, they should be read as exemplary (except of course in those cases when the Dutch situation is characterised explicitly as being exceptional).

At the same time, this section will also reveal some tendencies that are particular to the institution under scrutiny here. In addition to the above, the paragraphs that follow are also designed to give a first impression of the sort of films which NOF supplied. In the course of time, the institute's collection expanded considerably, not only quantitatively but also in the textual sense. Over the years, the films it distributed both addressed an increasingly wide range of subjects and integrated a greater variety of audio-visual techniques. I trace this historical development, providing both NOF's justification and, where necessary, my own interpretations of its claims.

1.2.1   NOF: Organisation and Procedures

In early 1940s Holland, the idea of establishing a more or less permanent structure for the screening of films for schoolchildren was not unprecedented. About two decades earlier, a number of Dutch towns had introduced so-called 'school cinemas' (*schoolbioscopen*): municipal film theatres where local pupils gathered to watch specially compiled programmes (a common occurrence also in other European countries). Some of those venues had purely educational purposes; others were regular cinemas, used during off-peak hours (Hogenkamp 1985, 43-44; Langelaan 2005, 12).[107] Whichever was the case, screenings always took place at a central location in town, which required that pupils left their familiar classrooms. In the eyes of many teachers this was a reason for concern. First, because relocation necessarily caused undue loss of time. And second, because children were likely to get restless – a mindset not conducive to learning from what was shown. In addition to this, such trips supposedly cleared the way for visits to cinemas of a non-educational kind, and consequently, the unspeakable conducts they were thought to induce ([Schreuder] 1948, 7; Smeelen 1928, 28-29, 43).[108]

Another objection which educators raised concerned the nature and composition of the programmes shown. In most cases, school cinemas screened compilations: about 90 minutes' worth of shorts, usually of a broadly informational kind (Hogenkamp 1985, 43). Because of this, viewings could never be made to fit with the teachers' own lessons, or the logic and structure of the wider curriculum.[109] The films themselves, moreover, were often condemned as unfit for the purposes they served. Produced for a general audience, they were judged to be too long and too detail-ridden for 'underdeveloped' minds. In addition to this, the bulk of the information they conveyed was considered irrelevant to young children, and above all, unrelated to what they learnt in

Interior of the school cinema in The Hague,
ca. 1918. (From the collection of the Municipal
Archives of The Hague)

school. This made for a didactically unacceptable situation, which the designated film lecturers (well-intentioned, but pedagogically inexperienced) could not remedy.[110]

For most parties, the only solution to the above problems was a system which involved purpose-produced films that were shown on school grounds. In the 1920s, this set-up was still unattainable, because it posed insurmountable practical problems (among others, the fire hazard associated with 35mm nitrate film, the rental cost and the lack of technical expertise). By the early 1940s, however, the situation had changed. In those years, what was needed above all was a feasible, practicable plan and a benevolent government. Incidentally – and ironically – the occupation provided both of these things.[111]

ORGANISATION

The Dutch NOF was modelled directly after its German counterpart, the Reichsanstalt für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht (RWU, previously known as RfdU). In the first half of this chapter, I explained that the latter was

a shining example for visual instructionists elsewhere. For most admirers, RWU's main asset was its professional organisation: supply and demand were attuned through a tight network of national, regional and local offices. Most of its proponents recognised that such a system was sustainable only with back-up from the state. One of them was A. A. Schoevers, NOF's founding director.[112] Yet unlike his fellow enthusiasts abroad, the Dutchman actually managed to establish a similar institution at home. Taking advantage of the circumstances of the war, he got in touch with administrators of RWU, making them lobby for support with representatives of the occupying force (Hogenkamp 1997).

During the war years, NOF operated as a dependency of the Ministry of Education, Arts and Science. Until the mid-1940s, it was entirely government-funded. In addition to this, it had a *de facto* monopoly: it was the only body schools were allowed to rent films from.[113] Later on, the market was liberated, which meant that other providers could enter the business as well. Even so, the institute still had a considerable advantage. First, it continued to receive some money from the state. However little this was, it entailed that the foundation could operate on a larger scale than its rivals. And second, its semi-official status seems to have endowed it with a certain amount of credibility. If the sale of lantern slides and filmstrips for education was a more or less competitive business at the time, film rental was not, because most relevant publications referred their readers to one and the same address.[114]

Structure

As far as distribution is concerned, NOF can be seen as a perfect scale model of its German counterpart. Like RWU, the institute was a layered organisation. At the top of its hierarchy stood a head office, which collected data on the types of film and amounts of copies and equipment required. Next, there were a number of so-called 'Provincial Offices' (*Provinciale Centrales*). Each of those administered the transport of materials for a given district (a section of the Dutch territory) and passed on its needs to the NOF headquarters. The actual dispatch of films was done by Local Offices (*Locale Centrales*) which were manned by unpaid volunteers, usually teachers.[115] Each of these local branches in turn catered to up to six schools, which were located in each other's vicinity. This way, institutions that did not yet own projectors could also share hardware provided by NOF.[116]

With respect to production and acquisition, the institute was actually more self-sufficient than its German example. In an effort to distance itself from the practices of the school cinemas of previous decades, NOF proclaimed that the making of classroom films should never be left to commercial enterprise. If the objective of production was profit-making, it argued, the interests at stake could not be purely didactic. The institute therefore decreed that all

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films, whichever educational level they were intended for, should be made in-house.[117] It held this position until the early 1950s, when it first began to openly acquire items that had been produced elsewhere (in the early fifties, it acquired titles released by foreign educational providers; later it accepted materials from non-specialised companies as well).

The actual production of teaching films was handled by two different departments. In the first decade of NOF, the head office had a three-part structure, consisting of a Distribution Section (*Dienst Organisatie*, later called *Distributieafdeling*), an Educational Section (*Onderwijsafdeling*) and a Technical Service (*Technische Dienst*, later also known as *Opnamedienst*, Recording Section).[118] The tasks of those working in the Distribution Section were primarily of a logistic nature. Closely cooperating with the Provincial Offices, they kept track of the needs of the various districts, solved practical problems relating to transport and circulation and set strategies for the films' introduction into schools. The making of the films themselves was the shared duty of the Educational Section and the Technical Service. In the early years in particular, each had its own, well-delineated responsibilities. While staff in the first department determined the films' topics and wrote scripts, those in the second did everything practical: shooting and editing, but also producing the prints that were sent out. The Educational Section, in other words, was the site of all decisions pertaining to the films' content and form; the task of the Technical Service was to realise the former's ideas.[119]

Employees

The above divide in NOF's production activities had a direct consequence for its choice of employees. The Educational Section, on the one hand, was staffed with people with pedagogical backgrounds: teachers and various 'contacts' of the inspectors of schools. The Recording Section, on the other, was populated with technicians: men with experience in film-making, or if not, a strong interest in the matter.[120] The heads of department as well were recruited from these seemingly unrelated fields. The manager of the Educational Section (sometimes also called 'pedagogical leader') was required to have good knowledge of, and experience with, the organisation of the Dutch teaching world; the first man appointed to the job had been recommended by the then Secretary General of the Ministry.[121] The head of the Technical Service, on the contrary, was expected primarily to be "fully informed […] of film making and everything that relates to it". The first person who took on this function was a well-known small gauge amateur.[122]

By entrusting different tasks to people with different backgrounds, NOF implicitly attached value judgements to the respective activities which they carried out. The institute's official viewpoint was that classroom films were

NOF's central film depot in The Hague, early
1960s. (From the collection of Nationaal
Onderwijsmuseum, Rotterdam)

intended above all to teach children something; the success of its productions therefore depended primarily on their suitability as didactic tools. How polished or artistic they looked was a matter of lesser significance (an argument that was sometimes also used to justify the films' slightly 'boring' mien). The pedagogues' contribution to the production process, therefore, had a greater weight than that of the technical staff.[123] Arguably, NOF's attitude in the matter, which it also communicated to the outside world, should be seen as an attempt to assure teachers of the didactic fitness of the material it rented out. Apparently, the institute tried to please its users by placing the main responsibility for the making of classroom films in the hands of those who were, theoretically at least, in the best position to know their concerns.[124]

In the early 1950s, NOF also became subject to a different type of divide, this time of a confessional nature. In the period the institute was set up, sociocultural life in the Netherlands was organised along denominational lines (as a result of the so-called *verzuiling*, literally 'pillarisation'). In practice, this meant that Protestants, Catholics and 'others' all had their own institutions – not only political parties and trade unions, but also schools and universities, newspapers and radio stations (e.g. Hellemans 1993, 125, 142). Although

NOF was a neutral institution at first (i.e. one supervised only by the state), this situation simply could not last. In the late 1940s, the foundation's board of governors was remodelled so as to include representatives of the three lobbies; in 1952, it was split up altogether.[125] For the users, the changes were minimal. Internally, however, processes became more complex. From that time onwards, all the institute's activities were subject to the consent of three parties. Whenever a representative of one of those disapproved of a production plan, a compromise had to be found.[126]

PROCEDURES

Schools that subscribed to NOF's services (mostly institutes of primary education, catering to children between six and twelve) were required to pay a fixed sum, based on the number of pupils attending.[127] Subsequently, they could borrow films on a weekly basis. Institutions that also made use of the foundation's projectors had to adapt to the rotation schedules that applied. Upon subscription, member schools received publications that informed them of the contents of the collection: issues of NOF's newsletter (*Mededelingen van de Nederlandse Onderwijs Film*), which discussed recent and forthcoming titles, and later also more extensive catalogues. In addition to this, they were sent copies of teachers' notes for new or soon-to-be released films. In combination, these writings could help them choose the items that were most suited to their specific didactic needs.[128]

Permits and Courses

Although payment of the subscription dues entitled member schools to make use of NOF's services, the actual hiring of material was conditional upon proof of their staff members' familiarity with the institute's basic principles. Teachers who wished to show films needed a user permit (*gebruiksvergunning*). This document served as evidence of both their projection skills and their knowledge of, and compliance with, the foundation's didactic rules. It could only be obtained upon successful completion of a number of test lessons. The latter in turn were considered to demonstrate a candidate's acquaintance with NOF's principle guidelines and his/her ability to put those into practice. The amount of prints a school could hire per week stood in direct relation to the number of competent teachers it employed.[129]

One way in which educators could prepare for the necessary qualifications was by following a course. Over the years, NOF organised a variety of those, some for experienced teachers, others for trainees in colleges. At first, following one was compulsory: a necessity for those who wished to obtain a user per-

mit. Later on, as the number of subscriptions increased, attendance could no longer be enforced. In addition to this, the content of the courses changed. From the 1950s onwards, they dealt more and more often with aspects of moving image production and signification – the sorts of topics that collectively became known at the time as 'film education'.[130]

Dissemination of Information

If the institute required such dedication from its subscribers, it had to make sure that they were thoroughly informed of the ideas which it upheld. Dissemination was the task of the institute's consultants, who visited schools to give user advice (Ottenheim 1991, 44). In addition to this, NOF also edited books and brochures. In the early years, when the resources were still scarce, the foundation's newsletters constituted the main channel of information. In addition to descriptions of the latest productions, they featured more lengthy articles, often concerning the appropriate use of teaching films. In 1943, the first official manual was published: *Het paedagogisch en didaktisch gebruik van de film bij het lager onderwijs: Leidraad voor kwekelingen* (*The Pedagogical and Didactic Use of Film in Primary Education: Guidelines for Trainee Teachers*). In this book, deputy director C. Schreuder gives an overview of the classroom film's most characteristic features and spells out how it should be used.[131] Later on, in 1951, another handbook was brought out, this time by primary school headmaster J. J. van der Meulen, a more distant relation of the institute.[132]

These newsletters, instruction booklets and manuals often have a highly patronising tone. Although their authors do seem to value the readers' pedagogical experience in principle, this does not prevent them from stating what are clearly didactic self-evidences. Above all, they show very little faith in the teachers' ability to apply and adapt what they already know. In addition to this, the advice they give is often phrased in a rather commanding way. The second tendency in particular suggests that NOF hoped that the publications it edited, much like its permits and courses, might help control the classroom conduct of its users. Sources suggest that this strategy was used more widely, especially in institutions that were centrally organised (such as the German RfdU/RWU) (compare Keitz 2005a, 471-77).

Acquisition of Information

However, NOF's writings are not unequivocally imperative. From time to time, the institute also inquired into the teachers' own wishes and demands, for instance, by means of surveys. In most cases, the questions asked concerned the respondents' user habits (for example, which age groups they showed the films), the merits of the medium (its perceived educational value, especially in comparison with other tools) and potential areas of criticism (such as, how

the contents of instruction booklets might be improved). In addition to this, the institute also conducted tests. In most cases, these were classroom experiments designed to optimise the quality of the products which it supplied. [133]

At first sight, both forms of information gathering seem to indicate a genuine and selfless curiosity about the reception of the institute's teaching films by the professionals it addressed. On a more profound level, however, the situation is more complex. Evidently, NOF's inquiries were inspired also by its own interests. The foundation's activities, indeed, were made possible in part by the contributions of subscribers; therefore, it was imperative that the latter were at least given the impression that their voices were heard. Meanwhile, it is not always clear which lessons the institute learnt from the data it collected, or how it implemented its findings. As time went by, NOF's representatives even began to admit that the results of the research they carried out were limited, and that many decisions were actually taken on a trial-and-error basis.[134] In addition to this, the information they obtained tended to be of a highly instrumental nature: it was aimed primarily at providing a more successful product, so as to boost the foundation's membership.

A second observation that should be made is that NOF had a rather conservative take on what constituted a film's didactic effectiveness. This attitude contrasts sharply with the image of pedagogical progressivism which it cultivated as well. Like producers elsewhere, the institute insisted that the use of teaching films tied in seamlessly with the most up-to-date insights of educational science, and more in particular, reformist ideas on the functions of the senses and the different kinds of knowledge which they can help obtain (e.g. [Schreuder] 1948, 3). However, while the foundation clearly exploited the film medium's reputation as a modern teaching tool, its own programme of data collection was rather traditionalist. For instance, when testing a class's response to a new title, surveyors tended to concentrate on the amounts of factual information children had memorised. By the same token, NOF was only satisfied with the outcomes of its research if these indicated that pupils were able to reproduce sufficiently large numbers of verifiable facts. NOF's preference for this type of research, incidentally, was shared by similar institutions elsewhere (see, for instance, Saettler 1990, 26, 44, 223, which covers the situation in the US).[135] Again, the inference can be made that it did so to win over the teachers it addressed – people who, presumably, were less sensitive to progressivist ideals than the early proponents of the teaching film or the instigators of educational policies.[136]

1.2.2   NOF: Rules and Regulations

In what precedes, I have explained that the school cinema system of the twenties and thirties was heavily criticised by teachers and educational scientists. From its inception, NOF capitalised on this controversy and insisted that its own product provided solutions to the problems that had risen at the time. One of the institute's main selling points was that the films it distributed were made to fit 'naturally' into the course of everyday classroom proceedings. Produced with an audience of pupils in mind, they supposedly contained only relevant information, and used formats that were adapted to the children's (limited) cognitive abilities. In order to convey this message to its users, NOF drew up lists of benchmarks: criteria that helped readers make the distinction between good teaching films and items that were considered unfit for use in schools.

At the same time, the institute emphasised that the quality of the material it provided could not be dissociated from the conditions of its use. No matter how well a film was made, a teacher's mistakes could easily annihilate its dormant value. In order to avoid this, users had to be given plenty of advice. In the forties in particular, the recommendations made were very specific: guidelines concerned not only the basic principles of teaching with film but also the precise place, timing and frequency of screenings and accompanying activities. Like the textual properties mentioned above, they were normally communicated via the pages of instruction booklets and user guides.

In what follows, I deal with both types of rules successively: first the benchmarks, then the user advice. The sources I scrutinise here always served a double purpose: they were meant not only to inform readers, but also to legitimise NOF's activities. Therefore, the statements they make should be seen as a record of the self image the institute wished to promote rather than as a reliable source on what it actually did. More specifically, there seems to be a discrepancy between the production ideals the foundation advocated and the sorts of films it brought out. Whenever this divergence is particularly acute, I point it out in my overview. Doing so will help me sketch a rough first picture of the textual range of the material which the institute supplied.

BENCHMARKS

As a rule, NOF publications discriminate between rules pertaining to the choice of film topics, and the way in which content is presented (formal requirements). In what follows, I use this distinction as an organisational

guide. In addition to this, I structure my account chronologically. This way I can demonstrate how NOF's policies, but also its output, evolved in the course of time.

Film Topics

In the early decades of last century, film's main asset to education was considered to be its capacity to 'liven up' the teacher's words: the fact that it gave pupils the chance to catch a glimpse of the (real) world that lay beyond his or her argument. Several decades later, NOF still held this view. A 1955 issue of its newsletter claimed "that there is no better means [than film] to broaden the pupils' field of vision and to open up the windows of the classroom, figuratively speaking, to the diverse richness of life that unfolds outside the school walls".[137]

Like colleagues elsewhere, the institute's representatives argued that the medium should serve above all as an instrument of visualisation. More specifically, it had to allow children to see things they did not know from their own experience, such as faraway sights or phenomena invisible to the naked eye. Films, in other words, should act as aids to the children's imagination. This way, lesson topics that otherwise remained abstract could be brought to life.[138]

Facts and Figures

An immediate consequence of this view was that the medium was associated with a rather specific range of lesson topics. In previous decades, visual instructionists had argued that film was particularly useful as an aid to what was commonly called 'object teaching': courses, in other words, that involved the study of facts and figures (for instance, geography, economy or biology) rather than the acquisition of practical or logical skills (such as language or mathematics). *Leidraad voor kwekelingen*, NOF's official manual, endorses this standpoint. Classroom films, it says, should devote themselves to describing the various parts of the earth in relation to their respective "natural and artistic products" ([Schreuder] 1948, 22).[139] The titles of films that came out in the institute's first few years – for example, *Giethoorn* *, *Veluwe I* and *De Kieviet* (*The Lapwing*) in 1942; *Bloembollenteelt* (*Bulb Cultivation*), *Kaas* * (*Cheese*) and *Glas* (*Glass*) in or around 1943 – suggest that this principle also functioned as a guideline for production.[140]

However, NOF was not quite as strict in its subject policy as some of the film proponents of earlier years. For instance, the institute thought that moving images could also serve the purpose of language education. While not a suitable means for the teaching of rules (the principles of spelling, grammar or style), film was considered to help stimulate verbal expression, both written and spoken. *Leidraad voor kwekelingen* argues that the medium's main

value for language instruction lies in the fact that it encourages pupils to formulate thoughts and ideas. Because they are confronted with purely visual representations, children are forced to relate actions and events in their own words rather than to simply repeat what they have already heard ([Schreuder] 1948, 23-24). The first such films, often relating purely fictional events, were released in 1947.

In spite of this, NOF maintained that some topics could not benefit from cinematic treatment at all. Arithmetic, for instance, did not make good subject matter for teaching films. Nor did physics, unless perhaps to demonstrate how science could help solve real-life problems ([Schreuder] 1948, 25). In the first decade of the institute, therefore, few such titles were released. Other curriculum areas in contrast did provide filmable ingredients, but the production of relevant titles was not yet considered feasible. History teaching, for example, definitely required the activation of the children's imagination, and therefore was considered a good subject. However, the making of pictures set in the past, involving large quantities of actors, locations and props, was deemed too expensive for quite some time (26).

Civics

By the early 1950s, NOF's topical range had extended considerably. Although biology and geography titles still formed the bulk of what was brought out, catalogues and annual reports show that apart from mathematics, nearly all curriculum subjects were dealt with in the films that were released (e.g. Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film 1953 and 1959). Around that time, the institute's own pronouncements on the matter also became less restrictive. Newsletter articles and specialised monographs now focused on the medium's potential with respect to the various subject areas much rather than on what could or should not be done. Overall, the foundation's production policy became more liberal.

One cluster of subjects that were introduced at the time were those which the institute collectively designated (in Dutch) as *civics*. Films within this category were meant to provide "a formative insight […] into the social, economic and cultural structure of society".[141] Their topics ranged from national and international political organisation (*Verkiezingen voor de Tweede Kamer*, 1957, *Elections for the Lower House*) to safety and personal hygiene (*Veilig fietsen*, [ca. 1955], *Safe Cycling*; *Onze tanden*, [ca. 1956], *Our Teeth*). The films showed scenes of responsible social conduct, and aimed to influence the audience's behaviour accordingly.[142]

When compared to similar institutions elsewhere, NOF was rather slow in releasing titles of this kind. Prior to 1950, the social and ethical aspects of education were dealt with in films, but usually as part of texts that were meant

to function as aids to the teaching of more traditional lesson subjects, such as the Dutch language. For instance, items intended for speaking or writing practice (*Helpers in nood*, [ca. 1948], *Helpers in Times of Emergency*) or economic geography classes (*Vuilnis van een grote stad*, 1943, *Garbage from a Big City*) often carry a moral lesson.[143] However, none of these films openly lecture children on how they should behave or which role they should fulfil within society at large. At the time, titles that did so were quite common abroad. In the US, for instance, 'social guidance' or 'mental hygiene' films had become hugely popular immediately after the Second World War (Smith 1999, 14).[144] Dutch schools, in contrast, did not yet have access to audio-visual aids of this kind.

Most likely, this fact is a result of the way in which the Dutch society was organised rather than of a lack of interest in such topics in pedagogical circles. In the decades prior to the establishment of the institute, the role of schools in the teaching of social values had become widely recognised. In the Netherlands, however, this task was considered to belong strictly to the domain of the so-called 'pillars' – the three denominational factions into which society had effectively been split up. By the same token, the only organisations that were entrusted with the treatment of value-laden subjects were those with a clear confessional slant.[145] NOF, at first, positioned itself outside of this divide – as opposed to the schools it catered to. Because of this, it had less authority when it came to moral issues. Taking this fact into account, it probably thought it safer to steer away from matters concerning the children's upbringing.[146] Later on, when the institute had been 'pillarised', the production of *civics* titles was still subject to much internal debate. In the end, however, a compromise between the parties' representatives could always be found.[147]

Ambitious Subjects

Around the same time, NOF had also become a lot more open to the possibility of distributing films that were made elsewhere. In the early years, the institute's staff had judged material from foreign producers rather harshly, usually for the supposedly inferior educational principles on which they were based.[148] In accordance with this verdict, it had barely distributed such films at all. By the first half of the 1950s this situation changed, and NOF began to acquire at least as many films as it produced. In addition to this, the institute also became an active affiliate of the International Council for Educational Films (ICEF), a European-funded organisation which encouraged cooperation and exchange between member states (Ottenheim 1991, 38-39). In the institute's publications, objections to non-home-made materials were no longer raised.[149]

An immediate consequence of this development was that from then on, NOF could also distribute materials which it was unable to produce, wheth-

er for financial reasons or through lack of expertise. This was relevant, for instance, in the case of astronomy films. Very often, such titles contained a good deal of animated sequences, which were both expensive and cumbersome to make. If the institute could manage the simple effects of its own regional and economic geography films, it could not yet handle those necessary for the representation of planetary movements.[150] Therefore, titles like *Sterren en sterrensystemen* (1962, *Stars and Stellar Systems*) had to be purchased abroad (in this case, in Germany).[151] Another category of films that were acquired from elsewhere were those intended for foreign language teaching. Items of this type entered the collection from the late 1950s onwards (a few years after the institute had released its first films with sound). An early example of this is the British-made series *La famille Martin* (*The Martin Family*).[152]

International collaboration not only encouraged the exchange of prints, it also allowed audio-visual producers worldwide to make more 'high-profile' films.[153] ICEF set up joint production programmes, which usually resulted in the release of series on specific themes. For NOF, this created an opportunity for the production of titles with a historical slant. Films such as *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek ** (1959, part of the series *History of Science*) or *Erasmus, stem van de rede* (1961, *Erasmus, the Voice of Reason*, a contribution to a sequence on *Great Europeans*) could not have been made without the Council's support (Ottenheim 1991, 38-39).[154]

Film Education

In the first decade of its existence, NOF placed great emphasis on the necessity of a close connection between film subjects and the teaching programme. Like the school cinema opponents of previous decades, the institute insisted that what pupils were shown should seamlessly tie in with what they normally learnt in class ([Schreuder] 1948, 3, 13).[155] This position first came under serious review in the early 1950s, when Jan Marie L. Peters took charge of the institute.

In Peters' view, the films' relation to the curriculum did matter, but should not be the film-makers' primary concern. In his 1954 publication *Visueel onderwijs: Over de grondslagen van het gebruik van de film en de filmstrip in het onderwijs* (*Visual Education: On the Foundations of the Use of Film and Filmstrip in Teaching*), he writes:

> In our opinion, it is [...] more important to consider the way in which a child takes in and digests subject matter than to make sure that the films and strips on offer are in keeping with what the curriculum prescribes. One of the main requirements for a systematic application of visual aids is to familiarise the pupils with the tools themselves. (Peters 1955, 46)[156]

Unlike his predecessors Peters was not primarily a pedagogue, but a media scholar. A few years prior to his appointment as director of the institute, he had obtained a doctoral degree in film studies – the first in this field in the Netherlands.[157] In his dissertation, Peters takes a semiotic stance: he argues that visual images should be conceived of as signs, which, just like words, are part of a language (in the linguistic/psychological sense of the term). Films, therefore, make use of conventions: rules that help viewers figure out what is meant. Although these rules may be easier to understand than those of verbal language, no one is able to decipher them at first sight. Film viewing, in other words, is a skill that should be taught – to the public in general, but to young viewers in particular (Peters 1950; compare also Peters 1954, 169-70, 178-79).

Like many cultural critics at the time (both at home and abroad), the NOF director was convinced that moving images appeal to the senses more directly than verbal discourse, and that they therefore involve the danger of bypassing the intellect. Unlike some of his contemporaries, however, Peters denied that watching film is necessarily a passive process (Peters 1955, 7, 23-24, 26, 53).[158] Kohnstamm, the influential pedagogue who was also one of Peters' predecessors at the institute, had argued earlier that an overload of sensory stimulation could fixate young viewers in what he called a 'primitive' cognitive stage. Films that targeted an audience of children therefore had to be short, have a logical structure, and contain a single strand of thought. Only in this way, he thought, could those viewers be expected to move on from mere perception to thorough, analytical thinking.[159] For Peters, in contrast, such arguments no longer made sense. In his opinion, modern man had simply been overtaken by the new medium and never learnt properly how films should be 'read'. The task of visual education was to put this situation right (Peters 1955, 54).

According to the author, there were two ways in which this could be done. On the one hand, spectators had to be taught the meanings and functions of moving images through the study of sample films. In this process, complexity should not be shunned, although working in 'stages' was definitely advisable. On the other hand, education had to instil into the public the virtue of discernment: a readiness to judge moving images in a critical way. Eventually, the director of NOF argued, the development of a sound judgement in the audience would help advance the state of film culture itself (Peters 1954, 179-82, and 1955, 24-26, 54).

Peters, in other words, was the first person at the institute who openly declared himself in favour of so-called 'film education'. While earlier spokesmen had argued that in a school context, the medium could be no more than a tool (a means to pass on predetermined lesson content), he was convinced that it should be a *subject* of teaching as well. In a wider cultural circle, Peters' ideas had quite some supporters. Since the second half of the 1930s, organisa-

tions had been set up that disseminated the same message; first Catholic associations, later also Protestant ones.[160] The idea behind such initiatives was that the over-consumption of entertainment films and the moral decline this was considered to cause could only be counteracted if people were directed towards better alternatives. Since films of this kind generally required more mental exertion, the appetite for them had to be stimulated in an active way. One channel for doing this was formal education.[161]

Of course, if teachers were expected to instruct children on how film should be viewed, they first had to possess the relevant skills themselves. In many cases, however, adults did not have contact with the medium quite as intensively as the pupils whom they cared for; as a result, they still approached it with a good deal of scepticism. In order to make up for this, the various organisations that promoted film education also organised conferences and offered training and workshops for teaching personnel.[162] In the late 1950s NOF joined their ranks. In its newsletter, it published a series of articles on moving image analysis and reviews of books on film history and art. Around that time, it also set up its first course on film education in schools.[163]

Although his policy was not supported by all NOF's employees, Peters did set in motion an evolution that could not be reversed. After his resignation in 1956, film education remained an important area of focus.[164] One symptom of this development was that the collection was supplemented with relevant titles. In the late 1950s the institute made a start with the distribution of items that documented the film production process (*Hoe ontstaat een filmscène*, [1956], *The Genesis of a Film Scene*; *Filmmontage*, 1959, *Film Editing*) or dealt with aspects of cinematic style (*Variaties op een filmthema*, 1959, *Variations on a Film Theme*). In addition to this, it increasingly began to acquire well-known Dutch documentaries. Titles such as Theo van Haren Noman's *Een leger van gehouwen steen* (*An Army of Hewn Stone*), Bert Haanstra's *En de zee was niet meer* (*And There Was No More Sea*) and *Rembrandt, schilder van de mens* (*Rembrandt, Painter of Man*, all re-released by NOF in 1958) were meant to serve a double didactic purpose. On the one hand, teachers were expected to use them as part of the regular lesson programme (in the above cases: history, geography and art history classes, respectively). On the other hand, they were encouraged to draw the pupils' attention to the films' formal characteristics, in order to familiarise them with the medium as a means of 'creative expression'.[165]

Formal Requirements

Above I pointed out that in the years prior to Peters' directorship, NOF demonstrated a strong preoccupation with its target audience's mental capacities, and in particular, the pupils' limitations with respect to the processing of visual stimuli. One of the main objections to school cinemas had been that the films

they screened were ill-adapted to the children's levels of cognitive development. According to the system's opponents, the titles programmed far exceeded the audience's understanding (e.g. Smeelen 1928, 43). In its early publications, NOF blamed this, among others, on the fact that the material shown ignored a fundamental didactic principle: that of structural logic and transparency.

Film Structure

Like visual instructionists elsewhere, the institute's representatives took the position that films could only serve educational purposes if they were built up in sufficiently logical ways. Schreuder explains: "The classroom film should provide a unified entity, a series of actions, conducts or movements which lead to a particular aim or result; everything should be designed so as to make the connection between the parts and the whole as clear as possible" (1948, 9).[166] The reason he gives is that young children are not yet capable of relating visually disconnected bits of information, even if these are accompanied by spoken commentaries (14). In the institute's view, this fact was due to the pupils' lack of cognitive maturity.[167]

In order to help viewers comprehend how facts and events relate to one another, films had to be constructed as clear causal chains. In addition to this, they had to be stripped of all 'unnecessary' particulars. Producers, in other words, had to be selective: instead of representing reality in its entirety, they had to concentrate on its most important components. The rationale behind this was that an abundance of details would confuse the spectators and turn the film into an instrument of distraction rather than a means of direction.[168] Making a good teaching film, *Leidraad voor kwekelingen* argues, entails that

> everything is aimed at strongly focusing the pupil's attention on a specific subject and at keeping all inessentials in the background or even cutting them off. Only in this way [...] is [it] possible to force the pupils' mental activity entirely in the desired direction and to arouse a healthy interest [...]. ([Schreuder] 1948, 13)[169]

NOF's requirement that films should always focus the pupils' attention on essential objects and processes also applied to the composition of individual shots. In his 1951 manual *Film en lichtbeeld bij het onderwijs: Een practisch-didactische handleiding* (*Films and Slides in Education: A Practical-Didactic Guide*), author van der Meulen elaborates on Schreuder's rules. In the benchmark section of his book, he warns that the frame of a classroom film should never contain unnecessary movement. The camera should approach its subject as closely as possible and exclude anything that is not strictly relevant to an understanding of how it functions (Meulen [1951], 34).

Another point which film-makers had to bear in mind when determining a short's construction was the pupils' (limited) powers of concentration. Like foreign sister institutions, NOF insisted that films should never last too long: ten to fifteen minutes maximum ([Schreuder] 1948, 9). In addition to this, the events shown should proceed at a sufficiently quiet pace. In the institute's view, it was imperative that shots and sequences did not follow each other too quickly, so that spectators could be prevented from getting tired and could let the argument sink in. For the same reason, events or processes that were central to the film's development had to be repeated visually. Van der Meulen's creed that revision is the best teacher thus also applied to the organisation of the films themselves ([1951], 34).[170]

Global Films
Despite the fact that it strongly emphasised such organisational characteristics as focus and selectivity, NOF insisted that the phenomena dealt with should never be shown in isolation. Teaching films had to leave out anything that was not strictly relevant to their central arguments; at the same time, the events they pictured should not be disconnected from the particular situations and physical environments of which they normally formed part (e.g. [Schreuder] 1948, 22). In justifying its attitude, the institute drew on the ideas of the Belgian pedagogue Ovide Decroly.

Popular among educational progressivists of the 1930s and 1940s, Decroly was known primarily for his views on human perception. According to his writings, people perceive reality in three consecutive steps. First, they enter a so-called 'global' phase, in which they take situations in as entities. Then they pass through a stage of 'de-globalisation', in which they perceive things more analytically. And finally, they reach a level of synthesis, which means that they recombine separate elements into a single conceptual whole. In Decroly's view, these phases not only characterise the perception process as such, but also mark successive steps in the development of the human intellect. Young children, in other words, can easily perceive things globally, but have a hard time distinguishing their constitutive parts. Therefore, teaching matter has to be presented to them in larger wholes – not as divided into separate units (Aarts 1948, 251; Depaepe, Simon and Gorp 2003, 224).[171] NOF reasoned that the same also applied to the means with which school subjects were taught. Referring to Decroly's educational premise, the institute claimed to produce so-called 'global' films (*globale films*): titles that did not present phenomena and processes in isolation, but only as part of, and in relation to, the larger structures of which they were part (Meulen [1951], 49-50).

Another argument in favour of presenting reality 'globally' was that children were considered to only be able to acquire knowledge if it somehow

related to what they already knew. All of the institute's writings stress the importance of so-called *uitgangservaring*: the life experience a child builds up on a day-to-day basis. This knowledge was considered to constitute a pupil's so-called 'apperceptive structures' (*apperceptieve structuren*): the cognitive foundations on which novel insights are based.[172] One way in which films could make use of these structures, NOF's proponents argued, was by highlighting the relevance of the matter dealt with to the spectators' own lives ([Schreuder] 1948, 22-23).

In bringing this principle into practice, the institute drew once again on a concept devised by Decroly. Aside from his ideas on sensory perception, the pedagogue was also known for the teaching method based on his notion of 'spheres of interest' (*Centres d'Intérêt*). Taking his departure from the premise that lesson topics should not be taught as unrelated units, Decroly proposed to organise subject matter around the children's primary needs; for instance, nourishment, protection or solidarity (Depaepe, Simon and Gorp 2003, 224). In the first few years of its existence, NOF based its production programme on this idea. Titles were brought out in series, all linked to a specific geographical area. Each sequence consisted of a so-called 'foundation film' (*basisfilm*) and a number of related items. While the foundation film documented the physical characteristics of the chosen region, the other parts of the series focused on activities, supposedly characteristic of the area under scrutiny, which were considered to fulfil one or more of the viewers' basic needs (for example, the production of a particular food or tool) (Hogenkamp 1997, 66; Ottenheim 1991, 16). Although the institute abandoned this procedure quite early on, it continued to emphasise the relevance of the scenes depicted to the lives of pupils in later years (compare Peters 1955, 31, 41-44).[173]

Film as Experience

While the concept of globality itself remained an important inspiration for NOF, it soon ceased to function as the only valid principle for production. Peters' work endorses the standpoint that the film medium is particularly suited to the task of establishing links between distinct areas of knowledge. At the same time, he opposes the idea that all classroom films should be made with this purpose in mind. In the author's view, there is room in NOF's output for other items than the so-called 'global' films. The latter, he argues, are useful in particular as introductory tools. In some cases, however, a teacher needs a different kind of aid. He or she may prefer to first explain a point, and subsequently show a film, either for the purpose of illustration, or in summary of what has already been said. Alternatively, he/she may want to use the medium as a means of instruction, to teach the pupils a number of very specific skills. In all of these cases, items that concentrate on a given process or action are

more useful than those which represent a situation in its entirety (Peters 1955, 39-40).

In addition to this, NOF representatives of the 1950s and 1960s valued the principle of globality for different reasons than the spokespeople of earlier years. Right from the start, the institute's writings had stressed that teaching films should provide their audiences with 'second-hand' or 'vicarious' experiences. In NOF's view, the titles that were screened had to allow their viewers to mentally relive what was shown. In order for this to happen, the processes dealt with had to be depicted in sufficiently verisimilar ways.[174] From the 1950s onwards, this argument gained in prominence. For Peters, it was even the main argument for exploiting the film medium's aptness for representing things in relation to the larger world of which they were part (Peters 1955, 36).

Earlier on I explained that the NOF director was less inclined than his predecessors to justify production benchmarks on the basis of biological arguments. In his view, what children could learn from watching films depended not so much on their respective stages of cognitive development or the life experience they had built up, but rather on whether or not they had learnt to accurately decipher various cinematographic codes. The institute's claim that films should always be tailored to the children's 'apperceptive structures' therefore did not appeal to him at all. In fact, Peters reasoned the other way round. For him, the purpose of treating reality globally was not to tie in with what children were already familiar with, but rather to widen their horizons by providing experiences they had not had before (Peters 1955, 36). His colleagues and successors continued to pursue this policy line.

Practical Considerations

No matter how ardently the institute defended them, NOF's representational principles did not always correspond to the reality of film production. In practice, it seems, the standards which the Educational Section set were not all that easy to match.[175] A telling example is the requirement of structural logic and simplicity. In the institute's view, the order of shots and sequences should never detract from the objects or processes under scrutiny, and be aimed entirely at revealing the connections between their constitutive parts. On the surface, NOF films often seem simple enough, especially the early ones. They are made up of long takes, shot from a restricted number of angles, and edited in strictly chronological ways. However, this does not always result in structural transparency. For instance, films that depict production processes (such as the aforementioned *Glas*) often do not unveil the connections between operations or manipulations, even if the order of shots and sequences is determined by their real-life temporal succession. Likewise, items documenting the life

cycles of species, which also tend to follow a chronological order (*De kieviet*), rarely clarify what motivates their subjects in the behaviours shown.

In addition to this, producers sometimes had to choose between conflicting sets of rules. NOF's requirement of structural transparency, I explained, coincided with a demand for the elimination of unnecessary details. Even regardless of the practical difficulties this entailed (for after all, there are limits to how selective a photographic representation can be), it must have confronted film-makers with a dilemma. If they prioritised visual logic and simplicity, they threatened to lose contextual information; however, if they lived up to the condition of globality, then they ran the risk of confusing or distracting the minds of their addressees. A similar problem may also have posed itself in relation to the requirement of motion. NOF user manuals throughout the decades insist that the great advantage of film over still images – wall charts, glass slides or filmstrips – is that it can reproduce movement. A consequence of this is that the medium can only reach its maximum didactic potential if this characteristic is fully exploited (Meulen [1951], 27-28). In practice, however, it may often have been difficult to represent motion in an orderly and logical way.

Consequently, films produced by NOF's own staff often look like the result of a compromise, especially in the early years. For instance, titles that concentrate on the actions or behaviours of a single species (*De kapmeeuw*, 1947, *The Black-headed Gull*) tend to combine lengthy sequences of close shots of the creatures under scrutiny with a few distance shots representing their physical surroundings or habitat. In most cases, however, there is little or no visual integration between the two. Also, in order to overcome the difficulties associated with the depiction of movement, film-makers often took their recourse to some form of manipulation (for instance, the speeding up or slowing down of live-action images) or graphic re-representation. The latter, however, were options which the institute fundamentally opposed (for reasons that I explain later). Therefore, they may be taken as signs of the producers' incapacity to live up to, or reconcile, what the rules prescribed.[176]

Film Sound

If producers seem to have had a hard time complying with NOF's requirements in terms of structure, this was less of a problem when it came to film sound. Incidentally, the institute's position on the issue was also much more unambiguous. In the first decade of its existence, official publications were unanimous that films for schoolchildren should preferably be mute. The reproduction of background noise was considered permissible in theory (at least, if it was 'inherent' to the action depicted); spoken commentaries, in contrast, were downright taboo ([Schreuder] 1948, 14; Meulen [1951], 52). In practice, however, NOF did not make *any* films with sound, nor did it acquire them.

Although financial considerations definitely played a part as well, the reasons given were of a different nature entirely.[177] In the majority of cases, they related once again to the intended audience's level of cognitive development. *Leidraad voor kwekelingen* claims that primary school children cannot yet deal with combinations of image and speech. Contemporary educational research had revealed that commentaries required the pupils' full attention; the manual therefore concludes that they could hamper the children's perception of the visuals. In addition to this, it argues that pupils must not be pampered. Classroom films should not provide answers to all the questions that spectators might have, but encourage reflection instead ([Schreuder] 1948, 13-14). *Film en lichtbeeld bij het onderwijs* confirms that children should be motivated to clarify problems for themselves. One of the great risks of visual education is that of 'mental laziness' (*geestelijke luiheid*). Therefore, teaching films must be designed so as to stimulate thought rather than to confirm viewers in their inclination towards passiveness (Meulen [1951], 35).[178]

In defending its position, however, NOF did not focus exclusively on the interests of the audience. In some cases, it also addressed the concerns of the users: the teachers who had to put the films on screen. One of the arguments quoted was that pedagogues should not be forced into giving up too many educational decisions. As a rule, the institute's publications point out, teachers know best which information their children need, and at which time it has to be passed on. Films with spoken commentaries, they suggest, ignore this fact, and therefore deprive educators of the responsibilities they are due (compare [Schreuder] 1948, 13). In addition to this, articles insist that classroom interaction should always take place in an atmosphere of quiet diligence. The use of sound, they imply, is fundamentally at odds with this requirement.[179]

Despite the fact that sound projection was already the norm in entertainment theatres, NOF's demand for mute films is not as curious as it may seem at first sight. In the year of the institute's establishment, the so-called Nederlandse Vereniging voor Culturele Films (Dutch Association for Cultural Films, one of the country's oldest champions of quality moving images) had drafted a report on the medium's educational use. Its conclusion was that films with recorded commentaries were entirely inappropriate for deployment in schools – regardless of what cinema audiences were accustomed to.[180] Visual instructionists elsewhere supported this view. In Germany the wartime RWU only distributed mute films; the reason quoted, again, was pedagogical. Its decision, it seems, met with the approval of colleagues worldwide (Ewert 1998, 170).[181]

In spite of this, NOF's attitude in matters of sound can be characterised as rather conservative. First, because the institute stuck to its position for a disproportionately long period of time. It defended the production of mute films

until well into the 1950s, when foreign institutes had long been distributing films with sound. Second, because it was just as radical in practice as it was in theory. In other countries the ideal of muteness was often valued in principle but considered unattainable from a practical point of view. Children had grown used to experiencing sound films, and commercial producers chose to take this into account. As distributors were dependent to a large extent on private initiative, continued opposition to this practice seemed pointless.[182] NOF, however, had a *de facto* monopoly and could therefore afford to take a more conservative stand.

As time passed, this situation changed. The first sign of a policy shift occurred in 1954, when the institute released six films with sound. In his manual, Peters makes a first attempt at explaining this move. In a short paragraph, the author wipes the floor with his predecessors' psychological arguments. He argues that there is no scientific evidence to support the claim that children cannot simultaneously process images and sound; therefore, it cannot serve as a basis for NOF's distribution policy (1955, 14n, 41).[183] A few years after the book came out, the institute's newsletter featured a series of articles which elaborated on the issue. At the time, the reasons given were much more down-to-earth. According to the authors, mute films basically constituted an anachronism. Regardless of the fact that this might detract from the medium's status as a motivational tool, it also entailed that such items could do little to acquaint children with the codes of film language, and therefore, teach them to be critical about what was shown in cinemas. At the end of the decade, moreover, every school teacher was thought to know "in his heart" that sound films were bound to "take over" eventually.[184] Clearly, NOF had realised by then that it would miss out on profits if it did not provide them itself.[185]

From the mid-1950s onwards, the institute steadily acquired more films with sound; by the end of the decade, about a hundred of them were available. According to the reports, the foundation never quite managed to keep up with the demand (Ottenheim 1991, 47, 68). Meanwhile, however, some institutions still requested mute items. NOF applauded this fact, arguing that primary school children (supposedly less 'spoilt' by cinema visits than their seniors) could still benefit from watching moving images in silence.[186] For the schools themselves, the main argument was probably a practical one, as many of them did not yet own the equipment to project films with sound.[187]

In terms of policy, NOF took a more or less isolationist attitude. Much like in its earlier years, the institute set itself the target of improving on what the entertainment industry did. In classroom films, it proclaimed, soundtracks should have a very clear purpose: they should always add something to the information which the image conveyed (for instance, emotional depth or contrapuntal value). Voice-over commentaries were only permissible if they

unveiled connections which the visuals could not make clear, or which the teachers themselves could not disclose.[188] In reality, however, producers did not always live up to this ideal. In order to boost the supply of sound films, NOF's staff took their recourse to dubbing mute titles that had been released before. In the process, commentaries were added that merely summarised the factual information provided in the instruction booklets that had accompanied the originals – a practice which, in previous years, the institute had squarely rejected.

Titles and Tricks

Surprisingly, early publications that still opposed the use of spoken commentaries did not recommend that the films' lack of oral clarification be compensated for through the use of printed texts. In practice also, intertitles were used very sparingly. Once again, the official motivation was psychological. Treating written and spoken language as equal, the institute's spokespeople argued that it was too difficult for young children to switch from one kind of perception (the processing of film images) to another (the digestion of verbal information). The interruption of a visual flow supposedly entailed that the illusion of reality which was aimed at was annulled. This in turn was considered to cause children to lose interest and to take away their desire to discuss what they had seen in the remainder of the lesson.[189] In addition to this, the authors of publications also warned users of a potential loss of educational control (a concern which they shared with some of their foreign colleagues).[190] Apparently, NOF's didactic staff thought that if a film strongly directed the children in their interpretation of what they saw, the teacher might not feel in command of the pedagogical exchange ([Schreuder] 1948, 13).

The same line of reasoning also applied to the case of so-called 'tricks' (*trucs*) or schematic representations (13).[191] In practice, however, the latter seem to have been much harder to avoid. From quite early on, NOF's films occasionally featured maps, charts, diagrams or profile drawings. Ex-employees testify that this was often done out of necessity (for instance, when simultaneous production processes had to be visualised). In such cases, sketches or animated models were given preference over explanatory texts.[192] As time went by, schematic representations became more numerous. By the late 1950s films were distributed that hardly contained any live-action footage at all. For instance, the natural history film *Het paard* (*The Horse*, [ca. 1959]), produced by Deutsche Film-Aktiengesellschaft (Defa), was made up entirely of animated drawings. Publications from that time no longer seem to object to their use at all.

Although NOF took a much firmer stand where it concerned intertitles, producers once more failed to live up to the institute's rules. In the first few
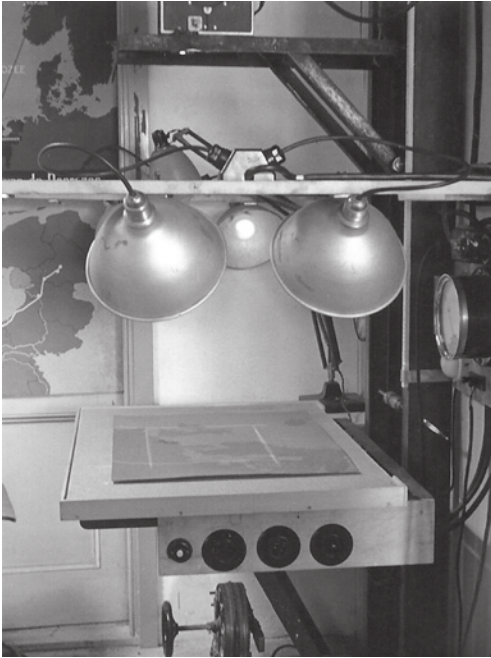
A special effects table at the NOF production centre, early 1950s. (From the collection of Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum, Rotterdam)

years in particular, film-makers often sneaked in verbal elements, usually as part of the *mise en scène*. For instance, in items documenting production processes, written captions were fastened onto containers (in *Kaas* *, to identify the raw materials inside) or machines (in *Van koren tot brood*, 1942, *From Grain to Bread*, to explain what an appliance does). Films dealing with a particular region or locally relevant activity sometimes contain shots of inscriptions, either naming towns (*Elf-stedentocht*, 1942) or services (*Vuilnis van een grote stad*). In the course of time, words and phrases were also integrated into charts and diagrams (*Steenkool vervoer*, [ca. 1951], *Coal Transportation*).[193]

USER ADVICE

Like the producers and distributors of earlier years, NOF also took on the task of advising its users on the application of the materials it supplied. Teachers' manuals, instruction booklets and catalogues prescribe how, when, and how often titles should be shown, and which activities are suitable as preparation or follow-up. They also spell out how teachers should act during screenings: which roles they should take on, and above all, which types of behaviour they should avoid.

Didactic Embedding

One of the concerns that NOF-related publications focus on is how moving images can be made to fit 'naturally' into the course of everyday classroom proceedings. Time and again, the documents stress the importance of a smooth transition between a film and the rest of the lesson in which it is embedded. The requirement that nothing should disrupt the natural flow of teaching was precisely the point where, according to critics, the school cinema system had failed; NOF therefore insisted that teachers should do anything in their power to avoid the mistakes their predecessors had made. In order to succeed, they had to respect some very specific rules.

First of all, users had to make sure that the physical circumstances of the screening were as close as possible to those of a 'standard' teaching situation. Ideally, film sessions had to be held in the children's familiar classrooms (rather than school attics or large assembly halls). Of course, this was not always possible: sometimes, such spaces were hard to darken, or could not accommodate the projection equipment needed. Even so, those using the films had to ensure that the chosen locations always foregrounded the educational nature of the event. Only in this way, the reasoning was, pupils could be expected to enter the right state of mind to learn from what was shown. As van der Meulen's manual puts it:

> Films and slide images for education belong in the regular, daily classroom. [...] They do not require us to take a trip. [...] Definitely not outside of the school building, but preferably not outside of the classroom either. A projection lesson may be something pleasant, but it is not something exceptional or sensational. (Meulen [1951], 99)[194]

Second, screenings had to take place in the presence of the children's own class teachers. In previous decades, film lessons had been led by special school cinema lecturers who might have known a thing or two about film but were pedagogically inexperienced. Supposedly, this had not only prevented them from making a well-informed choice in terms of what was shown, it had also meant that they could not relate the items projected to what their audiences learnt in school. Teachers in contrast did know how to tie in with what was taught. The closer they were involved with the viewers' education, the better they could take up on what the children already knew ([Schreuder] 1948, 6-7; Meulen [1951], 4, 6).

However, the importance of the teacher's role was not just a matter of his or her pedagogical expertise. It also derived from the fact that only this person could endow the film with the status it was due: that of a mere educational tool. Like the publications of teaching film proponents elsewhere, NOF's

manuals and newsletters place great emphasis on the instrumental nature of the material it supplied. Just like school books, wall charts or model globes, the texts argue, films can be used for instructional purposes; they cannot, however, teach by themselves (Meulen [1951], 4; compare Bessou 1935 and Board of Education 1937, 51). Once more in van der Meulen's words:

> One should beware [...] of treating slide and film as the stones of didactic wisdom! Both can relieve, but never take over, the task of the teacher, who remains *the* man in all circumstances. [...] Film and slide are merely *aids* – although very attractive and effective ones. ([1951], 4)[195]

In order to have any didactic value at all, then, films had to be employed by an instructor: a person who, by grace of his or her position in the classroom, could determine which part of the film's content got the status of lesson subject, and focused the children's attention accordingly.

Prohibitive Rules

One implication of the fact that viewers constantly had to be aware of a film's instrumental nature was that it should not be used excessively. The authors of manuals and brochures advised to employ it only if no other tool was more suited to the lesson's purpose ([Schreuder] 1948, 15; Meulen [1951], 95). As I explained earlier, the medium's main asset was considered to be the fact that it could help lay a child's so-called 'apperceptive structures': the (life) experience he or she required to understand what was taught. In this respect, film was no more than a *surrogate*: a means for experiencing things that could not be witnessed 'live'. If pupils were at all in a position to see objects or phenomena in person, teachers had to make sure that they did (Peters 1955, 50). In addition to this, educators had to provide sufficient technological variety. Films should not be used by themselves, but always in combination with other tools. The various types of representation (still and moving) were taken to have their specific possibilities and limitations, and therefore, their designated functions in the course of an educational exchange ([Schreuder] 1948, 10-11, 15; Meulen [1951], 5, 27-29).[196]

Compared to the instructional texts of earlier decades, NOF's publications generally took a more encouraging attitude towards teaching film use. Yet even so, the institute still formulated quite a few rules as to what users should *not* do. For instance, it insisted that teachers should never pause a film during projection, but always let it run its full course. In addition to this, educators were asked to reduce verbal interventions to the absolute minimum, especially if an item was shown for the first time. If the former principle could be justified on the basis of practical concerns (for instance, the fact that stop-

ping a film might cause physical damage), the latter was defended once more with psychological arguments.[197] For Schreuder, clarification by a teacher was just as useless to an audience of young viewers as a recorded commentary, because the children's understanding depended entirely on the organisation of the visuals. Therefore, it was best to let their perception of the film go undisturbed ([Schreuder] 1948, 14, 16-18).[198] Even Peters, who *was* open to the use of moving images with sound, held on to this argument (1955, 47-48).

Global Viewing
In addition to being still quite restrictive, NOF's user advice was often also highly specific, especially in the first decade or so. Teachers' notes, in particular, went into great detail as to how titles could best be used. In most cases, they began with a short section on a film's connection with the curriculum (specifying which levels and age groups it was intended for, and which part of the lesson programme it was supposed to reinforce). Next, they spelt out the order of viewings and accompanying activities. They stipulated how many times a film should be shown, and what should be done before, in between and during consecutive screenings. The last page of each booklet normally also contained suggestions for follow-up: examples of exercises, assignments and (group) projects.

Although they were in fact quite common from an international point of view, NOF justified its rules on the order of screenings and related activities with explicit reference to the insights of Decroly.[199] Above I explained that the pedagogue had argued in his works that human perception took place in stages. The consequence of this was that children should be given the opportunity to process their impressions accordingly. First, they should be allowed to observe, then to associate (relate their observations to earlier ones) and finally to express their findings, ideally in a creative way (Wolf 1975, 75). NOF suggested that its specifications for the viewing of films were directly inspired by the pedagogue's ideas ([Schreuder] 1948, 16-18).

In the first half of the 1950s, NOF's publications gradually became more relaxed about the role of teachers and the precise order of the actions that they should perform. At the same time, they also became less explicit about the relation between rules and regulations and the children's stages of cognitive development. Yet in spite of this, manuals and brochures were always concerned that the viewing of films should primarily have an experiential function. Therefore, it was considered crucial that pupils could undergo the screening itself with as little distraction as humanly possible, and without the interference of an overactive coach (Peters 1955, 47-48).

CONCLUSIONS

Looking back on the developments dealt with in this chapter, one can observe that the process of classroom film institutionalisation was primarily a matter of adapting the medium to the existing structures of formal education. In the 1940s, film was considered, on the one hand, to have definite benefits for teaching: it could help visualise, and thereby make more concrete, subject matter that was thought to be too abstract for young children (whose cognitive abilities, according to contemporary paedological insights, still had to mature). On the other hand, parties with an interest in the matter immediately felt the need to formulate all sorts of conditions – even if they were in favour of the medium's didactic use in principle. Like the 'new media' proponents of later years, they reasoned that in order for film to reach its full potential, it had to be adjusted as much as possible to the educational framework in which it had to function.[200]

In practice, regulation often came down to the imposition of constraints: restrictions in terms of what was theoretically possible. With respect to film content, for instance, authors pressed for the exclusion of anything that was not strictly relevant to the educational curriculum. Also in the formal sense, the enforcement of rules and regulations meant that the medium's possibilities could not be exploited to the full. For instance, NOF's pursuit of structural simplicity and transparency entailed that organisational procedures that had been tried out in previous years or decades, or that had even become productional standards, could not be continued – a fact which to some extent also accounts for the accusations of boringness, outmodedness, or even 'primitiveness' that have been directed at the institute (both at the time, and retrospectively).[201] Also the foundation's position in matters of film sound – or verbal language in any form – contributed to the stylistic gap between the material it provided and the films that were shown outside of schools.

A same tendency also manifests itself in the domain of user advice. Like the authors of instructional texts elsewhere, NOF's writers seem to have been highly preoccupied with what teachers might do *wrong* – even if they tried to phrase their recommendations in more encouraging ways than the film proponents of earlier years. Therefore manuals and brochures often also impose certain constraints. Guidelines that pertained to classroom conduct, of course, were not as easy to enforce as benchmarks for the films' production (which, in the Dutch case at least, were applicable only to fellow workers within the same institute). Yet even so, distributors of teaching films would often go to great lengths to ensure that educators deployed the medium as prescribed. Consults, trainings and user permits were held or devised with this purpose in mind.

As time went by, however, rules and regulations became more flexible. Production standards and user conditions were toned down, or ceased to be mentioned altogether. The timing of this development varied from country to country, and depended to a considerable extent on the amount of competition producers encountered. In Holland, it came extremely late (which also explains why the standpoints formulated by Peters seem so revolutionary in retrospect). If such policy changes were at all motivated, it was often with the argument that the didactic principles which the standards of earlier years were based on were no longer considered valid. However, a more important reason may have been that the rules had become untenable from an aesthetic point of view. In NOF's case in particular, benchmarks sometimes ran counter to the course which commercial film-making was taking at the time. The consequence was that what had once been promoted as a modern didactic instrument was rapidly turning into a relic of a foregone era. Meanwhile, competitors played off precisely those features which the official teaching film institute eschewed, and which were actually favoured by many of the designated users.[202]

Another explanation for the gradual relaxation of rules and conditions is the fact that the views of visual instructionists on the educational role of the medium changed over time. As the years went by, film was no longer seen primarily as a weapon against verbalism but also as a form of cultural expression, worth studying in itself. This in turn implied that the titles shown not only had to meet the standards of didacticism, but also those of good film-making. Moreover, if the objective was to direct the pupils in their viewing habits, producers had to live up to, and even surpass, children's qualitative expectations of cinematic texts – expectations which, to all accounts, could hardly be overestimated.[203] For NOF's employees, this meant in practice that they were encouraged more and more often to give rein to their artistic aspirations. In exchange for this, film-makers were increasingly credited for what they did.

Growing appreciation for the medium-specific potential of film coincided with a weakening of audio-visual proponents' efforts to dissociate their own activities from those which took place in an entertainment context. As time went by, subsidised producers and distributors of teaching films began to openly recognise that children enjoyed watching films and argued that this fact should be reckoned with in the production and selection of material. In the first few decades of the century, pupils' 'natural' interest in the medium had actually been considered one of the main arguments in favour of its use as an educational tool. In practice, however, this idea turned out to conflict with the didactic requirement that classroom activities should take place in an atmosphere of seriousness and diligence (circumstances incompatible with the expression of enjoyment or enthusiasm) (see, for instance, Meulen

[1951], 7). For NOF, the consequence seems to have been that the material shown should always look as frugal as possible. This situation lasted until the mid-1950s, when Peters observed that films could only serve their intended purpose if they managed to arrest the audience's attention. In order to do so, he believed, they also had to formally appeal to the pupils addressed (Peters 1955, 30-31; compare Hogenkamp 2009, 7).

As final remark, I would like to emphasise that in the NOF collection itself, these shifts in attitude towards the medium do not manifest themselves very clearly until the late 1950s. In its first decade or so, the institute adhered quite strictly to its most prohibitive rules. In the years that followed, it began to demonstrate more openness to change, but its various products still attested to a fundamental indecisiveness. Formal options that were discussed in articles and handbooks were not yet tried out by those making or acquiring the films; conversely, techniques that were experimented with in practice were not justified in the institute's texts. Towards the end of the decade, NOF finally began to present the more consistent image of a body concerned with the didactic use of film in its most up-to-date form, and to balance its collection out accordingly. At that point in time, however, it had long been outrun by its more progressive users, who had been asking for more 'modern'-looking material for years. In the chapter that follows, I try to uncover some of the hidden motives behind this apparent conservatism.

Classroom Film Use and the Pedagogical *Dispositif*

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I discussed how NOF, like similar bodies elsewhere, tried to influence its users' conception of what constituted a good teaching film, and of how this tool should ideally be used. I suggested in the process that the institute's efforts in this area should not be seen as the result of a philanthropic impulse, but as an act of self-preservation: an attempt to ensure the continuation of its own activities. By teaching potential subscribers the difference between what was appropriate for classroom viewing and what was not, it basically gave them the reassurance that the film medium was indeed suitable for educational use, and therefore, that the services it provided warranted the schools' membership.

Earlier on I also stressed that my choice of corpus – and by implication, of the NOF itself as a model case – is inspired mainly by pragmatic considerations. My interest in the collection, I said, is due primarily to its status as an object of usage: the fact that it was subject to a number of very specific screening practices. Yet as it turns out, the day-to-day use of NOF's films is a domain which the institute's normative writings seem to block from view. If the texts of handbooks and brochures can tell how the material concerned was *supposed* to be shown, they do not provide evidence of compliance with those rules. Topical specifications and formal benchmarks can be checked against the material which the institute distributed; user advice, in contrast, cannot be matched with anything 'real'. In addition to this, first-hand reports on the actual circumstances of the films' viewing are remarkably scarce. Yet even so, it is possible to make some statements on the ways in which classroom films were used – if not on the basis of direct evidence, then by means of deduction.

First, however, I want to briefly address the question of how the institute's

product was received. In doing so, I can rely once again on the material which I discussed previously. NOF's publications, after all, not only constitute a record of the foundation's marketing strategy. In the absence of actual testimonies, they also serve as a source of information on the medium's reception by the audience they addressed. In order to win users for their cause, the authors of such texts had to make sure that they made suggestions that were perceived as relevant: suggestions that could be read as answers or solutions to questions or problems that were actually felt. Therefore, it is fair to assume that the recommendations made can often be interpreted as a response to (or at the very least an anticipation of) perceived interests, worries, or prejudice among the teachers themselves. In the first section of this chapter (2.1.1), I discuss the tendency towards scepticism which the texts reveal.

Subsequently, I use those same findings to reinforce some of my hypotheses on classroom film use. In the second section (2.1.2), I sketch a rough picture of the ways in which Dutch teachers used films in schools. In doing so, I rely in part on retrospective accounts: the recollections of former NOF employees, classroom personnel and some of the pupils they taught. On the basis of their stories, I make conjectures about the usage patterns that were most common at the time.

Another purpose of this chapter is to make some methodological choices, derived from my observations about teaching film use. The analyses I make later are inspired by the ways in which the films under scrutiny operated within the very specific set-ups in which they were commonly deployed. However, one of the conclusions that emerges from my enquiry is that there was a whole range of uses, none of which can rightfully be characterised as dominant. For the purpose of analysis, then, I need to reduce this variety to a single, workable abstraction. My aim in the second half of this chapter (2.2) is to determine which of the above-mentioned screening practices is most relevant to my project, so that it can function as a model. In this process I also expound some of my conceptual choices for later on.

2.1   THE RECEPTION AND USE OF CLASSROOM FILMS

In defending its rules, especially those formulated in the first, 'strictest' ten years, NOF tended to focus on the interests of the pupils. In its publications the institute systematically rationalised benchmarks and user advice on the basis of what the intended audience could or could not do. This is striking, as the visual instructionists of earlier years had oftentimes found legitimacy for what they proposed in matters that were of relevance mainly to administrators and teachers: those people who had to put the film medium to use.

Of course, this does not imply that such concerns were not actually on the teachers' minds. Arguably, the benchmarks and rules which the institute formulated, and in some cases the characteristics of the films themselves actually provide evidence to the contrary. In what follows, I start from the assumption that the recommendations which NOF made can often be read as a reaction to the teachers' own perceptions and concerns. My argument will be that they show proof of a certain scepticism, based on fears that the deployment of the film medium might overthrow, or at the very least destabilise, established classroom relations and/or teaching routines.

2.1.1 Scepticism and Resistance

In chapter 1 I pointed out that NOF's publications often place great emphasis on the instrumental status of the material it supplied. Films, they insist, are mere educational tools, and should be used accordingly. By the same token, such writings also attach a great deal of value to the role of the instructor. *Leidraad voor kwekelingen*, for instance, argues that the quality of the lesson ultimately always depends on the person who puts a film to use ([Schreuder] 1948, 12). In publications of a later date, such pronouncements are often accompanied by expressions of confidence in the teacher's didactic abilities. As van der Meulen points out, trained pedagogues know full well what good education entails. By implication, they are also the best judges of how audio-visual aids should be employed ([1951], 6).

However, I also argued that the same publications are characterised by an extremely patronising attitude towards the professional group they address. Subscribers are told down to the last detail how to choose and utilise films, and which choices or behaviours to avoid at all cost. Recommendations like these hardly attest to the authors' faith in the users' capabilities or didactic expertise. Teachers may have been commended for their practical educational experience; they do not seem to have been given much credit when it comes to applying or adapting the skills they possess to the integration of newfangled tools.

Although these two tendencies may seem irreconcilable at first sight, they can also be interpreted as means to the same end. The peremptory nature of the institute's advice, I would like to propose, is directly related to the value it attached to educational expertise. For in emphasising the importance of the instructor's role, the authors of manuals and brochures also burdened their readers with a heavy responsibility. If the films' correct application was paramount to their effectiveness as didactic tools, it was the users who were to blame if the lessons in which they were shown did not meet the targets set.

The advice given balanced this situation out: it provided reassurance, because it also guaranteed that success could be achieved. The more specific the recommendations were, the more grip they gave, and the more manageable they made the task at hand seem.

In addition to this, the prominence of such instructions in NOF's early publications is proof of the fact that a need for them was felt. Presumably, the institute's representatives met with a great deal of apprehension, such as scepticism among teachers as to the unforeseen effects of the didactic use of film. Of course, feelings of this type surface whenever a new classroom technology is introduced, and they do not necessarily result from a rejection of the medium as such. Instead, they should be associated with an urge among pedagogues to protect and preserve established relations and routines (compare Renonciat 2004, 71).[1]

In the following pages I briefly address the backgrounds to what NOF perceived as a resistance among users to the product it supplied. In particular, I discuss what motivated the teachers in positioning themselves for or against the introduction of specific methods and tools. In doing so, I rely on insights obtained by educational historians. The purpose of this endeavour is to find out why so many instructors seem to have considered teaching film use a potential threat rather than a new didactic opportunity.

CLASSROOMS AS TYPICAL WORK SETTINGS

According to sources on the topic, teaching styles in the West have changed very little in the course of last century. Historical accounts seem to fundamentally agree that the efforts of educational reformists throughout the decades did not lead to profound alterations in terms of classroom conventions. Despite the attempts of progressive pedagogues to make pupils the focus of instruction, pedagogical interaction in the second half of the twentieth century remained largely teacher-centred. In most institutions of compulsory education, instructors continued to function as the possessors of knowledge, transmitting information to an audience that was seen as both passive and ignorant (Cuban 1993, Goodlad 1983, Velde 1970). In this process they relied primarily on tools that accommodated the same (conservative) epistemology: methods, books and aids that facilitated a process of transmission rather than one of exchange.[2]

In *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1880-1990* (1993), Cuban attempts to find out how the above tendencies can be logically explained. The author considers which factors have prevented the occurrence of major innovations, both technical and methodological,

in formal teaching over the years. His conclusion is that education's apparent immunity to all kinds of change can be largely attributed to the demands which schools make on the people they employ. More specifically, it should be associated with the various restrictions which teachers encounter, both in and through the settings in which they work.

All pedagogues, Cuban explains, are subject to two kinds of constraints. First, there are external pressures which emanate from society at large: long-term cultural beliefs about the nature of knowledge and the purpose of education (Cuban 1993, 260). As a rule, these ideas are inspired by the norms and practices of the socio-economic systems of which they are part. Teachers are expected to pass on those facts and skills which pupils require to minimally participate in the social, bureaucratic and industrial organisations of the communities to which they belong (249-50). The content considered most suited to this purpose is recorded in official curricula. Second, there are restrictions which derive from the ways in which schools and classrooms are practically organised. In most cases, educators need to deal with large numbers of pupils in small spaces for extended periods of time. Within this framework, they are expected to meet very strict targets and produce tangible evidence that prescribed content is satisfactorily acquired (252-53).[3]

In spite of this, teachers do have a certain amount of autonomy. In most cases, they can determine the ways in which knowledge is passed on: which tasks are set, how skills are practiced, and how pupils are supposed to participate. In addition to this, they can decide on material issues such as the arrangement of space and furniture or the selection of tools and aids. Yet as Cuban observes, the instructors' options are also highly 'situationally constrained'. In the end, pedagogues will always be judged on the basis of whether or not quantifiable targets are met. Therefore, they have to be pragmatic: they must choose those methods or tools that do not involve the risk of making more arduous an already heavy task (Cuban 1993, 260-63).

Teacher Authority

A major consideration here is what technical or procedural choices entail in terms of a teacher's authority. As Cuban points out, classroom control is a necessary precondition for instruction. Without a minimum of order a teaching process simply cannot occur (Cuban 1993, 268; compare Jacquinot 1977, 33-34). Moreover, if it is true (as the author suggests) that the kind of education Western society demands takes the form of a transfer, then the conditions in which learning can take place are necessarily very restrictive. Within the established system teachers and pupils both have a predetermined range of intellectual activities: the former must spout, the latter absorb. For the children concerned, functioning well within such a context requires a great deal of dis-

cipline. Because of this, the power relations between both parties are bound to be highly asymmetrical.

In Cuban's view, the centrality of the instructor's authority to the educational process is one of the main reasons why teachers' appetites for fundamental classroom changes are generally low. Whether faced with decisions pertaining to the physical arrangement of desks and chairs, the nature of classroom activities, the amount of student participation, or the various types of instructional tools, educators tend to avoid altering routines that can help maintain classroom control. The dominance of teacher-centred instructional practices in schools of the past decades and centuries, he argues, is a major consequence of this attitude (Cuban 1993, 262-71).

Assuming that NOF's advice can indeed be read as a direct response to the concerns of the people it addressed, it is highly likely that fear for loss of classroom control was a major factor in the educators' attitude towards teaching film use. Specifications on the location, length and accompaniment of screenings can all be interpreted as attempts to counter the assumption that the medium's deployment would necessarily foster a recreational atmosphere, and therefore, disorderly or rowdy conduct on the pupils' part. Apparently, teachers were worried that the activity of viewing might cause excitement, and by the same token, disrupt the power balance on which they had come to rely. The recommendations made were meant to reassure them that their status of authority need not be jeopardised, as long as they did as the institute prescribed.[4]

It is doubtful of course whether such advice was at all convincing. Clearly, the teachers' unease derived from a lack of confidence in their own abilities at least as much as the unpredictability of the pupils' behaviour. The use of classroom films required a very different set of skills than they otherwise needed, both technically and in the didactic sense. In addition to this, not all educators had a great deal of experience with the medium, even as viewers. In many cases their pupils had been exposed to it more intensively than they had been themselves. For all of those reasons, using it demanded a good deal of self-confidence. Only those teachers who were already convinced that they could control their pupils could take the risk of showing films in class.[5]

Flexible Tools

For those who felt less certain about the authority they could command, it was of crucial importance that the tools they had on hand were sufficiently flexible: that they could easily be adapted to the methods or procedures which suited them best. In his 1967 essay on technology in schools, Jackson argues that this also explains why traditional tools such as blackboards and books have a greater appeal than more 'modern' (among others, audio-visual) imple-

ments. While the former are extremely versatile and can easily be adjusted to the established procedures which teachers favour, mechanised devices tend to offer more limited options in terms of deployment. According to Jackson, this restriction derives primarily from the fact that the latter present their users with an uncontrollable succession of mediated content. Unlike more conventional classroom aids, films, television broadcasts and computer programmes do not give educators much control over the pace or sequence of the matter addressed, or even the direction of the arguments made. In the case of such implements, the technological conditions for the use of didactic texts can therefore be experienced as overly restrictive (Jackson 1968, 5-8).[6]

In Jackson's view, the lack of correspondence between teachers' requirements and the available tools is at least partly due to a conflict of interest between the parties involved (1968, 14-22). Cuban confirms that there is a major cultural difference between the devisers of such aids and the promoters of their use, and the people by whom they are normally employed. More specifically, a discrepancy is noticeable in their respective conceptions of what constitutes educational 'efficiency'. Engineers and policy-makers (quoted in

Cartoon from a 1948 issue of the teachers' union magazine *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, attesting to a growing fatigue of reformist ideas among teachers at the time. The caption reads: "And what shall I take this time...".

chapter 1) tend to assess a device's value on the basis of its productivity: the ratio between the knowledge pupils acquire and the time or cost which this entails. For teachers, in contrast, the usefulness of any new tool depends primarily on whether it allows them to achieve established goals without making the educational process more difficult (Cuban 1986, 2-5).[7]

According to Cuban, the users' reluctance to integrate new aids is strongly reinforced by this difference in outlook, and the lack of communication between the parties concerned. Teachers' resistance towards any kind of change, he argues, can partly be attributed to the fact that such measures are usually imposed from above or outside. As a rule, ideas on how educational reform can help solve problems of a social, economic or cultural nature originate with, and are turned into policy by, academics or officials. In many cases, the author claims, these people do not consider how the decisions made will be implemented in practice, and neglect to communicate the motives behind them towards the teachers concerned (Cuban 1986, 5, and 1993, 244-45). As a result, the latter feel compelled to stick to their old habits, thus reinforcing again their public image of conservatism (Cuban 1993, 51-52).[8]

OWNERSHIP ISSUES

In my view, however, the fact that educators at the time were not generally involved in the development of classroom tools may have bothered them in more profound ways than the above-mentioned authors seem to suggest. Although primary sources do confirm that the teachers' reluctance to put into practice new methods or aids could often be ascribed to inadequate knowledge of its objectives and practicalities, I would argue that the picture sketched here is too restrictive.[9] In my view, Jackson and Cuban represent the users as too passive, and do not allow for more fundamental objections concerning the ownership of such tools, and by extension, of the lessons which they taught.

As I explained, Jackson claims that the limited appeal of audio-visual aids is largely due to the fact that they take away from a teacher his or her control over the ways in which content is treated. In making this point, the author foregrounds the mechanical nature of the reproduction process: the fact that these 'modern' devices force their users to follow a fixed argumentative route, at a predetermined speed. What he suggests here (but does not make explicit) is that with such aids, it is always someone other than the teacher who decides on the tenet of the didactic message that is passed on. When using books, for instance, instructors can pick and choose: they can skip pages, add to the information given, or even ignore certain content altogether. Films or television broadcasts, in contrast, cannot be selected from quite so easily: they

cannot simply be interrupted or temporarily put aside. In addition to this, it seems much harder for users to distance themselves from what is said – even if this is done in purely visual ways. Disclaiming the contents of moving images, after all, requires an emphatic denial of the truth value with which they are commonly endowed (compare Winston 1995, 131-37).

Of course, teachers also have a choice to make: they are free to select the particular film (or broadcast, or computer programme) which is most in keeping with what they want to convey. Yet in this process, they always have to rely on what is made available by the people who produce or market didactic tools. By implication, they are also dependent on the ways in which a chosen subject is dealt with. Considering the already heavy restrictions which educators of the 1940s and 50s normally encountered, the above considerations may well have contributed to their reluctance to put audio-visual media to use.

Intellectual Authority
However, a question that may have preoccupied the users even more is what matters pertaining to the provenance of film content (and by extension, of the teaching matter as such) might do to their status of intellectual authority. In what precedes, I interpreted the term 'ownership' in the most literal sense. In my account, the 'possessor' of a didactic text was the person or collectivity with the privilege of determining the direction of its argument. Likewise, the grounds for resistance which I identified were of a very tangible kind. I basically inferred that because of this fact, users of audio-visual classroom tools may have felt that too many educational decisions were taken out of their hands. Yet there is also another way of reading the term, which makes the issue far less palpable.

In chapter 1 I argued that one of the more hidden anxieties of the early opponents of visual instruction was that films might end up replacing them. Contemporary writings suggest that the people concerned often took this to the letter: they expected that audio-visual media would eventually develop into teacher 'surrogates', automatons substituting for educators of flesh and blood. As time passed, scenarios like these gradually lost credibility, but a residue of the apprehensions behind them remained in place. In later decades as well teachers seemed worried that the use of mechanised tools might force them into a less prominent classroom position than they were accustomed to. Again, such concerns can be attributed to a fear for loss of power. This time, however, the authority at stake is not purely functional in nature, but intellectual.

Educational historians, I pointed out, tend to agree that even in recent decades, the most common form of pedagogical communication has been one of transmission: a transfer of wisdom from someone who has it to people

who do not. They argue that in Western society, educators are commonly seen as specialists in the subjects they teach, and by the same token, as the sources of all relevant knowledge on the topics with which they are concerned. Within a classroom environment, in other words, teachers take on authority not only because they are actually (and legally) 'in charge', but also because they are 'in the know'. In fact, it is arguable that the instructors' functional power derives at least in part from their presumed intellectual advantage over the pupils they teach.

An important implication of this observation is that loss of intellectual power necessarily results in a diminution of a teacher's functional authority: the preponderance he or she needs to set in motion didactic processes of any kind. This link is of crucial importance, not only for a better understanding of the nature of classroom interaction as such, but also for an accurate evaluation of the educators' reluctance to put teaching films to use. Presumably, instructors who had not yet deployed automated devices foresaw that these would endanger their own status of intellectual superiority, and as a result, their functional authority over the children they taught.

One concrete example that bears out this view is NOF's policy in matters of sound. In the first decades of its existence, the institute fundamentally opposed to the use of spoken commentaries. In defending this position, it argued (among other things) that voice-over narration might jeopardise the classroom status of the people it targeted. Quoting commentators from the field, authors warned that the recorded voice might take on a role which in fact belonged to the educators themselves. Such pronouncements suggest that in their perception, the use of sound might involve that the historically most firmly established channel of knowledge transfer was no longer reserved to the human teacher. More important even than how this might affect his or her privilege to select the information conveyed was the possibility that for those watching, the 'man (woman) in front' would cease to function as its undisputed source.[10]

A potentially aggravating circumstance was that the films' spectators were likely to be more familiar with the medium which produced this effect than the users themselves. Not only was there a danger that in screening the shorts, real-life teachers might not be held responsible for the content conveyed, there was an added risk that the pupils would infer meanings which their instructors had no notion of. As a result, teachers may have been afraid that they would appear to have less ownership over the arguments made than the children they taught – a situation which the latter might actively exploit (compare Grunder 2000, 59).

With respect to the example quoted here, NOF's reasoning seems to have been that avoiding the dreaded technique altogether was the best way to alle-

viate the educators' fears. By providing mute films only, the institute gave its users the reassurance that they would never be deprived of their 'master's voice', and continue to be the prime mediators of the knowledge that was to be passed on (compare Meulen [1951], 4).[11] The fact that NOF, in this respect, took the teachers' wishes into account should be seen as part of its strategy to convince them that the films it had on offer were adapted to the needs of the classroom, and did not pose a threat to the habits and power relations which had been built up over time.

As I explained earlier, imposing restrictions on the production of material was a strategy which the institute relied on primarily in the early decades of its existence. In later years the benchmarks it imposed were less radical and adherence to them was no longer enforced quite as strictly. However, none of this implies that the concerns discussed above were no longer felt. Over the years, further habituation to the medium may have softened the teachers' judgement, but not necessarily taken away their most profound anxieties. The most sensible conclusion is that from the late 1950s, the films' distributors agreed in principle that the users' scepticism should be fought not by imposing textual restrictions (and thus, limiting the medium's supposedly uncontrollable semantic potential) but by educating teachers and offering them the tools to actively direct their pupils' interpretation of what they saw.

2.1.2   Some Hypotheses on Film Usage

As I have explained, primary reports on what we might call classroom film practice are extremely scarce, both in Holland and abroad. In most cases, data are available on the number of schools that subscribed to a distribution service and on how often films were loaned. Figures like these can of course help to reconstruct the extent of the medium's educational use. As a rule they indicate that while there definitely was a demand for such material, its deployment in class was not at all generalised. Data provided by NOF, for instance, show that despite the generally reticent attitude that speaks from the sources discussed, NOF did have a more or less loyal (and steadily growing) user base. At the same time, however, it never serviced more than one-third of Dutch schools, and the majority of those not even on a regular basis.[12] What these sources cannot do, however, is to enlighten one on the ways in which teaching films were deployed. One cannot derive from them in which conditions they were commonly shown, or whether – and if so, how – they were made to fit into the course of a didactic exchange.

In Holland, in particular, information of this type is hard to come by. Not only did NOF rarely give the floor to its users (especially the more critical ones),

independent magazines are remarkably silent on the practicalities of class-room film use. The only alternatives are retrospective accounts: reports based on the recollections of teachers, pupils, and the most user-oriented employees of the institute itself. Such memories, however, have not been recorded systematically. In addition to this, they are often very partial. As a result, they cannot be treated here as hard evidence. While they do allow for some tentative observations, the conclusions that can be drawn are necessarily of a hypothetical nature.[13] In some cases, they can in turn be reinforced on the basis of the publications dealt with before.

BASIC USAGE PATTERNS

In the epilogue to his 1951 manual, van der Meulen specifies which readers he targets. He writes:

> For whom was this booklet written? Not for those who are convinced that whatever is new is no good, simply because it is new; nor for those who ask for slides because 'they have already seen all NOF's films'! (Attested!) It is intended for those who want to integrate projection into their teaching, but get confused by its great variety and many possibilities. (Meulen [1951], 103)[14]

The author here criticises two types of moving image users. On the one hand, he attacks those who *refuse* to try out new classroom tools, whether out of prejudice, out of fear, or out of sheer laziness. On the other hand, those who use film not for the pupils' benefit but for their own divertissement. Although van der Meulen clearly shares the enthusiasm for the medium of the latter group, the author disapproves of their reasons for deploying it in school. Consistent with NOF's policy, he argues that films should be used in support of everyday classroom activities, not to provide some kind of relief – whether for the pupils, or for the teachers themselves.

As a matter of fact, the above quote sketches a much more accurate picture of the ways in which teaching films were commonly used than might be expected on the basis of the author's rather uncritical dedication to the foundation which he endorses. Van der Meulen's remark suggests that those teachers who were prepared to take advantage of the institute's services in many cases did *not* embed projections into the flow of standard classroom proceedings. As I argue in the following pages, users of film very often seemed to conceive of the medium as an instrument of diversion and of its screening as a happening in and of itself. The showings they organised had the status

of exceptional events and tended to take place at times that were reserved for *extra*curricular activities.

Another type of usage which van der Meulen alludes to in his book is the kind which he approves of, and which was practiced by the teachers whom he claims to address. According to reports by first-hand witnesses, a fair deal of the screenings that were held in schools were indeed geared towards the educational needs of the audiences they targeted. As opposed to the instructors mentioned above, the people who conducted them did deploy films as classroom tools. While fewer in number, they were more dedicated users, who rented out titles on a more regular basis. All in all, they may have been responsible for a relatively higher percentage of the screenings that took place.

In addition to the above, teachers and instructors also developed more hybrid user styles. The patterns which van der Meulen mentions should be conceived of as extremes on a scale, with variations and combinations in the space that lies between. Yet in spite of this, the reports that are available do seem to suggest that NOF's subscribers were most often inclined towards either of the poles. Therefore, I concentrate in what follows on the characteristics of those two types of use.

Occasional Use

In the first of a series of articles for the 1960 volume of the trade union magazine *Het Schoolblad*, trainee-teacher (and future documentary-maker) Roelof Kiers complains that film projections in schools often serve a purely recreational purpose. In his piece, the author compares such screenings to the travelling shows of the cinema's early days: performances that were organised purely for the diversion of an audience. Like van der Meulen, he argues that while it is not inconceivable that children do indeed learn something from attending them, they rarely fulfil a clear educational function.[15]

As it turns out, the great majority of testimonies from first-hand witnesses correspond to Kiers' observations. Apparently, a good portion of the screenings held in schools did not take place in the 'studious' classroom conditions which NOF and its supporters insisted on. As a matter of fact, projection of the films often did not even occur in class at all. Interviewees with memories of the forties, fifties and early sixties mention such screening locations as school attics, cellars and assembly halls. In most cases, these were larger spaces, where children from several forms or age groups gathered.[16] Reports indicate that this usually brought about an atmosphere of excitement. Film viewings, then, often had the character of 'events': happenings disconnected from the routines of a regular educational day.[17]

In many cases, the exceptional nature of a screening was further reinforced by the fact that it coincided with a particular occasion, for instance,

a children's festival (*Sinterklaas*, Saint-Nicholas' Day) or the birthday of a headmaster or school director. Other times of the year when lots of screenings took place were the ends of terms and the weeks before breaks or holidays.[18] In addition to this, the films that were shown rarely matched the lesson programmes of the pupils attending (as NOF decreed). Given the diversity of the audiences gathered, of course, this was hardly possible, even if the titles chosen *did* deal with subjects that could be considered educationally relevant. Yet according to the sources, this was not always the case.[19]

As a matter of fact, evidence exists that a good deal of the items that were shown in schools were not classroom films in the strict sense (that is, according to the standards set in the aforementioned brochures and manuals). In many cases the titles that were screened did not address matter covered by the official curriculum. Ed van Berkel, who has conducted an informal review on the subject, points out that the top-four of NOF's most popular items belonged to a category which the institute sometimes qualified as 'seasonal films'. Usually, they were fictional narratives, of the kind that were officially listed as intended for language teaching. In practice, however, they were rarely used as such.[20] In addition to this, schools occasionally made use of the services of the institute's commercial competitors. Apart from topical and broadly informational shorts, these firms also supplied dramatic children's films, which were especially popular during the holiday season. Catholic schools sometimes also programmed mission films.[21]

The type of screenings described above, I would argue, can best be conceived of as examples of 'occasional' use. This is the case, first, because these screenings often had the air of a celebration – if not of an actual event or festival, then of the fact that the school year, week or day was drawing to a close. Second, this is so because in many instances the screenings constituted happenings in and of themselves. As the subjects of the films rarely formed part of the lesson programme for the audience, these sessions basically constituted a suspension of formal educational activity. And third, because they were organised only occasionally: a few times a year at best.[22] Again, this fact constitutes a deviation from NOF's recommendations. According to the institute, only the regular use of its films could ensure that they acquired the status of instructional tools.[23] In the situations described here, they clearly could not fulfil this role.

Embedded Use

Despite the fact that a majority of witnesses have personal experience of the type of screenings characterised above, a considerable number also attest to an entirely different kind of use. They relate that in the schools they attended or taught in, film showings did indeed tie in with the educational curriculum.

As a rule, the titles they saw were projected one at a time rather than in series (as was often the case with viewings of the more occasional type). In addition to this, they were discussed thoroughly, either before a screening, afterwards, or at several points in time. Barring practical impediments, they were projected in the children's own classrooms and in the presence of a teacher who was knowledgeable about the subject at hand.[24]

Also contemporary publications provide evidence of a more 'embedded' kind of use. Without exception, those teachers who did indeed take the effort of relating their experience in the pages of journals and magazines seem to have shown films on a regular basis and in ways that suggest a sincere dedication to NOF's educational objectives. Although such users did not necessarily follow all the institute's specifications (many, for instance, deviated from its rules on the number of times films should be shown or occasionally admitted a colleague's class to a screening; others were also open to renting films that did not specifically target an audience of pupils) they did live up to its ideals in principle. As opposed to the teachers referred to above, they deployed the medium as a didactic tool. The screenings they held were not intended to free the children temporarily from their educational obligations, but rather to fuel their desire to acquire the facts and skills which the programme prescribed. In this process they took it upon themselves to guide the pupils in their interpretation of what they saw, and to make them distinguish between what was educationally relevant and what was not.[25]

Whether or not pupils got to attend projections of this type seems to have depended to a considerable extent on the personal initiative of their teachers. A witness from Zeist recalls that in his primary school, sixth-formers would have a screening every month, while the rest of the pupils only viewed films once a year (on *Koninginnedag* [Queen's Day], a Dutch national holiday). Whereas the latter were gathered together in large groups and saw titles that somehow fit the occasion (for instance, newsreels featuring members of the royal family or fictional shorts), the former got to see actual classroom films, in the presence of, and accompanied by, their own class teacher. An ex-schoolmaster from Oisterwijk in turn relates that he organised screenings every week. As a rule, they were attended by pupils from the fourth grade (the age group he was responsible for). More exceptionally, some of his colleagues' children could join in too.[26]

Although evidence on the subject is scarce, it is safe to assume that teachers who organised film viewings regularly often did so out of a personal interest in the medium. Presumably, they were convinced that screenings might contribute to the educational process, but they also found them enjoyable themselves. Written sources suggest that at least some of the people concerned may have been small-gauge amateurs; others probably had more extensive expe-

rience of the medium as viewers.[27] Following Cuban's example, I would like to refer to them as 'media-philes' or '(classroom) film buffs' (compare Cuban 1986, 62, 99).[28] Considering their extracurricular interests and activities, it is quite remarkable that these people most often organised projections *within* the established boundaries of formal education – and by implication, of their own teachership. In what follows, I hypothesise a little further on the logic behind this choice.

TEACHING FILM USE AS DIDACTIC PRAGMATISM

On the face of it, the relatively more widespread occurrence of what I have called 'occasional' film use seems a perfect illustration of Cuban's observations on the limited integration of new technological tools in the classrooms of primary and secondary schools. As a rule, the author states, audio-visual teaching aids have been accessories to, rather than the primary vehicles for, basic instruction (1986, 49, passim). A number of film scholars therefore conclude that the medium has never functioned as an instrument of educational reform – in spite of what NOF and similar institutions abroad might have led their readers to believe (Jacquinot 1977, 143; Renonciat 2004, 71).[29]

Cuban, I have pointed out, explains this state of affairs as a consequence of a fundamental suspiciousness among teachers towards modern teaching tools. Their mistrust, he argues, results in turn from a natural impulse towards pragmatism: a tendency to choose only those educational solutions which can be made to fit into existing didactic structures (both procedural and relational) and which do not hold the risk of making their jobs more difficult to perform.

As it happens, the use of teaching films did indeed require a very specific set of skills. On the one hand, it called for a certain practical adroitness, for as witnesses testify, things did go wrong, whether because of the state of the prints or the imperfections of the projection machinery deployed.[30] In addition to this, teachers had to be able to plan their lessons with sufficient flexibility so as to allow for unforeseen events – material ones, but also problems in terms of the pupils' behaviour. On the other hand, they needed specific didactic skills. Users of the medium had to consider how they could frame what a film said or showed, in which ways they could direct the children in what they learnt from it, and above all, how they could maintain their authority in class while lesson content was clearly passed on through some sort of 'surrogate'. The easiest way to dodge the above difficulties, many teachers seem to have thought, was simply not to use films in class at all.[31]

Another option was to deploy the medium, but in such a way that the

threat it posed to established didactic structures was minimal. One way of doing this was to ban screenings to the margins of formal education. In the examples of occasional use which I described, the films' viewing did not form part of a lesson sequence – or, for that matter, of any kind of educational endeavour. Within these circumstances, the rules which normally applied in class were no longer valid. Retrospective accounts of such screenings attest to merriment and rowdiness: conditions which, according to both teaching film suppliers and educational scientists, were entirely inconducive to the successful execution of a teaching/learning process of any kind.[32] Within the framework of the happenings which these viewings were, however, this was more or less irrelevant. First, because knowledge transfer simply was not their primary objective. And second, because the loss of teacher authority which these circumstances entailed was likely to be temporary. All participants to the screening were aware that once the occasion was over, regular school life would be resumed and improper behaviour would once more provoke the standard repercussions. They knew that if teachers, during such screenings, seemed to (partially) let go of their power prerogatives, this was in fact a highly exceptional kind of leniency, entirely bound up with the occasion.

However, the practices which I designated above as 'occasional' are not the only kind that can be interpreted as manifestations of the teachers' tendency towards didactic pragmatism. In spite of what Cuban says, also the characteristics and conditions of embedded use can be explained with reference to the instructors' anxieties about the potentially destabilising effects of the medium. They can be seen once again as attempts to avert or counteract any profound changes to their daily routines, and especially, to the teacher-pupil relations on which they had come to count over the years.

In my section on teaching film reception, I started from the assumption that NOF's user advice should be conceived of as a response to a perceived need among its users – and I might specify at this point: among its most *dedicated* users, since they were the ones who bothered to make their wishes known.[33] The fact that the institute, in its writings, steered its readers in the direction of a highly embedded type of use suggests that it saw this as a solution for some of the problems which teachers foresaw. More specifically, NOF's representatives seem to have thought that the more its users tied in with existing procedures for the deployment of other, more established educational media, the greater was the chance that their experience of film would be a positive one, which they would therefore be inclined to repeat.

In this context, the connection which the institute saw with current procedures should not be interpreted too narrowly. Technologically, after all, film was quite different from any of the tools that teachers commonly used, such as books, wall charts, or various kinds of slides (if only because of its temporal

characteristics). As a result, instructors simply had to develop new routines. What mattered to the institute, however, was that film could still be used in *similar* ways. In practice, this entailed primarily that the items screened had to be deployed as educational tools. By unambiguously positioning the medium as an aid, teachers could ensure that in the eyes of their pupils, they acquired at least some ownership of the arguments made.

Apparently, instructors who opted for embedded practices trusted NOF's judgement that the best way to achieve this was to use film as intensively as possible. Like the institute, they were convinced that the only way to free the medium of the recreational associations it evoked was to actively accustom pupils to the idea that it did indeed belong in schools. Frequent exposure, it seems, was the best way to get this point across. For the teachers themselves, the repeated use of film would then become part of a self-rewarding cycle: as time went by, it would increasingly further their educational goals, and subsequently, give them the satisfaction of a job well done.

Embedded use, in other words, should be seen as an alternative way of dealing with the professional anxieties which Cuban considers to be so 'natural' for teachers confronted with new educational technologies. One option which educators had was not to give in to their fears but to try to overcome it by 'mastering' the medium (in all possible senses of that word). By following standardised or slightly adapted procedures, they could let classroom interaction run its everyday course, and this way, presumably, keep their own authority intact.

As a last remark, I need to add here that even if the above is true, the option of embedded, and therefore, intensive use was probably only attractive to those teachers who already had a certain amount of confidence in their own didactic abilities. More specifically, it required that they were convinced that they had some credit in terms of authority, some kind of a 'power stash' to rely on in the early stages of teaching film use. A factor that could help reinforce this self-assurance was a lack of fear of the technology itself. As I pointed out, intensive users were often amateurs in terms of film: people familiar with the medium, either as a technical given or as a generator of meanings. Knowing that they derived from this at least a certain level of skill may have better protected them against the many risks of its educational use.

People who were highly confident of their capacities as teachers, viewers or operators, for their part, could allow themselves more liberties with respect to the recommendations which distributors made. Van der Meulen, himself an experienced film user, leaves room for this in his writings. Although the author emphatically condemns those teachers who deploy the medium *purely* for purposes of entertainment, he does not at all object to film lessons in which the participants are also encouraged to have some fun. (In fact, he

even sees this as the main argument in favour of its educational use.) For this reason, he is also less strict than NOF's own authors when it comes to their deployment rules (Meulen [1951], compare 7, 23, 31, 95 and 103). For most teachers, however, the institute's instructions constituted something to hold on to, and deviating from them most likely did not become attractive until they had already built up sufficiently firm routines.

2.2   CLASSROOM FILMS AND THE PEDAGOGICAL *DISPOSITIF*

In what precedes, I have discussed some of the ways in which classroom films were commonly deployed in Dutch primary and secondary schools. My motivation for doing so was that my interest in the NOF collection is due primarily to its status as a *user* corpus (a status which it owes to the fact that it constitutes the holdings of what was once an active *médiathèque*). In order to accurately position my research object, then, I had to consider some of the concrete practices which it has been subject to. For want of more concrete evidence, I resorted in this process to formulating conclusions of a largely hypothetical kind.

In the picture I sketched so far, teachers occupy a rather central position. In view of my goal this is quite logical, as it was generally the instructors who took decisions on the basic conditions for the films' screening. It was they who determined in which location and physical circumstances a projection would be held, and whether or not a connection would be established with the lesson programme. In doing so, they defined to a considerable extent the framework within which practices of classroom film viewing could take place.

However, it would be reductive thinking to derive from this that teachers were exclusively responsible for the ways in which films were, or could be, 'read'. Clearly, other factors as well contributed to the manner in which these shorts were understood. As it is my intention, in the second half of this book, to subject NOF's films to interpretation, it is imperative that I round out the picture I sketched above. Here, I attempt for more precision in terms of the interaction between the various circumstances or agents that make up what I call in what follows the 'pedagogical *dispositif*'.

I start off with a brief discussion of the notion of cinematic *dispositif*, of which my own term is a derivation. Subsequently, I demonstrate how it can be adapted – specified, but also narrowed down – to suit my current purpose, and why this version of the concept is the most useful to me here. In this section, I want to demonstrate how the *dispositif* notion can be turned from a theoretical concept into a practical, analytical tool.

In his introduction to an unpublished seminar paper, Frank Kessler traces the evolution of the *dispositif* concept in media studies from the time it was first used (the early 1970s) to the present day. At first, his overview suggests, the term had a rather static meaning. In the work of Jean-Louis Baudry, arguably the first in the field to adopt it ([1975] 1999), it is used to explain the particular impression of reality that is experienced in watching a fiction film. Baudry's phrase 'cinematic *dispositif*', in other words, refers to a very specific specta-tor positioning, which is conceived of as a trans-historical phenomenon. In recent years, however, the word has been endowed with meanings that allow for more flexibility. It has been deployed to account for variety instead of con-stancy, both synchronically (in which case various cinematic *dispositifs* are considered to exist one alongside the other) and diachronically (the *dispositif* concept then functioning as a historiographic tool) (Kessler 2007, 7-9; 12-16).

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Kessler himself opts for a pragmatic interpretation of the term, thus creating the possibility to historicise, or re-historicise, the interrelationship between a technology, a specific filmic form and a viewing position. Within a pragmatic approach, he points out, the notion of *dispositif* can help take into account different uses of the same texts (or types of texts) within various exhi-bition contexts and/or institutional framings. As such, it allows for a concep-tion of media history in terms of evolving configurations of hardware, text and spectatorship rather than as a series of forms or formats following each other in time, each with its own identity or specificity (Kessler 2007, 15-16).

One of the authors Kessler references in establishing his point is Roger Odin, who has made some valuable observations on the ways in which insti-tutional framings can affect the interpretation of filmic texts (Kessler 2007, 15). The tenet of Odin's argument is that the reading role which spectators adopt is linked to a considerable extent to so-called 'bundles of determina-tion' issuing from the social space in which viewing takes place. Within this social space, several 'institutions' are at work: normative powers that manifest themselves both materially (in the physical characteristics of cinemas, muse-ums, etc.) and as the set of interpretations which they programme or stimu-late (and which he calls 'institutional constraints', *contraintes institutionelles*) (Odin 1988, 91, and 1994, 41; compare also Odin 1983). While spectators are often in a position to dissent from imposed readings, some of these forces are near-inescapable – especially those which emanate from the dominant cinematographic institution, that of fictional entertainment film (Odin 1984, 271, and 1988, 96).

While the author thus points out that there are other factors beside texts and their readers which contribute to the production of meaning, his primary

focus is necessarily on the audience. Odin's approach requires that one concentrates on how spectators are directed in their reading of specific films, both by the viewing situations in which they end up and by the institutional conventions and traditions which govern them. In my view, the main advantage of using the theoretical concept of *dispositif* rather than a conception of readers as subject to various bundles of determination is that it does not privilege either one of the players that contribute to the process of meaning construction, and that it does not subject them to any kind of conceptual hierarchy. The reason why I choose to use the notion, then, is that it allows for an understanding of the interaction between its constituents (technology, text, and viewer/viewing position) as an entirely reciprocal and simultaneous process.[34]

The Pedagogical *Dispositif*

As a theoretical concept, the *dispositif* notion not only has a tradition in media studies, but also, among others, in the field of educational science. In a pedagogical context, however, the term often has a somewhat normative connotation. In her contribution to a collection of essays mapping current uses of the term (in the French-speaking world), Anne-Marie Chartier writes:

> In the field of pedagogy, the term *dispositif* is often used in a banal way to designate the organised, well-defined, stable means that form the framework for repeatable actions. Among the *dispositifs* of education, the alternation is [with] a *dispositif* that differs from the 'classical' one organised around theoretical courses. (1999, 207)[35]

As such, she demonstrates, it often functions as a synonym of method (*méthode*): a standard for teaching and learning, usually as prescribed by manuals and sample texts or tests (Chartier 1999, 208). *Dispositif* thus excludes everything that can be referred to as 'practice' (*pratique*): those aspects of the teaching process that take shape in daily classroom interaction (210). This use of the concept, she points out, is entirely compatible with what she describes as "the technocratic idea that it concerns institutionalised, finalised machineries, conceived by decision-makers seeking to be efficient" (207).[36] What is left out here, in other words, is precisely the aspect of interdependency which I singled out above as the *dispositif* notion's chief merit.

 The second problem with earlier uses of a concept of pedagogical *dispositif* is that those who deploy it usually lend too much weight to the texts which their analyses revolve around. Daniel Peraya, author of a piece on the mediatisation of education published in the same volume, argues that the genre characteristics of classroom films provoke corresponding cognitive

positionings in their spectators (1999, 159). Fabienne Thomas, in turn, sets herself the task of determining how structural changes to film texts can help create a more desirable audience attitude. In this context, she speaks of the "effectuation" of the film's *dispositif*, thus suggesting that the latter is very much a function of the text itself (Thomas 1999, 222). Both authors, I would argue, fail to acknowledge the highly interactive nature of audience positioning, and in particular, the role which can be attributed here to the relationship between pupils and teachers.

Jacquinot, author of *Image et pédagogie*, makes a terminological distinction which seems useful here. Borrowing her concepts from the American theorist Rudy Bretz, she differentiates between two types of (media) communication: the kind which takes place within a system of information (*système d'information*) and that which is characteristic of a system of instruction or system of tuition (*système d'instruction*). Both types of communication are vehicles for messages with an informative content; the difference between them lies in the purposes which they serve. Whereas the first facilitates a process of informing users, the second also offers them the opportunity to learn. Another crucial distinction between the two systems is that instructing, as opposed to informing, involves an element of control: it implies that someone (an instructor) takes charge of ('masters') the conditions in which meaning production can take place (Jacquinot 1977, 33-34).

The latter remark in particular interests me, as it underlines the relational aspect of the *dispositif* that I focused on earlier. In the first half of this chapter, I pointed out that teaching situations are usually characterised by an element of constraint, which derives from the fact that instructors and learners do not have the same level of authority. Although those who teach on a daily basis will confirm that in practice, an appropriate power balance is not always easy to achieve, I would like to argue that a certain amount of coerciveness is inherent to the educational institution itself. The hierarchical relation between teachers and pupils may have to be reconfirmed upon every encounter between them; it does not, however, need to be *reinvented*. As partners in a so-called *système d'instruction*, both parties are familiar with the standard procedures for interaction – whether they choose to abide by them or not. The particular nature of their relation, in other words, is a constitutive part of what could be called a 'pedagogical *dispositif*'.

One advantage of the *dispositif* concept which I use here is that it does not reduce the figure of the teacher to a mere institutional factor, a part of a more general 'context' which influences the spectators' reading of a film. Above I emphasised the role of the medium's deployers in determining the conditions in which viewing takes place. While the effect of the decisions they take on the pupils' interpretation of the material shown should not be seen too deter-

ministically, it is important to foreground their relation to the children they teach – not only for the purpose of appropriately valuing the more 'contingent' aspects of the pedagogical *dispositif*, but also for an accurate understanding of the texts' functioning as part of it.

Within a classroom setting, after all, the relation between instructors and spectators, but also that between instructors and texts, is a very direct one. An educator's functional authority over the class he or she teaches, I argued, is closely bound up with his or her presumed intellectual superiority (which derives in turn from the possession of a body of knowledge that the pupils still need to acquire). This authority, indeed, extends to the tools that are being used. By showing a film to a group of children, a teacher inevitably approves it as a worthy instrument for the transfer of those facts or skills which he/she is supposed to pass on – a condition which in turn presupposes that the information it conveys is considered accurate. The approval which is thus given to what is said or shown – even if tacitly – is a crucial constituent of the *dispositif* within which the films under scrutiny acquired their meanings.[37]

THE PEDAGOGICAL *DISPOSITIF* AS A *DISPOSITIF* OF EMBEDDING

The above-mentioned scenario, of course, is not the only one imaginable – even in the context of a project that focuses on the ways in which classroom films functioned within formal educational institutions. In determining the constituents of the pedagogical *dispositif* proposed here, I infer a screening/viewing situation in which the conditions that apply to regular classroom interaction stay in place. This configuration, however, could only have taken shape in the event of what I previously called 'embedded' use. The reason why I choose to privilege this user mode over its alternatives is that it constitutes the most useful interpretational framework for the analysis that follows.

Inevitably, this choice of *dispositif* comes down to a reduction. Making interpretational decisions necessarily entails that one privileges certain angles over others or even ignores possible points of view. In addition to this, one also reverts to abstractions. In what precedes I have amalgamated a multitude of real-life configurations into a single, theoretical model. The notion that results, therefore, is an artificial construct, more unified in nature than the reality to which it corresponds. The act of reduction I performed, however, is not random, but is informed by some of the conclusions which I have drawn earlier. More specifically, my choice for a *dispositif* of embedding is based on the observation that in the case of so-called 'occasional' use, films did not really function as didactic aids. To elucidate this position, let me return to the work of Odin.

Within the framework of his so-called 'semio-pragmatic' approach, Odin claims that various institutions guide spectators in their interpretation of the films they see. These institutions, he argues, direct them either towards a 'fictionalising', or towards a 'documentarising' reading. At a more advanced level, they can also encourage an interpretation in terms of a specific sub-genre or *ensemble*. For instance, institutional constraints can stimulate the viewers to read an item either as a *reportage* film, as a 'pedagogical' film (*film pédagogique*), or as any other type of non-fiction film (Odin 1984, 264-68, 272-73).[38]

Proposing a somewhat more interactive version of this analysis, I would argue that it is the specific *dispositif* that comes into being during a given text's screening/viewing that determines whether or not it takes on the status of a teaching film. If what comes about is the type of configuration that I have designated above as 'pedagogical', then use of the term is indeed appropriate; if not, I would choose to employ a different label altogether. The tag 'classroom film/teaching film', in other words, is suitable only in the case of texts that function as didactic instruments. The *dispositif* that this usage type generates, in turn, constitutes the framework for my analysis of their operation as rhetorical constructs.[39]

Reading vs. Effectiveness

Those familiar with Odin's work will probably notice that some of the interpretive assumptions which I make here fundamentally conflict with the author's views on the activation of reader roles in a formal educational situation. In a short paragraph on the subject, Odin argues that in practice, teaching films or school television broadcasts rarely function as aids to pedagogical interaction; in fact, he says, they nearly always *undermine* the sort of communication that normally takes place in class (Odin 1989, 96-97). The immediate implication of this assessment would be that in practice, the *dispositif* that I described cannot possibly take shape. However, I do not take the author's standpoint here.

In his writings, Odin postulates that film viewers are directed in their interpretation by so-called 'institutional constraints'. However, the coercive potential of these forces is not absolute: spectators always have the freedom to deviate from a proposed reading, and choose an alternative one. Within a pedagogical setting, he argues, this is particularly common: pupils who are made to watch films in class rarely accept the interpretation that is imposed. While it is very difficult for them to decode the texts they are dished up differently than the educational institution requires – simply because the reading order given is usually too powerful to oppose – they do have the option of refusing to interpret altogether. The result of this, Odin continues, is that the exchange comes to a halt: there is no filmic communication, but no (proper) pedagogi-

cal communication either. The author explains this failure to converse as a result of the fact that the viewers are given two conflicting reading directives (*consignes*). On the one hand, they are encouraged to fictionalise (because the dominant cinematographic institution defines this as the 'standard' interpretational mode), but on the other hand, they are stimulated to documentarise (by the teacher, or the educational institution he or she represents) (Odin 1989, 96-97).

My first objection to this analysis is that it constitutes an unjustified generalisation. Although the situation which Odin sketches is definitely conceivable, I dismiss his conclusion that classroom viewers are inevitably placed in a so-called 'double bind' (Odin 1989, 97). His assessment is based on the presupposition that films, by definition, will never be recognised as proper didactic tools, even if they are shown in a markedly pedagogical context. However, this is not necessarily so. How pupils perceive of the medium is largely a matter of what they are accustomed to: the more experience they

Still from the film *Een wens verhoord binnen 24 uur: De post* (NOF, 1953), depicting preparations for the sort of classroom film viewing that is taken as a model here. (From the collection of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum)

have with teachers who develop routines of embedded use, the less likely Odin's scenario must be.[40]

A second, more important point I wish to make is that pronouncements to this effect often form part of a discourse centring around the potential successfulness or effectiveness of teaching films or didactic broadcasts. In Odin's view, the near-impossibility for a so-called 'documentarising pact' to emerge within an educational institution seems to hinge primarily on the teachers' failure to adequately frame the films which they deploy. Other authors blame it on the qualities of the texts that are chosen for this purpose; for instance, the fact that they are often stylistically 'backward' (e.g. Smith 1999, 31).

For the purpose I set myself here, such considerations are definitely of lesser importance. If one's primary objective is the rhetorical analysis of a given corpus of texts, it does not matter all that much whether pupils, in concrete viewing situations, did or did not adopt the readings inferred. In this context it is much more relevant that within the functional set-up identified above, viewers were necessarily aware which readings were the most appropriate ones. In the case of embedded use the situation's pedagogical nature would have been so obvious that children could not simply *ignore* the readings that were associated with it, but only actively *oppose* them. By implication, then, they had to know full well what these preferred interpretations were.[41]

Taking the above reasoning just a little further, I would like to argue that the pupils' consciousness of what they were *supposed* to make of a film is actually the only given of which one can safely assume that it was shared by a majority – if not all – of the people concerned. Therefore, I use it here as a guideline for analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have set myself two goals. The first was to sketch a picture of how classroom films were deployed in Dutch primary and secondary schools in the period dealt with. In the absence of concrete data on this subject, I have thought it useful to first consider what NOF's normative writings reveal about the attitude which teachers took to the possibility of the film medium's use. Combined with a few first-hand, mostly retrospective reports, the insights which I obtained have allowed me to formulate some basic hypotheses.

My second purpose was to figure out what these observations on classroom film use might in turn contribute to the analysis that follows in part II. In the second half of this chapter, I have argued that while I have no reason to qualify either of the two usage patterns mentioned as dominant, the kind which I designate as 'embedded' would probably be the most productive

model for analysis. Therefore, I have chosen to take it as my inspiration in determining the characteristics of the pedagogical set-up that will serve as my interpretational frame. In the chapter that follows, I further develop the links between the *dispositif* notion established here and my principles for the reading of sample films from the collection under scrutiny.

PART 2

Rhetoric: Text & Frame

INTRODUCTION

In his introduction to the National Film Preservation Foundation's The Field Guide to Sponsored Films (2006), Rick Prelinger ponders some of the challenges of what he calls 'ephemeral film scholarship'. He writes:

> As historically neglected film types gain attention, archivists and scholars face challenges quite unlike those confronted in collecting the better-documented fiction feature. In a universe of hundreds of thousands of poorly known and largely undocumented works, where do we begin? […] How can practitioners compare similar titles and characterize their specificities […]? (x)

The methodological difficulties which the author here associates primarily with research on sponsored films (items financed and/or produced by companies, associations or institutions, often for purposes of advertising or education) equally apply to the study of titles intended more specifically for classroom teaching. As in Prelinger's case, my problem is that there is no ready-made method to analyse the films I investigate; that is, no set of procedures that takes into account both what distinguishes them from non-teaching films and any textual variation that might occur within the corpus itself.

Attempts to distinguish between various kinds of educational films, of course, have been made ever since the first such titles were rented out, both by their distributors and by academic authors (often pedagogues). Staff at NOF, for instance, based their classifications on the subject categories instated by the curricula which the films were meant to support (e.g. Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film 1953). Others categorised titles according to their didactic

methods or learning objectives.[1] Some sources combine one or more of the above principles with more traditional organising criteria, such as the films' various generic features (McClusky, 1948) or narration styles (Alexander 2010, 54-56).[2] None of these classification systems, however, provides a useful starting point for the much more encompassing analysis that I want to conduct here.

Considering educational and classroom films retrospectively, more recent academic studies have tried to develop terminologies that allow for distinctions on a higher analytical level: a vocabulary used not so much to differentiate within the corpus itself, but to distinguish educational films from titles intended for other purposes and/or audiences. The most notable example, again, is Jacquinot's *Image et pédagogie*. As I explained, the book's objective is to determine how common cinematographic codes are adapted so as to serve a specifically didactic purpose. Jacquinot, in other words, tries to find out what is textually characteristic of such titles. One of her main conclusions is that teaching films, as a rule, are rather 'authoritarian': they do not leave much room for the reader's own interpretive initiative. She attributes this, in large measure, to the films' so-called 'verbosity' (Jacquinot 1977, 89): the fact that they primarily use words to pass their messages on, and in the process, severely restrict the signifying potential of the images (110-11).

I disagree with Jacquinot, on the one hand, because her conclusion constitutes an unwarranted generalisation. What she says most certainly applies to some, but by no means to all films that were deployed for didactic purposes.[3] On the other hand, I do not share her view because I think that in formulating her observations, she posits the uniqueness of features that are not at all exclusive to that particular category of material. For instance, the relations between verbal and visual elements which she considers to be typical of this type of film can equally be found in all sorts of shorts (many of which informational) that did not specifically target an audience of schoolchildren.

Remarkable in this context – although by no means surprising, given her choice to refer to her object as 'films with didactic *intent*' – is that Jacquinot here takes her inspiration from the circumstances of the films' production. According to the author, teaching films look the way they do because of a division of tasks between pedagogues and directors in the process of making them (the former determining content; the latter merely translating it into images and sounds; Jacquinot 1977, 17-18). Although I do not wish to deny here that the educational background of the films' writers, and in many cases also their involvement in the development of other types of didactic texts, may have affected the appearance of those shorts to a certain degree, I do not consider it a very productive starting point for analysis. Background knowledge of this kind definitely has some clarifying potential, in the sense that it can

help determine why, in individual films, certain textual choices were made. However, it does not provide any further clues as to how that specific body of material should be read.

For me, the most important common denominator of these films is the fact that they were once deployed within the framework of, and as an aid to, formal education. This given also functions as my analytical starting point. In my analysis, I focus, like Jacquinot, on textual features. In doing so, however, I do not establish the relation with their conditions of production but rather with the circumstances in which they were seen and in which they acquired their meanings.

In this chapter, I elucidate my main principles for analysis. My aim here is to clarify how, in the subsequent discussion of sample films, I try to achieve an analytical balance between the texts under scrutiny and the pedagogical frameworks within which they had to operate. In three consecutive steps, I explain how a rhetorical perspective can help me integrate the various factors that contribute to the process of signification. First, I state my position in the expanding field of rhetorical theory by elucidating my notion of rhetoric. The way I see it, this concept should be understood not as a finite series of compositional techniques but as a basic textual function that gets activated under a given set of circumstances. Next, I elaborate on the rhetorical function of the latter: the non-textual conditions that I collectively refer to as the text's 'frame'. Finally, I specify which types of textual rhetoric I intend to focus on in the course of analysis.

3.1   RHETORIC: CONCEPTUAL EXPLORATION

Over the past twenty years, the concept of rhetoric has increasingly been used in attempts to characterise non-fiction film, and in particular, in efforts to determine what distinguishes it from its fictional counterpart (e.g. Nichols 1991, 20, and 2001, 16, 39-41, 68-69, 94-98; Plantinga 1997). One obvious reason for the notion's popularity in this context is the fact that non-fiction is often closely associated with notions of real-ness and truth. The title of Winston's book *Claiming the Real* (1995), for instance, builds on the widespread assumption that the task of documentary film is to persuade an audience that what is represented corresponds to an extratextual reality, and by implication, that this is a measure for its successfulness. For Carl R. Plantinga, "nonfiction films are those that assert that the states of affairs they present occur(red) in the actual world" (1997, 18) – something they can do with varying degrees of convincingness (101-70).

Commanding epistemic authority, however, is only one aspect of the rhe-

torical process: it is a means to a much more encompassing discursive end. Modern conceptions of rhetoric, after all, no longer associate the notion exclusively with the art of persuasion (or the study thereof) and the instruments or procedures involved. In its broadest possible definition the term now stands for "the use of symbols by humans" (Foss, Foss and Trapp 2002, 1); as such, it functions as a synonym for 'communication'. Also authors who define the concept somewhat more narrowly emphasise that rhetoric can be related to any aspect of textual construction (e.g. Chatman 1990, 185). In writing on film, however, it has long been used primarily to describe isolated mechanisms in explicitly persuasive or propagandistic genres (compare Behrens 1979, 3; Hesling 1989, 104).

Although they do not focus on a predetermined set of textual procedures, the non-fiction film theorists referred to above tend to treat matters of rhetoric in a rather restrictive manner. I am thinking here specifically of what they take to be the object of what Seymour Chatman, with a more neutral term, has called a text's 'suasion' (1990, 184-203). All of the theorists mentioned seem to take for granted that the primary purpose of the rhetorical process is to make an audience accept the reality or truth of the proposition a film makes. This assumption comes very close to classical conceptions of rhetoric as aimed at convincing hearers that they should agree with the speaker on the thesis he or she defends – a definition which, indeed, automatically confines the use of the term to a non-fiction context.

RHETORIC AS A TEXTUAL FUNCTION

My own position, in contrast, is much more in line with present-day conceptions of rhetoric, which shift the attention away from the purport of the proposition and its relation to the world it references towards its *status as* a proposition.[4] By substituting 'persuade' with 'suade' Chatman emphasises that the area of study he deals with "concerns the urgings of the text, the 'available means'" rather than any kind of 'message' or the text's failure or success in conveying it (1990, 186). Rhetoric, in this sense, refers to argumentation in the most general sense of the word: the use of textual resources to ensure the acceptability of a particular statement, as a statement. In as far as the notion has anything to do with persuasion at all, then, it is not in terms of the plausibility of certain pronouncements but rather their validity, their "right to be taken seriously" (190-91).

In an article on documentary film, Hesling argues that some strategies of argumentation are used specifically to augment a work's persuasive force. Preceding this moment of persuasion, however, "there is a moment of com-

pulsion which has much more to do with the *interpretation of the meaning of a text*" (Hesling 1989, 107). With this statement, the author widens the scope of the term 'rhetoric' so as to include all procedures that contribute to a film's coherence, and consequently, its intelligibility (Hesling and Peters 1985, 19). Moving on from Hesling's position I would like to argue that rhetoric not only plays a part in a public's understanding of a work, but also has some kind of a motivational role to play. Whatever is 'rhetorical' about a text is what can help convince an (implied) reader/viewer that what is said or shown is worth his or her attention, and therefore, that he/she better read/watch, or continue to do so. Yet in order for such a plea to even register with an audience, a work first of all needs to be able to draw attention to itself. Ultimately, then, rhetoric contributes not only to a text's intelligibility, but also to its *visibility*. The concept, in other words, concerns the entire complex of features with which an utterance requests to be 'heard'.

If this is the case, of course, the term 'rhetoric' can refer to procedures common to all kinds of texts – not only non-fictional ones. In an article from as early as 1979, Laurence Behrens states that "[f]ilms don't have to be overtly didactic [...] to be arguments" and that any "presentation of a character, a situation, a sequence of events, a resolution, a milieu" counts as a rhetorical device, since each of those must be convincing if the argument is to be considered successful (3).[5] Rhetorical effectiveness, in other words, is in essence a matter of seeking the audience's willingness to consider what is said or shown – not its preparedness to accept it as either real or true, or to agree with a narrator's point of view. Rhetoric as such, moreover, should be seen as a basic function, or dimension, of any text – spoken, written or audio-visual. Considered from a methodological point of view, it also constitutes a possible perspective: an interpretive angle, and at the same time, an aspect of the text that one can focus on during analysis.

RHETORICAL PERFORMANCE

One consideration that the above authors deal with only in passing is the fact that if the objective of rhetoric is to make a communication acceptable, then the concept's referential scope cannot be limited to features of the text itself. Chatman does quote Wayne Booth's pronouncement that certain problems that one might encounter while reading fiction can be handled "by rhetoric provided outside the work" (Chatman 1990, 195). However, he does not elaborate on how exactly the latter should be understood, or how its relation to the text in question might be conceived of. Jacques Derrida is a little more specific: he argues that the effects of rhetoric in part also depend on text-external

factors, such as political, economical or 'libidinal' situations (which he collectively designates as 'pragmatic' ones) (see Olson 1990). However, the author does not specify how precisely textual and non-textual elements interact.[6]

In my view, the role of text-external factors can best be conceived of as that of setting off, or activating, the rhetorical potential of the (literary/cinematic) work itself. In other words, I take my departure from the assumption that textual rhetoric gets 'actualised', as Umberto Eco once put it, within, and to some extent also by, the particular situation in which a piece is consumed (1979, 11).[7] Inevitably, this also implies that a text cannot achieve its maximum argumentative effect unless it is presented to its readers/viewers within its most relevant institutional framework. For classroom films, for instance, this means in practice that they are most likely to compel their audience's willingness to consider what they argue (in their capacity of *classroom films*) if they are part of what I have designated earlier as a 'pedagogical *dispositif*'.

In order to develop the above ideas a little further, I should consider once more the ideas of Derrida. In an interview on the subject (Olson 1990), he associates rhetoric with performativity, thus establishing the relation with Speech Act Theory, as developed by J. L. Austin (1962) and John Searle (1969). Linguistic utterances, according to this theory, function in concrete user situations as speech acts, which should be conceived of as a combination of propositional content (their locutionary aspect) and performative (or illocutionary) force. Performativity here concerns a statement's potential as an act that can generate a certain effect (a perlocution). In their performative aspect, speech acts are subject to sets of semantic and pragmatic rules (validity claims, as Jürgen Habermas calls them) which form the criteria on the basis of which utterances can be evaluated (Foss, Foss and Trapp 2002, 246-48). The latter characteristic in particular links the speech act to textual rhetoric as a conceptual tool. In a similar way, rhetorical activity cannot be pried loose of the expectations that are embodied by the pragmatic situation in which it comes about. It is precisely those conventions by which rhetoric can, quite literally, take effect.

Following on from the above, one might argue that the process of rhetorical activation might also be characterised as one of 'performance'. Although this notion originated within a different theoretical tradition than the concept of performativity (see Bal 2002, 178-79), there are striking analogies between the two (182ff). One relation that is of particular interest to me here is the importance, in either case, of the role of memory.

In what precedes, I already stressed the significance of conventions and expectations in the process of activating the performative aspects of an utterance. A similar type of historical understandings also play a role in the execution of that which is traditionally designated as a 'performance': an enactment of a rehearsed text, scene, or play. Here, it concerns more specifically those

associations which occur to the viewer/visitor in the process of watching. Like the rules which speech acts are subject to, these cultural conventions – or rather, an individual's memories thereof – constitute a stock of necessary foreknowledge; without them, the rhetorical potential of the work simply cannot be activated. This property, it seems, connects texts that are enacted live (i.e. performances in the strictest sense) to recorded/filmic ones. In this type of works as well, it depends on which stored notions readers or viewers rely on which meanings get produced (compare Bal 2002, 286).[8]

Precisely because it is so inextricably bound up with the here-and-now of some sort of performance, the activation of a text's rhetorical potential is also contingent upon the conditions in which the reading act takes place. Film spectators, for instance, will take their recourse to different cultural conventions in different viewing situations. Which memories they draw on, in other words, depends in turn on how the work itself is framed.

3.2   FRAMING RHETORIC

A work's 'framing', in what follows, should be taken to refer to those aspects of the rhetorical process that can be situated outside the film text (in the strictest sense). I use the term to identify those elements of a work's 'surroundings', both material and non-material, that have a role to play in activating, or performing, its rhetorical potential. At the same time, in making inferences about the conditions for the text's performance, I also carry out an act of framing myself: I draw attention to, or foreground, the ways in which text-external factors can help set off a film's various latent rhetorical effects (compare Bal 2002, 135-37).[9]

Textual and extratextual elements, of course, should not be seen as separate. In what follows I consider the frame not as something that literally borders the text, but as part of a larger whole, and, specifically, as part of a complex of mutually connected and complementary elements.[10] In other words, I think of it as an inextricable part of a wider *dispositif* (a set-up which then encompasses both the film itself, and the various elements, or relations, that contribute to its framing).

In what precedes I characterised the function of rhetoric as that of ensuring the acceptability, or visibility, of a particular statement. Which aspect of the utterance exactly this acceptability concerns, however, varies according to the type of statement under scrutiny, and by the same token, according to the particular *dispositif* of which it forms part. For instance, a film that is framed as 'educational' and is allowed to function as part of a distinctly pedagogical *dispositif* must be acceptable for other reasons, and on other conditions, than

one that is embedded in a different set-up. An example should help me clarify this point.

The NOF-distributed shorts *Een natte broek in Waterland* (1956, *Wet Pants in Waterland*) and *Een vrolijke kadotter in huis* (1959, *A Jolly Starling in the House*) both tell the story of a few young protagonists who enjoy an unusual adventure before returning to the routines of their everyday lives.[11] Within most institutional frameworks they would probably have been read as fictions, providing either suspense or comic relief. On those occasions, the films' rhetorical potential would have concerned their acceptability as narratives; the measure for their success would have been the audience's preparedness to immerse itself in the imaginary universe represented. When seen in a school classroom, however, other aspects of the filmic discourse might have stood out. In addition to telling the story of a couple of young children, the films also document, respectively, some of the physical features of the Dutch polder land, and the behaviour of a bird in freedom and captivity. Within a teaching situation, therefore, their rhetorical effect might also have depended on their intelligibility, and acceptability, as geographical/biological claims (at least, if the facts presented would have been considered relevant in the context of the day's lesson). In such a case, the films' status of educational tools would have decisively affected their functioning as rhetorical constructs.[12]

CLASSROOM RHETORIC

In the aforementioned seminar paper, Kessler paraphrases the *dispositif* notion (as it is currently used) as a material and conceptual configuration "making it possible for a given type of phenomena to occur". The phenomena he refers to, he claims, are not confined to what happens inside a film, but consist of everything that results from the encounter between a text and the set-up of which it forms part (Kessler 2007, 2). In view of what precedes, it is possible to exchange the last few words in this definition for the terms 'rhetoric' and 'to get performed'. Kessler's view of how said phenomena come about, after all, is fully in line with my own conception of rhetoric as performance, and of a film as providing a variety of rhetorical potential that may (or may not) be activated in a concrete viewing situation.

Although the above applies to each type of text and within every single viewing context, it is useful to point out that among the various possible frameworks for the viewing of films, the pedagogical one has manifest rhetorical qualities. A classroom, I would argue, is an environment in which the rhetorical dimension of the exchange that takes place necessarily takes centre stage. In the previous chapter I established that the ultimate purpose of classroom

interaction is to make pupils acquire the knowledge and skills that are commonly considered to belong to the field of formal education. Whether or not the conditions for this can be established depends to a considerable extent on whether what is said can be made acceptable as relevant to the institution in which the communication takes place. If this is indeed the case, then what happens is precisely what I have designated in the first part of this chapter as the 'activation' or 'performance' of rhetoric.[13]

In the situation sketched, pupils also understand that if teaching aids are used, these function as tools in a process of pedagogical exchange. In some cases, the aids themselves bear markers of this status; otherwise, paratexts often do. Classroom films, for instance, usually have leaders carrying a distributor's logo or contain simple credits which identify the type of activity they are meant to support. Additionally, instruction booklets and sheets contain clues as to their intended purpose. However, quite apart from the fact that such signs of indexing (Carroll 1996, 232) are often targeted mainly at those who put the films to use (rather than the pupil-spectators themselves) they are also, strictly speaking, unnecessary. The fact that an aid is employed by a teacher as part of a lesson already calls the viewers' attention to its current status as a didactic tool, regardless of how it has been deployed elsewhere. If, for instance, a physics instructor chooses to cook something as a way of illustrating his or her point, then the pots and pans used, for that particular audience, no longer function as mere household gear. The same also applies to films. Items that are not in any obvious way labelled as teaching aids or even contain textual evidence of a prior relation with a different viewing context *become* such tools because they are put to the service of communicating didactic matter.[14]

The prominence of the rhetorical dimension of an educational screening, in other words, is inextricably bound up with the role of the teacher, whose task it is to make content acceptable (as didactic matter) to the audience addressed. His or her ability to do this derives to a large extent from his/her institutional position of authority: the fact that inside the walls of a classroom, he/she is the one in charge. Or in the terms of the speech act theorists: it is largely due to a teacher's status of instructor that he/she can ensure the 'felicitousness' (appropriateness or validity) of the performative act that the presentation of a classroom film constitutes (compare Austin 1962, 1-38; also Culler 2000, 504). For the pupils, in turn, the presence of an educator during the viewing entails that they are subject to an extreme form of interpretive pressure: they are given a very limited choice in terms of how they should understand the text that is screened, and therefore, of which rhetorical potentials should get performed.

The ultimate consequence of this view is that within this particular set-up, issues of authority – which, I have pointed out, are traditionally considered to

be at the core of the rhetorical process – can largely be referred to what happens *outside* the text. As opposed to Jacquinot, who claims that teaching films establish rhetorical (more specifically epistemic) force by textual means (1977, passim), I maintain that this is largely a matter of how such titles are framed. In other words, it depends on whether teachers can (or want to) command the power they are due – a necessary precondition for making films acceptable as didactic tools.[15]

THE UNFINISHED CLASSROOM FILM

Considering the overriding importance of what happens in the process of its framing, then, the classroom film can be seen as a highly 'unfinished' type of text. More so even than seems to be the case with many other genres, the production of meaning in such shorts is dependent on the ways in which textual rhetoric is complemented by what takes place in the classroom settings in which it gets performed. The rhetorical effectiveness of a children's entertainment film, for instance, is not likely to depend on the specifics of its viewing to quite the same degree. The chance that it is read as such is generally high – whether it is seen in a cinema, a school gym, or at home. As a rule, the act of framing that is needed to convince an audience that it should accept the recreational status of an entertainment screening is not quite as emphatic as that which is required to ensure the didactic status of a projection with an educational purpose.[16] Also, in the former case, the nature of the relationship between those present (and in particular between the adults and the children attending) does not normally have the same impact on the reading of the text.

Of course, the kind of textual incompleteness which I posit here, although highly noticeable in classroom films, is not unique to this kind of material. In a presentation on industrial films held in 2004, Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau characterised the genre they dealt with as a 'weak format': one that lacks textual dominance and extracts meaning from a specific audience and use.[17] In an article on the same topic, Yvonne Zimmermann refers to her corpus as one of *Halbfabrikate* (semi-manufactures): rhetorically underdetermined texts that become end products when embedded in given discursive/performative practices (2006, 84; compare also 2009, 113).[18] Similar arguments have also been made about other types of text, such as amateur films (Esquenazi 1995; Odin 1995).

However, the interpretational 'closure' which can come about in the interaction between a text and its rhetorical frame takes a different form in each of these cases. In order to demonstrate this, I would like to compare what I observe in my own corpus with what Odin has written about this issue in one

of his pieces on home movies (or 'family films', as in the original French). In either case, I believe, the relation between the various players within the *dispositif* is specific to that given category of texts. Amateur and classroom films, in other words, are unfinished in slightly different ways.

Classroom Films vs. Family Films

In his article "Rhétorique du film de famille" (1979), Odin argues that in films meant for screening in a family circle, the diegesis is not produced by the work itself, but constructed entirely by the audience. Family films, the author claims, merely function as *souvenirs*: as aids to the memories of those present. Construction of the diegesis is part of a process of remembrance: during the projection, viewers mentally relive the events that are shown (355-57). A screening of family films, it follows, very much invites the spectators' participation. In practice, audiences often vocalise their memories in a collective creative effort (361-64). The ultimate effect of seeing such films is that of remodelling the past: while watching, viewers privilege certain events above others and transform the lived past into a mythical one (365). Yet even so, Odin concludes, spectators do not experience a so-called 'fiction effect' (*effet fiction*): they always remain aware of the historical relation between their own lives and what is represented in the text (364).

The process sketched by Odin is one that can only take place in a very specific setting: it can only materialise as part of what I would like to call, with a phrase that incorporates the terminology used in this work, a 'domestic' *dispositif*.[19] The comparison with what happens during the screening of a teaching film within a corresponding pedagogical *dispositif* uncovers a number of differences.

The first is that textual signification, in the case of teaching films, is not simply the result of a remodelling of what the audience already knows. Of course pupils are aware, due to the setting in which they view such films, that what they see and hear can only be relevant in as far as it bears a connection to something they have learnt before, either in the same context or in a similar one. However, that which they remember (i.e. the academically relevant knowledge which spectators have, due to their prior experience as schoolchildren) does not have quite the same weight. In the case of a classroom screening such recollections merely help them distinguish between what is relevant to the educational process of which the screening forms part, and what is not.[20]

An immediate consequence of this observation is that the viewers' role as active participants is limited compared to the situation Odin describes. In addition to this, the precise extent of the pupils' involvement, and especially, how vocal they can be about what they see, depends on the concrete viewing situation. Above all, it hinges on the attitude of the teacher, who allows for

pupil interaction, either by exercising his or her authority (in which case he/she can either prevent, encourage, or enforce it) or by refraining from doing so. In the latter case, however, the educator lets go of his/her institutionalised role as the person in charge of the educational process, and therefore, of the film's status as a teaching tool.

From what precedes it follows logically that any conclusions as to how classroom films are read must differ from Odin's views on the interpretation of family films. When talking about the resolution or closure of the interpretational openness that characterises such films, it is not all that useful to consider meaning production entirely in terms of the construction of a diegesis. One of the most striking features of the communication that takes place within a pedagogical set-up is that it is oriented towards what goes on *outside* of it, in the world at large. Something similar also applies to the films (or books, maps or models) that function as didactic aids: they are only relevant in as far as they can contribute to the acquisition of knowledge about the external (extratextual) world. The role of rhetorical framing, in this process, is to focus the pupils' attention on the relation between a text and the outside reality that is in fact the true object of learning. Put in Odin's words, this implies that although the construction of a diegesis – even a fictional one – may be possible, the reader always remains aware that this is not what the viewing is ultimately about.[21]

3.3   TEXTUAL RHETORIC

In what precedes, I have answered the question of how rhetorical processes are affected by the ways in which films, and those used for classroom purposes in particular, are framed. In my analyses, however, I focus on audio-visual *texts*: the combinations of images, and sometimes sounds, whose rhetorical potential is activated within a specific *dispositif*. In what follows, I want to specify which textual elements I am about to discuss. But first, a few more words about my analytical method.

In his seminar paper, Kessler argues that "[an] investigation of historical and present *dispositifs* would […] have to take into account the different viewing situations, institutional framings, the modes of address they imply, as well as the technological basis on which they rest" (2007, 15). Kessler's use of the phrase 'modes of address' here has two distinct advantages. On one hand, it allows for a conceptualisation of textual features as directed towards an audience. Earlier on in this chapter I drew attention to the reader-orientedness of any notion of rhetoric. Whether used in a traditional sense (as a term referring to a well-delineated set of rules and/or skills) or in its more up-to-date, inclusive meaning, rhetoric always concerns a plea to the listener, reader or viewer:

an appeal to his or her willingness to consider what is said. The phrase 'mode of address', then, renders quite accurately what I am looking for here.

On the other hand, Kessler conceives of the concept as something that is implied by an institutional framework rather than being a finite, text-immanent given. I have emphasised repeatedly that textual meaning can never be isolated from the conditions in which it comes about. The same also applies to the ways in which a film addresses its viewer. Even when considered on a more abstract level, the audience can never be seen as generic: its particular composition and the reasons for its constituents' membership should always inform the interpretation of a work. The rhetorical analysis of a text, in other words, requires that one draws inspiration from the specific spectatorship which a film, by grace of the particular *dispositif* of which it forms part, is considered to serve.

THE IMPLIED VIEWER

In my analysis, therefore, I am using the interpretive concept of an implied viewer. The literary version of this notion, the implied reader, was introduced to the field of narratology in the early 1960s. Since that time it has been deployed in a variety of ways, to sometimes contradictory purposes. Although it is most often associated with the study of reception in the narrow sense – the phenomenological approach of Wolfgang Iser (1974 and 1978) and Roman Ingarden ([1931] 1973), among others – it was coined by Booth (1961), a theorist with an interest in rhetorical analysis. Booth's interpretation of the concept, however, is based on a model of literary communication that is too normative to suit my purpose.

In her introduction to a collection of essays on the subject, Susan R. Suleiman points out that rhetorical varieties of audience-oriented criticism tend to conceive of interpretation as a process of "decoding what has by various means been encoded in the text". Booth, for instance, argues that while the implied reader is a textual function, the 'successful' reading of a work is fully dependent on an actual reader's identification of (and with) his values and beliefs. The implied reader, for him, serves as a guide to the 'ideal' interpretation of the text (1980, 8-9).

One reason for Booth's tendency towards normativity can probably be found in his conception of the implied reader as the counterpart of an implied author, a textual agency which he defines as an 'official version' of the real writer (his so-called 'second self'; Booth 1961, 70-71).[22] Such a definition seems to confuse the issue of intentionalism that the early advocates of an audience-oriented approach precisely wished to circumvent. In a chapter on

the topic, Chatman points out that although Booth disallows the intention of a real author in the interpretation of his work, constructing a textual alter ego also prevents him from conceiving of a piece of writing as a 'self-existing thing'. The link between the implied author and the text, for Booth, is still one of production: the former is seen as a "choosing, evaluating person", the 'inventor' of what is said (1990, 81).

A similar propensity towards collapsing implied and real authors can also be found in the work of other theorists who claim to privilege the reader's point of view. Narratologist Peter J. Rabinowitz, for instance, replaces the term 'implied' with 'authorial' audience, thus emphasising the role of an actual, creative person who invites his addressees to read in a particular (albeit socially constituted) way (1998, 22-26).[23] Scholars in the field of rhetorical theory as well tend to slip into statements about reading instructions as given by real authors. In a critical discussion of the concept of intention, Mieke Bal attacks this practice (and by extension also the notion of an implied author as such) by arguing that it opens the door for authorising interpretations that are really those of the interpreters themselves (2002, 271).

The implied reader I choose to construct differs from that of Booth and other reader-oriented critics in that I do not explicitly pair it with an implied author. Discussing rhetorical strategies, as I do in the following chapter, does of course presuppose a certain degree of intentionality on the part of a more or less purposeful agent who somehow manifests himself in the film. This textual function, however, is not what I am interested in. With Bal, I am convinced that the notion of authorial intention does not necessarily bring one closer to understanding a work (compare Bal 2002, 268). This is definitely the case when the processes under scrutiny are of a rhetorical nature. As I stressed before, rhetoric concerns the ways in which the object of an exchange, or even the exchange itself, can be made visible or acceptable to those watching. By implication, it is its aspect of reader-orientedness that I should investigate.

Furthermore, not inferring an implied author allows me to draw attention to my own interpretive activity. In this work, I use the concept of an implied reader as a purely artificial construct: a tool that gives me the opportunity to highlight something in a given corpus of texts. This use of the notion, in fact, is closer to the one favoured by what Suleiman calls the 'structuralist and semiotic variety' of audience-oriented criticism (1980, 14): the kind practiced, for instance, by Gérard Genette (1966-1970) and Gerald Prince (1980a and 1985). As opposed to authors who take a rhetorical approach, these theorists and critics do not consider it their task to devise ways of capturing a text's one and only meaning, but rather to analyse the codes and conventions that allow for its readability. Their implied reader (often also called 'inscribed' or 'encoded')

does not correspond to the ideal interpreter of the text, but is merely one in a much wider range of meaning-producing elements.[24]

As a last preliminary remark on this subject, I should briefly address the status of the implied reader as a member of a collective. A characteristic property of the experience of watching a classroom film, of course, is that it is done in a group. A pupil-spectator, by definition, is never alone: viewing always takes place in the company of classmates, whose presence also affects the way in which a film is seen. By analogy with the actual viewer, the reader that is embedded in the text should therefore be considered part of such a collectivity.

In this context, Carolyn R. Miller's concept of 'rhetorical community' is a useful one. The author defines this notion as the entity "invoked, represented, presupposed, or developed in rhetorical discourse". She contrasts it with a so-called 'relational' collective, which is distinguished by actual ties among its members, and a 'taxonomic' one, which exists only in the minds of classifiers, sociologists (Miller 1994, 73). A rhetorical community, it seems, is somewhere in between. Although definitely a virtual (because imaginary) collectivity, it is also a functional one: in order to communicate effectively, users of language need to draw on the communal baggage of its constituents (1994, passim).[25] In the context of this work, conceptualising the implied reader as a representative of a specific rhetorical community acts as a reminder of the need to be precise about which particular textual audience is addressed.

TYPES OF TEXTUAL RHETORIC

The corpus this book deals with, I claimed earlier, is characterised above all by its textual variety: the extremely wide range of filmic resources, and conventions, or traditions, which it draws on. Above I demonstrated that this does not necessarily lead to excessive semantic/referential ambiguity. The interpretational openness that is caused by a teaching film's apparent textual indeterminacy, after all, is easily removed in the interplay with a more encompassing pedagogical *dispositif*.[26]

In analytical terms, this means that an interpretation that focuses on the textual aspects of the rhetorical process should take its inspiration from this particular set-up: a *dispositif* in which the films discussed function, or used to function, as didactic tools. Consequently, the focus in what follows is on a very specific textual dimension: the signs, or marks, of the shorts' orientation (or as Mikhail Bakhtin would call it: their 'addressivity'; see Miller 1994, 72) towards an audience of schoolchildren, watching within a clear educational framework and in the context of a lesson.[27] In this process, I construct an implied viewer that is inextricably linked to this specific *dispositif*, and that

is addressed as a collective of what one might call 'pedagogical subjects'. I deploy it in my discussion of two distinct types of rhetoric.

Motivational Devices

First, in chapter 4, I discuss textual elements of which the rhetorical potential must be situated on the most basic communicative level. The type of features I deal with here neatly fit the definition of rhetoric that I gave earlier, as it is their function to draw the audience's attention towards the film as a statement rather than to ensure the plausibility of the position which it defends.

Above I argued that in the case of teaching films, whether or not the exchange (and by extension, its object) can be made acceptable as didactic depends to a large extent on the way in which it is framed. The type of rhetorical activity I focus on here, I would say, precedes this phase – not in the temporal sense, but as a condition that needs to be fulfilled. My assumption is that before viewers can accept the communication's status as educational, they first need to simply consider what is shown. The rhetorical elements I have in mind, then, primarily have a motivational function: they invite the audience to take part in a communicative exchange. Their rhetorical quality lies in the fact that they support a (non-explicit) argumentation of which the purport is that paying attention might somehow be in the spectators' own interest.[28]

The clusters of techniques that I discuss in this chapter are in no way specific to the teaching film. They are principles for visualising and organising content that are common to a wide range of genres and in fact belong to the cinematic repertoire as such. However, when placed within the *dispositif* in which the texts under scrutiny were supposed to function, they can all be read as part of motivational strategies targeted at an audience with a very specific composition and purpose. In what follows I organise these strategies, among others, according to the various rhetorical potentials which they seem to exploit, and thus also foreground.

References to the *Dispositif*

The second type of rhetoric that I deal with does concern the acceptability, or the validity, of the filmic communication as a didactic exchange – albeit, still, in a rather indirect way. The textual elements I am referring to here act as reminders of the texts' functional framework. They are visual and/or auditory representations of tools or roles that are commonly considered characteristic of formal educational environments. As such, they function as textual references to the pedagogical *dispositif* within which the films discussed were meant to operate.

Unlike the features that I deal with in chapter 4, elements which reference the *dispositif* do have some kind of a distinguishing value, in the sense

that they alert their viewers to the fact that they are, very specifically, *classroom* films. However, they do so in a very roundabout way: their function is merely to confirm the allocation of the films' status as classroom tools – a status which ultimately needs to be established not by the text itself but in the process of its framing. Textual allusions to the shorts' institutional context, in other words, can never have the same rhetorical impact as the actual framework which they reference. In addition to this, elements of this type cannot be considered characteristic of the genre as such, since not *all* the films feature them. However, they did become more common over time. In my fifth chapter I also consider this development, and how it relates to an ever more pronounced reflection in the films themselves on their status as didactic tools.

CONCLUSIONS

In what precedes, I have explained how I interpret the concept of rhetoric and how I use it in the analysis that follows. I have argued that it should be conceived of not as a finite series of compositional techniques, but as a textual potential that comes to activation within a given functional framework. In this context, I have also used the term 'performance': a notion that underscores the connectedness of the rhetorical process to the here-and-now of a concrete user situation, and by implication, to the particular conventions that govern it.

Next, I have taken a closer look at the properties of this process as it is executed within a classroom setting. I have identified those text-external factors which are of particular significance to the activation of the rhetorical potential of teaching films, within their most relevant *dispositif*. Here, I have drawn the conclusion that such items can be characterised as highly unfinished: as a kind of texts which, in the process of acquiring meaning, depend to a particularly large degree on how they are framed by their users.

Finally, I have elucidated how, in the analysis that follows, I account for what these external factors contribute to the rhetorical process. I explained that I do so by focusing on marks, or markers, of the films' addressivity: their orientedness towards a specific audience, operating within a particular *dispositif*. For this purpose I make use of the concept of an implied viewer. This notion, or construct, functions as a tool in my search for two types of rhetorical elements: motivational devices (discussed in the following chapter) and references to the pedagogical *dispositif* (chapter 5).

As a concluding remark, I need to point out that the above kinds of rhetoric are by no means the only ones that may be relevant to a discussion of the texts dealt with. The reason why I opt for those two is that both give me the space to discuss teaching films in all their structural and stylistic variety, while

also allowing for a consideration of what they have in common. The second type in particular helps me to account, very specifically, for those textual features that inevitably focus one's attention on what the shorts were supposed to accomplish – however without generalising or reverting to explanations in terms of productional intentionality.

Textual Rhetoric I: Motivational Devices

INTRODUCTION

My basic theoretical assumption, I have explained, is that film texts contain a variety of rhetorical potential that either does or does not come to activation, depending on the *dispositif* in which they are embedded. On its most fundamental level, this potential is of a motivational nature: it concerns the ways in which the implied audience is encouraged to take into consideration the statements that are made. Its primary objective, then, is to invite communication, or alternatively, to ensure the continuation of an already on-going exchange.

In this chapter, I loosely classify filmic procedures (representational techniques, or combinations thereof) in terms of the various motivational possibilities which they seem to exploit. In this process, I identify a number of strategies, inferred on the basis of recurring textual patterns, with which the classroom films discussed encourage their audiences to consider what is shown and/or said.[1] These strategies, in turn, are based on implicit assumptions about what appeals to the viewers: notions as to which features make a text sufficiently interesting, engaging or agreeable to stimulate them to stay tuned (compare Silverstone 1984, 387).

The motivation of an (implied) audience is a basic rhetorical function, and therefore, common to all texts and all forms of communication.[2] *How* a work's motivational goals are pursued, however, depends among others on the particular audience that is addressed. What appeals to one group of viewers, after all, does not necessarily appeal to another, and implicit assumptions about what does/does not hold motivational potential are inevitably linked to *who* should be reached. Any attempt to unravel a text's or corpus' rhetorical structure should take this into account.

In what precedes, I have characterised my overall analytical endeavour

as a search for filmic marks of addressivity: the texts' orientation towards a specific, institutionally 'situated' audience (Allen 2006, 17). In light of my aim for this chapter this pursuit can best be rephrased as an inquiry into what the films under scrutiny say about their viewers' textual 'seduceability': their inclination towards being won over by certain aspects of the text. As I am dealing here with teaching films, the implications I am looking for concern, very specifically, the presumed motivational sensibilities of *pupils*: children (not adults) who are viewing in a markedly educational environment (not an entertainment setting) and in the presence of a teacher.

Many of the assumptions I identify will seem at first sight to be pretty universal, and not at all specific to the type of text and audience which I have in mind. In the following pages I do indeed discuss the use of narrative devices that exceed the boundaries of my own corpus, and in some cases even the scope of the film medium itself. These devices, moreover, often fulfil similar motivational functions in non-classroom films. What is distinctive about them, however, is their execution: their concrete, textual manifestation in this type of shorts.

By way of illustration, consider, for instance, the strategy that I designate in what follows as 'enabling recognition'. Some of the films dealt with feature familiar characters: human (or human-ised) narrative agents who are likely to strike a chord with the audience group addressed. In the context of this chapter my reasoning is that the introduction of such roles is based on the premise that they can make the viewing process more agreeable, and therefore, encourage viewers to stay tuned. While this representational principle, or even the rhetorical strategy behind it, is not unique to classroom films, some of the characters' features do stand out. In many cases, for instance, these characters are remarkably young. However, this fact is only significant if one takes into consideration the precise composition of the public targeted. The assumption that age is rhetorically relevant is based on the presupposition that texts somehow always imply (a version of) the spectators they address.

In the example quoted above the marks of filmic addressivity are quite unmistakable, as the characters featured can be read as some sort of 'viewer surrogates': textual equivalents of the pupil-spectators. In many cases, however, audience implication takes a somewhat more subtle form. Some of the textual procedures dealt with in this work derive their motivational potential from the very fact that the films in which they turn up target a school public: a group of children who attend screenings within a specifically *educational* framework. This circumstance, after all, inevitably heightens the appeal of features that might not constitute much of an attraction when seen elsewhere – even by a public of roughly the same age.

An example of this is the way in which the films under scrutiny use graphic

animation techniques. Remarkable about these shorts is that although they often contain sequences that deploy such methods, these rarely look very sophisticated when held to the production standards that post-war children, as seasoned cinema visitors, must have been accustomed to. Yet however unattractive this may make the films seem in retrospect (compare Hogen-kamp 1987, 66-69), such elements must have had at least some motivational potential at the time. When seen in a classroom setting, indeed, animated sequences, especially those of the more playful, imaginative kind, inevitably must have stood out precisely because they did not belong in a school setting.[3] Their appeal, in other words, was due to the association with another, 'recreational' *dispositif*. In teaching films, then, the deployment of such means can be interpreted as yet another way of implicating a socially, but also historically situated audience (Gunning [1986] 2006, 387).

In classifying the motivational devices that are commonly deployed in classroom films, I use the term 'focus' to refer to the motivational crux, so to speak, which a given strategy hinges on. I introduce this notion in order to identify the specific rhetorical potential which a given representational technique exploits, and in the process, foregrounds. This way, I seek to draw attention to the text's tacit assumptions about the nature of a procedure's spectatorial appeal, as well as to remind myself to always keep in mind the (necessarily audience-specific) suppositions that govern the strategies which I infer.

The first, most extensive section of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of six such motivational foci, along with some of the strategies with which they can be associated. The latter, however, function as mere examples; it is not my aim here to give an exhaustive overview of the various rhetorical tactics which teaching films employ. In the next section, I immediately reconsider this first taxonomy, arguing that it is more rigid than the reality which it attempts to represent. I demonstrate that textual elements often serve various motivational purposes at the same time, and that the strategies of which they form part often also coincide and overlap. Further on in the chapter, then, I advance an alternative classification. This time, I organise my corpus in terms of the level of directness with which different films represent pedagogically relevant matter. In this final section I focus not so much on specific rhetorical strategies but on what characterises entire texts in their motivational approach.

Before I embark upon analysis, however, I would like to reiterate that I am dealing here with a variety of rhetorical *potentials*, and not with finite, text-inherent meanings. In order for the strategies which I identify to even become visible, they need to be considered as part of a very specific, pedagogical *dispositif*. For instance, a film which capitalises on the motivational potential of what I designate as 'comprehensibility' can be taken to do so only if it is read

as addressed towards a public of schoolchildren.[4] For any other audience, the features which carry this potential might cause redundancy rather than clarification – hardly a textual point of appeal. In addition to this, the question of whether or not the identified strategies were actually performed (and therefore, whether the films under scrutiny can be considered to have been rhetorically 'successful') is not a point of discussion here.

4.1   TEXTUAL MOTIVATION: FOCI AND STRATEGIES

One of the main goals of this chapter is to distinguish between different rhetorical foci: the centres, or cruxes, which motivation in teaching films revolves around. In the discussion that follows, they are divided into two main groups. First, I consider those textual procedures whose motivational potential lies in the fact that they can help make the *subject matter* addressed by the films more attractive to pay attention to. In the texts I deal with here, content is presented in such a way that it can encourage the audience to watch and keep watching. Second, I discuss strategies with the aim of making the *process of viewing* itself more alluring. The experience of watching is made more pleasurable, which in turn entails that audiences are more likely to want to stay tuned. This way, the spectatorial activity becomes a self-perpetuating one. Of course, the above distinction should not be considered as absolute: if a film's matter is made more inviting to watch, audiences are likely to find the act of viewing itself more enjoyable as well. By discerning between two areas of motivation, I merely try to determine which mechanism is the dominant one.[5] Either of the two categories distinguished in turn serves as an umbrella for three different foci, the rhetorical premises that inform the various strategies discussed.

In the course of analysis, I draw on a wide variety of filmic ingredients which cannot always be situated on the same level of a text. In some sections of this chapter I consider principles of visualisation (the ways in which objects or processes are made to appear on screen). Elsewhere I deal with what is perhaps more appropriately called 'aspects of textual organisation'. Sometimes, I focus on the use of very specific cinematic techniques (such as optical ones); alternatively I may also discuss chains or clusters of them, concentrating instead on the more encompassing choices that inform their deployment. Some of these elements, patterns and techniques, moreover, will be discussed on several occasions: first as part of strategy A; subsequently as a means to motivational purpose B. The relation between various rhetorical tactics and their textual appearance, in other words, is never an exclusive one.

4.1.1 Matter Made Appealing

The first series of strategies that I want to consider can be read as part of an attempt to make the filmic matter itself more appealing. The premise I start from here is that the subjects teaching films deal with sometimes have characteristics that already hold the potential of attracting their audience's attention. In order to do so, however, these aspects or dimensions somehow need to be 'set off'. When thus highlighted or emphasised, they can provoke in their viewers a number of reactions; each of those, in turn, can constitute an encouragement to stay tuned.

In what follows, I first discuss strategies that focus on the matter's *unfamiliarity*: the fact that the subjects dealt with, or certain aspects thereof, are fundamentally unknown to the audience addressed. The shorts in which they feature solicit their viewers' attention by showing them things that normally remain hidden (often processes or phenomena that are very intricate or highly organised). Next, I give some examples of procedures that foreground the matter's *comprehensibility*. Here I deal with films that somehow give their spectators the impression that the topics they discuss are not quite as complicated as might be expected. Some do so by suggesting that the content presented is either simplified or highly structured; others by making certain textual meanings verbally explicit. The third and last cluster of strategies motivate by focusing the readers' attention on a subject's inherent *do-ability*: the practical feasibility, or reproducibility, of a certain behaviour or skill.[6]

FOCUS: UNFAMILIARITY

One way in which the texts under scrutiny fashion subject matter so as to help convince an audience to be attentive is by foregrounding its most unfamiliar aspects or features. In most cases, these are elements that normally remain hidden: parts or dimensions that are invisible, either for the schoolchildren addressed or for humankind as such. The films concerned all have in common that the ways in which they represent objects or processes lends those some sort of surplus value: without the help of film – the medium, but this specific text more in particular – viewers would not find them quite as interesting or intriguing.

At least two strategies can be distinguished here; the differences between them, however, are quite subtle. First, I consider films, or sequences, that motivate their viewers by giving them access to a world which they may previously have known to exist but never saw with their own eyes. These shorts, in other words, give their spectators the opportunity to observe something which

they have not yet witnessed and which they therefore do not know the particulars of. The second series of texts, in contrast, attract their viewers' attention by spectacularising things which they thought they were familiar with, and in the process alienate them from those objects or processes. What the audience gets to see here estranges it from, and perhaps even contradicts, what it knew (in theory) before.

Strategy: Providing Access

The first strategy mentioned basically entails that the audience is given the impression that it can enjoy some sort of a visual privilege. Films that make use of it allow their viewers to observe something that they most likely have not seen before, and that others – those people who are not present during the screening – may never even behold at all. The reason is that the phenomena or processes such titles show cannot normally be witnessed in person; for instance, because they take place in remote locations or because of their size or speed. The only way of observing them is by means of film: a medium that can visualise things that are strictly speaking invisible, and that can penetrate locations that are physically inaccessible.

Optical Manipulation

One of the most obvious ways in which teaching films exploit the medium's potential to provide access to things unseen is by making use of all sorts of optical manipulation techniques: methods for shooting and post-production that serve to enlarge, speed up or slow down scenes or processes. Most of the titles in which such procedures are used deal with scientific subjects, such as biology or natural history.

The zoology films *De honingbij* ([ca. 1951], *The Honey Bee*) and *De kamsalamander* (1949, *The Crested Newt*) both deploy such techniques. The first, which uses macrophotography, does so consistently, as it shows life inside a hive (or so the viewer is meant to believe). The second contains micrographs, but not all the way through. Here, the technique's use is restricted to a single sequence, which features successive images of a newt embryo in various stages of development. In the film *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* *, a natural history title, microphotographic images function as subjective shots, showing organisms as seen through the microscope of the 17th-century scientist mentioned in the title.[7] *In de bruine boon schuilt een plantenleven* * (1955, *Plant Life Hidden inside the Brown Bean*), designated by NOF as a botany title, uses macro- and time-lapse photography so as to make visible to the viewer the process of the growth of a bean plant.

More sporadically, techniques like these are also used in films on other subjects, such as home economics and physical geography. In *Goed bewaren*

Still from one of the time-lapse sections in the film *In de bruine boon schuilt een plantenleven* (NOF, 1955). (From the collection of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum)

– *geld besparen* ([ca. 1955], *Preserve It Well – Save Money*) microscopic images of fungi are inserted between shots of contaminated foods to provide visual evidence of the risks of bad kitchen manners. The assumption made here is that what is shown is likely to surpass the viewers' imagination. In the first instalment of *De kust van Nederland* (1957, *The Coast of Holland*) accelerated images of a drying beach are used to sketch a more lively picture of the principle of changing tides.[8]

The above examples show very well how inextricably the rhetorical potential of the strategy discussed is bound up with the composition of the audience addressed. In chapter 1 I briefly mentioned the use of film by scientists as a means to examine phenomena that would otherwise be difficult to research. In this case as well the medium's main benefit lies in the fact that it can optically transform, and therefore make visible, objects or processes that humans cannot normally perceive. For the group of spectators targeted here, however, the appeal of such images and the motivational potential of the methods with which they are visualised are necessarily different. Specialist audiences, indeed, are less likely to experience the observation of nature's intricacies as a privilege. Quite possibly, they can behold optically manipulated images (microscopic ones, for instance) on a daily basis, and therefore do not consider them attractive for the same reasons.[9]

Moreover, it is arguable that the experience of privilege which the above films incite derives at least in part from the very fact that the observation of what they show is normally restricted to particular circles or professional groups. By watching them, in other words, viewers get to metaphorically look over the shoulders of the biologists, chemists, doctors or laboratory technicians that see them regularly. In doing so, they can vicariously experience the complex phenomena which those specialists are more familiar with.

Location and Access
In all of these examples viewers are presented with sights that they cannot normally witness because they are the result of some sort of transformation. Objects or processes are moulded into a form (shape, size, speed) which they do not have in the actual, referential world. However, there are ways of showing viewers things unfamiliar that involve far less artifice.

The geography film *Boerenarbeid in Tirol* (1951, *Farmers at Work in the Tyrol*) shows fragments of life and work in an agricultural community in the Tyrolean Alps. Viewers are virtually taken along to a location which, in a time before mass tourism, pupils were not very likely to visit themselves.[10] In this short, the audience gets the opportunity to closely observe actions and events previously unseen, and perhaps even unheard of. The short features images of men transporting logs over wild mountain rivers, making hay on very steep hill sides, and climbing rocks in traditional outfits. Sights, in other words, that cannot normally be observed, except perhaps by seasoned travellers or ethnographers.

Boerenarbeid in Tirol provides access to things unfamiliar in at least two different ways. On the one hand, it brings into the classroom a world that is literally out of the spectators' reach. By showing them recorded images of distant sites, it gives them the chance to mentally travel to places they cannot go to in person. On the other hand, it presents them with views of events and activities that probably strike them as rather peculiar. By focusing on those aspects of the locals' daily lives that are different from the spectators' own, the short once again foregrounds the lesser known aspects of existence elsewhere. In this process, it also exploits the film medium's potential to virtually transport the spectator. Consider, for instance, the sequence in which the Tyroleans make hay or go climbing. Scenes like these cannot normally be seen by anyone other than the locals themselves, simply because they are too dangerous for outsiders to come near. Again, the camera – or rather, its skilful operator – provides a surrogate here.[11]

Another category of films that transport their viewers to otherwise inaccessible locations are those which document the lives and habits of animals. Here as well, motivational potential is often due at least in part to the film-

makers' physical dexterity. The shorts *De spreeuw* (1950, *The Starling*) and *De kapmeeuw*, both categorised by NOF as 'zoology', each show the behaviour of a specific type of bird. Unlike the biology films mentioned before, they do not feature enlargements or accelerated images of the species they deal with. Even so, they visually confront their spectators with aspects of animal conduct that cannot normally be witnessed. Both items contain large quantities of often very close shots of birds nesting, eggs hatching and young flying out. Viewers can tell that the birds have been filmed from vantage points that are difficult to get to. In some cases, it is obvious that recording equipment has been placed in spaces that humans cannot physically enter, for instance, inside a nesting-box (in *De spreeuw*). This way, the shorts allow their viewers to circumvent difficulties which they would encounter when trying to behold such scenes in real life.

Another cluster of films that show nearby but usually unobservable sights are the kind that depict industrial production processes (most often classified as 'geography'). Here the camera facilitates access to locations that ordinarily bear a 'No trespassing' sign and that can be entered exclusively by authorised personnel. As a rule, these shorts further accentuate the lesser known aspects of the procedures which they represent by exploiting the rhetorical possibilities of the spaces in which they take place. Some do so by playing with the distance between the camera and the objects or processes shown: close shots to underscore the ingeniousness of modern machines; extreme long shots, among others, to highlight an operation's massive scale (compare the examples in Silverstone 1984, 401).[12] Others are shot from highly subjective vantage points. Examples are a small window in the frame of a machine or the open top of a container – often the point of view of a factory worker in the preceding shot.[13] Again, the viewer is allowed here to 'tag along' with someone who is familiar with what happens behind the scenes.

Staging

The difference between films that make use of the medium's potential to penetrate locations that are difficult to get access to and the kind that use optical manipulation is that the latter show phenomena that do not really exist in that form, as they are depicted as larger, faster, or slower than they are in real life.[14] A more extreme version of this practice can be found in titles that deal with situations or events that occurred in the past.

A good deal of the films which NOF advertises as intended for the teaching of history, literature or religion are made up of enacted scenes from a bygone era. Often, they are scripted around facts relating to the lives and works of canonised figures: locally-famous people, as in *Vondel, het leven van een groot Nederlander* (1955, *Vondel, the Life of a Great Dutchman*), or personali-

ties known internationally, as in *Johannes Keppler* (1960) and *Maarten Luther* (1959).[15] In the first two shorts, scenes of actors impersonating the films' subjects are alternated with shots of the manuscripts, drawings and models which they produced, and of contemporary portraits and paintings. The third one (a two-reel, feature-length film) is made up entirely of enacted sequences.

A marked difference with items such as *De kamsalamander* or *De honingbij*, which use optical manipulation techniques, is that the above no longer even seem to create the impression of a direct relation to an extratextual reality. In writings on early popularising science films, the viewer position implied by the text has been characterised as resembling that of an eye witness to the processes shown (Munz 2005, 53; Hernn and Brickmann 2005, 84-85). In addition, such techniques have been attributed the role of veridiction: that of providing the audience with evidence of otherwise 'bookish' knowledge that is normally available to specialists only (Lefebvre 1993a, 89-90). In the case of history films, however, this analysis no longer applies. An illusion of real-ness, after all, is no longer pursued: viewers are fully expected to take what is seen as a mere imitation, and as the result of an interpretation by a creative intermediary.[16]

Verisimilitude and Authenticity

Yet none of the above implies that what is depicted therefore becomes untrustworthy. All of the films mentioned show rare sights, but at the same time they suggest that the representation they give is an accurate one. This observation is quite crucial, as most of the shorts concerned also seek to incite a certain measure of admiration: an appreciation of the intricacy or tight organisation of the phenomena or procedures shown. Of course this sentiment can only be induced if viewers are made aware that the unfamiliar things they see really do (or did) happen as depicted in the film. In the first half of last century one of the chief merits of teaching with film was considered to be the medium's capacity to metaphorically 'bring the world into the classroom'. NOF's rationale for the production of so-called 'global films', for instance, was that they allowed children a perception of reality comparable to that of someone present at the scene. Such an experience, however, is only possible if the procedures and events shown are taken to be authentic.

As the history examples show, the requirement of factual accuracy does not automatically preclude a certain degree of artificiality. The same primary sources which emphasise the importance of a verisimilar representation also point out that film can actually give a rendering of the facts which is *better* than 'the real thing'; for instance, because it gives a condensed version of what takes place in the referential world.[17] More often than not, this requires some kind of staging: an intervention by the film-makers into what happens in front of the camera lens.[18] In the most extreme cases the result is an almost

entirely enacted film, such as *Vondel* or *Johannes Keppler*. In these shorts it is not the camera's presence at the time of the events, but rather the apparent well-researchedness of the facts chronicled that guarantees their reliability, and thus, the authenticity of what is depicted. Sometimes props are relied on to enhance this effect. The films just mentioned use historical documents to support an argument on the lives and works of the personalities dealt with; in doing so, they compensate diegetically for what cannot be achieved on another discursive level.

Strategy: Spectacularisation

Despite its prominence in primary sources, the requirement that teaching films should give their audience a vicarious, life-like experience of the events and processes shown is merely one clue to their rhetorical functioning. Some of the techniques discussed above also feature in films or sequences where the creation of a verisimilar effect no longer seems to be the primary concern. In those shorts, what is aimed for is not so much an impression of authenticity, but rather an experience of estrangement or alienation from the phenomena that are shown.

The 1961 short *Het bos in de bergen* (*The Wood in the Mountains*) paints a poetic picture of life and work in the Swiss highlands. Like *Boerenarbeid in Tirol* it focuses primarily on the interdependence between man and nature. The film's spoken commentary sings the praises of the region's inhabitants, who manage to hold up against their beautiful yet inhospitable surroundings. About five minutes into the short the viewer is shown a brief succession of speeded up close shots of opening buds on various trees, plants and flowers growing out of the forest soil. Simultaneously, a light instrumental score can be heard, made up of flute and clarinet sounds. As opposed to the time-lapse sections in *In de bruine boon schuilt een plantenleven* *, these images do not seem to be part of a broader argument on the specific biological phenomenon represented. The narrator mentions botanical concepts such as fertilisation through pollen but does not go into matters of growth. Pollination as such, meanwhile, is not made visible.

In this film, optical manipulation no longer (exclusively) serves the purpose of acquainting viewers with the hidden aspects of the natural life that surrounds them and of compelling admiration for its many intricacies. In fact, the processes that are depicted do not look very natural at all. In the accelerated sequence (which, incidentally, is speeded up to a higher degree than the ones in *In de bruine boon* *) plants and flowers perform a somewhat uncanny dance, the purpose of which is not so obvious. Judging by what is shown here, vegetal growth does not seem to have much of a point within the larger scheme of the universe.

Attractional Display

In *Het bos in de bergen*, one might argue, the manipulated sequence has acquired the status of what is known among film scholars as a cinematic 'attraction'. The term, used initially to refer to a representational practice specific to the pre-1909 period, essentially denotes an exhibitionist tendency in moving images which present "moments of spectacle rather than narrative" (Gunning 2005, 124).[19] Tom Gunning, in a revised version of one of the founding texts on the subject, has defined the cinema of attractions as the kind which "directly solicits spectator attention, inciting visual curiosity, and supplying pleasure through an exciting spectacle – a unique event, whether fictional or documentary, that is of interest in itself" ([1986] 2006, 384). In recent years, the concept has also been used in a non-historicising sense to refer to aspects of filmic display that generate comparable effects (Kessler 2006, 59; compare also Strauven 2006).

Particularly interesting in the context of what I am trying to pinpoint here is Gunning's own characterisation of the cinematic attraction as a specific (non-standard) "configuration of spectatorial involvement" (2006, 37; compare also Kessler 2006, 58).[20] Acknowledgement of the viewer, the author argues, is one of the defining features of this type of filmic practice (Gunning [1986] 2006, 384). In this respect, I would contend, the above-mentioned fragment is as pure an example of attractionality as any of the early ones quoted in his text. Here, a natural process is turned into a visual spectacle that no longer makes any narrative or informative sense, but is there merely for the viewer's enjoyment. The budding plant sequence, in other words, is a sheer sign of reaching out to the spectator addressed.[21]

In the sequence I singled out, attractionality derives at least in part from the more or less isolated use of a spectacular filmic trick. In the early 1960s (the time of the film's release) moving image technology in general, and this type of optical manipulation in particular, was of course no longer a novelty, whether in an entertainment context or an educational one. Early film scholars have argued that the spectatorial appeal of the cinema of attractions is due in part to its demonstration of an unprecedented technical potential (e.g. Gunning [1986] 2006, 383-84). This observation, clearly, does not apply here. Yet even so, the visual pleasure which the above sequence seeks to generate does have an apparatical basis. Both the repetition of the optical procedure of image acceleration, which is entirely unnecessary for a better understanding of the film's argument, and its isolation from the rest of the narrative indicate that what is driven at is a reaction of amazement at the magical effects of a visualisation practice that is specific to the medium deployed.

Defamiliarisation

If my term 'spectacularisation' was meant to refer to the tactic of motivating viewers *purely* by providing them an opportunity of visual enjoyment, then this strategy would of course belong in the second half of this overview (the part that deals with the appeal of the viewing process itself). However, I do not believe that the above is applicable in this case. In the sequence from *Het bos in de bergen*, the magical quality of the representational method used does not just draw attention to itself but also reflects on that which it depicts.

In a piece on the attraction of slow motion in contemporary martial arts films, Vivian Sobchack designates the effect of this technique as one of 'disorientation', which in turn results from a distantiation from that which the spectators think they already know. She writes:

> Confronted with the uncanny cinematic vision of forces and energies that intimately affect us but which, technologically unaided, we cannot see [...], we are wounded in our 'sore spot' twice over: first, by an acute recognition of the gap in our perception that technology both reveals and fills; and second, by technology's sudden revelation [...] of [...] the self-generating nature of 'nature' that exceeds and escapes both our anthropological and technological grasp [...]. (2006, 344-45)[22]

The experience which such images generate, in other words, is not just one of admiration for the intricacies of natural life. It is one of alienation, estrangement: sentiments that result in turn from an inability to fathom the phenomena or processes that are shown. In cases such as these optical manipulation no longer serves the purpose of providing access. Rather, it confronts the viewer with the fundamental *in*accessibility of an object or phenomenon, and its inherent *un*intelligibility. The spectator, here, no longer gets to feel privileged. In the process of watching, the audience is more likely to lose its grip on those aspects of a physical process that it used to know (at least in theory). The procedure's effect, then, is not one of revealing the unfamiliar but rather of de-familiarising it even more – the kind of effect, in other words, which the Russian Formalists used to refer to as *ostranenie*.[23]

As I mentioned earlier, the difference between the two strategies discussed so far is a subtle one; the point of transition between them therefore is not so easy to locate. Essentially, the distinctive factor is a sequence's embedding: the establishment (or not) of a relation between the unfamiliar fragment and the film's wider argument.[24] Compare, for instance, the fast motion sections in *In de bruine boon* * and *Het bos in de bergen*. In the first film, the various growing plant sequences are inserted into live-action scenes in which beans are dropped into the soil, get rained over, and subsequently blossom and grow

pods. Here, they have a definite clarifying function: they basically constitute speeded up versions of that which took place in the periods in between. In *Het bos in de bergen*, in contrast, this is not the case. What happens in its manipulated sequence is not introduced in any way, nor does it constitute a visualisation of the process which the commentator talks about at that point in time. The only way in which it ties in with what happens on the auditory level of the text is that it constitutes an illustration of the sublime, almost divine – yet therefore also fundamentally incomprehensible – character of Swiss nature, which is highlighted by both the film's narration and its mostly dramatic musical accompaniment.[25]

FOCUS: COMPREHENSIBILITY

If the strategy discussed above derives its motivational potential from the fact that it foregrounds the inherent inscrutability of the subjects dealt with, the second cluster of procedures I examine do precisely the opposite. In the next few examples matter is presented as fundamentally intelligible, comprehensible. The films or sequences discussed command their viewers' attention by implicitly arguing that watching them is likely to 'pay off'. If willing to stay tuned, they suggest, the spectator may actually gain insight into a phenomenon or process that was unclear to him or her before.

In what follows, I discuss three sample strategies. Although I deal with them here successively, they often also occur in combination; when they do so, they tend to reinforce each other. First, I consider textual ingredients that appear to help simplify the matter dealt with; then, procedures for argumentative structuring. Finally, I discuss some of the ways in which the shorts under scrutiny verbally explicate their meanings, or aspects thereof.

In the next few pages, it will become clear that rhetorical strategies that revolve around the matter's comprehensibility more often contain signs of orientation towards a specifically school-age audience than the ones I dealt with before. In what precedes, I described some scenes and sequences that would not be out of place in films that target a more general audience (for instance, the type that were shown as part of the supporting shorts sections of contemporary entertainment screenings). Below, I also discuss instances of simplification, structuring or explication that are only warranted, and that can only fulfil a motivational function, in items that address a spectatorship made up of children.

Strategy: Simplification

As a rule, foregrounding the comprehensibility of the matter dealt with involves some form of simplification. The means to this end, however, are extremely varied. Consider, for instance, some of the procedures that have already been discussed. Optical manipulation can help make something visually accessible, but it can also make it seem less complex, and therefore, easier to understand. The same also applies to staging techniques or the use of (extreme) close shots. By excluding or condensing non-elementary parts or phases of objects or processes, or by focusing on or drawing out more crucial ones, teaching films seem to allow their viewers not only to observe, but also to understand what they do, how they function, or how they fit together.

Schematisation

Another procedure that immediately comes to mind in this context is the schematic representation of the things, actions or concepts that are central to a film's argument. Despite NOF's initial aversion to so-called filmic 'tricks', many of its products contain at least some form of schematisation. In shorts released in the institute's early years the diagrams and models tend to be productionally simple; in later ones they are usually more sophisticated, and often also animated.[26]

The specific types of schema used vary according to the subjects dealt with. Economic geography titles, for instance, often contain cross-section drawings representing stages in the production processes which they illustrate; sometimes such profile sketches also have moving parts. In many cases, they recur throughout the film.[27] Items dealing with geological processes tend to use such drawings as well. The shorts *Het ontstaan van ijsbergen aan de kust van Groenland* ([ca. 1946], *The Development of Icebergs off the Coast of Greenland*) and *Eeuwig verandert de kust* (1959, *The Coastline Is Always Changing*), for instance, contain a fair amount of them. Astronomy titles, in contrast, make use of more elaborate graphics (*Johannes Keppler*); sometimes they also feature three-dimensional models (*Sterren en sterrensystemen*). Arguably, the lack of live-action footage available for inclusion in such films explains this pattern. The cross-section drawings that are used in the above geology films, after all, are more suitable for the representation of processes that have already been introduced in an earlier live-action sequence or shot.

Another subject cluster that makes for a good deal of schematisation is that which NOF itself designated as *civics*. As a rule, films in this category exploit a much wider range of graphic options than those dealing with geography topics. For instance, the shorts *Goed bewaren – geld besparen* and *Van tuin naar tafel* ([ca. 1953], *From Garden to Table*) combine large quantities of elaborate cross-section drawings (filmed from various distances and framed

in different ways) with animated stills, increasingly complex diagrams and colourful maps. A possible reason for this schematic overload is that such titles not only serve the purpose of passing on a certain body of knowledge but are designed also to bring about a behavioural change. In addition to a series of facts and figures they also need to convey a message, which is not so easily made explicit with live-action images alone.

Comprehensibility as Reassurance

As the above cases demonstrate, schematisation tends to involve a certain degree of insistence on the intelligibility of the matter dealt with. Compare, for instance, the zoology shorts *Het eekhoorntje* (1956, *The Squirrel*), *De ham-ster* (1960, *The Hamster*) and *Het paard*. The first two consist almost entirely of observational shots of rodents gathering food, nesting and feeding their young.[28] Here the viewer is given the impression that the task of figuring out what the animals' actions mean is left to him or her entirely. In *Het paard*, in contrast, this is not the case. The short, which consists for the most part of animated images, also uses still photographs, maps, charts, diagrams and real-life models (sometimes embedded in the diegesis) to create an added comprehensibility effect. Every time one of those schemas appears, a facet of or a stage in the development of the species dealt with is singled out, and often

Animation from the film *Het paard* (Defa-Kulturfilm, 1950 / NOF, [ca. 1959]). (From the collection of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum)

also frozen, slowed down or enlarged. This way, the film's overall argument is given an appearance of digestibility.

Yet even if a short does opt for a representational technique that reduces the complexity of a real-life given to its most essential parts, this does not necessarily imply that the matter it deals with therefore actually becomes easier to understand. After all, schematisation relies on a logic of its own; therefore it also requires a certain competence on the part of the viewer. In some cases the interpretational skills that are needed to decode diagrams or models are quite high. In the above-mentioned *Van tuin naar tafel*, for instance, animated graphic representations are so diverse and follow each other at such a speed that even an extremely attentive viewer may have some trouble figuring out how everything connects.

Yet the question is whether this actually detracts from the procedure's rhetorical potential. The strategy of simplification which such schemas support, after all, does not derive its capacity to motivate from the actual transparency of the issue dealt with but rather from the impression of intelligibility which it seeks to convey. In the examples given above, models and diagrams help create a semblance, an appearance, of logic and transparency. The films' tactics, in other words, is not to provide an experience of understanding as such but rather to give the audience the reassurance that the matter dealt with can indeed be understood.[29] Consider once more the example of *Van tuin naar tafel*. In this short a voice-over narrator tells the viewer exactly what he or she should take away from the screening. The ingenious system of interconnecting schemas which dominates the visuals, meanwhile, does not clarify much; considered in isolation, it is actually quite confusing. Yet in combination with the audio, it does underscore the film's overall *appearance* of intelligibility.

Strategy: Structuring
Among the tools that contribute to the appearance of comprehensibility of filmic matter, schematisation is by far the most conspicuous one. However, the range of available techniques is much wider, and also includes procedures that are less eye-catching. In one way or another, every aspect of textual structuring that helps create an impression of coherence can be made to serve this purpose.

Montage
One of the most common tools for organising content, of course, is editing. Like many informational types of film, NOF's shorts make intensive use of a chronology-based montage principle. Again, economic geography titles constitute a good example. Many of these shorts follow a series of foods or appliances from raw material to finished product; in doing so, they stick to a strictly

time-based logic.[30] In most cases manufacturing procedures are not shown in all their details; instead, essential stages are singled out and cut together. Much like the so-called 'process films' of the cinema's early years (Gunning 1997), many of these shorts have a temporal logic that culminates in a shot or sequence featuring the finished product, which is either simply displayed, or sold, bought or consumed.[31]

Occasionally, a chronological system is applied so strictly that the film acquires some sort of chapter lay-out. This practice is noticeable in particular when intertitles are used for additional emphasis, as in *Koeien op stal* (1942, *Cows in the Shed*). Here, the agricultural process dealt with stretches across three seasons; the textual inserts indicate a lapse of time. The same also applies to the case of *Paasfeest in Twente* (1952, *Easter Celebrations in Twente*) in which titles are used to identify the days leading up to the main festival event, a bonfire. Another common editing pattern is that of the biology shorts *De kieviet*, *De kapmeeuw*, *De spreeuw* and *Van ei tot kraanvogel* (1961, *From Egg to Crane*). In those items montage reflects the chronology of the life cycles of the bird varieties dealt with (in the stock order of nesting, laying and hatching eggs, and subsequently raising the young). Some of these films also use intertitles to underscore their temporal logic.

Structural Accentuation

NOF, I pointed out earlier, heavily stressed the value of a tight textual organisation in its various publications. Likewise, the items it distributed stand out for their emphatic construction. In the films the institute supplied, an appearance of structure derives not only from the logic of the succession of shots and sequences but also from the use of all kinds of textual punctuation, such as fades and dissolves. NOF deployed these means rather intensively, not only in its own productions but also in adaptations of films acquired from elsewhere.[32] Another way in which the shorts discussed accentuate their own temporal structure is by inserting shots of visual time indicators; for instance, clocks or watches. Also church bells and factory alarms or whistles are used to mark (lapses in) time.[33] Although such ingredients are strongly reminiscent of pre-war, mostly silent filmic conventions, sound films sometimes feature them as well (for instance, the 1960 remake of the 1943 production *Kaas*). In those cases, they are used as additional markers of the films' structural transparency.

In addition, recurring shots of maps sometimes serve the purpose of accentuating a film's organisation, in this case a spatio-temporal one. Such visual motifs most often turn up in films that use a journey or expedition structure (and which, in the process, draw again on a much older, silent tradition; compare Gunning 1997, 14-16). In the regional geography films *Oerwoudver-*

Still of a factory whistle, functioning here as a time indicator, in *Twentse textielindustrie* (NOF, 1949). (From the collection of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum)

kenners in Suriname ([ca. 1950], *Jungle Explorers in Surinam*), *Venetië* ([ca. 1952], *Venice*) and *Thailand* (1960) animated sketches of the areas under scrutiny, inserted before the opening shots of every new sequence, indicate the routes followed and specify where subsequent sections are to take place. In most of these cases the journey threads that structure the shorts are entirely supplemental. The titles mentioned each document a distant region's landscape and/or the ways of life of its inhabitants; the patterns applied, therefore, primarily serve the purpose of connecting otherwise unrelated episodes. Yet even so, their motivational potential is made to stand out. By showing maps at every transition point, the films focus their viewers' attention on their own tight structure, and by the same token on the texts' (and their contents') 'inherent' comprehensibility.

Profilmic Organisation

In the above examples, textual organisation essentially derives from the ways in which shots and sequences are combined. In many of NOF's films the impression of structuredness that is conveyed relates also to what happens before the camera lens. On those occasions, structure is visibly embedded in the *mise en scène*.

Few of the productions which NOF released seem to be concerned primarily with the recreation of a 'natural' course of events. Instead, they aim for an

impression of procedural logic and transparency – a goal which often seems to justify some kind of staging. Films that document a manufacturing process, for instance, tend to bear signs of a certain degree of profilmic intervention. Routine actions are cut short, slowed down or re-enacted in front of the camera.[34] Zoology films are often shot in artificial environments; for instance, replicas of the animals' real-life habitats. *Het bittervoorntje en de mossel* ([ca. 1947], *The Bitterling and the Mussel*), for instance, is filmed through the glass of an aquarium: the container's edges cast their shadows onto the bottom, which is visible through whipped up sand. In *De hamster*, footage of rodents in the wild is combined with shots of a congener and its young moving about in a model of a subterranean burrow (a cross-section version of the real thing). In none of these cases much effort is taken to hide from the viewer that the profilmic has somehow been tampered with.

The role of staging, here, is that of bringing order into a situation that might otherwise seem too disorganised to comprehend. By manipulating the *mise en scène*, the films mentioned eliminate those aspects of a situation or process that might muddle the picture that is sketched. Their motivational potential, I would argue, derives from the fact that they do so very emphatically. In these films, it does not matter all that much if the represented scenes look somewhat artificial, for what is at stake is not an impression of life-likeness but one of comprehensibility. Signs of staging may actually contribute to this effect.

Structural Patterning
Examples such as the above underscore the importance of recognisability in the process of textual motivation. In order for a strategy to be effective, the means by which it works need to be easily identifiable. For the procedures dealt with here, this means in practice that a viewer can only take for granted a certain matter's comprehensibility if the organising elements that highlight it are sufficiently conspicuous. The chance that this is the case is the higher the more a text makes use of recognisable structural patterns.

The shorts *Na 10 jaren arbeid* * ([ca. 1944], *After 10 Years of Labour*) and *Marker vissers* (1947, *Fishermen in Marken*) exemplify this principle.[35] Both of these films chronicle 'a day in the life' of the people shown: farmers in one case, fishermen in the other (compare the structures mentioned in Silverstone 1984, 388). Most viewers only need a minute to recognise this pattern, and to predict how the films' narratives will continue to unfold. In either case, then, the instantaneous familiarity of a basic ordering principle necessarily preconditions the spectators' experience of those sequences which they have not yet seen. In the process, the upcoming confrontation with new content is made less daunting. By couching unknown subject matter in a recognisable form,

both of these films give their audiences reason to believe that they will understand what is argued, and therefore, that they are likely to find continued viewing agreeable.

Another factor that contributes to the rhetorical functioning of the above texts is the fact that the use of familiar patterns somehow always constitutes a challenge to the viewers' intellect. In an article which assesses the concept of the cinema of attractions as a conceptual tool, Charles Musser has underlined the importance of recognisable ingredients in early films. The author's main argument here is that items from before 1903 constituted a "reworking of the familiar" as much as being instruments of astonishment and surprise (Musser 2006, 176). With Musser, I am convinced that also those elements should be seen as signs of spectatorial acknowledgement – just as much as the demonstration of various cinematic tricks (the attractions discussed by Gunning). The difference between the two lies in the type of experience that the films in which they turn up seek to induce. Items that draw on the appeal of familiar structures do not aim for the kind of pleasure that goes with a perception of shock but rather for the sense of satisfaction that can be derived from picking up on a given reference.[36]

Strategy: Verbal Explication

Simplification and structuring are two strategies that can help foreground the comprehensibility of the matter dealt with. Another tactic that serves this rhetorical purpose is the explication of filmic sense through words. In teaching films verbal elucidation either takes the shape of written texts – sometimes inserted in between shots, but often also embedded in the *mise en scène* – or spoken ones. If the chosen means of explication is speech, it is most commonly as part of a voice-over commentary.[37]

Again, the motivational potential of such tools lies in the fact that they can help reassure the viewer of the fundamental comprehensibility of the matter dealt with. Verbal communication, it seems, has a semblance of precision; it is not tainted with the ambiguity that is commonly associated with the purely visual. In addition to this, spoken or written words are often used to narrow down the range of denotational possibilities which moving images hold (Barthes 1964, 40, 44-45). In the case of teaching films, they carry the implicit message that the audience addressed does not need to face the task of decoding a text on its own but will be assisted in its interpretation of what is shown.[38]

In chapter 1 I pointed out that the films which NOF distributed stand out precisely for their rather sparing use of words. Materials from the first fifteen years in particular – the institute's mute period – are surprisingly *un*verbose. Intertitles are quite rare, even in shorts that follow on from a tradition of silents that did feature them. In films that do use title cards, they tend to figure only

sporadically, and do not seem to form part of a systematic strategy to increase comprehensibility.[39] In spite of this, films from the period generally do explicate textual meaning – albeit perhaps in more subtle ways. In those cases also, the motivational potential of the devices used is often quite evident.

Profilmic Captions

One way in which NOF circumvented its own rule against the insertion of explanatory intertitles was by incorporating texts into live-action images. In some cases such captions are visualised as if they were naturally part of the *mise en scène*. Classic examples are inscriptions on all types of containers and machineries, identifying either their contents or their functions. Other captions serve the purpose of naming the bodies and authorities featured or specifying the duties of those who work for them.[40] In some films profilmic signposts and labels are used to identify locations or directions, or to specify temporal relations.[41]

Sometimes lengthier embedded texts are used to explicate a film's course of events or to summarise its overall message. Compare, for instance, *Haven en handel* ([ca. 1955], *Harbour and Trade*) or *Het dorp* (1956, *The Village*) with *Alle water is geen drinkwater* * (1955, *Not All Water Is Drinkable*). In the first two shorts, cable notices and letters serve the same purposes as in the films mentioned above: they help identify the activities that take place in the professional or social contexts depicted. In the third, texts contain information that is more vital to the viewers' interpretation of what is shown. Here, shots of newspaper headings specify the circumstances of the film's events and explicate the links between the various parts of the story. In *Niek zoekt werk op kantoor* ([ca. 1947], *Nick Applies for an Office Job*), *Helpers in nood* and *De schoolreis* (1949, *The School Trip*) writing in letters, on blackboards and in programme leaflets also contributes to narrative development and actually even propels it. Something similar is the case with the texts on posters in *Polderland* (1947, *Polder land*) and *Een tijdperk ging voorbij* (1959, *An Era Went By*), which function as full-fledged alternatives for more traditional intertitles.

In all of the above examples inscriptions form a more or less integral part of the objects or processes shown, and even play a role in the story that is told. Yet even so, their motivational potential is often quite evident. The reason is that in nearly all of these cases the presence of written texts is actively brought to the viewer's attention, either through a camera movement or focus pull, or by means of editing. In some films supposedly more relevant sections of a text are even literally lit up.[42] This way their clarifying potential is visually underscored.

Of course the above situation does not always apply. In some films, labels or signs look rather foreign to the rest of the *mise en scène*. In *Van koren tot brood* or *Vlasbewerking* (1950, *Flax Processing*) identifying tags and explanatory

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notices figure in places where they would not ordinarily be, for if they did, they might actually interfere with the production activities that take place.[43] Again, such signs of profilmic intervention need not detract from the motivational potential considered here; after all, they merely attest to the texts' preparedness to meet the viewer halfway. As such, they function as traces of a deliberate explicative act by an (invisible, inaudible, but nevertheless very helpful) narrative agent.

Written Elements in Schemas

Another technique for explicating textual meaning without using actual intertitles is the integration of verbal elements into schematic representations. More often than not, profile drawings, diagrams and animated models contain some form of written text, either structurally or as an added feature.[44] Again, a good deal of variation occurs in the amount of information such verbal elements add. In some cases they do little more than to identify an object or action, or any of its components. The film *Suikerfabriek* ([ca. 1944], *Sugar Factory*), for instance, features a number of animated cross-sections, each of which follows a live-action shot of the same step in the manufacturing process dealt with. Words, which are linked by arrows to various parts of the diagrams, are used to name the materials and equipment involved.[45]

Elsewhere the content which verbal elements contribute is more weighty, and often also more complex. Writing can be used to explicate a film's chronology, narrative structure, or even its main argument. In *Haven en handel* the live-action footage that forms the bulk of the film is framed by two animated diagrams which outline the basic mechanisms of the coffee trade and the function of harbours in this process. The role of texts here is to introduce and sum up the main steps in the economic activity discussed. In addition to this, words serve the purpose of specifying the precise locations of the events shown (facts that cannot always be derived from the images themselves). In exceptional cases, such as *Steenkool vervoer*, inscribed schemas even seem to constitute the main steps in the film's development; live-action sequences then merely illustrate the arguments made.

Arguably, the textual function of writing in schemas is quite similar to that of intertitles. Unlike the profilmic captions mentioned earlier, the texts on charts, maps and diagrams in the above films are always cut off (also literally) from the images that surround them. Annotated schemas usually do bear a clear visual relation to the shots that precede or follow (in most cases, because they re-represent them graphically), yet in spite of this, they are fully self-contained. In cases like these, the rhetorical function of textual separation, in combination with visual repetition, is similar to that of highlighting explicative elements in the *mise en scène*.[46]

Commentaries

From the late 1950s onwards textual explication in NOF's films more and more often involved speech. Usually, it took the form of a voice-over commentary. Like written words, spoken ones usually fulfil several functions at the same time. On the one hand, they serve the purpose of introducing relevant terminology: words and phrases which the pupils need to know in order to be able to talk (or write, or fill out tests) about the subjects concerned.[47] On the other hand, they also provide clues as to how the films in which they turn up should be interpreted. In the current chapter, it is the latter function that I am more interested in.

In her seminal study, Jacquinot, drawing on Roland Barthes' work, observes that the main role of speech in teaching films is that of 'anchoring' (*ancrage*) textual meaning (compare Barthes 1964, 44-45). In most of these shorts, she claims, its sole purpose is to ensure the unambiguousness of the audio-visual communication and to control the viewer's interpretation of what is shown. She writes:

> Whatever the case may be, the various sound elements, in pedagogical films, are used most often to guarantee the univocal character of the message. Everything is done to exercise control over that which is most likely to elude the sender: noise reinforces the analogical function of the image, speech anchors the meaning of the image, and images anchor the meaning of the music. (Jacquinot 1977, 110-11)[48]

By way of explanation, she argues that teaching films are indebted to a long tradition of pedagogical interaction, which is geared entirely towards optimising, i.e. disambiguating, all forms of didactic exchange (Jacquinot 1977, 111 and passim).

While I do not share the author's view that teaching films with voice-over narration therefore constitute a highly 'closed' type of text (Jacquinot 1977, 145ff) – if only because I think that this conclusion is based on too narrow a conception of the ways in which textual meaning takes shape – I do believe that she makes some valuable observations here. While such films may not actually control their readers' interpretation of what is shown, they clearly present themselves as highly univocal. By suggesting how the range of denotational possibilities for a given set of visuals can be reduced, they allow the viewers to anticipate the manageability of their upcoming interpretive task. In this process they put them at ease, and thus encourage them to stay tuned.

Another aspect of Jacquinot's exposition that interests me is the relation which she establishes between the texts under scrutiny and the pedagogical traditions on which they build. While I have argued earlier that the actual con-

ditions of the films' production are of lesser importance to me here, I do think it is worth considering how educational practice is referenced in the text itself. Within a pedagogical framework, after all, the analogy between the speech of a commentator and that of an actual teacher is sheer inescapable. The fact that a classroom audience will take a film's matter to be comprehensible, then, must partly also derive from (or at the very least be reinforced by) its association with the voice of an educator whose primary task it is to make the pupils, the films' viewers, understand the matter that is passed on. For a further elaboration of how this rhetorical process operates, I refer to chapter 5.

FOCUS: PRACTICAL FEASIBILITY

In terms of its motivational potential, the third and last cluster of strategies that capitalise on the appeal of the filmic matter itself closely relates to the one discussed above. In what follows, I talk about textual procedures of which the spectatorial appeal derives from the fact that they help to represent a film's subject not as comprehensible (in an abstract sense) but as feasible, as practically doable. The viewer is lured into watching a film with the implicit promise that what is done by the people on screen is also achievable for him – at least, if he or she stays focused.

In my section on providing access I discussed some films that feature objects or actions that are likely to command the audience's admiration. In these shorts, viewers are confronted with processes or worlds, previously unseen, that turn out to be highly intricate, or craftily organised. The procedures that are shown are solid-looking and often involve actors (inanimate, animate, or human; here I focus on the latter) who are experts at what they do. Therefore, they warrant the audience's veneration. In films that foreground practical feasibility, similar activities are represented; their latent rhetorical potential, however, is different. In those instances, the films' goal is not to induce in the viewer an experience of visual privilege but rather a sense of ambition: a desire – and ideally, a determination – to perform the actions shown as well as they are done on screen.

The motivational sequence proposed by these films consists of two, perhaps even three stages, which can either take place simultaneously or follow each other in time. Before all else the texts discussed seek to compel in their viewers a certain amount of respect: a sense of appreciation for what the filmed people do, and above all, for *how* they do it (so well). This experience in turn provokes a degree of envy: a desire to be able to perform the actions that are carried out so expertly on screen. The ultimate stage in the process, then, is for the viewers to resolve themselves to acquiring the competence shown,

and therefore, to be willing to pick up on any reference in the film that might help them achieve their goal. In order for the latter to be possible, however, the operations shown must look not only impressive but also feasible, practically doable. They have to be represented in such a way that the audience can be convinced that the act of watching itself increases its chances of success.

Strategy: Facilitating Imitation

In the examples I discuss first, the rhetorical strategy that can be inferred is that of facilitating imitation. Actions or behaviours are represented in such a way that viewers are led to believe that they will be able to reproduce them after the screening, if only they pay sufficient attention. On the one hand, the operations shown are carried out exactly as they should be: those who execute them do not make any mistakes. On the other hand, actions and procedures are visualised very clearly: they are easily observable, but also rendered in a format that can be memorised, so that they can be re-enacted later on.

The textual means to the above rhetorical purposes have for the most part already been covered. The kit of available tools includes staging and shooting techniques that allow the spectators a close look at the actions performed, the logical (often chronological) ordering of mutually dependent operations, and the isolation of crucial stages in a manoeuvre or process (for instance, through schematic re-representation). In addition, also speed and repetition fulfil an important motivational role.

Whether or not an action or procedure in a film stands out as doable depends to a considerable extent on the educational background of the audience. For instance, many of the manufacturing films that have already been mentioned may well have served some sort of a model function for pupils in vocational schools.[49] For those children, in other words, these shorts may have fulfilled a double motivational role (even if the particular skills represented are not identical to the ones they were commonly taught in class). In what follows, however, I concentrate on items that facilitated imitation for a much wider audience.

First, I discuss some examples of what I would like to call 'skill films': shorts that were meant to serve as aids to the teaching of some of the more practical subjects on the various school curricula, such as handicraft or gymnastics. Second, I elaborate on the topic of social guidance films, which I briefly touched upon in chapter 1. In these shorts, what is driven at is not the imitation of a series of physical operations but the adoption of a socially desirable behaviour.

Skill Films

The strategy of facilitating imitation is by far the most prominent in films that are meant to teach their viewers a skill: the ability to perform a succession of actions that lead towards a concrete result. Such shorts, one might say, are highly instrumental. Serving as surrogates for actual classroom demonstrations of the same operations, they facilitate a didactic process of mirroring.[50] For instance, the physical education films *Schoolzwemmen* (1953, *Swimming in School*) and *S.L.O.* (1957, *Sports Day in School*) contain sequences in which children perform, respectively, swimming movements (breast stroke, back stroke, water treading and diving) and gymnastics exercises (ball throwing, running, high and long jumping and general dexterity drills).[51] In *Aardig knutselwerk* ([ca. 1950], *Decent Handicraft*) young boys show how to make a scale model of an animal farm out of waste materials. By setting an example, all these shorts provide their viewers with a direct opportunity to reach a clear curriculum target. In order to be pedagogically successful, the films' non-explicit argumentation goes, the spectators merely need to do as shown.[52]

In practice, of course, faithful imitation is only possible on the condition of continued concentrated viewing. In order for a film to stimulate this, a genuine desire must be appealed to; schoolchildren, after all, cannot be expected to pay attention out of a sheer sense of educational duty. In these shorts this is done primarily by foregrounding the practical feasibility of the task at hand. Textual features that help to incite awe can insure that the skills represented look challenging enough to make them enviable; a disproportionate emphasis on procedural intricacy and speed, however, may have a discouraging effect instead. Purpose-produced films such as the above therefore visualise the processes they deal with as consisting of a manageable number of steps, each of which in turn is shown from close enough and at a sufficiently low rate to guarantee that it will stick in the viewers' minds.

The example of *Aardig knutselwerk* illustrates this point rather well. One of the most striking features of the film is that humans hardly ever appear on screen recognisably. In most cases shots have been made at such close range that only arms and hands are visible. At the beginning of the film a classroom situation is depicted (presumably, as a demonstration of the educational relevance of the skill to be performed) and some of the children's faces are in view. Elsewhere viewers only get to see those body parts that are instrumental in the task that is carried out. Scenes are shot at very close range, and in addition to this, the area surrounding the children's workspace is shrouded in an impenetrable darkness. One consequence of this approach is that the humans pictured are entirely interchangeable. More importantly, it entails that there can be no doubt in the spectators' mind as to what they should pay attention to: it is the handiwork that they should concentrate on.

In any other context technical choices that restrict the audience's perspective in this way might be expected to dampen rather than to stimulate its willingness to keep watching. In the above case, however, they do hold motivational potential. In *Aardig knutselwerk*, it is precisely because of the way in which the viewers' gaze is directed to the task at hand that they can see so clearly which types of material are used, and how even small fingers manage to glue together the various parts of models and puppets. The logic and rhythm of the film's montage also further an appearance of procedural transparency. As a rule the genesis of an object is rendered in real-time; therefore the spectator has every opportunity to observe it. However, each creative step is shown only once: whenever an operation is repeated, a jump-cut is made to a point further on in the process. The result of this is that the audience is always shown something new, and thus, prevented from getting bored. At the same time, discouragement is precluded. The fabrication of each component of the farm is represented in a relatively short period of time; the entire undertaking, therefore, does not look quite as hefty as it might.[53]

Last but not least, also the film's basic chronological ordering principle plays a definite motivational role. The succession of shots and sequences in *Aardig knutselwerk* lends to the process under scrutiny a semblance of result-orientedness. Thanks to the film's construction the viewer can rest assured that the actions demonstrated actually lead somewhere – even if the final outcome of the process has not yet been shown. This element of textual arrangement not only affects the appeal of the matter dealt with but also plays a part on a text-internal level. Apart from implicitly postulating the usefulness of every operation shown, it also whets the viewer's curiosity for what is to come. As such, chronological arrangement constitutes yet another encouragement to stay tuned.[54]

Social Guidance Films

In chapter 1 I mentioned that NOF not only distributed films that were meant to serve as aids to the teaching of knowledge and skills (as identified by the school curricula) but also items that had to help improve the pupils' general behaviour. The availability of such shorts needs to be considered against the background of the 'No More War' spirit that took root in the post-1945 period. In educational circles at the time there was a growing body of opinion that formal education had a task to fulfil in the preparation of individuals for societal membership; the 'new' media were considered to hold a great deal of promise in this respect.[55] As I pointed out, NOF's first ventures into this domain came rather late. At first, it tended to work its behavioural advice into items with academically more relevant subjects; after 1950 it also began to distribute so-called *civics* films.[56]

In terms of their textual features these shorts or sequences bear very little resemblance to the ones discussed above. Unlike skill films, they do not aim primarily for an impression of practical imitability; elements that facilitate a step-for-step copying of the task concerned therefore are not so prominent here. The most outstanding characteristic of these films, as a matter of fact, is that they rely rather heavily on dramatic and characterisation techniques (procedures which I discuss in more detail in subsequent sections). In the films dealt with here, their function is to induce sentiments of envy: ambition, this time, of the social or societal kind. The situations they represent involve characters that display, or convert to, an adult-approved model behaviour, and seem to get happier in the process. The implicit assumption here is that spectators, driven by a profound desire to fit in – a deep-rooted, universal wish for social acceptance – will want to act accordingly, and therefore, stay attentive (Smith 1999, 13, 35-40).

The principle of motivation adhered to hinges once again on the idea that viewing in itself is a first step towards the achievement of a film's objective. The main difference with the skill films mentioned above is the additional requirement of identifiable characters. In *Aardig knutselwerk*, I pointed out, the on-screen presence of youngsters merely serves the purpose of demonstrating to the viewers the educational relevance of the matter dealt with. In social guidance films, in contrast, their involvement is a much more crucial cogwheel in the mechanism of motivation. In order to feel tackled on their own conducts, spectators need to be given the chance to relate in some way to the people portrayed. The humans featured therefore tend to be actual characters rather than anonymous, interchangeable figures. In most cases they also have roughly the same ages as the spectators addressed, and share their interests and concerns. Items that very clearly illustrate this tendency are *Niek zoekt werk op kantoor* and *Helpers in nood* (two early language education titles dating from before the time of the *civics* films).[57]

Another difference with the skill films discussed above is that social guidance films sometimes also exploit the educative potential of negative examples. In some instances, the child or children portrayed are not rewarded for their good conduct but punished for an undesirable one, often with social isolation as a result. The stories told, in this case, are meant to function as deterrents. In situations like these the potential for behavioural mirroring remains implicit, because some sort of mental inversion needs to occur before imitation on the viewers' part can take place. Moreover, such films also require that the audience targeted already knows what the better alternative is. In NOF's titles, this assumption is not always made; films that use negative showcases therefore tend to depict the proper, socially accepted conduct as well.[58]

4.1.2 Viewing Made Appealing

Social guidance films, I have argued, tend to rely quite heavily on representational techniques that invite viewers to relate to what is shown, such as the use of recognisable characters. In the films mentioned so far, these procedures can be said to serve a secondary purpose, in the sense that they form part of a larger strategy (facilitating imitation) of which the purpose is to make filmic matter (in this particular instance, issues pertaining to the spectators' role in society) more attractive to pay attention to. However, these techniques are also used to motivate the audience in a more direct way. In those cases they allow the viewers to make the connection between what they see and their own, personal lives. This way, they make more appealing the act of viewing itself.

The assumption I made at the beginning of this chapter is that a film's rhetorical appeal does not always derive primarily from the way in which it presents, and in the process makes more alluring, the topics it addresses. In some cases the chosen mode of presentation has motivational value *in itself*. Filmic form, of course, is always a matter of moulding, or shaping, subject matter; formulation therefore can never be disconnected from what is said. However, the position I am taking here is that some strategies do not serve the purpose of motivating the audience by focusing its attention on certain features of the matter dealt with but rely instead on textual elements that make *viewing* the films more attractive, regardless of what their topics are. It is those elements that I focus on next.

The first cluster of strategies I discuss covers all procedures that foreground what I refer to hereafter as 'textual purposiveness'. I am concerned here with those aspects of filmic construction which, one way or another, can help convince the viewers that the text *progresses towards some sort of a narrative end*. By raising expectations as to what comes next, they can cause anticipation or curiosity, this way encouraging the spectators to stay tuned. The second series consists of those strategies which focus the audience's attention on the *correspondences* between that which a film represents and *its own, personal experience*. The shorts under scrutiny do this by staging recognisable characters and/or focusing on familiar (dramatic) situations; alternatively, they appeal to the children's presumed personal interests. Finally, I also give some examples of shorts in which *film form itself* seems to constitute the main audience attraction.

Motivational strategies somehow always contribute to the potentially self-perpetuating nature of audience attention. The use of the textual elements which I singled out so far is based on the underlying assumption that if they do help to draw a viewer's attention, the latter will very likely crave for more, and therefore, will want to keep watching. However, this mechanism is particularly relevant to those strategies that capitalise on a text's inherent purposiveness: its fundamental orientation towards a certain narrative goal.

In his 1984 publication *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative*, literary theorist Peter Brooks characterises (fictional) plots as "intentional structures, goal-oriented and forward-moving" (12). If narrative is to be conceived of as discourse that "develops its propositions [...] through temporal sequence and progression" (xi), he writes, plot is its constructive aspect, its dynamic shaping force (13). It is what makes stories move forward, and in the process, propels their readers, makes them read on (xiii, 35).

Brooks' work should be seen as an attempt to provide an alternative to the analytical models advanced by formalist narratology, which are conceived of by the author as excessively static. In Brooks' view, structuralist critics have been focusing exclusively on the identification of minimal narrative units and paradigmatic structures. In doing so, they have neglected the temporal dynamics that shape stories: the textual 'motor forces', as he calls them, that drive forward their constitutive elements (Brooks 1984, xiii-v). Brooks instead emphasises that narrative depends on "meanings delayed, partially filled in, stretched out" over temporal succession (21). Interested primarily in what those textual forces do for us, the readers, the author makes mention of some kind of a narrative desire: a *passion du sens* (in Barthes' words) that runs parallel to the protagonists' own ambitions (37-47). Drawing on the insights of psychoanalysis, he argues that this desire comes down to a yearning for the stories' "shaping ends" which contain the promise of meaning (19). In other words, the passion for meaning is due to the prospect of significance of the narrative elements that lead up to these ends. What motivates us to read on, in other words, is the anticipation of retrospection (23).[59]

Of course, the reading of texts should not be seen as an entirely unidirectional movement. In working through a narrative, a reader does not only look ahead but also backwards; for instance, in the process of retrospectively filling what Iser calls *Leerstellen*, textual 'gaps' or 'blanks' (1978, 180-231; compare also Bordwell 1985, 54-55). Also Brooks' work, although not dealing with it explicitly, leaves room for such readerly activity. However, the author's main argument is that every beginning presupposes an end, and that it is precisely this fact which triggers the "desire in time that makes us turn pages" (Brooks

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1984, xiii). The same logic, of course, applies also to viewers of film (compare Tan 1996, 96-102, 123-25).

Strategy: Narrative Patterning

If it is true, as Brooks suggests, that narrative discourse is largely a matter of temporal development (both on the level of the story and in terms of its reading) then it logically follows that some form of narrativity is characteristic of all time-based texts. As André Gaudreault has argued, even the smallest audio-visual unit always constitutes a temporally ordered chain of photographic images; therefore, cinematic forms necessarily have a narrative aspect (1988, 39, 43).[60]

In practice, however, there is a great deal of variation in terms of how, or to what degree, films exploit or develop this elemental quality, and in the process accentuate or foreground it. By analogy with Prince I would argue that also audio-visual texts differ as to whether or not they "[underline] features that are specific to or characteristic of narrative" (1982, 146); for instance, in terms of whether, or how much, they capitalise on what the author calls a story's 'teleological determination' (55-58).[61] Above I defended the position that every textual beginning inevitably suggests that there will be an ending, and therefore, some form of closure in terms of meaning. However, films, like novels, can also choose to emphasise this intratextual logic, for example through the use of familiar narrative patterns. By thus specifying how they will help their viewers to ultimately make sense of what is said, they can actively focus the latter's attention on their own fundamental purposiveness. In my view, it is at this point that narrative structuring becomes part of a rhetorical strategy of which the purpose is to keep the attention going.

To what extent the use of a specific narrative pattern highlights or accentuates a text's purposiveness, of course, depends again on how easily it can be identified by the viewers targeted. As Brooks points out, one of the driving forces of narrative desire is the "armature of plot which the reader recognizes", and which, in his view, "constitutes the very 'readability' of the narrative text" (1984, 39). Recognisability, in turn, is a matter of the reader's competence: his or her knowledge of the conventions of textual organisation (19, 39).

In focusing on that which the reader already has experience of, Brooks takes up some ideas previously formulated by Barthes. In *S/Z*, the author's analysis of a story by Honoré de Balzac, he elucidates his model of narrative codes, the 'perspectives of quotations' that together form a text's network of meaning (Barthes [1973] 1992, 20). The two codes (out of five) that Brooks finds the most relevant to his own project are the so-called 'irreversible' ones: the kind which have to be deciphered successively, moving in one specific direction (Brooks 1984, 18).

Looking at Barthes' own formulation, I would argue that out of those two, the proairetic code most pointedly embodies the aspect of recognisability referred to above. Pertaining to the characters' actions and behaviour, Barthes writes, this code has "no other logic than that of the *already-seen, already-read, already-done*: that of empirics and culture" (Barthes [1975] 1992, 82). Through this code, in other words, a text draws on the reader's foreknowledge. On the one hand, via the intratextual logic of reference and repetition: the succession of elements which makes the actions and behaviour in a story meaningful. And on the other hand, through appeals to the spectator's cultural background, which ranges from trivial everyday acts to the literary (or wider textual) repertoires that he or she can draw on (204).

One of the factors that allows a reader to trace and piece together the constituents of the proairetic code is what Brooks refers to as 'goal-orientedness' in the succession of actions (1984, 18). In Barthes' view as well, a text's orientation towards an end is an important clue for the reader. He even goes so far as to say that the logico-temporal order of proairetic sequences entails that they "constitute the strongest armature of the readerly" (that which a reader makes of a text; Barthes [1973] 1992, 204). For Brooks, this fact in turn entails that it should be seen as one of the main driving forces behind narrative desire (1984, passim).

Promising Structures

Reformulating the above ideas in filmic terms, I would say that the motivational potential of narrative patterning, in the most general sense, lies in the fact that the viewer, who is invited to anticipate, simultaneously gets the reassurance that his curiosity will actually be satisfied. An inherent feature of any kind of textual purposiveness, after all, is that it holds the promise of some kind of a resolution: by creating an expectation, the suggestion is automatically made that it will also be met. More specifically, the text guarantees its reader that at the end of the film or sequence all narrative threads will come together, and that in the process whatever precedes will acquire maximum significance.[62]

One category of texts that very clearly underscore their own purposiveness through narrative patterning are those which represent processes of production. In those films, structuring not only functions as an aid to textual comprehensibility. In addition to this, narrative threads and story lines often also serve a purpose that has more to do with the internal dynamics of a text than with the presentation of filmic matter.[63] The logic which these shorts follow has for an effect that their various semantic units become part of an intricate network in which all constitutive elements, implicitly or explicitly, refer back and forth to one another. One of the results is that viewers can immediately make some basic inferences as to their ultimate narrative, or argumentative, goals.

To a lesser degree the same also applies to films that document the life cycle of a species. In those shorts as well the actions or phenomena shown at the outset create expectations as to what will happen next. Again, the recognisability of such basic textual structures not only helps foreground the comprehensibility of the matter dealt with but also makes viewing more attractive, because it inevitably suggests that the audience's curiosity will eventually be satisfied. As a motivational strategy, this tactic is based on a combination of two, perhaps even three series of assumptions. First, it draws on preconceptions as to what (young) viewers are most eager to see (for instance, an abundance of brand new products, or the species' offspring, cute and fluffy). Such images therefore turn up towards the end. Second, it seems to presuppose that spectators always crave for some kind of closure, and consequently, will want to stay tuned – even if they roughly know what to expect. A third, additional factor that may also contribute to the appeal of such structures is that they allow the audience to figure out at any given time during a screening where in a film's development it is at, and therefore, how much longer the sit will last. This prospect, a reminder of the film's finiteness, can help the spectators work up the courage to persevere (compare León 2007, 92).

However, the motivational potential of textual purposiveness stands out much more in titles that make use of what I would like to call narrative 'embedding'. In the examples referred to above the suggestion is made that the films' structure basically corresponds to that of the processes which they represent, and by implication, that the chosen organisational format is pretty much unavoidable. In other shorts, narrative patterning does not reflect an inherent, matter-related sequence but functions instead as some sort of representational framework. Quite apart from the fact that such films much more emphatically draw on the textual potential dealt with here (their structure is clearly the result of a discursive choice, not a mere necessity) they often also bear additional markers of narrativity.

One such feature is the presence of characters who act in purposeful ways. In his work on the subject, Prince points out that the accentuation of a text's narrative character is not only an effect of the logico-temporal ordering of actions and events but also of their specificity and 'individualisation': the extent to which they make sense in terms of a human project and are motivated by people's intentions and desires. In other words, it is also a matter of the characterial agency which propels or directs the narrative development (Prince 1982, 148-49).[64]

Consider, for instance, the 1953 short *Een wens verhoord binnen 24 uur: De post* (*A Wish Granted within 24 Hours: The Mail*). In this film, the central argument (the chronological process of collecting, sorting and distributing the mail) is embedded in the more personalised story of a small-town teacher who

orders, and later on receives and screens, an NOF distributed film. The central part of the short features only the most basic form of narrativity, in the sense that the events dealt with are presented in an order that corresponds to their real-life temporal succession. Its first and last few minutes, however, contain elements that turn the film as a whole into a much tighter, and above all much more goal-oriented structure. Because of the fact that the process depicted is associated with the highly motivated actions of an identifiable character, its representation becomes more purposive in itself. Audiences know that the short will most likely end with a scene in which the rented film is received and subsequently projected by the on-screen teacher. Arguably, it is the promise of this final section (which, although not dealing with the 'core' matter of the film, is clearly much more relevant to the lives of the viewers addressed) that is most likely to keep their attention focused.[65]

In a much smaller number of cases such personalised events do not constitute a mere textual framework, but actually structure the film as a whole. Most items that show this pattern deal with humanities subjects, such as history (*Vondel, het leven van een groot Nederlander*), language (*Départ de grandes vacances*, 1959, *Departure for the Summer Holidays*) or general education topics (*Niek zoekt werk op kantoor* or *Helpers in nood*).[66] In those shorts the central story events are closely bound up with the lives of one or more well-delineated characters, who have their own, clear objectives. This way, the motives and intentions behind the actions that unfold are emphasised throughout.[67]

Enigma and Suspense

The above films, but the last two in particular, also contain elements of what Barthes refers to as 'enigma'. This concept, crucial to his exposition on the so-called 'hermeneutic code' (the second of his two irreversible codes) is used to pinpoint what happens at those points in a story where questions are raised that cause in the reader the need for some form of explanation. In the course of their development, narratives may create indeterminacies, ambiguities, and 'double understandings', all of which can contribute to a certain sense of mystery (Barthes [1973] 1992, 17, 19). This way, the textual addressee is held in suspense, and stirred up in his or her desire to discover, once again, "what is *at the end* of expectation" (76).

Barthes states that the hermeneutic code basically articulates the 'voice of truth' (Barthes [1973] 1992, 209; compare also 61-63, 75-76). The ultimate goal of narrative is to reveal what really happened, or what events or situations actually meant; on the way towards disclosure, however, truth is often circumvented. It is delayed by means of "obstacles, stoppages, deviations [...] in the flow of the discourse" (75). Barthes here makes mention of a somewhat paradoxical logic in the dynamics of narrative texts: while "the sentences quicken

the story's 'unfolding' and cannot help but move the story along, the herme-neutic code performs an opposite action" and tries to "maintain the enigma at the initial void of its answer" (75, all quotations). With respect to the creation of suspense, this delay is a discursive necessity; without it, expectation of and desire for the mystery's resolution cannot not be raised.

A film which illustrates the above observations particularly well is the language title *Hansje en de Madurodammers* * (1958, *Johnny and the Tiny People of Madurodam*). The short tells the story of a young boy, Hansje, who loses his birthday gift, a magnifying glass, during a trip to the theme park Madurodam (a miniature city, made out of scale models of Dutch-style houses and national landmarks). In a dream sequence which takes up most of the filmic time, the boy goes back to the park and gets resized to a fraction of his normal height after drinking a bottle of 'magic' milk. In a montage of shots (made alternately in Madurodam and on the locations which it represents to scale) he gets pursued by a giant: the caretaker of the park, a man with human dimensions. The chase leads him through the city's various streets and buildings, and into the locomotive and cockpit of a train and plane. At the end of the film, immediately after having located the magnifying glass, the boy wakes up from his dream. He asks his mother to accompany him back to the theme park where he recovers the missing item. On that occasion the park's supervisor also turns out to be a good deal more benevolent than he seemed before (in his role of giant).

In this particular short, of course, suspense is fuelled by the fact that for the most part of the filmic time, the main character is trying to escape from a highly dangerous situation. In Brooks' conception, the effect this may provoke in the reader (or in this case, the viewer) is that of apprehension of an imminent short-circuit: a premature ending to the story, which also entails a 'wrong death': an improper, because undesirable, conclusion to the narrative (1984, 103-4, 109).[68] What keeps the viewer on the *qui vive*, in other words, is not just the prospect of the terrible things that might happen to the protagonist but also the lasting chance of an unsatisfactory ending. In titles such as *Hansje*, of course, this possibility is highly theoretical, as the implied viewer is supposed to know that (fictional) narratives like these (aimed at young children) do not normally end in this way. In this case, then, it is once more the anticipation of the highly predictable happy events that conclude the adventure that provides the viewer with a powerful incentive to stay tuned.[69]

Strategy: Audience Interrogation

Another strategy that can be associated with the foregrounding of textual purposiveness is that which I would like to term 'audience interrogation'. In his book on rhetoric in nature documentaries for television, León argues that one of the factors that should keep viewers of such programmes attentive is

that they are based on a question-and-answer structure. A problem is posed, which then needs to be resolved (León 2007, 94). In the instances he quotes, this observation can be taken quite literally, in the sense that the programmes he deals with often explicitly formulate a scientific enigma. However, even in such cases, the problem structure primarily serves as a means to organise the discourse (much like a Barthesian hermeneutic pattern) rather than as a way to encourage viewers to find answers for themselves. In the shorts I deal with next, the situation is different. Here, audience interrogation seems to be part of a strategy to make the audience actively take part in an audio-visual exchange.

One of the more extreme examples of this procedure is NOF's title *Solliciteren* (*Applying for a Job*), released around 1942. It is an instruction film, made in two versions (one for boys and one for girls), which discusses the particularities of job application.[70] The short, lasting about fifteen minutes, is made up of two parts. The first half of the film, covering about two-thirds of the story time, consists of a fully staged narrative dealing with the vicissitudes of a highly unprepared young job applicant. The boy/girl makes one mistake after the other: first by wasting precious time playing or chatting to friends; then by arriving late, acting impolite, and failing a typing test. Therefore, he/she is rejected. The live-action narrative is followed by an intertitle which indicates that the viewers should now be given ten minutes to think about the following question: "Why did Jan Geesen/Marie van Beuningen get turned down?"[71] The teachers' notes specify that the second part of the film, a shorter montage of fragments accompanied by textual inserts showing the various possible answers, should be screened after this break. This way, passive waiting for the outcome of the enquiry can be discouraged and the audience can be challenged to solve the problem on its own.

Involvement of the viewer, however, can also take more subtle forms. In many cases, voice-over commentators in sound films explicate the problems that are dealt with. Sometimes they phrase them as rhetorical questions; if so, narration functions as a mere structuring tool. At other times such queries constitute a direct audience address. A possible indication here is the use of punctuation. For instance, the speaker in *Goed bewaren – geld besparen* occasionally leaves a pause after formulating a question; this way he allows the spectators the time to think of answers themselves. Also deictic terms such as personal pronouns fulfil an important role in encouraging participation. The film *Van ei tot kraanvogel*, for example, addresses its viewers as 'you', thus establishing right away for whom its questions are intended.[72]

Again, the rhetorical potential of the above strategy derives from the fact that it helps to underline a text's fundamental goal-orientedness. However, an important difference with the strategy discussed previously is that the above

films do not seem to assume that textual structure in itself is sufficient to lure spectators into paying attention. Instead, they address them directly, and in the process they tackle them on their duties as pupils.[73] In addition to this, the above shorts also motivate their spectators by appealing to their intellectual sense of pride. By asking them questions, they challenge them to formulate their own answers. Subsequently, after a short moment of suspension, they tell them whether or not what they came up with was correct.[74]

A second cluster of strategies that foreground the appeal of the film-viewing process are those which focus the audience's attention on the fact that what is shown or said closely relates to its personal experience. More specifically, their aim is to cause in the viewers a sense of correspondence between that which is represented, or an aspect thereof, and what they know from their own, daily lives. In the book referred to above León argues that in order for texts to be rhetorically successful, they must take into account the so-called 'spatial factor': the necessity of a certain "cultural or mental proximity" between the facts or events related and the audience addressed (León 2007, 68; compare also Silverstone 1984, 397).[75] This spectatorial closeness between film and viewers – or rather, the latter's experience thereof – can be stimulated in a number of ways. In what follows, I discuss two. The first tactic is to introduce characters or situations that the spectators can easily recognise. The second is to directly address their presumed topical interests or affinities.

Although my distinction between two sets of foci may get somewhat blurry here, I do believe that the strategies which I discuss below are instrumental above all in making more appealing the viewing process itself. In the examples I deal with, motivational potential derives not so much from the attractive (re-) presentation of what I would like to designate as 'core' matter (the biological, geographical, or historical facts which a film relates) but rather from the *addition* of elements which, even if they do sometimes affect (or in exceptional cases even constitute) the argumentative tenor of the text as such, primarily fulfil the strategic function mentioned above. However, the more these elements are interwoven with what a film is actually about, the more the audience will be encouraged to relate the two, and therefore, to find its core matter alluring as well.

Strategy: Enabling Recognition
One text which visibly pursues this goal is the 1959 short *Een Japans gezin* (*A Japanese Family*). The film, part of a rather extensive category of pseudo-eth-

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nographic accounts of the lives and works of 'distant' peoples, chronicles the daily activities of an extended family in a Japanese village.[76] Opening with a series of shots of two young children on their way home from school, the short subsequently shows the same youngsters greeting their parents, having dinner, doing their homework and preparing for bed. Edited in between those sequences are shots of family members engaged in their daily business: the weaving and selling of hand-made fabrics and the performance of kitchen chores and other household duties. In the second half of the film the viewer is shown a montage of week-end events (excursions to a temple and a theatre, outside play and board games, tea drinking with visitors) and folkloric activities (the offering of food on the occasion of New Year's Day – or so the intertitles claim).

The point of the short, clearly, is to acquaint the audience with 'things foreign': appliances, habits, and general ways of life that are common in another, distant part of the world. The strategy pursued here, however, is not that of *Boerenarbeid in Tirol* or any of the films with similar subjects mentioned in the 'providing access' section of this chapter. Here, the text does not appeal exclusively to the viewers' fascination with things unknown or exotic. It does of course contain elements of this. The people portrayed use sticks to eat with, draw pictures when they write, and sleep on the floor – habits that necessar-

Still of the children at dinner time in *Een Japans gezin* (Audiovision-Belge, n.d. / NOF, 1959). (From the collection of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum)

ily distance them from the audience addressed. Yet even so, all of the things they do immediately make sense. The reason is that the activities depicted are collectively embedded in a larger structure which is very much recognisable, simply because it resembles that of (depictions of) the viewers' own lives. The motivational assumption behind this rhetorical strategy is that because of this similarity, viewers will perceive the argument made as relevant, meaningful – and therefore, will want to keep tuned.

In *Een Japans gezin*, the fundamental correspondences between that which is represented and the audience's own experience is foregrounded in two ways. On the one hand, the short makes use of recognisable characters: children of the viewers' own age, who are part of similar social networks (those of family, friends and neighbours), fulfil similar duties (going to school, doing homework) and pursue similar interests (games and excursions). The people that are less central to the film's narrative take on highly familiar roles (often defined in terms of gender: father leads the business; mother cooks). On the other hand, the short represents well-known situations (scenes of school, home and family life) in a highly recognisable order (first work, then play). Presumably, even those activities that have no equivalent in the spectators' own culture (for instance, the offering of food to the gods) are not entirely meaningless: they are likely to correspond to some of the pupils' most basic assumptions (read: stereotypes) about religious worship elsewhere.[77]

Recognisable Characters

In what precedes, I briefly touched upon the role of characterisation with respect to a film's orientation towards a certain textual goal. Yet the representation of human (or human-ised) narrative agents can serve another rhetorical purpose as well. Characters can also help bring out the fundamental correspondences between that which is depicted and the viewers' own experience. In order to do so, however, they need to be sufficiently recognisable, or socioculturally meaningful, to the audience addressed (compare Tan 1996, 169).[78]

Consider, for instance, the short *Veilig fietsen*. In this film, narrative development revolves entirely around the actions of a young boy, Gijs van Beek. Gijs acts irresponsibly while riding his bike, and is subsequently sent to a traffic exam – the pretext for an exposition on road safety. More so even than the two siblings in *Een Japans gezin*, the protagonist here is a typical child. In the beginning of the film, he is shown playing around with another boy, clearly a good friend; later on he runs an errand for his mother. On both occasions he blatantly ignores traffic rules. His uncle, a policeman, tells him off for not having the right bicycle gear (his bell and mudguard are missing) and sits him down to read a rule book. At the end of the film, Gijs obtains a 'rider's licence', which obviously pleases him a great deal, despite his earlier conduct. In all

phases of the story, then, he shows himself as an equal of the demographic group which the film targets: that of primary/early secondary school children. His social relations, interests, and general ways are bound to be meaningful to them – either because they share them, or because they have observed them from very nearby.[79]

The relevance of this fact becomes particularly obvious when the above film is compared to some of the character-driven narratives mentioned earlier: *Maarten Luther*, for instance, or *Vondel, het leven van een groot Nederlander*. The human figures which these films feature, while clearly instrumental in propelling their respective plots, are far from recognisable. Living their grown-up lives in a distant past (the sixteenth/seventeenth century) and in an entirely different ideological context (both stories focus on the centrality of religion to their protagonists' lives, both in the spiritual sense and as a source of social unrest), the characters Martin Luther and Joost van den Vondel offer the audience very little to relate to. Like *Veilig fietsen* or *Een Japans gezin*, the shorts in which they turn up actively draw on the motivational potential of textual purposiveness. As opposed to those films, however, they do not insist on the analogies between the people they represent and the viewers they address.

Familiar Situations

Yet even so, both these titles do in some way exploit the rhetorical possibilities of experiential correspondence. While neither of the protagonists mentioned offers any concrete points of contact (for instance, in terms of their professional activities, interests, or objectives) the shorts in which they feature do contain some elements that may be familiar to the audience targeted. Consider, for instance, the case of *Vondel*. In the opening sequence of the film the viewer is presented with a brief succession of shots of locations in the centre of Amsterdam: the sites of statues, plaques and institutions that commemorate the life and work of the author dealt with. The spoken commentary that accompanies these images clearly appeals to the spectators' prior experience: it stimulates them to search their memories for recollections of visits, privately or in school context, which may have lead to some of the places shown. This way, the film immediately establishes the relation between its historically distant subject and a series of more familiar, physically tangible remains, thus implicitly arguing that what it talks about may not be quite as foreign to the viewers as they might think.

At the same time, the film also foregrounds the above potential in a much more obvious way. With regular intervals it focuses on situations which, despite the historical remoteness of the characters they feature, are highly recognisable for the audience addressed. While the main purpose of the short is to acquaint its viewers with the protagonist's literary output (plays and

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poetry that constitute an important part of the Dutch canon) it occasionally also deals with aspects of his private life. For instance, in the section of the film which discusses the realisation of two of his most well-known pieces, the poems "Kinderlijck" ("Child's Body") and "Uitvaert van mijn dochterken" ("Funeral of My Little Daughter"), both of which were written on the occasion of the death of one of his children, the camera focuses, respectively, on an empty highchair and on a group of mourners seated around a small girl's bed. The purpose of these sequences is to relate the protagonist, known primarily in his capacity of author, to the much more recognisable circumstances of life as part of a family and the emotional distress which this may involve.

In such scenes an appeal is made to the audience's basic human interest. Apart from rousing the viewers' curiosity for what comes next, the film also relies on their affinity with the sort of feelings, deriving from all manner of conflictual situations, that are common to people of all ages, places and times. The film presents a dramatic situation, which is recognisable because of the universal emotions which it entails.

Dramatic Elements

Of course this tactic is common primarily in films that make use of well-delineated characters. More occasionally, however, it also occurs in shorts that do not feature those. A good example here is the 1960 short *Van ei tot kraanvogel*, an account of the life cycle of the crane. Despite the fact that the film is shot inside an animal park (Artis, the Amsterdam zoo) it clearly attempts to create the illusion of an entirely bird-centred universe. The canes shown are filmed at very close range, so that their bodies nearly always fill the frame. The consequence is that spectators are almost physically made aware of their hustle and bustle, and therefore, of the conflictive nature of their interaction with the surrounding world. A scene in which this becomes particularly tangible is that which shows a newborn young chased by its caretakers for a vitamin injection (one of the rare moments in the film when people are seen to interact with the animals concerned). The birds' reaction is clearly one of fear – a very 'human', and therefore, recognisable response to the danger perceived.

Throughout the film dramatic elements like these are accentuated with additional audio-visual means. The most prominent of those is a highly suggestive voice-over commentary. In this short, the narrator not only discusses basic biological facts, but also interprets the animals' actions. In doing so, he implicitly relates natural processes and instinctive reactions to specifically human motives and considerations. In rendering the birds' perception of the events that take place, he endows them with feelings that are inevitably familiar to the audience addressed (compare León 2007, 137). Other means of dramatic accentuation are interpretive drawings in between the sequences

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(for instance, that of a newborn baby crane happily whooping in its cot) and a highly evocative musical score (the rising and fading of the sounds of African instruments, underscoring moments of suspense but also emotion) (compare León 2007, 116). Considered in relation to what the narrator says, they both function as ways of emphasising the many correspondences between the experience of the animals shown and that of the viewers addressed.

While the above film clearly represents the species it deals with in an anthropomorphic way, it does not turn the cranes portrayed into actual characters. Unlike the humans depicted in *Vondel* or *Veilig fietsen*, the animals here do not in any way propel the plot that unfolds.[80] In this short, narrative development is modelled entirely after the natural cycle of procreation which all living creatures are subject to, not the mutual conflicts between the birds that are shown or their struggle for survival in a hostile world. (As a matter of fact, it could even be inferred that the audience of the film is not *actually* expected to take for granted the claims which the speaker makes about the animals' 'inner lives'; evidence of this fact is his ever so slightly mocking tone.) Because of this, the textual elements that contribute to the short's dramatic effect are not in any way related to its main story line. In this film, then, they can be considered to function primarily as means to create an impression of relevance in the audience addressed.[81]

Strategy: Addressing Interests and Affinities

The above examples demonstrate that texts can foreground aspects of experiential correspondence by making use of recognisable characters and/or situations. Another way in which teaching films do this is by directly addressing presumed topical interests or affinities. The motivational potential of those shorts derives from the fact that they reference or address phenomena, issues or themes which are familiar to the viewers not because they are naturally part of their existence but because children tend to actively seek them out. The topics dealt with are the kind which the addressees *like* to hear about, read up on, or see images of, also in their personal, extracurricular lives. Again, I consider this strategy to be aimed primarily at making the viewing process more attractive; its method, however, is one of selectivity in terms of the *matter* addressed.

Appealing Examples

The 1959 short *Het kasteel* (*The Castle*) takes its audience on a virtual tour of the Muiderslot, a fortress in the Dutch town of Muiden dating from 1280 (but known primarily for its role as a meeting point for the literary elite in the first half of the seventeenth century). In the two newsletter articles that accompanied the film's release, the authors suggest that its main purpose is to teach the viewers a lesson about life in medieval times. Discussing this topic can be

done in a variety of ways; by far the most sensible approach, however, is to zero in on those aspects of it that are bound to interest children the most. When thinking of the historical period under scrutiny, pupils are likely to make the association with castles, minstrels or knights: buildings and people that also fill the pages of their picture books and occupy a prominent place in the world of their imagination. A film that recognises this, the authors imply, is more likely to be rhetorically successful. Tying in with the spectators' thematic pre-dilections, the underlying reasoning goes, can help stimulate the children to stay tuned.[82]

In the above short, the castle theme, despite its proclaimed illustrative function, determines to a considerable extent the argumentative direction of the text as a whole. In virtually transporting its audience to a sturdy fort, the mute film necessarily focuses on a highly privileged form of medieval life, exemplified by the luxurious furniture, high quality utensils and splendid weaponry displayed. By the same token, it pays no attention at all to the more humble living conditions of the non-ruling classes. In this particular example, then, the topical choices made impose considerable restrictions in terms of the text's argument.

However, this is not always the case. Consider, for instance, *Jonge ooievaars op het nest* ([ca. 1946], *Young Storks in Their Nests*). In this film the argument made closely resembles that of other shorts which document the life cycle of a given animal species. The storks that are shown go through exactly the same stages of development as the lapwings in *De kieviet* or the gulls in *De kapmeeuw*. Yet even so, the film is likely to appeal to the audience for other reasons than those two. As a newsletter from that time observes, the children addressed already have an affinity with the particular bird variety depicted here – if only because of its various popular associations and its relation to the folk tales and fables that they enjoy listening to (and that the film's screening will inevitably remind them of).[83] In this short, in other words, motivational potential derives not only from the matter's apparent comprehensibility (which is underscored by the text's temporal structure) but also from the fact that the choice of species dealt with, in all likelihood, is in tune with the audience's ornithic taste.

Known Fictional Content

A much more extreme example of compliance with the children's topical pref-erences is the use, or recycling, of known fictional content. I am thinking here specifically of NOF's collection of fairy tale films: titles such as *Doornroosje* (1952, *Sleeping Beauty*), *De wolf en de zeven geitjes* (1955, *The Wolf and the Seven Little Goats*) and *De gelaarsde kat* (1957, *Puss in Boots*). Making use of mostly hand-made puppets and settings, these shorts represent highlights from the children's stories by the same names.[84] In doing so, they actively exploit

the audience's prior knowledge of, but also affinity with, the matter that is addressed. While the films clearly capitalise on the appeal of an elaborate narrative structure, thus foregrounding aspects of textual purposiveness, they also attest to a keen awareness of what particularly fascinates the audience addressed (here, one consisting of children in *early* primary schools).[85]

Of all the examples touched upon so far, fairy tale films are definitely the most obviously motivational. In *Het kasteel* or *Jonge ooievaars*, the topical choices made are still part of an attempt to illustrate a wider historical/biological point. In the above-mentioned cases, the situation is different. As the accompanying teachers' notes point out, these shorts were not meant to pass on any kind of knowledge. Like other films with fantastic plots (such as *Hansje en de Madurodammers ** *) they were distributed by NOF as language films and were meant to help children practice their expressive skills (functioning in this process as a source of inspiration). In a didactic sense, then, the argumentative points which these shorts make are entirely irrelevant; the matter they deal with is no more than a means to an ulterior, primarily motivational end. (Re-)using content that is sure to appeal, in this case, is merely a way of making the audience enjoy the experience of viewing itself, thus ideally whetting its appetite for the activity that comes next.[86]

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All of the strategies dealt with so far in one way or another draw their viewers' attention to *what* a text says – whether by underlining the appeal of the matter addressed, by taking into account what kids know and/or like, or by inciting their curiosity for what comes next. The last series of tactics that I want to discuss direct them instead towards the *way* things are put. In the examples I give here, in other words, the motivational focus is on the films' formal attractiveness.[87]

Strategy: Stimulating Sensorial Indulgence
A first strategy that that should be mentioned in this context is the integration of textual elements that can stimulate the audience to enjoy an item's viewing as a purely sensory experience. I am concerned here with the ways in which teaching films visually and/or aurally gratify their spectators, presenting them with a spectacle that is pleasing to eye and/or ear. The encouragement to stay tuned, in those cases, derives from the promise of continued sensual satisfaction.

The Appeal of Cinematic Excess

As a rule the formal choices which a film makes can be seen as representationally or argumentationally functional: they help picture something in a specific way or give direction or tone to a proposition or point. However, this is not always the case. In an article written in the late 1970s, Kristin Thompson uses the term 'cinematic excess' to indicate "those aspects of [a] work which are not contained by its unifying forces" ([1977] 1999, 487) and are "uneconomical or unjustified" within its wider compositional logic (493). By way of illustration she quotes examples of camera work, editing and/or *mise en scène* that do not serve a clear purpose, whether it be in terms of a text's narrative development, characterisation, or even as a way of subscribing to a specific stylistic law. Such textual features, she concludes, have "*no* function beyond offering [themselves] for perceptual play" (490).

The sort of elements that I consider here have an aspect of this excessiveness. In most cases, they go above and beyond what a given text needs to make sufficient representational or argumentative sense. However, this does not entail that they are therefore entirely superfluous. Such ingredients, indeed, can serve a rhetorical purpose of their own.

In her article Thompson argues that cinematic excess always coincides with "a gap or lag in motivation" (Thompson [1977] 1999, 491). She explains this by saying that the use of specific filmic devices (or otherwise, the number of times they are repeated, or the amount of time they are audible/visible) becomes excessive when it is no longer justified in terms of a text's tendency towards narrative/compositional significance (489). In making this claim, she basically implies that structural economy (as she calls it herself) is necessarily the main focus of textual motivation (491-93). (The term 'motivation', in her piece, is used in a text-internal sense, but with inevitable consequences in terms of a film's orientedness towards an ensemble of viewers, my focus here.) As this chapter demonstrates, I do not believe that this is necessarily always the case. In teaching films narratively redundant or extravagant techniques can often be seen as part of more or less purposive textual strategies.

NOF's collection of process films provides some illustrative examples. In shorts that belong to this category, camera positioning and montage often serve the purpose of creating an appearance of comprehensibility, and in some cases even imitability, of the manufacturing procedures at hand. Visual closeness, temporal continuity and a reasonably slow pace are of crucial importance here. Some titles, however, deflect from this rule. The film *Van koren tot brood*, for instance, is striking precisely for its extreme variety in camera angles and distances and swift editing rhythm; features which, in this case, do not make for an impression of intelligibility of the operations concerned. The same also applies to *Hoe ontstaat een filmscène*. This short, which primar-

ily seeks to document the successive stages in the making of a film, occasionally digresses into a demonstration of all sorts of cinematic tricks. In my view, such textual elements or features should not be branded as unjustified. While not contributing to the films' dominant motivational strategy (in both cases, that of providing access to an otherwise inaccessible world), they clearly do fulfil a rhetorical function. By thus contributing to a constantly changing visual landscape, they help keep the audience sensorially entertained.

Cinematic Exhibitionism

In the second film in particular, formal attractiveness is clearly the result of what Gunning calls cinematic 'exhibitionism': the showing off of the film medium's many (in this case technical) possibilities ([1986] 2006, 383-84). Although the author uses this phrase very specifically to refer to an aspect of early film practice, it seems equally fit to describe what happens in some of the titles dealt with here. In a number of cases, NOF's shorts actually stimulate enjoyment of the very same kind of procedures that were foregrounded in pictures from the cinema's first few years, such as optical image manipulation techniques. The 1962 film *Sterren en sterrensystemen*, for instance, relishes in the use of speeded-up images, also at times when the latter do not serve any clarifying purpose at all (as in the backdrop to the opening credits). Elsewhere formal attractiveness is foregrounded when more conventional methods are applied in exceptionally crafty ways. *Elf-stedentocht* (1942) and *Walvisvaart* ([ca. 1956], *Whale Fishing*) stand out because of the ways in which they are shot: oftentimes from rather exceptional points of view. In those instances, one might argue, cinematic exhibitionism concerns the skill and professionalism of the film-makers as much as the possibilities of the medium itself.[88]

The above observations are particularly relevant in relation to films that seek to associate themselves with a given movement or style, or a more general audio-visual fashion or fad. In its early years NOF occasionally produced titles that made reference to the kinds of visual conventions that were popularised by the so-called Filmliga (a Dutch avant-garde collective, active in the late twenties and early thirties), and later on, by those classified retrospectively as members of a Dutch documentary school.[89] *Giethoorn* *, for instance, contains aesthetically pleasing images (picturesque views and shots of glimmering water surfaces), visual echoes and anecdotal inserts that are reminiscent of the 'poetic' documentaries of the period. As these films were often shown in the supporting shorts sections of regular cinema screenings, the audience must have been able to pick up on the references made.

In shorts from the 1960s, stylistic citation sometimes results in sheer mannerism. For example, the films *Van tuin naar tafel* and *Een tik van de mode?* (1962, *Touched by Fashion*) both capitalise on some of the more extravagant

Still of a bow and glimmering water surface
in the film *Giethoorn* (NOF, 1942). (From the
collection of the Netherlands Institute for Sound
and Vision, Hilversum)

aspects of the visual culture of their time; the first through its abundant use
of garish colours and upbeat music, and the second in its 'psychedelic' way
of filming (unstable cameras, extreme close-ups), editing (a fast and highly
repetitive montage) and its performance of various optical tricks (stop-motion
effects and the 'misting over' of images). In most of these cases the use of such
devices constitutes an element of cinematic excess: the formal choices made
do not bring out any sort of rhetorical potential other than the attractiveness
of the representational method as such.[90]

   In this respect, the above texts differ fundamentally – albeit in rather sub-
tle ways – from the short *Het bos in de bergen* (which I discussed at some length
in my section on the strategy of spectacularisation). The difference with this
film lies in the fact that in the above instances, the use of the representational
techniques mentioned does not seem to primarily serve the purpose of defa-
miliarising that which is depicted. Consider once more the case of *Van tuin
naar tafel*. A few minutes into the film the composition of a healthy diet is
visualised by means of a series of tables. The first of these chart sequences
starts off with a brief animation featuring a number of fruits and vegetables
that perform some sort of dance. Subsequently these are joined by what look
like still cut-outs of live-action shots, each of which stands for a specific nutri-
tional function, as explained by the narrator. In this particular fragment the

abundance of movement clearly does not serve the purpose of estranging the viewer from that which is depicted – if only because the motions performed do not actually represent anything. Therefore, they are not very likely to make spectators feel uneasy at the realisation of unfamiliarity with what is shown. In this sequence, I would contend, their role is merely to keep the audience visually gratified.[91]

Auditory Excess

Cinematic excess not only manifests itself on the visual plane but sometimes also takes an auditory form. The most obvious way of aurally pleasing the viewer is by means of music. Unlike spoken words or diegetic noise, musical sounds often do not fulfil a clear representational function; therefore they are powerful instruments for foregrounding a film's potential formal appeal. However, also in this case the distinction between various motivational functions is not always easy to make.

In the film *Van ei tot kraanvogel* the sound of African music fulfils several roles at the same time. When it first occurs, it is combined with a shot of a map on which the natural habitat of the crane variety under scrutiny is pointed out. At this point it functions as an explication of a particular geo-cultural frame. Further on in the film, however, the same tune is used, this time in a sequence where said context is no longer relevant. Here, either of two interpretations is possible. On the one hand, the sound may serve a dramatic purpose; its volume, after all, tends to rise as tension builds up. On the other hand, it can be read as an alternative to mere silence: as a way of bringing variation in an otherwise rather dull soundscape. In the latter case its function is very simply to titillate the viewers' ears.

Strategy: Addressing Formal Preferences

A second way of stimulating sensorial indulgence is to exploit the audience's presumed formal preferences. A good deal of the films under scrutiny here make rather intensive use of representational tools that the viewers addressed can be considered to particularly enjoy. One of the more obvious examples is animation, which is known to attract an audience of young children and can therefore be considered a safe motivational bet.

Although they obviously qualify too, I am not thinking here primarily of the fairy tale shorts mentioned above or any of NOF's other puppet films (such as *Jantje's droom*, 1946, *Johnny's Dream*; *Minimale modeshow*, 1959, *Minimal Fashion Show*) or fictional cartoons (*De goochelaar ontgoocheld*, 1958, *The Magician Disappointed*). In items such as these, formal attractiveness does not necessarily constitute the most powerful appeal; textual purposiveness and/or experiential correspondence are at least equally potent. But the collection

also contains titles that do not fit this bill. The natural history short *Het paard*, for instance, deals with matter that is both more resistant to the introduction of enigma and suspense and does not relate quite as closely to what the viewers already know. Relatively speaking, then, the fact that it is almost entirely animated carries a relatively much greater motivational weight.

In such films, the use of animation is not a matter of cinematic excess, because the technique also serves a representational purpose. Most of what *Het paard* tries to explain cannot be demonstrated with live-action images, simply because they are processes that took place in a distant past. The use of some form of artifice, therefore, is simply inevitable. However, the choice of animated graphics over still sketches or models is clearly made in an attempt to reckon with the taste of the targeted audience. Another difference with the previous strategy is that addressing formal preferences does not always coincide with a fast alternation of audio- and/or visual impulses. Sensorial indulgence can only be stimulated if viewers do not run the risk of getting bored; excessive elements therefore often feature for short periods of time or in combination with other, equally attractive textual ingredients. Techniques that already have a preferential status, such as animation, are not so likely to lose their appeal, even if they are used as ubiquitously as in the case of *Het paard*.

The Recontextualisation of Film Form

Arguably, the attractiveness of the above formal features derives at least in part from the fact that they bring to mind associations with a kind of communication that does not normally take place in class. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, animated shorts are normally seen in entertainment theatres – venues that children tend to visit in their spare time and of their own free will. In those settings the activity of viewing is not accompanied by the sort of constraints that tend to govern interactions of an educational kind. As a rule, then, such shorts (and by the same token, their textual features) are part of a different, relatively much more attractive, cinematic *dispositif*. This fact even adds to the motivational appeal of such elements when they are seen in a pedagogical environment. In the event of a format's educational recontextualisation, in other words, its rhetorical potential gets reinforced.

As a matter of fact, any filmic device can gain in appeal if it constitutes a reminder of a different, more attractive viewing situation, regardless of how well or badly it is deployed. In her contribution to the volume quoted from earlier, Sobchack emphasises that the attractional qualities of films are by nature transitory and unstable: what appeals to an audience at one moment in history may no longer do so at another point in time (2006, 340-44). I would like to broaden this statement in a synchronic sense, and posit that features that attract spectators in a given viewing context do not necessarily have the same

effect in films that are seen elsewhere. In the particular instance dealt with here, this also means that textual elements that have little or no attractional value in a recreational context (say, animated sequences that are too slow or too repetitive to keep an entertainment audience tuned) can very well acquire motivational potential when part of a programme shown in school.[92]

4.2   STRATEGIES OF MOTIVATION: BLURRED BOUNDARIES

In what precedes, I have given an overview of some of the strategies of motivation that can be inferred for NOF's teaching films. By way of identifying the various rhetorical potentials which they foreground, I have related them to six motivational cruxes, so-called 'foci'. In addition to this, I have illustrated their operation with textual examples, thus also associating them with specific sets of audio-visual techniques.

In practice, of course, the relations and distinctions between said textual elements and the strategies and foci which I singled out are far from clear-cut. On the one hand, they are uncertain because there is no one-to-one connection between concrete textual elements and the motivational strategies which they seem to support. Many of the techniques discussed have been mentioned on several occasions. The reason is that they can serve various rhetorical purposes, depending on their occurrence within a given sequence or text. On the other hand, such relations are hard to establish because strategies nearly always appear in combinations. In some cases this entails that it is almost impossible to decide which rhetorical principle a textual feature should be associated with.

MULTIPLE STRATEGIC FUNCTIONALITY

The recurrence of (sets of) representational techniques in the course of this chapter already indicates that they often serve the purposes of a variety of strategies at the same time. One of the textual devices that I have mentioned on several occasions is the introduction of a logical, often chronological sequence in the editing of shots and scenes. In process films this feature helps convey an impression of procedural transparency, and as such, underscores the comprehensibility of the matter concerned.[93] In the biology short *De kieviet* or the geography title *Polderland*, in contrast, it functions rather as a means of stirring the viewers' curiosity for what comes next. In those cases, then, the films' structure is primarily an instrument for foregrounding textual purposiveness. In *Niek zoekt werk op kantoor*, *Veilig fietsen* or *Départ de grandes vacances*, it also

serves the purpose of characterisation, thus highlighting the possibility of experiential correspondence. The human figures staged in these films acquire personality through their agency in the stories that unfold. Because of the fact that the things they do, feel or are interested in are highly recognisable to the viewers addressed, the latter are reminded that what is said might be relevant to them as well.

So far, I have presented the various strategic functions of textual features as alternative possibilities. In practice, however, such elements can also serve multiple rhetorical purposes simultaneously. A good example here is optical manipulation. In *De kamsalamander*, for instance, enlargement techniques are used in a series of shots that show successive stages in the development of a newt. In this film, the technique's main benefit is that it allows the viewer to observe something that cannot normally be perceived with the naked eye. This fact in turn makes for two types of spectatorial motivation. On the one hand, it foregrounds the unfamiliarity – and by the same token, the fundamental unknown-ness – of the subject concerned. By disclosing intricate processes that take place outside the viewers' perception, the film gives its audience the chance to witness something previously unseen, and therefore, unfathomed. On the other hand, and quite paradoxically, such images also bring out the matter's inherent comprehensibility. By showing a natural process from so nearby, and as part of a carefully selected succession of crucial stages, the short also suggests that it *can* in principle be understood. A third and last way of looking at the use of microphotography here is to consider it as an anthro-pomorphic tool. By giving the animals portrayed human proportions, the film also seems to aim for an effect of experiential correspondence.

Another set of procedures that often serve various strategic functions at the same time are those which relate to the use of sound, and more specifically, voice-over narration. More often than not, a commentator's choice of words attests to a variety of motivational concerns. For instance, in *De kruis-spin* (1961, *The Garden Spider*) at least two sets of considerations can be inferred. On the one hand, the speaker's language is marked by preciseness and unambiguousness. When specialist vocabulary is used, terms are usually self-explanatory (consider, for instance, the expressions 'spinning glands', 'frame' or 'capture spiral').[94] If not, they are immediately explained, as is the case with the word *kruisspin* (which literally translates as 'cross-spider'): an insect, the commentary points out, "named after the curious white design on its back".[95] The objective here seems to be that of presenting the film's mat-ter as intelligible, comprehensible. On the other hand, the words used often also carry a metaphorical load. Apart from naming concrete substances and body parts, they also contribute to the image of a bug universe pervaded by battle and destruction (as in the case of the phrases 'pointy palps' and 'deadly

poison').[96] As such, they function as instruments of dramatisation, which help foreground the correspondences between the experience of the intended viewers and those of the (non-human) creatures shown.

CO-OCCURRENCE OF STRATEGIES

Meanwhile, the above examples also demonstrate that in most texts, several motivational strategies co-occur. In some cases, these can be distinguished from each other pretty easily; for instance, if they follow each other in time. The social guidance title *Alle water is geen drinkwater* *, for example, starts off with a narrative sequence featuring a small number of characters (three family members and a doctor). The illness of a young boy sets off a mildly dramatic story, which is picked up again at the end of the film. The main motivational strategies here are narrative patterning (a tactic that highlights the text's fundamental purposiveness) and the enabling of recognition (which creates the possibility of experiential correspondence). The middle part of the short, in contrast, has the textual lay-out of a process film. Here, the audience is shown two series of actions – one scientific, the other constructional – that are both organised according to their 'natural' temporal sequences. Although the editing logic of the earlier narrative is maintained, it no longer fulfils the same function. In this section of the film, the main purpose of textual structuring is not to arouse the viewers' curiosity for what comes next but rather to create an impression of procedural transparency – as the use of clarifying schemas and texts underscores. Here, the humans featured do not take on the roles of characters; spectators therefore are no longer expected to identify, let alone relate to, the individuals they see. Instead, they are encouraged to focus on the actions they perform, and in the process, be convinced of the intelligibility of the procedures shown.

In many cases, however, strategies are not divided so neatly over filmic time. This circumstance often also entails that their respective motivational functions are inextricably intertwined. In his 1946 manual, the American author Charles F. Hoban argues that shorts that aim at teaching their viewers a practical competence should develop some sort of "*rapport* between the audience and the film" (98). One way of doing this, he argues, is to start from a familiar situation that calls for the knowledge or skills discussed; for instance, one that involves characters to whom the viewers can relate. In this type of films, therefore, dramatisation and explanation are best combined.[97] In NOF equivalents of the kind of shorts which he refers to, the various motivational strategies are often rather difficult to disentangle. At any point in *Solliciteren*, *Niek zoekt werk op kantoor*, *Wij bouwen woningen* (1949, *We Build Houses*)

or *Schoolzwemmen* (all titles which fit Hoban's bill), the youthfulness of the protagonist both enables recognition *and* contributes to the appearance of feasibility of the task at hand. Which potential is highlighted when is hard to decide. The reason is that not only the functions of the various narrative techniques but also the strategies themselves overlap and intertwine.

Stock Combinations

The latter observation is particularly relevant in the case of recurring combinations of strategies. Consider, for instance, the example of NOF's animated language films. Here, spectatorial appeal is nearly always due to a combination of the shorts' formal attractiveness, (known) fantastic content and purposive narrative structure. In most cases it is hard to determine which of these strategies is the prominent one. As a rule, the various kinds of motivational potential mentioned take turns in getting foregrounded. The first two fulfil a more important role at the beginning of a film, when the audience's attention is first sought; the latter take front stage later on, when their purpose is rather to *keep* the viewers tuned in.

As the above instance shows, patterns can also be discerned in the relations between combinations of strategies and the particular topics which films address. Telling examples here are shorts that discuss regional geography subjects, and especially, 'foreign' ways of life (those items which I designated above as pseudo-ethnographic). Such titles nearly always combine narrative patterning (as a way of foregrounding textual purposiveness) with strategies that highlight the potential of experiential correspondence. Films that are situated closer to the science pole of the curriculum – physical geography, natural history, physics and chemistry – tend to rely more heavily on techniques that capitalise on unfamiliarity (providing access, spectacularisation) and/or features that seem to contribute to a matter's intelligibility (simplification, structuring, verbal explication). Another subject category that tends to coincide with a very specific set of motivational tactics is that of social guidance. In *civics* films, the main strategy is to facilitate imitation, but techniques that enable recognition usually figure at least as prominently.[98]

Relative Prominence

Following on from this last example, it might also be worth considering the differences in salience of the various strategies that occur alongside one another: their relative rhetorical weight, or prominence, within a specific sequence or text. In order to clarify this, let me return once more to the example of *Alle water is geen drinkwater* *. In this film, I said, tactics alternate. The short starts off with a dramatic story, deploying the strategies of narrative patterning and enabling recognition. Then, it moves on to a succession of sequences that

show, and in the process structure, the various stages of a number of proce-dures. Finally, it revisits its original plot. This description, however, amounts to a somewhat incomplete rendition of the rhetorical functioning of the text. On closer inspection, the film turns out to be more than just a series of narra-tive sequences with a loose (thematic) connection; it can also be interpreted as a single, integrated whole. In fact, the middle part of the short is causally related to the protagonist's illness; the logico-temporal arch that spans the text in its entirety can therefore be considered to foreground its purposiveness as well. In the central sequences of the film, however, this function does not take centre stage but merely forms an underlying rhetorical thread.[99]

The above example allows for two observations. On the one hand, it dem-onstrates, very simply, that motivational strategies have different levels of rhe-torical prominence. On the other hand, it also shows that the relative salience of individual tactics should not be seen as a static given. Whatever happens to be the primary motivational procedure at one point in a film's development may fade into the background later on; inversely, less marked elements may gain significance in the course of the story time. Much like the mutual bound-aries between various strategies, then, levels of rhetorical prominence seem to shift.

4.3   TEXTUAL MOTIVATION RECONSIDERED: DIDACTIC MATTER AND PERIPHRASIS

In the first part of this chapter, the strategies discussed have been related to six motivational foci, which have in turn been categorised into two main groups, based on whether the objective of those tactics was to increase the appeal of filmic matter or rather that of the viewing process itself. The clas-sification proposed was somewhat crude; therefore I have immediately toned down its taxonomic significance. What I would like to do next is to suggest an alternative categorisation, which will allow me to move on from a considera-tion of single strategies to the rhetorical functioning of texts in their entirety. As opposed to the previous one, this classification will not be conceptualised as a series of separate strategies but as a number of steps on a sliding scale. Therefore, it will need less qualification.

In an NOF newsletter review of the newly acquired production *Radio ontdekt de ruimte* (1959, *Mirror in the Sky*), an observation is made that contains my central thought for this section in its most embryonic form. In the article the film is praised in the following terms: "the short [does] exactly what can be expected of a classroom film: it provides a mixture of science, romance and human traits. [...] In a simple manner, *as if in passing*, it focuses our attention

on the experimental research of natural science: how hypothesis here goes before proof."[100] The reason why the film is applauded, in other words, is that it brings didactic matter to the viewer in an unobtrusive way. The main scientific facts are not forced down the spectator's throat, but proposed gently, and above all, inconspicuously. The idea here seems to be that the audience is thus tricked: that it is inadvertently made to consider ideas that it would not normally pay attention to, if it were given the choice. Another way of summarising the point of the above piece is that the film's presentational method is conceived of as some sort of a 'sugar coating' – a means to ease the intake of an otherwise rather bitter pill.[101]

DIDACTIC PERIPHRASIS

200 | Following on from the above, I would like to propose that a distinction can be made between more and less direct approaches to the (re)presentation of what I would like to call 'didactically relevant' matter (issues or ideas that are pertinent to the pedagogical exchange of which the films under scrutiny used to form part).[102] On the basis of the NOF collection's contents, it is possible to construct some sort of a continuum between texts that openly focus the audience's attention on the teaching matter that had to be conveyed and titles that operate in more 'roundabout' ways. The latter, in what follows, are referred to as examples of didactic 'periphrasis' (in classical rhetoric, the name for a figure of speech that denotes precisely this procedure of circumlocution; see Abrams and Harpham 2009, 269).

By definition, of course, all classroom films are means to pass on what is commonly conceived of as didactic matter. Even so, some of the shorts under scrutiny seem reluctant to address educationally relevant issues head on. Rather than offering such content to the viewer in a straightforward manner, they seem to cover it up in some way. The motivational premise of texts like these seems to be that spectators are unlikely to engage with classroom subjects on their own accord, and that therefore, they have to be lured into doing so. Other titles, in contrast, approach such matter in a much more direct way. They explicitly direct the audience's attention to the knowledge or skills that have to be acquired.

The classification proposed here should not be conceived of as a rigidly compartmentalised system but rather as a continuum encompassing an infinite number of steps in between two (theoretical) extremes. However, in order to be able to identify the factors on which variety is based, I focus here on examples that can be situated closer to the scale's metaphorical poles.

The Extremes (and In-between)

On one end of the periphrasis scale I would place those shorts which do not merely adorn, but actually do not reveal which didactic content they are supposed to help acquire. In such films, any reference to the actual teaching matter or anything that might be reminiscent of it is avoided. The most obvious examples here are NOF's essay composition films. As I pointed out earlier, titles such as *Jantje's droom*, *De goochelaar ontgoocheld*, *Minimale modeshow* or the fairy tale films *Doornroosje*, *De wolf en de zeven geitjes* and *De gelaarsde kat* were meant to function primarily as sources of inspiration: they had to provide their viewers with material to write or talk about. The narratives they contain, then, do not constitute that which had to be learnt. As a matter of fact, what they relate must have had very little didactic significance at all, even if they were deployed as the institute prescribed. The purpose of the lessons in which they had to be embedded was simply to make pupils practise their speaking/writing skills; the relation with what was shown, therefore, could only be relevant in as far as it concerned the children's ability to put into words what they saw.

Extreme examples like these, however, form a case apart; it is only in the above type of films that the connection between textual motivation and didactic objective is this unsubstantial throughout.[103] However, the number of instances increases considerably if one also takes into account examples that are equally escapist in their choice of filmic matter but only in specific sections of the text. I am thinking here in particular of shorts that make use of a narrative frame or insert (usually for the combined purposes of foregrounding textual purposiveness and experiential correspondence) which does not contribute any information that is vital to the development of the film's main argument. Consider, for instance, the short *De grote karekiet: Nestbouw en broedverzorging* * (1948, *The Reed Warbler: Nest-building and Feeding*), yet another item that deals with the life cycle of a particular type of bird. In this film, which consists for the most part of close shots of the species under scrutiny, the chronological succession of images of nesting, brooding and feeding is briefly interrupted by a sequence featuring two young boys in a boat. Much like the opening scene of *De spreeuw*, which shows two children picking up, repairing and then returning a fallen birdhouse to its tree, the fragment is motivational in a roundabout way, in the sense that it briefly draws its audience's attention to something that is likely to fascinate them *more* than the film's zoological argument.

A great deal closer to the directness pole of the scale are those shorts or sequences in which the didactic matter itself is the main object, or even instrument, of spectatorial motivation. The film just mentioned, for instance, is devoted primarily to the cause of familiarising its viewers with a series of

Three stills from the film *De grote karekiet: Nestbouw en broedverzorging* (NOF, 1948). (From the collection of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum)

biological processes: those of procreation and survival of the species concerned. Most of the time it does so by focusing the audience's attention on that which should be learnt; in those instances it is precisely this confrontation with (unseen, because physically hidden) natural phenomena that can be taken to form the text's rhetorical core.

In my overview of motivational devices I differentiated between strategies that are aimed at making matter more attractive and others that serve the purpose of increasing the appeal of the viewing process itself. This distinction, of course, is highly relevant to the type of rhetorical variation dealt with here. The procedures that I categorised in the first group turn up much more frequently in texts that are more 'to the point' didactically. However, motivational directness is not *purely* a matter of rhetorical focus. In order to elucidate this point, I need to be a little more specific about the various statuses, textual and didactic, that subject matter in classroom films may have.

Consider once more the sequences with macrophotographic images and speeded-up shots of growing vegetation in the shorts *In de bruine boon schuilt een plantenleven* * and *Het bos in de bergen*. In both cases, the use of these techniques can be considered as part of an attempt to make more appealing an aspect of the matter dealt with. Each of these shorts provides a (manipulated) representation of a movement, which entails either that an otherwise invisible world is made accessible (in the first title) or that a world the audience thought it knew is spectacularised, and in the process also defamiliarised (in the second). However, I would like to argue that the subject status of the universe depicted is different in the two films. In the first one, the motions shown can actually be considered to form part of the text's central didactic given. *In de bruine boon* *, categorised, incidentally, as a botany title by catalogues and instruction booklets, is designed to help teach about vegetal growth. Germination is the film's subject, but also the process which the viewers are supposed to *acquire knowledge on*. In *Het bos in de bergen*, in contrast, the situation is different. Here, the short as a whole suggests that the speeded-up images serve primarily as a visual backdrop to an argument on the ways in which people, and more specifically those populating the Swiss Alps, adapt their ways of life to their physical surroundings. The film's main didactic point, in other words, is of the (ethno-) geographical kind.[104]

The above examples not only exemplify how subtle the distinctions between a film's various topics and its very specific *didactic* argumentation may be, but also how numerous the steps are between various degrees or levels of periphrasis. In *Het bos in de bergen* the optical manipulation sequence cannot be conceived of as a crucial building block to the film's central didactic point. At the same time, it somehow is relevant to the film's geographical argumentation: it visualises a process that is characteristic of the natural

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world with which the alpine people interact, thus underscoring how nature follows its own course, without regard for the local inhabitants. In addition to this, the fragment under scrutiny can also be considered to function as a reference to titles in which biological content takes a much more central place. Vegetal growth, any classroom audience knows, is typical teaching (film) matter; therefore the fact that it is referred to here constitutes an obvious allusion to the film's, or its subject's, didactic status. As such, the speeded-up sequence in *Het bos in de bergen*, although definitely more periphrastic in its approach to motivation than that in *In de bruine boon **, still works in a far less distractive way than, say, the boat scene in *De grote karekiet **.

A Far Extreme

So far, I have considered didactic periphrasis in terms of the relation between a film's overall motivational logic and the didactic matter which it is supposed to help pass on. However, there is also a category of films that do not quite fit this picture, in the sense that they clearly reside towards the directness pole of the range but do not derive this extreme position from the way in which they treat educationally relevant *matter*. In the instances I am thinking of here, the films' main argument concerns not just the chosen lesson content but also the *process of its acquisition*.

The most obvious representatives of this category are those which I referred to earlier as 'skill films'. In such shorts, audience motivation is based on the premise that the pupils addressed have (or develop) a desire to acquire the competencies that the people on screen already have. In order to appeal, the task under scrutiny needs to have an appearance of manageability. A sensible strategy, therefore, is the representation of a situation in which said skill is being acquired by children of the audience's own age. In films that do so, I would contend, motivation is not at all a matter of 'tricking' the viewer into watching. Here, didactic references are not eschewed; in fact, the educational process is actively brought to the viewers' attention. Therefore, these shorts can be considered to follow the extreme opposite logic of that of didactic periphrasis.[105]

KNOWLEDGE VS. SKILLS

Of course, it is not coincidental that films that pay attention also to the process of learning itself usually deal with practical skills. Although a situation whereby the process, or even method, of knowledge acquisition is explicitly dealt with is conceivable (imagine, for instance, a classroom scene with a child answering a teacher's question) such instances are very rare.[106] In addition to

this, they are often also embedded in texts that feature a complex of rhetorical strategies that are much more periphrastic. Of all the films that are designed to pass on a certain body of knowledge, the didactically most direct kind usually focus on the teaching matter itself rather than on the process of its learning. A logical explanation for this is that the acquisition of a series of facts is simply much harder to visualise than the mastering of a skill. In addition to this, the motivational potential of the latter is higher; after all, the use of watching a depiction of someone practicing a certain technique or craft (and the lure of the satisfaction that comes with possessing it) is a great deal more self-evident.

The inverse, however, is not necessarily true. While many skill films are didactically very direct, there is also a category of highly periphrastic ones. The essay composition shorts which I dealt with earlier are intended for practical purposes too; those titles, however, should be situated at the periphrasis end of the scale. The rationale that can be inferred here is that in such films, the motivational factor of concrete usefulness does not need to be exploited, as the combination of their content (often fantastic) and attractive form may be considered sufficient to keep the targeted audience tuned.

The relation between didactic periphrasis and the knowledge/skills distinction, in other words, does not make for a very strict pattern. In spite of this, it is possible to point out some general tendencies. On the one hand, there are those films which are meant to pass on practical competencies. Such shorts are usually either extremely direct or extremely roundabout in their motivational logic. On the other hand, there are those which are clearly intended to convey facts, often of a scientific nature. Such items, in contrast, tend to feature closer to the middle section of the periphrasis scale. However, this should not be attributed to the indistinctness or ambiguousness of the strategies used, but rather to a co-occurrence of procedures with varying degrees of motivational directness. Titles that belong in this category tend to address at least part of the knowledge that has to be transferred: matter that ideally gets presented from its most attractive (unfamiliar/comprehensible) point of view.[107] At the same time, few of them rely exclusively on the motivational potential of the subject itself; in most cases they also detract the viewers' attention from their didactic content in some way.[108]

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have tried to sketch a broad picture of the ways in which teaching films encourage their viewers to pay attention to what is said and/or shown. In the first, most extensive section, I have identified about a dozen

strategies, or motivational tactics, which such shorts utilise. I have associated these in turn with six different foci: the centres, or cruxes, which their rhetorical operation revolves around. In addition to this, I have discussed some of the representational techniques on which they commonly rely, thus establishing the relation between implicit strategies and concrete textual features. In the second part, I have mitigated the above classification, demonstrating how various procedures tend to co-occur and overlap. The third and last section was devoted to an assessment of the films' overall rhetorical functioning. Here, I have considered the relations between the shorts' general motivational logic and the didactic matter which they were meant to pass on. In the course of this chapter I have never attempted to be exhaustive; I have merely tried to give an idea of the motivational range of the corpus discussed.[109]

By way of conclusion I would like to point out that textual motivation in teaching films – much like in other genres – tends to be based on a combination of two principles. On the one hand, rhetorical strategies tie in with what is already there in the viewers: shorts make use of techniques that stimulate something that is considered to be present in, or characteristic of, their implied audience. Essentially, motivational tactics are ways of responding to, or anticipating on, presumed interests, sensibilities or preferences. The implicit logic is that by opting for representational methods, or even subjects, that are sure to appeal, films are more likely to encourage their spectators to consider what is shown and/or said. On the other hand, shorts lure their audience by raising expectations: they create an impression as to what the treated content is *going* to be like (for instance: comprehensible, practicable, or simply fun to watch). The prospects that those qualities entail (respectively: that of a certain amount of understanding, a competence, or simply a good time) function as incentives for the viewers to stay tuned. In this respect, then, the films' motivational potential depends on the promise of a certain property rather than on an actual condition or state of affairs.

Another observation, which closely relates to the principles just mentioned, concerns the use in such shorts of means that are highly standardised, both in films and in other narrative media. On the face of it, the deployment of conventional procedures is entirely logical, even downright inevitable. Without them, after all, viewers would not be able to follow a text's reasoning. Teaching films, however, seem to emphatically exploit the recognisability of established patterns in the process of motivation. To an overwhelming extent, the textual devices used derive their potential to keep an audience tuned precisely from the fact that specific combinations of images and/or sounds, over time, have acquired stock meanings or associations (for instance, an air of procedural structured-ness or transparency, or the promise of some sort of narrative closure). In quite a few cases the aspect of conventionality that is

thus capitalised on goes beyond the organisation, or embellishment, of the text itself, and also concerns the relation of those devices to a different, *non-*educational *dispositif*.

Yet even in this respect teaching films are not at all unique. With reference to the corpus I deal with here, statements on generic specificity are largely irrelevant, not only in as far as they concern specific textual ingredients but also in terms of the overarching rhetorical mechanisms of which they form part. If there is anything at all that can be considered textually characteristic of classroom films, indeed, it is to be found in the relation between aspects of motivation on the one hand, and the combined factors of implied audience and viewing situation, on the other.

The association between those two sets of determinants is significant in a number of ways. First, in terms of what it entails for the foregrounding of specific motivational potentials. For instance, if a film's rhetorical objective is to establish a degree of experiential correspondence, then the strategies of enabling recognition and/or addressing presumed interests or affinities pose different textual requirements depending on which audience a text targets. If this audience consists of a group of children viewing in a classroom setting, the introduction of young protagonists and a few fantastic elements are safe motivational bets. With a general entertainment theatre public, however, such textual ingredients are less likely to appeal; in those circumstances, then, their motivational potential would receive less attention. Second, the relation is relevant in terms of the relative occurrence of various strategies. In shorts that target an audience of factory employees, for instance, facilitating imitation is likely to be a prominent strategy. In this setting, after all, one of the main reasons for screening films is the training of personnel. In classrooms, in contrast, the transmission of (theoretical) knowledge tends to prevail; practical feasibility, therefore, is not quite as important a factor there. Another, more tentative conclusion would be that among films shown in class, fewer can be situated at the direct pole of the periphrasis scale. Apparently, films that are used to teach children something, when compared to those targeting an audience of adult employees, are more likely to sugarcoat the metaphorical didactic pill.

As a final remark I would like to emphasise once more that I have focused in this chapter, very specifically, on aspects of textual motivation. In other words, I have concentrated exclusively on those elements in teaching films that can be considered to *invite* the viewer to a communicative interaction. While this has given me the opportunity to discuss an extremely wide variety of features in the corpus under scrutiny, it also constitutes a restriction. After all, not all features of the shorts under scrutiny can be read in those terms. Consider, for instance, those points in a text where the audience's attention, as it were, is

'forced away' from a scene or representational procedure that is pleasant to observe but strictly speaking irrelevant to its didactic point, and subsequently redirected towards the facts that need to be passed on (for instance, through a camera movement or a cut). By ignoring such textual ingredients, I have not meant to imply that they do not occur – merely that they are irrelevant to what I set out to do. In the next section, however, my focus is on a different type of rhetorical elements. In practice, this means that I occasionally also address some of the less positively 'enticing' aspects of the texts under scrutiny.

Textual Rhetoric II: Referencing the Pedagogical *Dispositif*

INTRODUCTION

Textual rhetoric, I proposed in chapter 3, concerns those aspects of composition that can help create a willingness in the audience to consider a text's various claims. The rhetorical process, I added, is based on a principle of implication: it works through the construction of a so-called 'reader-in-the-text' (Suleiman and Crosman 1980; compare also Browne [1975] 1992). In the examples I have given so far, these filmic ingredients always have an evident spectatorial appeal, in the sense that their deployment is based on implicit assumptions as to what the intended viewers appreciate and/or like. The films mentioned exploit sensibilities or propensities that are supposed to be present in those watching; in doing so, they attempt to lure them into staying tuned. However, there are also other ways of implicating the audience.

In what follows, I argue that a good deal of the shorts under scrutiny do not merely seek to keep their audience attentive by complying with its presumed spectatorial wishes but (also) seem to manoeuvre their spectators into a specific, preferential viewing position. One of the ways in which they do this is by incorporating references to the pedagogical *dispositif*: representations of the particular tools, interpersonal relations or communicative forms that can be associated with, and even be taken to allude to, the particular set-up of which both text and viewer (ideally) form part. This way, they explicate their most relevant interpretational framework, and by extension also the audience disposition that is most befitting of that specific (type of) film.[1]

Although the ingredients or features that I deal with next oftentimes resemble and sometimes even duplicate those which I singled out in the previous chapter, my assumptions as to how they function rhetorically are different in at least two ways. First, I make other inferences in terms of the type of viewer

roles which they imply. Strategies of motivation, I argued, exploit presumed sensibilities on the part of the public. In this process they draw on communicative, and more precisely cinematic conventions. In other words, they appeal to knowledge and/or preferences which (young, school-going) spectators possess in their capacity as *film viewers*. The textual features I deal with next, in contrast, are rhetorically significant because of the relation they maintain with the audience as a pedagogical entity. The spectators, in other words, are addressed here in their role of *pupils*.

Second, the textual elements discussed in this chapter are also different in terms of the rhetorical effects which they seek to generate. As I explained, references to the *dispositif* do not merely seek to keep the viewers tuned but incite them instead to adopt a very specific spectatorial stance. However, the rhetorical potential of these elements is *conditional* upon that of the mechanisms discussed before. In order to be manoeuvred into a specific reading role, after all, viewers also need to be motivated to pay attention to what is said. In practice this means that references to the *dispositif* often co-occur with the strategies discussed in chapter 4. Another possibility is that textual features or procedures fulfil a double rhetorical role. Elements that seek to motivate their audience to stay tuned, in other words, may also constitute references to the pedagogical *dispositif*. In the following pages I concentrate in such cases on rhetorical potential of the latter kind.

A third way in which the textual elements dealt with here are distinct from the ones discussed before is that they tend to contribute to the recognisability of the corpus under scrutiny. The techniques which teaching films deploy for purposes of motivation are common to a wide variety of filmic genres; use of those means, therefore, does not necessarily make them stand out textually. The elements I discuss next, in contrast, operate by way of referencing the very specific *dispositif* within which the films functioned, and therefore they implicitly or explicitly foreground their status as didactic tools. Consequently these features may sometimes be read as distinguishing marks.

Of course, the fact that references to the *dispositif* may make teaching films generically identifiable at least to some extent does not imply that I conceive of them as typical, or even necessary textual ingredients. The rhetorical elements dealt with here do not make the shorts in which they turn up better or more 'central' examples of the category as such. Motivating their audience to stay tuned is something *all* the films in the NOF corpus do; referencing the pedagogical *dispositif*, in contrast, is not. For instance, many of the more periphrastic shorts mentioned in previous chapters are marked precisely by a complete lack of pointers towards anything didactic, including the *dispositif* within which they were meant to be shown. This does not, however, entail that they are classroom films of a 'lesser kind'.

In what follows, I start off by specifying what exactly I mean by 'references to the pedagogical *dispositif*'. First, I distinguish between the various discursive practices that hold the rhetorical potential described above. I divide them into three groups, each of which constitutes a different level of referencing. Subsequently, I reconsider those same practices in terms of how self-reflexive they are: to what extent they can be considered as signs of the texts' awareness, so to speak, of their own status as teaching tools. Next, I look at references to the pedagogical *dispositif* from a historical point of view. Judging by the composition of the NOF collection, such textual elements seem to have become more common over time. While early releases generally contain few references to their intended screening context and/or viewing conditions, later ones do so more often. This evolution, of course, is not an absolute one: variation occurred throughout the period I deal with. In the second part of this chapter, I formulate some tentative explanations for this tendency.

Finally, I also establish the relationship between the rhetorical elements dealt with here and the issues of authority that I discussed in part I. On the face of it, the incorporation of references to the *dispositif* may seem to entail that the pedagogical framing of a film – a factor which, I pointed out, is inextricably linked to its rhetorical functioning – is shifted from outside the text to the filmic structure itself. In the last section of the chapter I discuss whether or not this is the case, and if so, which are the implications for the role of teacher authority in the process of meaning production.

5.1   REFERENCES TO THE *DISPOSITIF*: DISCURSIVE VARIETY

In her seminal study of teaching films, Jacquinot argues that the educational institution always inscribes itself into the structure of an audio-visual message, i.e. the film text itself (1977, 37). In this process, it refers not to one world (as in the case of a fiction film, which restricts itself to the universe constructed by the text) but to three different ones. Apart from the real world, which she also designates as 'the world of everyone' (*le monde mondain* or *le monde de tout le monde*, by which she indicates that which the film teaches about), it also references the world of the specialist (*le monde du spécialiste*) and that of the class (*le monde de la classe*). The former, she argues, is made up of everything that can be considered to refer to an abstraction of the concrete facts (rather than those facts themselves, which belong to the real world). The latter in turn covers all textual elements that constitute an implication of the viewers to whom the film is addressed (60-65).

In my view, the three worlds which Jacquinot mentions cannot always be separated from each other very neatly; in most cases they are inextricably interwoven. As a matter of fact, the author's own reasoning already demonstrates this. For instance, she argues that one of the ways in which facts can be identified as originating from a specialist is through the presence of an interviewer. This individual acts as some sort of a pupil surrogate – a role which places him or her in the world of the class (Jacquinot 1977, 50-51). The specialist, on this occasion, plays a double part: in the world of the class, he/she also fulfils the function of teacher (65). The worlds of specialist and class, in other words, usually go hand in hand. In addition to this, an expert's knowledge often also concerns the so-called 'real' world; for instance, in films on biology or history. The distinction between abstract information and concrete facts, then, is not always easy to make.

Yet the question is whether such divisions are at all necessary. Throughout her book Jacquinot stresses that in teaching films, a traditional model of knowledge transfer predominates: the epistemological ideal of someone who knows feeding information to someone who does not. This set-up, I believe, is evoked by both types of reference she mentions, regardless of whether they specifically concern the knowledge that is to be passed on (thus establishing a connection with the world of the specialist) or its intended recipient (who is part of the world of the class). In fact it does not matter all that much which of these two 'spaces', as Odin prefers to call them (2000, 129), is the most prominent textually, for what is called forth, directly or indirectly, is always the pedagogical *dispositif as a whole*.[2]

In addition to this, considering the referential system of teaching films in a more integrated way also shifts the attention away from separate referential 'agents' (the interviewer/pupil or specialist/teacher) to that which binds them together, and more specifically, to the particular power relations that are relevant to a classroom situation. Taking this conceptual step is imperative, because it is precisely through those relations that the roles which Jacquinot refers to can be adopted. A child, after all, cannot acquire the status of a pupil unless he or she is part of an exchange which also involves a teacher; the latter function in turn presupposes the presence of someone who is being taught.

More important than the distinction between various referential worlds, however, is the question of how this 'seeping through' – or with a more active term: 'quoting' – of elements of the pedagogical *dispositif* takes place discursively. Jacquinot does make mention of a variety of practices in this respect; however, she does not conceptualise them systematically.[3] One of the reasons why I choose to do so in what follows is that the differences between various

discursive patterns in turn generate variation in terms of the extent to which texts actively reflect on (and as such, draw the viewer's attention to) the films' status as teaching tools, and therefore, to their own position within the *dispositif* which they reference.[4]

DISCURSIVE LEVELS

For clarity's sake I situate the references to the *dispositif* exemplified here on three distinct discursive levels. My reason for adopting this categorisation is that by lumping together various forms of spectatorial address (i.e. treating them as variants of one and the same practice) the differences in terms of their rhetorical functioning are likely to get obscured.[5] However, my use of the term 'levels' does not imply that I see the relation between those layers or stages as a hierarchical one – at least, not in as far as they concern the relative strength or conspicuousness of the references themselves. If it is at all possible to conceive of my classification as a ranking, it is in terms of the explicitness with which the films in which these rhetorical elements feature refer to their own status as texts, or in other words, as a measure of the shorts' self-reflexiveness.

Diegetic Referencing

The first series of examples that I would like to deal with are those in which references to the *dispositif* figure on the diegetic level of the text. In the book referred to above, Jacquinot argues that in relation to teaching films, the notion of diegesis is problematic. The reason, once more, is that such titles refer not to one, but to three distinct worlds (Jacquinot 1977, 60-61).[6] In my view, this is not necessarily so. Even if classroom films may establish relations with reference points that belong to worlds other than the one established by the text itself, this does not imply that the construction of a diegesis is not possible. References to the *dispositif* may occur on this textual level as well. In his book *De la fiction*, Odin mentions the example of a film in which a group of schoolchildren is given expert biological information during a visit to the zoo. (The situation he describes here, I would infer, is comparable to that which is established in the first few minutes of the NOF-produced short *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* *, which features a guided tour in a museum.) In this case, he points out, several of Jacquinot's worlds are represented in the diegesis (Odin 2000, 129). The corpus under scrutiny here demonstrates that the range of options in this respect is actually quite broad.

'Diegetic references', in this chapter, are those elements in a film's story world that can be considered to constitute a visual and/or auditory echo of objects or conditions that are commonly associated with the pedagogical

dispositif (in a general sense) or the *dispositif* of classroom viewing (more in particular). The possibilities here are extensive. Textual elements that take on such referential meaning vary from sounds or images of items that belong to the material framework for pedagogical interaction or articles that are reminiscent of those, to much more encompassing representations of that interaction itself. Examples therefore include both depictions of educational environments (school grounds in *Een natte broek in Waterland* or *Een vrolijke kadotter in huis*; a primary school classroom in *Helpers in nood*; a technical workshop in *Wij bouwen woningen*; a sports ground and gym in *S.L.O.*) and tools (such as maps, charts, models and sketch or exercise books, featured in a great many films in the collection).[7] Alternatively, they are representations of actual didactic exchanges involving relevant roles (the interaction between teachers and pupils in *De schoolreis*, *Een wens verhoord binnen 24 uur: De post*, *In de bruine boon schuilt een plantenleven **, and some parts *of Wij bouwen woningen* and *Het dorp*) or surrogates of those roles (the farmer and area manager in *Na 10 jaren arbeid **; the pool attendant in *Schoolzwemmen*; the tour guide in *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek **).

The main distinction between this level of referencing and the one I discuss next is that the above films feature clear-cut representations. In the examples I gave so far, references to the *dispositif* are so to speak 'locked up' in the diegesis. Because of this, the possibilities in terms of self-reflexivity are rather limited. In cases such as these, the text does indeed represent a situation that is reminiscent of the *dispositif* of which the spectators form part at the moment of watching, but in this process, it does not explicitly establish the connection with the status of the film itself as a didactic means (i.e. as a constituent of that same configuration). In order for this to happen, I argue further on, some other textual conditions need to be fulfilled.

Extradiegetic Referencing

The difference between the first and the second discursive level is illustrated, once again, in Odin's *De la fiction*. Following on from his example of the film set in the zoo, the author describes a scene from a documentary which does not literally depict a teaching situation, as in the first instance, but presents itself as some sort of a 'magisterial lecture' (*cours magistral*) to the viewers addressed. The sequence he recounts shows a number of items and implements, all of which have something to do with the reconstitution of history by archaeological means. At one point, the film features a shot of an adult's hand, holding a stick, which directs the viewer's attention to a pro-filmic object (a skull). As Odin states, it is not clear here who this hand belongs to; its owner is never seen. The author argues that it emanates from some sort of interface (*autre champ*, in Alain Bergala's terms) between the space of the viewer and

that which is constructed by the film (the story world). In other words, the hand and pointer do not form part of the diegesis but emerge from a decidedly *extra*diegetic space (Odin 2000, 129-30). This way the impression is created that the viewer is addressed more or less directly. To clarify this point, let me compare two examples from the NOF corpus.

Extradiegetic Inserts

The sequences that I would like to juxtapose both make use of schematic representations; however, they do so in slightly different ways. The first one, taken from the beginning of *Van ei tot kraanvogel*, is similar to Odin's example. Here, a brief succession of images of crane varieties is followed by a fade, and subsequently, a shot of a map of the African continent. From one corner of the frame, the arm and hand of an unknown person emerge, and indicate the birds' habitat and migration routes on the map. The second sequence is the didactic scene at the end of *Na 10 jaren arbeid ***. In this fragment, a farmer, the film's protagonist, is seen entering the headquarters of the Wieringermeer Estate (the administrative centre of the area of reclaimed land on which he lives and works) and is shown a sketch of the region by a district manager. Then a series of close shots of the map follows, and alongside it is a chart, which is replaced several times with a different one by the administrator. These takes are alternated with more distant shots which show the two men studying the documents. In the latter film, the user of the schematic representation – who is also the owner of the hand and arm which replace the charts – is always visually present. In *Van ei tot kraanvogel*, in contrast, Jacquinot's world of the class is never represented diegetically. Here, the fragment concerned functions as some sort of extradiegetic insert: a brief interruption (both visual and temporal) of the story that is told by means of the surrounding live-action images.[8]

The effect that is generated in this process is comparable to that which Eric de Kuyper, in a piece on family film, has called the (apparent) 'annulment of technical mediation'. The author uses this phrase to describe what happens in the case of a direct gaze: a moment when an on-screen person looks straight into the camera, and thus, as it were, neutralises the distance – technological, but also spatial and temporal – with the viewer (Kuyper 1995, 16). Something similar seems to take place here. Because of the fact that the schema in *Van ei tot kraanvogel* is not anchored in the story that unfolds, the film seems to temporarily pause the diegetic development. The shot itself functions as some sort of a visual remark, an explicative aside to the attention of the implied viewer. In this process mediation is somehow concealed: for a very brief moment the map that fills the screen seems to operate as an equivalent of the real-life pictures and charts that cover the walls of the classrooms in which the film is supposed to be shown. This circumstance in turn generates an impression

Two stills from the film *Zuiderzeepolders VI: Na 10 jaren arbeid* (NOF, [ca. 1944]). (From the collection of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum)
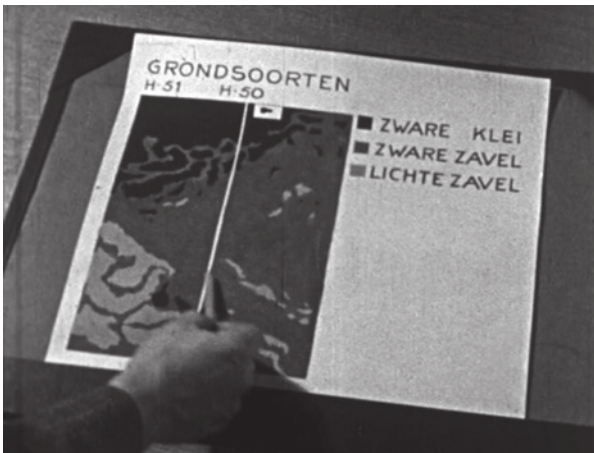
of closeness, or immediacy (Bolter and Grusin 1999, 21-31) on the spectator's part.

Voice-over Narration

This illusion of immediacy is particularly strong in texts in which the viewer is literally spoken to, addressed by an audible (voice-over) narrator. Compare, for instance, the shorts *De Bilt verwacht...* (1959, *De Bilt Forecasts...*) and *Het paard*.[9] The first title contains a multitude of schematic representations that operate on a variety of levels: some as part of the diegesis, others as emerging from an extradiegetic space, and yet another category on a textual plane somewhere in between. Maps, charts and diagrams, in this short, function both as attributes of the profilmic agents (the meteorologists whose activities are documented) and as tools for explaining a physical process to an implied school

audience. Because of this, a transition to a close shot of a schema which, a few seconds earlier, still functioned as a diegetic element can be ambiguous: it is not always clear whether such an image continues to be part of the narrative on the daily goings-on in the weather station or rather takes on a role which is comparable to that of a wall chart in a classroom. In many cases both readings are possible. This ambiguity, it seems, is not likely to occur in the case of *Het paard*. Although this short uses a similarly wide range of schematic representations, it is much more obvious here on which discursive level they operate.

The reason is that the film uses a spoken commentary which explicates its overall argumentation. Because of this, the text as a whole functions as addressed directly to the viewer, or as Jacquinot formulates it: "with reference to *an addressee who is absent but targeted as [if he or she were] present*" (1977, 69).[10] Here, an impression of immediacy is created not only on those occasions when a map or chart is inserted into a live-action sequence but as soon as the voice-over narration starts (at the very beginning of the film).

In classroom films, as a matter of fact, the use of spoken language nearly always holds this rhetorical potential at least to some extent. One reason is that speech, in these shorts, hardly ever emanates from an on-screen person and therefore rarely bears a direct relation to the diegesis of the film. In *Het paard*, for instance, we never see the one who speaks; it is nowhere suggested that the humans that figure in the few live-action sequences (an animal caretaker, some jockeys) are the source of what is said.[11] Also, the voice-over commentary usually contains all sorts of additional signs of its reader-orientedness. The viewer, in films with sound, is often addressed as 'you' or with some sort of an implicative 'we' (as in the film *De kust van Nederland*). These are pronouns that involve the reader in what is said, and sometimes even seem to make him/her share in the responsibility for it.[12] Variations on this practice are the use of (soft) imperatives (in expressions such as 'check out' or 'pay attention to', as in *Eeuwig verandert de kust*) and direct questions.[13]

Particularly significant in terms of the sort of references to the *dispositif* that I am trying to pinpoint here is the fact that the speaker, as a rule, takes a stance or attitude that evokes the pedagogical communication situation in its entirety. Speech, therefore, not only functions as a reference to the role of the educator (the one who introduces didactically relevant concepts and processes from a position of scientific and sometimes moral authority), it also shows proof of an orientation towards a young, school-going audience. Apart from scientifically sound terms, voice-over texts often contain more subjective (or even judgemental) expressions and use age-specific reference points, comparisons and personifications.[14] These can be seen as motivational (as they clearly foreground the possibility of experiential correspondence) but also as signs of the manifestation of some sort of teacher surrogate, who seems to

directly address the pupil-viewer – a fact which explains Odin's association of these films with magisterial lectures (compare also Wallet 2004, 103).

The reason why I prefer to speak here of a 'concealment' of mediation – rather than 'annulment', as de Kuyper does (1995, 16) – is that it is merely a matter of pretence, of make-belief.[15] The filmic speaker, of course, never directly addresses the actual extratextual viewer but always some sort of an abstraction of it. Narratologists have conceptualised this intermediary in a variety of ways. One of the most attractive ones, to me, is that of Paul Goetsch, who speaks in this context of a 'fictive reader' (2004, 189, 190-94). His choice of words is interesting, because it allows for the distinction with, but at the same time also connects it to, a 'fictional' one: the characterised in-story/diegetic version of the same reader/viewer role. For Goetsch, the fictive reader is an implied reader who is addressed explicitly by the implied author. "Fictive readers," he argues, "may be invited to participate in a dialogue [for instance, when a question is posed], asked to read critically and use their imagination [a suggestion made quite literally in the film *Het paard*], or challenged to formulate their own conclusions" (190). In his view, "they can be seen as direct or indirect references to the kind of audience the [implied] author wishes to reach" (191).[16]

Metatextual Referencing

In films that directly address a so-called 'fictive' reader, the illusion of immediacy described above is hardly ever sustained indefinitely. Most shorts in the corpus dealt with contain at least some reference to their own status as (teaching) films, i.e. as *mediated* representations. This way, they inevitably undermine the semblance of an immediate communication between the teacher figure implied by the text and an extratextual viewer. In this context I am thinking not so much of the signs of indexing mentioned in chapter 3 (for instance, a leader with the logo of NOF, appearing before the beginning title in most prints, and reminding viewers of their provenance) but of more emphatic allusions to the films' textual status. Again, verbal elements make for the best examples here.

Place Deixis vs. Discourse Deixis

The easiest way of clarifying the difference between extradiegetic references and those which I refer to hereafter as 'metatextual' ones is to contrast different uses of deictic terms in teaching films. One of the more striking characteristics of verbal explication in such shorts, spoken or written, is that it tends to contain a good deal of demonstrative pronouns. However, not all of these establish deictic relations on the same level of the discourse.

In the great majority of cases demonstratives are used to point something out inside the image. A few minutes into the narration of *Het paard*, for

instance, we hear a succession of sentences beginning with the words 'this is...' (as in "This, for instance, is the ancestor of today's elephant").[17] In each of those instances the pronoun refers to one in a series of drawings of prehistoric animals that pass before the camera lens. In addition, the film also contains some adverbs that fulfil roughly the same function.[18] In each case, this term is used to identify the image element which the commentator is talking about at that specific point in time, and implicitly, to distinguish it from whatever came before. Linguists would consider both of them as examples of *place* deixis.

In the film *Solliciteren*, in contrast, the demonstrative pronoun does not refer to an element in the text, but rather to the text itself. At the beginning of the short, an intertitle appears which explains its didactic purpose (to alert the viewer to mistakes that can be made in the course of a job interview) and how it should be deployed (the various parts of the film must be viewed separately, with a break in between). In this process, the text is explicitly referred to as such ("this film").[19] The use of demonstratives, here, can be seen as an example of *discourse* deixis. The reference concerns the film itself; therefore it necessarily figures on the meta-level of the text.[20]

The opening title of *Solliciteren*, I would like to argue, constitutes some sort of 'outing' or foregrounding of the text, as a text – and therefore, of its place or function within a *dispositif* of viewing. The most crucial difference with the sort of references I discussed previously is that here, the impression of immediacy, brought about by a direct address of the viewer (emanating, again, from an extradiegetic narrator) is somewhat 'unsettled'. For even if the film, because of the reference, may not actually lose its effect of communicational directness, this closeness is simultaneously exposed as an illusion, as a mere textual effect. The deictic terms used in the first half of *Het paard* divert the audience's attention from the process of mediation by openly acknowledging its presence in complying with its presumed need for an identification or specification of relevant image sections. The word 'this' in *Solliciteren* constitutes a recognition of its presence as well; in this case, however, the courtesy to the spectator is of an entirely different nature. Here, the audience is approached not merely as a collective that needs to be subjected to an illusion of communicative immediacy but as one that can see what a film really is: a mere text.

In *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (1999), their well-known account of the various ways in which media refashion, or 'remediate', earlier ones, Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin argue that in audio-visual applications of the past centuries, the apparently contradictory tendencies of 'transparent immediacy' (the use of technology that allows for a seemingly unmediated experience of what is represented) and 'hypermediacy' (the multiplication, and thereby, acknowledgement of acts of representation/mediation) have often gone hand in hand (6, 53 and passim). The examples given above clearly

illustrate this. In combination they show that the same communicative channel that allows for the most powerful immediacy effect – that of extradiegetic commentary – can easily be turned into an instrument that highlights a text's mediated-ness, and therefore, its fundamental hypermediacy. Extradiegetic references, in other words, can easily become metatextual ones. In the course of a text, both types of references often co-occur. The viewer, in such cases, is invited to both look *at* the film (as a text) and to look *through* it (choosing at the same time to maintain the illusion of direct communication with whoever makes the filmic argument).[21]

The Text as (Teaching) Film

The metatextual references in *Solliciteren*, of course, not only constitute a foregrounding of the text, and therefore, of the *dispositif* of viewing (or the film's place within it) but also of its function as a teaching tool and of its role within a specifically pedagogical set-up. By spelling out its intended use, the opening lines of the film draw attention to the short's educational nature, and by the same token, to its status as an instrument of didactic exchange. In this particular instance, the *dispositif* is explicitly specified as pedagogical; the reference, as a result, is pretty much inescapable. In the great majority of cases, however, the viewer has to take a more active role and make his or her own inferences on the basis of more subtle clues.

Quite often films with voice-over commentaries contain statements that concern the representational status of what is seen on screen. In the first part of *Goed bewaren – geld besparen*, for instance, the narrator points out that the image of a fungus, which follows that of a pot of food gone bad, is presented to us as seen through a microscope ("This is a microscopic shot of a fungus, 500 times larger"). In *Sterren en sterrensystemen*, we are told that all stars circle around a centre. Subsequently, an animation appears of what looks like a photographic view of a galaxy: an image which renders visible the spiral shape of its orbit. At this point the speaker says that in reality, one such revolution takes several millions of years to complete. In the second half of *Eeuwig verandert de kust*, the commentator alerts his audience to the fact that in the sketch that just came up the most permanent types of soil are shown in black ("Imagine that the land here is composed out of various types of rock; the most resistant ones are marked black").[22] In all of the above cases the underlying message is that what is shown is a manipulated and/or schematised version of the real thing: a representation that is used as a means to better explain/understand what it looks like, or how it operates. By implication, this also applies to the text itself: not only those specific images, but the film as a whole functions as an aid, and more specifically as a *didactic* aid. This deduction, however, is left to the viewer to make.

A variation on this pattern can be found in the French language film *Départ de grandes vacances*. Here, the reference is not purely verbal but involves a combination of words and image. Immediately after the opening credits a commentator's voice speaks the line: "Nous voici encore une fois chez la famille Martin…" ("Here we are again, with the Martin family…"). At the same time, one sees the silhouette of a man, front stage, who takes off his hat and sits down just outside the frame. One's first impulse is to decode this appearance as that of the (voice-over) narrator. The combination of visuals and speech does two things here. First, it makes explicit the relation between the text (the apparition of a narrator, however brief, draws the attention to the short's textual status) and his spectator (the pronoun in the phrase *nous voici* can be read as an implication of the viewer). Second, it raises the latter's awareness of the didactic nature of the film. Through his use of the adverb *encore*, 'once again', the speaker places the text within a series: a string of three didactic shorts dealing with the fortunes of the Martin family (all of which follow the same narrative pattern, use the same characters, and resemble each other visually). If the viewer is able to pick up on this reference – based on his/her prior experience as a pupil – he or she is likely to become even more acutely aware of the film's place and function within classroom interaction.

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The expressive value of those few seconds of introduction, I believe, can hardly be overestimated. The film's opening words, if heard in an environment where the above references can be picked up on, easily affect the audience's reading of everything that follows. The short's designation as part of a series, after all, immediately confirms its status as a French *language* film.[23] This fact in turn blocks a reading focusing on narrative events, regardless of how central these are to the text's structure. Through those first few words the audience is alerted to the fact that it should concentrate not so much on the incidents that take place but on the way in which they are told (i.e. the vocabulary and grammar that are used in the process of narration). In addition to this, the commentator's remark also attributes relevance, and therefore meaning, to the otherwise inexplicable repetitions, pauses and verbal redundancies that abound in this film.

Something similar also happens in the opening minutes of *Hansje en de Madurodammers* *, the Dutch language film. The short starts off with a voice-over sequence in which information is given on the theme park where its main events are set. At this point, the narrative that is to follow is literally referred to as a 'story' (*verhaal*).[24] This term, again, focuses the listener's attention on its textual status, and by extension, on the textual status of the film as such. However, the pronouncement also constitutes a more specific interpretational clue. In fact, the speaker here reminds his hearers that the second, main part of the short is a fiction – a circumstance which in turn entails that in viewing,

they should observe a certain amount of distance. The narrator basically suggests that this type of text, and the sort of reading that it normally provokes, do not actually belong in a classroom. When watching this film, therefore, the audience needs to be extra careful to adopt the most proper viewing conduct: one that befits the didactic purpose of the screening.

SELF-REFLEXIVITY

In what precedes, I justified my classification of references onto three discursive levels on the basis of differences in the ways in which teaching films establish relations with the pedagogical *dispositif* in which they are shown. While this categorisation does not reveal much about the relative prominence of those textual elements, it does provide some clues as to the degree of self-reflexiveness of the shorts in which they turn up. In what follows, I pursue this issue a little further. First, I try to refine my notion of (self-)reflexivity; next, I discuss its role in the films under scrutiny.

Referentiality vs. Reflexivity

The concept of reflexivity, of course, is by no means an unambiguous one. All of the films I have mentioned so far in one way or another make reference to the pedagogical *dispositif*, and by implication, to their own status or function within it. However, the question is whether they can all be taken to also *reflect* on it.

The scope of the term 'reflexivity' depends on what a reader identifies as being a reflection. The latter in turn hinges on the spectator's own contribution to a text: what he or she brings along to a screening and uses in the very specific conditions of a viewing. In a piece on narration and narrativity André Gaudreault and François Jost point out that the answer to the question whether signs of textual enunciation (deictic references, for example) even get perceived will differ according to the audience's prior knowledge, age, social class or historical period (1999, 49) – and to this I would add, the institutional structure within which a film is seen. For instance, when heard in a classroom, a voice-over commentary pointing out a particular section of the image is quite likely to be noticed, because in this setting, it constitutes some sort of echo of a real-life teacher doing something similar (with a map, or a drawing of a human body). Whether such a reference will also be taken as a reflection on some aspect of educational practice depends not only on the viewing situation but also on the individual spectator. When analysing films, however, one has to use an abstraction of 'the' pupil, functioning within the framework of a formal didactic situation.

As a starting point for an elucidation of my criteria for reflexivity, I want to focus on the phenomenon that is referred to, in art and literary theory, as *mise en abyme*: the redoubling or mirroring of a text (or an aspect of it) by the text itself. As a rule this procedure is considered to be not only a form of reference to, but also a reflection on, or a questioning of, the work or its structure (Onega and García Landa 1996, 31). However, not all authors who deal with the subject agree on what the object of mirroring here may be.[25]

Some of the more recent definitions of *mise en abyme* leave room for mirror effects whose reference point is not something in the text but an element or ingredient of the (conceptual) space that surrounds it. In their piece on the subject, Klaus Meyer-Minnemann and Sabine Schlickers write that the *mise en abyme*, even if it is diegetic, can also reflect something extratextual; for instance, a paratext or the actions or achievements of the text's author (2010, 96-97). However, most of the cases they describe are reproductions or resemblances that are strictly *intra*textual. It seems therefore that in practice such redoublings are much more easily conceived of as reflections (in both senses of the word) than reworkings of elements that are not strictly part of the text. This also seems to apply to the films under scrutiny here. A hypothetical example may help illustrate this point.

Imagine a sequence in a mute film, containing either a representation of a group of pupils watching a short or some sort of echo thereof (for instance, a non-school audience attending a screening introduced by some kind of educator, or otherwise, a class of children focusing on a still image projected on a wall or screen). If I follow the logic of Meyer-Minnemann and Schlickers, I can consider this to be an example of placing 'in *abyme*' of the *dispositif* of viewing. In a screening situation which closely matches the one described in chapter 2, such a scene is very likely to cause recognition in the spectators. Quite apart from the fact that this may motivate them to stay tuned (as it foregrounds the film's potential for experiential correspondence), viewers will probably take it as a premeditated reference, either to the site of viewing or to the act they are currently performing. However, none of this implies that they will therefore decode the sequence as being reflexive. In my opinion, a condition for this to happen is that there is a certain amount of textual 'identity' (Dällenbach 1977, 142). In this particular instance this would mean that what is being watched in the short is not only a film – as opposed to a blackboard or chart – but also *this* film: the very short in which it figures diegetically. The latter happens, for instance, in the final scene of *Een wens verhoord binnen 24 uur: De post*.[26]

My logic here is that a text is more likely to be read as reflexive, the more it is actually concerned with itself, i.e. with its own status as a text (compare Metz 1991, 94). On the highest discursive level, such is the case by definition:

metatextual references, after all, always constitute a kind of outing of the film as being precisely that. Lower down on the metaphorical scale, self-reflexivity – perhaps a more unequivocal term in this context – is possible as well, but only if the reference involves some sort of transgression of textual levels. An example of this is the *mise en abyme* in *Een wens verhoord binnen 24 uur*. Here, the reference to the text-as-text occurs on the 'lowest', or 'inner-most' level: that of the diegesis. In other words, while the reference to the *dispositif*, in this case, is part of the story that is told, the process of mirroring itself transcends the boundaries of that one discursive level, as the referent is *the text itself* (plus the conditions of its viewing). A different kind of transgression occurs in the opening shot of *Départ de grandes vacances*, where the persona of the extradiegetic narrator, while making his comment on the meta-level of the text, seems to briefly invade the diegesis, thus underscoring the self-reflexiveness of what the voice-over says.

In *Een wens verhoord binnen 24 uur* the reference is pretty obvious, because the distance between the textual layers involved in the mirroring effect (the diegesis and the meta-level of the film) is rather wide. When the gap is narrower, self-reflexivity is still possible, but often also less visible. Compare, for instance, the films *Maarten Luther* and *Het paard*. Earlier on in this chapter I pointed out that in the case of a spoken commentary, the teacher figure that can be constructed on the basis of the speaker's voice nearly always resides in a different textual space than the diegesis which is discussed.[27] However, this is not always brought to the viewer's attention. In films such as *Maarten Luther*, the commentator restricts himself to a seemingly neutral account of historical events and their interpretation (both of which are presented here as universal truths). In this process, he completely effaces himself, and in the same movement, the textual layer in which he operates. His speech, in other words, might be conceived of as an example of what Émile Benveniste designates as *histoire*: an *énoncé* devoid of all reference to the act of enunciation (1966, 241). In *Het paard*, in contrast, this is not the case. Whenever the short's speaker explicitly identifies elements in the image for the viewer (for instance, by means of terms associated with place deixis), he inadvertently draws attention to the discursive stratification of the film, and thus, to its being a text. In this process the film automatically becomes *somewhat* self-reflexive.[28]

Self-reflexivity as a Reading Guide

Having explained which textual elements can be considered self-reflexive, I need to specify now which functions they serve in teaching films. Signs of reflexivity, I believe, can best be conceived of as some sort of reading guides: indications to the viewer as to how a text should be interpreted. As a matter of fact, all the films I just mentioned seek to make the spectator aware of the

process of viewing. Whether they do so by visually representing it, by referring to it in the way they address their audience, or by making explicit their own status as texts, they always focus the attention on the film's (or, for that matter, on any film's) status as an object of reading/viewing. The particular pedagogical *dispositif* they reference hereby functions as a directional frame: it helps to further specify the type of reading required by the text.

In a discussion of *mise en abyme* as a factor of textual interpretability, Lucien Dällenbach refers to this phenomenon as one of 'repragmatisation'. Through an effect of mirroring, he argues, the text establishes a dialogue situation and thus "presents the reader with a producer and a receiver, even […] with the producer and the receiver of the very text he is reading" (Dällenbach 1980, 440). As far as I am concerned, this statement applies not only to the very specific type of textual artifice that Dällenbach talks about, but even to references on the diegetic level of the text that do *not* transcend any discursive boundaries (and that therefore, I argued earlier, cannot strictly speaking be called 'reflexive').[29] For instance, Chaïm Perelman points out that a speaker can use any sort of fiction (such as, fictional characters) to "insert his [implied] audience into a series of different audiences" (quoted in Chatman 1978, 261-62). However, reading instructions are usually more noticeable, and therefore potentially more rhetorically powerful, if they take a higher position on the discursive scale or if they entail some form of discursive transgression.[30]

Again according to Dällenbach, most novels use mirroring to remove textual ambiguity. "[I]n resorting to *mise en abyme*," he writes, "texts manifest their fears about their own readability" (Dällenbach 1980, 441). The same, I would say, applies to self-reflexive elements in classroom films – perhaps even more pointedly so. In the text mentioned above, Meyer-Minnemann and Schlickers observe that in literary fiction, textual redoubling that involves a transgression of discursive boundaries sometimes entails that it is not clear who is responsible for the narrative (2010, 105). In teaching films, however, this effect rarely occurs. For no matter which textual boundaries are trespassed, such shorts nearly always make clear who, within the bounds of the text, takes on the responsibility for what is argued, especially if there is spoken narration. In the great majority of cases the impression is created that it is the owner of the commentary voice (as constructed by the reader) who takes on this role.

In the case of classroom films, reasons for this anxiety about textual readability can be found in primary sources. In my conclusions to chapter 1, I mentioned that even teaching film enthusiasts saw a fundamental conflict between the medium's inherent motivational potential and the requirement of seriousness and diligence in didactic situations. Producers, distributors and manual authors kept emphasising that while film's attraction to school-

children had to be exploited, classroom audiences should always stay aware of their whereabouts, if only so as to be able to adopt an institutionally appropriate viewer attitude (e.g. Meulen [1951], 7). In practice, it seems, this was not so self-evident.

Focusing again on literary *mise en abyme*, Meyer-Minnemann and Schlickers propose that this type of textual redoubling can be conceived of, among others, as a means to subvert the novelistic illusion (2010, 106). In teaching films as well, self-reflexive elements may cause some sort of a distancing effect: they can help prevent the reader from getting engrossed by (and consequently losing him-/herself in) the diegesis of the film. For instance, extradiegetic references highlighting elements in the image, by making visible the discursive nature of the diegesis, undermine the experience of an autonomous story world. References on the metatextual level in turn undo the illusion of direct communication with the audience that is created in this way. Through those mechanisms spectators are constantly reminded of the fact that what should be carried away from the screening never concerns the text itself but always a reality outside of the film, and even outside of the classroom in which they are gathered.[31]

Precisely because of this, there is always a possibility of a certain amount of tension between various types of rhetoric. For if self-reflexivity functions as a means to encourage spectatorial detachment and an awareness of the discursive nature of textual representation, some of the strategies discussed in the previous chapter do precisely the opposite. Techniques that serve the purpose of highlighting textual purposiveness or experiential correspondence, for instance, seek instead to pull the viewer in, and to *divert* the audience's attention from referential reality and its inherent complexity. In practice, however, this tension is by no means paralytic. Texts such as *Départ de grandes vacances* prove that a balance can be reached between emphatic self-reflexivity and the encouragement of (temporary) diegetic immersion.[32]

5.2   A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Although they are clearly features that can help identify films as intended for the classroom, references to the pedagogical *dispositif* cannot be considered core constituents or typical features of this type of short. Although many of them do, not all teaching films explicitly establish an audio- and/or visual relation with the institutional framework within which they were meant to function.[33] However, the collection under scrutiny shows that such references definitely became more common over time. NOF, in its early days, mostly distributed films that did not in any way point to their intended screening con-

text, but this situation changed later on. In what follows, I propose a number of explanations for this development.

INTERPRETATIONS

In an article characterising three types of formal spoken discourse (papal letters, state of the union addresses and congressional replies) Kathleen M. Jamieson demonstrates that antecedent genres can impose certain 'rhetorical constraints' on more recent ones. Speakers who are confronted with new communicational objectives tend to rely on existing examples when giving shape to what they say. Sometimes the adoption of established discursive procedures is the result of a more or less strategic choice, for instance, if the formulations concerned come with a situationally useful illocutionary force (Jamieson 1975, 408-410).[34] In other cases, the author argues, it is merely a matter of "stubborn habituation" (406). I would like to add here that the selection of a specific format may also be based on the fact that a more appropriate rhetorical example or prototype is not (yet) available. This seems to have been the case with early classroom films.

When NOF was first set up, very few shorts had been made that specifically targeted an audience of schoolchildren. Film-makers therefore had to look for models within other filmic traditions. The most pertinent examples, clearly, were 'non-curricular' educational genres such as industrial process films and travelogues. For obvious reasons, titles within those categories did not as a rule contain references to the pedagogical institution – let alone to the very particular *dispositif* of classroom viewing. The gradual incorporation of textual elements that did establish this relation, then, should be seen as part of an evolution away from the genre's initial examples and towards a more purposive, audience-specific approach to the production and selection of such films. As Bolter and Grusin point out, it is quite common in a process of 'maturation' for media to create new opportunities for hypermediacy (1999, 60) – and therefore, I would add, for self-referencing and self-reflexiveness.

The rhetorical constraints that impinged upon early teaching films, as a matter of fact, may have derived not only from cinematic traditions but also from educational ones. I am thinking here in particular of the more uninhibited user instructions that one can find in titles like *Solliciteren*. In the early days such references were extremely rare. As a rule, directions as to the films' use were restricted to the accompanying teachers' notes. This practice can be related to the tradition, in formal education circles, of hiding from the learners' view anything that pertains to what I would like to call the 'instruction of the instructor'. Specifications on how to integrate tools (audio-visual aids, but

also mere schoolbooks) into daily classroom practice usually end up in separate leaflets, manuals, or even teachers' versions of the same objects or texts. A similar tendency manifests itself in the early output of NOF.[35]

In the Dutch case, in particular, the rhetorical developments sketched may have been at least partly the result of direct influence. The increase in references to the *dispositif* in films distributed by NOF seems to be due in part to confrontation with foreign materials that are more advanced in this respect. The number of titles that contain such elements clearly grew around the time the institute began to actively acquire third-party productions, and, in the early 1950s, shorts made abroad. Soon afterwards references became more common in NOF's own films. The relation between both trends is confirmed by former employees who testify that film-making practice at the institute was often a matter of copying from titles produced elsewhere. Foreign items were viewed on a regular basis, not only for purposes of adaptation but also for

inspiration.[36]

A second interpretation of this historical development is in terms of its relation to the introduction of film sound, and more in particular, voice-over narration. The examples given so far already demonstrate that referentiality, and, by extension, reflexivity, are closely connected to the spoken word. In classroom films, commentaries almost automatically function as echoes of the teacher's voice; in addition to this, they allow for the viewer to be addressed more directly in his or her capacity of pupil-learner. Self-reflexiveness, in turn, is almost inextricably bound up with verbal explication; discourse deixis, for instance, even presupposes the use of words. For those reasons, it is not surprising that the growth in number of teaching films with sound was accompanied by a rise in the average quantity of references to the *dispositif*.

A third interpretation (which simultaneously functions as an explanation for the shift towards sound mentioned above) relates the increase in referentiality to a perceived change in user attitude. Hoban, author of the 1946 manual *Movies That Teach*, observes that classroom films, as opposed to military training films, eschew the deliberate use of teachers as characters and of classrooms as settings for action. The author sees this as a manifestation of "the scrupulous avoidance of anything in educational films that might feed the fear that films will replace the teacher" (Hoban 1946, 103). This prejudice, I argued in chapter 2, also informed some of NOF's positions in matters of form, and sound in particular. Although Hoban himself considers it an unnecessary precaution, the opinion he voices was rather exceptional for that time: 'threatening' textual elements such as he mentions did not get acceptance among colleague authors until much later on. Therefore the increase in references to tools and roles that are standard of classroom interaction, although not an indication of user attitudes as such, can be interpreted as a sign of change in

NOF's marketing strategy, and by implication, of its experience of a waning necessity for such measures.

RESERVATIONS

Although a tendency towards more referentiality manifests itself quite clearly in this corpus, it is by no means an absolute one. First, because representations of (surrogate) educational situations, extradiegetic references to the *dispositif* and even metatextual comments can be found in films dating from as early as 1943 (consider, for instance, *Na 10 jaren arbeid* *, *Elf-stedentocht* and *Solliciteren*, respectively). Second, because later releases do not always contain such elements. Some of the extreme periphrastic examples which I mentioned in chapter 4 (for example, most of the story-form essay composition films) do not show any signs of their relatedness to a classroom context at all. The occurrence of such references, in other words, cannot function as a periodisation tool. In addition to this, diversity is reinforced by the incorporation into the collection of non-teaching films which do not contain any textual marks of their classroom status.[37] Variation, then, not only persists, but possibly even increases in the course of time.

Another qualification that needs to be made is that even if a trend towards more referentiality can be discerned, no definite conclusions can be drawn with regard to the ratios between the various discursive choices made. Only two broad tendencies can be distinguished here. First, it can be argued that in mute films, references are usually confined to the diegesis. Although instances of creating an illusion of immediacy do occur, they tend to be less obvious than in sound films. This is not so surprising, as only the latter make use of the spoken word – clearly the most powerful instrument for hiding signs of mediation. A second pattern is that metatextual references do not normally show up in the earliest productions (*Solliciteren* being a notable exception). Again, the reason is language-related. In those films, the absence or sparseness of verbal explication tends to preclude explicit self-reflexivity.

A third and last qualification concerns a marked *deviation* from the historical tendencies outlined above. Metatextual references, I suggested, are more common in teaching films with spoken narration. Titles which entered the collection in the second half of the 1950s, when sound was becoming the standard, usually contain at least some verbal indication of the representational status of the audio-visual aids shown on screen (for instance, a comment on the ontology, make or scale of a map, chart or model). In this process they also foreground the films' own status as didactic tools. Later on, however, this tendency seems to have been reversed, or at the very least toned down. In

films dating from the end of the period dealt with, pronouncements that thus underscore their textual status no longer seem to turn up all that frequently. Consider, for instance, *Johannes Keppler*, an early 1960s sound film which consists for a large part of schematic representations. When compared to other films in the NOF corpus, this short does not contain quite as many metatextual references as items that came out a few years earlier.

Of course none of this implies that metatextual references, by the early 1960s, were on their way out. It should however be observed that at that time, NOF considered the viewers it targeted to be more familiar with the notion of a teaching film, and more specifically, with its rightful place within a pedagogical exchange. One possible explanation, therefore, is that the necessity of reflexivity as a reading guide was no longer thought to be quite as acute.

5.3   REFERENCING THE *DISPOSITIF* AND ISSUES OF AUTHORITY

In the first half of this book I explained that my ultimate criterion for designating a text as a 'classroom film' is the particular framework within which it functions rhetorically. A short, I said, cannot acquire this status unless it is viewed within a pedagogical *dispositif*, a set-up that is marked by very specific power relations between those present. In order for it to qualify as such, a film needs to be deployed – and in the process, framed – by a person who, in theory at least, has a certain amount of functional authority over the group of people to whom it is shown. Only under those circumstances is a title likely to be perceived as a didactic tool, and can it be considered to acquire meaning as a classroom film.

In view of what precedes, the above account in turn raises the question what happens if signs of the *dispositif*, as it were, 'penetrate' the text. Does this entail a shift in the balance among the various players, or constituents, of that particular set-up? And more specifically, what sort of consequences does it have in terms of didactic authority – a crucial factor in the process of a text's framing as a classroom film? In this respect, does a transfer take place, either partial or more full-scale, from the teacher to the text? And if so, does a teaching film still need deployment (and framing) by an *actual* instructor in order to function as such? Or does it make the text more autonomous, capable of performing more independently as a rhetorical construct?

The idea that teaching films, and educational films more in general, command a good deal of textual authority is one that pervades earlier writings on the subject. Jacquinot, for instance, holds the opinion that such texts, because of the way they reference three distinct worlds, force the viewer to follow a prescribed interpretational course (1977, 53). Classroom films, she argues, ensure the unambiguousness of the audio-visual communication – a practice which, I pointed out earlier, she interprets as a sign of alignment with a long-standing pedagogical tradition.

The Role of Speech

Particularly striking about her analysis is the fact that she keeps emphasising the role of speech in this process. In the previous chapter I mentioned her argument that in didactic shorts, verbal explication is a matter of *ancrage*. Words, she says, do not merely add to what is shown, but also function as instruments of selection: they exclude potential meanings while giving priority to certain others. This way, they immediately limit the range of possible interpretations (Jacquinot 1977, 102-3; compare also Gertiser 2006, 68-70). Similar pronouncements can also be found in work on non-fiction films that target wider audiences, such as documentaries.[38]

 Rephrasing the situation which these authors characterise, I would argue that in many (but by no means all) teaching films with sound, the speaker does indeed seem to assume the hierarchically highest position among those who, from *within* the text, direct the implied reader. In relation to shorts such as these, the distinction which Gaudreault and Jost make between enunciation (their term for signs of what Metz calls the 'great image maker' – an agency which is not directly visible or audible in the text) and various levels of narration (a word they reserve for audio- and/or visual manifestations of a story-teller) becomes a highly theoretical one (see Gaudreault and Jost 1999, 56-57). In classroom films, the speaker most often takes on a role which actively conflates these various textual functions. In most cases he does not seem to merely pass on the information he is fed, but rather to articulate the intentions of some kind of an implied author.[39] An apparent conflict between several narrative agents on different levels of the text, as described by the above-mentioned authors, is extremely rare.

 A conviction I share with Jacquinot is that the impression of epistemic authority that is thus created does indeed establish a relation with (and in my analysis, a reference to) the pedagogical *dispositif* within which these shorts used to function. However, this does not mean that I also believe that because of this, the text as such takes on (extra) authority, let alone some kind of rhe-

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torical autonomy. In order to substantiate this view, I need to lay bare two sets of assumptions that underlie the positions referred to above, and which, in my opinion, are somewhat problematic.

Underlying Assumptions

The first of these premises concerns the interpretation given to the term 'authority'. Authors dealing with the type of films under scrutiny here seem to consider this notion largely in terms of factuality or truth. More specifically, they use it to refer to the extent to which a text can convince its readers that what is said corresponds to an extratextual reality.[40] In doing so, I believe, they somewhat overestimate the significance of this particular kind of epistemic authority in relation to the films' rhetorical functioning.

In teaching films, after all, what is at stake is not so much the texts' factual reliability but rather their suitability as didactic tools. First of all, not all titles in this category actually make the kind of truth claims that the above authors talk about. Consider, for instance, the highly periphrastic ones, such as essay composition films that relate purely fictional events. Second, it is not unthinkable that teachers who, in the course of a classroom session, made use of films that do explicitly deal with didactically relevant facts would have chosen to distance themselves from the text, or some portion of it (just like in the case of a textbook that contained a mistake or a supposedly inappropriate statement). In this process they would have actively undermined the assertion which it makes.[41] Yet none of this entails that the item shown therefore would have ceased to function as a teaching film. Of course, it cannot be denied that if an educator does not explicitly disclaim what is said, he or she implicitly *confirms* its factual trustworthiness; after all, this is an inevitable consequence of the epistemic authority which teachers derive from their institutionalised educational position. In my view, however, a short's didactic fitness, and by extension its status (and acceptability, in the rhetorical sense) as a classroom film, does not exclusively depend on this unspoken claim.

The second set of assumptions which I would like to expose concern the potential rhetorical autonomy of audio-visual texts. Writings that label educational films (or other non-fictions) as 'authoritarian' thereby attest to a rather immanentist conception of how meaning gets produced – even if they do take into account some of the pragmatic aspects of the process.

In his work on argumentative conventions in the academic study of literature, Stephen Mailloux argues that this is not so surprising. In decoding textual representations of reader experiences as interpretational clues, critics who shift the attention to what users may make of a work basically take over a method practiced by the intrinsic approaches which they so emphatically claim to reject. In doing so, Mailloux adds, they prove that any sort of criticism

always remains at the service of a more or less authoritative text (1989, 44). To some extent, I agree, this is unavoidable – if one's purpose is to analyse the rhetorical mechanisms of a larger body of work. What should always be kept in mind, however, is that in this process assumptions are made about the particular *dispositif* within which the attributed meanings come about. The latter observation, although applying strictly speaking to any form of interpretation, is particularly relevant to the sort of textual elements discussed above. The reason is that these operate precisely *by way of* reference to that particular rhetorical frame.

The best way to illustrate this is through a negative example: a situation in which a classroom film is *not* used as such. Consider, for instance, the title *Elf-stedentocht*. This short, a visual record of an episode of an ice skating contest held in the northern-most provinces of the Netherlands, makes use of all sorts of tools that a viewer might spontaneously associate with the teaching of geography. Most notably, it contains a map, inserted in between sequences, on which the skaters' route is indicated (by an animated dotted line). Imagine this film shown not in a school, but as part of the supporting shorts section of a 1940s entertainment film programme; for instance, at a seasonally relevant time (e.g. a cold winter's day). In those circumstances the graphics featured most likely would not have constituted a very strong reference to a formal didactic context at all. Here they would merely have functioned as an informative aside: a factual footnote to a series of images that primarily serve the purpose of 'prepping' the audience for what is still to come. In this case, after all, the point of the film's screening would have been to create a leisurely atmosphere, and to whet the viewers' appetite for one entertainment activity (watching the feature) by showing snapshots of another (taking part in a sports game, attending a match, fun on the ice). Moreover, the film might have had some actuality value, at least if it was shown soon after its release.[42] The link with a classroom setting, however, is not very likely to have occurred to the audience at all, simply because in these particular conditions, the pedagogical *dispositif* referenced – if this phrasing is at all appropriate here – would not have been in place.

Something similar can be said of the supposedly authoritative tone that characterises voice-over commentaries in most of NOF's sound films. Let me revisit once more the case of *Van ei tot kraanvogel*. In this short, the speaker clearly takes a didactic stance, feeding his viewers biological facts. In addition to this, his speech contains signs of orientation towards a young, school-going audience; for instance, a subjective vocabulary and metaphors taken from the realm of daily life. Yet once again the connection between those features and the film's intended viewing context is by no means absolute. In the presence of a mixed-age or even homogeneously adult audience, such textual elements

might have been considered meaningful as well, even without functioning as references to a specifically pedagogical *dispositif*. The short's somewhat patronising tone of voice is reminiscent not only of a particular institutional practice, but also of a certain type of film: the kind of (nature) documentaries which, at the time of its release, were shown in regular movie theatres. In a non-educational setting, then, the reference might have been experienced as purely intertextual. The more playful aspects of the film's language, in turn, might have functioned primarily as dramatic and encouraged viewers (even older ones) to focus on correspondences with their own, personal experience.

Once again, the above cases show that it depends on the ways in which films are framed whether specific meanings do or do not get produced. This entails that even if texts are made with certain allusions in mind, their referential potential may get lost in the screening process. In addition to this, the relative importance of individual features can vary: elements that are central to the film's interpretation in one viewing situation (for example, an educational one) may be peripheral in certain others (for instance, a recreational one). For all of those reasons textual features can never be considered rhetorically autonomous – no matter how unambiguous they may seem at first sight.

AUTHORITY AND FRAMING

So even if the circumstances of the screening are such that references to the pedagogical *dispositif* do stand out, this cannot lead to very far-reaching conclusions as to the didactic functioning of a text. More specifically, it would be wrong to assume that films can actually incorporate any kind of (context-specific) authority. In what follows, I elaborate on this matter a little further. In this process I try to articulate some of the more subtle aspects of the interaction between a teaching film and its most pertinent rhetorical frame.

Pedagogical Endorsement

My main objection to the idea that classroom films can assume even the slightest amount of classroom authority is that whatever can be considered to be present in a text always needs to be endorsed in the process of its screening, even if only tacitly. Above I claimed that the users of films have the opportunity to distance themselves from a given section of a short; for instance, because they think that it makes statements that are factually wrong. Although this does not necessarily imply that the text itself therefore ceases to function as a teaching tool (and by the same token, as a classroom film) it does entail that that portion of the short will most likely not be perceived as didactically fit, and that it will therefore lose some of its context-specific rhetorical potential.

In fact, this may even apply to the film as a whole, if its user neglects to some-how confirm, or underscore, its didactic status. Again, a hypothetical example should help clarify this point.

Consider, for instance, a situation whereby a short is shown not in the course of a lesson on a subject that relates to what is shown, but at the very end of the teaching period. The teacher does not introduce the film's topic but merely tells the children to watch it quietly until the class ends. While the projector is running, the master or mistress cleans the blackboard, clears away some of the books that are laying around and sits down to grade tests – perhaps even to finish reading the day's newspaper. Meanwhile, the pupils view in silence; the person in front, after all, has the reputation of being strict. While watching, they hear the film commentator's voice, and along with it, in the background, the teacher's rummaging. What they are really focusing on, however, is the clock above the blackboard, visible in the corners of their eyes. In their minds, they are anticipating the sound of the school bell that is about to ring.

Even in circumstances like these, textual references to the pedagogical *dispositif* are likely to be identified as such. At the same time, however, they cannot possibly generate their maximum rhetorical effect. I am thinking here in particular of the sort of interpretational clues that are communicated by means of spoken commentaries. If a film is screened as part of a lesson, a nar-rator's attempts to focus the reader's attention on selected areas of image and/or sound can bestow on the text some kind of a hierarchy in terms of what is most important from a didactic point of view. This ranking, however, has far less prominence in the situation sketched above. The fact that the screen-ing, in this case, merely functions as a filler, as a way of making the children sit out their time in peace, renders the matter of which elements carry the most educational weight near-irrelevant. The viewing of the film, the circum-stances suggest, will not be followed by any kind of interrogation; the pupils, therefore, are not very likely to be sanctioned for getting the hierarchy wrong. Because they know this, they do not experience a reading for such pointers as imperative. The reason is that this particular interpretation is not endorsed within the given *dispositif*.

Odin, I suspect, might characterise the above situation as a clash or con-flict between two opposing institutional dictates – a state of affairs which, I pointed out earlier, he considers to cause rhetorical, but also complete com-municative failure.[43] Although I do agree in principle that the fact that view-ers are given somewhat contradictory interpretational clues may confuse and perhaps even hamper a film's reading, I do not share his opinion that this is necessarily so. In my view, such failure is always due to a certain inadequa-cy in terms of framing. Even if a teacher takes on only the bare minimum

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of authority that he or she is institutionally entitled to, he/she can always at least indicate how the film is *supposed* to function. The question of whether the instructor can actually influence the children's reading accordingly, and therefore, whether the communication is rhetorically successful, is a very different one (and not one that I am concerned with here).

Another issue on which our views diverge is the matter of who, in the case of classroom films, should be taken to be the enunciator of a text. According to Odin, the teacher, researcher or specialist whose ideas are expressed in the film – often, by a character representing this persona – can be held responsible for the cinematic discourse (1984, 269).[44] In other words, he suggests that in those cases when a teaching film is indeed read as such (i.e. when there is no framing conflict of the above-mentioned kind), the film's message is likely to be perceived as coming from some sort of authority implied by the text. Such an account of the facts, however, is inconsistent with the reasoning I follow here. The example I gave above shows that it is ultimately always the pedagogical viewing situation – embodied by its most authoritative agent, the teacher – that enunciates the text. The *dispositif*, for me, is its abstract origin – regardless of which other textual sources the reader may (also) be able to construct.[45]

By way of illustration, I would like to refer once more to the example of *Départ de grandes vacances*. I pointed out before that a clear distinction should be made between that which the short seems to tell at first sight (the adventures of a family leaving for the summer holidays) and those aspects of the discourse that a classroom reading is likely to highlight (the way in which the story, quite literally, is told). If, in this case, the role of enunciator would be allocated to the narrator (or to the abstract persona evoked through his words) there is no guarantee whatsoever that a viewer would actually be able to discern between the two. Making the speaker responsible for what is said, after all, would reduce, or even nullify, the significance of the didactic references made at the beginning of the film. As a result, an interpretation focusing entirely on the narrative events (the kind of reading that Odin would call a 'fictionalising' one) might seem acceptable as well. If however one takes the stance that the pedagogical *dispositif* as a whole enunciates the text, such a reading becomes didactically irrelevant, and therefore, pointedly undesirable.

Delegation of Teacher Authority

Even if classroom films cannot be considered to command pedagogical authority in or of themselves, they may do so by way of association. Teachers, indeed, may delegate educational prerogatives to the tools that they deploy. One way in which they can do this is by allowing the filmic speaker to act as some sort of a vicarious enunciator; for instance, by explicitly endorsing the didactic relevance of what he is about to say.[46] In cases like these, the com-

mentator will seem to take over the task of formulating the ideas which an instructor wants his pupils to consider.

Rhetorical delegation, of course, is more likely to occur the more authority the text itself appears to claim. A greater presence of references to the *dispositif* gives the actual teacher the chance to frame a work in a less emphatic way. Conversely, more effort is required to dissociate oneself from a highly referential film. If an instructor who uses such a short as a didactic tool wants to distance him- or herself from something that is said, he or she must state much more explicitly that the surrogate teacher figure summoned by the film should not be perceived of as a textual *alter ego*.

Possibilities in terms of textual delegation depend in part on the types of reference that occur. For instance, films that represent pedagogical relations in purely visual ways cannot be expected to take on the same degree of vicarious authority as those that echo them through extradiegetic speech. Diegetic representations may of course help to manoeuvre the reader in a preferred spectatorial role. This positioning, however, is rather unspecific: it concerns the addressee's overall attitude towards a text (very broadly, that of a pupil-viewer). In the second case, in contrast, the reference's scope is much more precise. By focusing the reader's attention on selected areas of a filmic discourse, thus earmarking them as more didactically relevant, voice-over speakers actively specify the extent of the authority that they claim. In this process they command such power in much more emphatic ways. If endorsed by an actual instructor, therefore, precise indications of intratextual hierarchies make for a very substantial delegation of his or her professional prerogatives.

The situation is different again in the case of metatextual references. Here, two opposing principles seem to be at work. On the one hand, such elements focus the viewer's attention on the film's status as a tool. This way, they profoundly contest the apparent authority status of the text: they expose the work's functional subservience to both teacher and class. On the other hand, and in the same process, they also enable a radical form of delegation. By explicating the instrumental nature of a film, they claim one of the most basic pedagogical privileges: that of deciding where authority, within the viewing situation, is actually located. If a teacher chooses to do so, then, he or she can basically allow the text to 'speak for itself'. Yet in doing so, he/she indirectly brings to its readers' attention that it functions as a mere educational tool.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have tried to describe the rhetorical operation of the features through which teaching films establish audio-visual relations with the pedagogical *dispositif* in which they function (or used to function). Like the strategies of motivation which I discussed earlier, these textual elements are geared towards initiating or prolonging a communication with the audience; similarly, they do this by implicating it, or a surrogate version of it, into the text. At the same time they also contribute to a much more specific positioning of the spectators: they help encourage them to take on a preferential, didactically appropriate viewing attitude.

In what precedes, I have distinguished three sets of discursive elements, based on how in each case the reference gets produced. This classification in turn has served as a starting point for some observations on the ways in which classroom films actively reflect on their own status as didactic tools. I have considered which factors contribute to self-reflexiveness and which functions these serve in terms of spectatorial address. Next, I have discussed the historical development of references to the *dispositif*. NOF's early releases, I argued, show relatively few signs of awareness of their functional context – a fact which can be explained in part as an example of so-called 'rhetorical constraint'. In addition, I have also related this evolution to the introduction of sound, and more tentatively, to a perceived change in user attitude towards all sorts of authority-threatening didactic tools.

Finally, I have briefly considered the issue of whether or not such rhetorical elements can affect the power relations that characterise a traditional pedagogical exchange, and which serve as a condition for the didactic functioning of a text. One of the more implicit purposes of this investigation was to find confirmation for my own views on what qualifies as a teaching film, as set out in the second half of chapter 2. In my last section, I have argued that authors who take the position that didactic films can command rhetorical power in or of themselves misconceive of the nature of pedagogical authority, and that they overstate the possibility of textual autonomy. My conclusion was that such is not possible, because any didactic reference always needs to be endorsed within the very specific circumstances of its viewing; otherwise it simply cannot acquire such meaning. A teacher may however choose to delegate some of his/her own functional power to whichever authorial agency manifests itself in the text. This substitute status, however, must be actively bequeathed by the film's user, and ceases to apply (even retroactively) as soon as any doubts about its legitimacy are raised. In the latter case, it depends on how much this in turn affects the didactic plausibility of the statements made whether or not the text still deserves the name 'classroom film'.

Conclusions: Towards a Conception of the *Dispositif* Notion as a Comparative Tool

In one of the first pages of this book, I quoted a statement by Schoevers, NOF director-to-be, in which he strongly emphasises the textual peculiarities of the classroom film. In the excerpted section he argues that classroom films are fundamentally different from other audio-visual texts, even (more broadly) educational ones. For the author this distinctness is a *sine qua non*: shorts that do not contain the ingredients mentioned, in his view, simply do not deserve the label 'classroom film'.

About fifteen years later, Peters, one of his successors, followed a rather different logic. In his manual *Visueel onderwijs*, he characterises the class-room film not in terms of its textual features but with reference to its viewing conditions. He writes:

> It should indeed be observed that a pupil, in his experience of a film, is very *receptive* to anything that the maker may want to communicate. In a regular cinema, this receptivity can lead to a more than normal sug-gestibility, so that the critical mind no longer intervenes to judge the correctness of the information given. The class situation, however, dif-fers considerably from the theatrical situation. The factors which play a crucial role in a cinema setting (the easy cinema chair, the yearning for divertissement, the anonymity of the viewer, the absolute darkness and isolation of the theatre, the 'surrender' to the authority of the film-maker and the identification with the hero or heroine of the story) are mostly absent in the classroom. The obfuscation of the room, the involuntary perceptivity to everything that can be seen on the silver screen and the realistic character of the film can make the pupil more receptive to what is shown, but in itself, this is only an advantage. Suggestibility presuppos-es the fading into the background of the intellectual, critical functions of

the mind; receptivity in contrast does not exclude activity of imagination and reason but rather facilitates it. (1955, 24) [1]

Although the author claims elsewhere that the titles his institute provides have their own distinct features, he focuses here on what the classroom situation itself contributes to their functioning as teaching films. The circumstances of the screening, he suggests, entail that such shorts affect their spectators in different ways than films shown in theatres.

The idea that is central to this section of Peters' text, in fact, forms the basis of the approach which I adopt in this work. Like the former director, I have started from the assumption that the conditions of a classroom viewing impinge upon the meanings which teaching films acquire. (As opposed to Peters, of course, I have focused in my analysis on the power relations between the parties involved rather than on the immersive effects of the physical circumstances of a screening.) This perspective has been crucial at two stages in this study: on the one hand, in the process of delineating and defining its research object, and on the other, in determining its analytical approach. Arguably, the logic I followed on both these occasions constitutes the main difference between my own *modus operandi* and that of other authors who have studied such corpora in the past.

In what follows, I take a closer look at what my endeavours in these pages contribute to the theory and practice of media studies. In my introduction I explained that the teaching film, in this work, has the status of an analytical model: a corpus, and by extension a textual category, that allows me to develop and test out a particular methodology. Here, I expound the merits of my approach, both in the conceptual sense and in a more practical, analytical one.

By way of recapitulation I first give a brief overview of the various contradictions – or *seeming* contradictions – that run through both halves of the text. Overall, these discrepancies can be associated with the double function which both the suppliers and the enthusiastic users of classroom films attributed to the medium: on the one hand, that of instrument of motivation, and on the other, that of means to pass on didactic content. Historically, this duality of purpose was met with a matching set of objections, and encouraged an even wider variety of user practices. Rhetorically speaking, it reveals itself in two related – but textually very distinct – forms of audience implication.

Finally, I mention some issues, or research options, which my project in turn leads to or opens up. In the process of formulating my own findings, I have raised new questions, both implicitly and explicitly. Some of those musings concerned the sort of films dealt with here; others shifted the attention to other texts or media types that were also designed to attain didactic objectives. At the end of the book I briefly discuss a number of them.

FILM(S) FOR TEACHING: OPPOSING TENDENCIES

My purpose in the first half of this work was to position my object, both in a historical sense and in a theoretical one. In this part I have worked towards answering the question 'what is a teaching film?' – or perhaps more accurately (as Dirk Eitzen might phrase it): '*when* is a teaching film?' (compare Eitzen 1995). In this process I have dealt with three sets of conflicting, or at the very least contrasting, ideas, ideals and practices.

The first opposition, dwelt on at the beginning of chapter 1, is that between the convictions of early proponents of film as an educational tool (very often people who were not active in primary or secondary education themselves) and those of potential users or their spokesmen. As it turns out, the same features that the former group considered an argument for the medium's use also constituted a reason for reticence among the latter.

Once the first euphoric claims about the film medium's logistic potential had proven somewhat unrealistic, proponents tended to concentrate their efforts on extolling its virtue as a motivational tool. Children, they argued, take a 'natural' interest in film; therefore, the medium can be exploited to stir their curiosity about subjects taught in school or to exact from them a willingness to cooperate in class. Meanwhile, however, the teachers themselves, even the more enthusiastic ones, were fearful precisely of the dangers which film's 'inherent' attractiveness entailed. Officially, their misgivings concerned the medium's association with theatrical entertainment; pastimes, in other words, that lacked the seriousness that any educational endeavour supposedly required. However, the risk of losing classroom authority was probably a more fundamental concern. Educational historians point out that time and again, teachers have been worried that the introduction of new audio-visual tools would pose a threat to existing classroom relations, and in particular, to the power prerogatives they had acquired over time. Whichever was the reason, specialised producers and distributors eventually did feel the need to take into account those perceived concerns. Evidence of this is the advice which they gave, but also some of the productional decisions which they took. In NOF's case, such choices primarily concerned restrictions on the use of film sound.

The second conflict, which closely relates to the first one, is that between the ideals of educational reformists (active in the period when the supply of film for education was gradually turning into a specialised business) and the users' demand for classroom tools that could seamlessly fit into long-established educational structures. Early enthusiasts, and at a later stage film entrepreneurs, sought affiliation with the contemporary vogue of educational progressiveness, and sold the medium as a means to transform the process of learning itself. Among the targeted users, however, the will to radically change

the structures and conventions of *teaching* – a necessary precondition for such transformations – seems to have been limited. In the post-war years classroom personnel had grown tired of pleas for educational reform; as a result, the medium's association with these calls only caused extra suspicion. In order for film to become even remotely acceptable as a classroom aid, then, users needed the reassurance that it could function like any other (traditional) tool.

The third and last opposition I would like to mention is that between the manual authors' claims that film in education can only generate a desirable effect if it is used more or less intensively, and the exceptional status of the medium in most primary and secondary schools. One of the principles which all NOF's user guides defend is that children should be made to conceive of the teaching film as an ordinary didactic tool. One way in which this can be achieved is by embedding its use into the everyday course of classroom proceedings, and by the same token, the framework of the formal curriculum. Another tactic mentioned is to simply screen films regularly. The manuals suggest that if only instructors use the medium often enough, this can help audiences distinguish it from an entertainment tool and allow it to become a 'regular' teaching aid – although, quite paradoxically, a particularly attractive and therefore effective one. In practice, however, most of the people who saw films in school have memories of occasional screenings in which most of the institute's user advice was simply ignored.

In spite of this I have chosen to take my methodological cue precisely from instances of more intensive use. The reason is that shorts that were deployed as part of what I designated as 'occasional' screenings simply could not have functioned as classroom tools, and therefore, cannot be conceived of as actual teaching films. Yet even if this entails that the meanings I inferred may not always have materialised in practice – although I would like to emphasise again that the primary sources do not suggest that this would have been overwhelmingly so – I believe that this is due primarily to the relative uncommonness of the teaching film phenomenon as such.

Not only the first, but also the second half of this work has revealed two opposing tendencies. Again, each of those separately can be related to the educational functions which film was taken to serve.

First, I have dealt with the ways in which teaching films seek to motivate their viewers to stay tuned, either by making the subject matter more attractive or by increasing the appeal of the watching/listening process. The strategies which I inferred were all based on assumptions concerning the targeted audience's preferences as *film viewers*. I claimed, in other words, that they derive their rhetorical force from the fact that they help underline, accentuate, or foreground what spectators (already) find attractive about the medium or its texts. In this context the levels of periphrasis dealt with in chapter 4 should be

seen as a measure of how, in this process of motivation, the didactically relevant matter – the metaphorical pill – is oftentimes concealed, or sugar-coated. In one way or another, all the films I have dealt with draw on conventions that pupils at the time knew from their experience as spectators; knowledge which, indeed, they must have acquired for the most part outside of their classrooms, as part of their leisure activities (by definition activities more attractive than those performed in school). Rhetorically speaking, then, all of these shorts somehow embrace the 'sweetness' or 'sugary taste' of the film medium itself. The difference between them lies in the extent to which, in this process, they actively deflect the audience's attention from the didactic matter that had to be passed on.

In the second half of my analysis I have concentrated instead on the signs of didacticity – or to resume my pharmacological analogy: the 'medicinal qualities' – of the material under scrutiny. References to some aspect or feature of the pedagogical *dispositif* directly or indirectly remind the audience of the tool status of the material shown. In what precedes, I have argued that this type of textual elements can be read as means to bring about or prolong the communication with the viewers, albeit in this case by alerting them to their educational duties rather than capitalising on the (supposedly more seductive) qualities of the medium itself.

RHETORICAL ANALYSIS: TOOLS, PERSPECTIVES, SCOPE

The analytical method which I propose in this work revolves around two theoretical assumptions. The first is the idea that film texts function, and therefore, acquire meaning, as part of a wider set-up: the configuration referred to earlier as a/the *(pedagogical) dispositif*. The second is the principle of *textual implication*. In my analytical chapters I have worked on the assumption that the rhetorical functioning of films is always (also) a matter of 'implicating' the audience – an expression which I understand both as 'involving it in', as in the case of a crime (the rhetorical objective), and as referring to the fact that in this process of addressing, the viewers are being placed, as it were, 'inside the text' (the rhetorical means).

Textual Analysis and the *Dispositif*

The main contribution to current debates in media studies that I sought to make was to turn the *dispositif* notion – which, in recent years, has been widely explored as a *theoretical* concept – into an actual *analytical* tool. In this work I

have demonstrated how it can be used to specify the particular set-up in which the readings of films take place. Within the framework of current thought on how textual meaning takes shape, it is no longer possible to ignore in the process of interpretation the conditions in which media are presented and consumed. In analytical practice, however, one needs to make abstraction of those conditions (especially if one's interpretive activity concerns texts that came about, and were read or seen, in a non-retrievable past). In what precedes, I have shown that both requirements can be reconciled: that it is very well possible to take one's inspiration from evidence of historical practices while also making radical choices among the variety encountered, and to take those preferences as analytical parameters or reference points.

With this project I aim to contribute to a revaluation of textual analysis within the field of media studies. The close reading of audio-visual texts is a practice which, in recent years, has been somewhat marginalised. Possibly, this fact can be associated with a current preoccupation with all sorts of transformations in the media landscape – developments which, in recent decades, have been experienced as particularly acute, and which seem to have provoked an urge among scholars to map out the features of 'old' and 'newer' media, or increasingly, the mutual connections between them. However, the relevance of such endeavours to the researchers concerned (as well as to a rather broad non-specialist public) does not entail that questions concerning textual meaning are no longer valid. In fact, a thorough understanding of our media culture will inevitably require that similar issues are also raised with respect to the texts (if this term is appropriate here) associated with, or generated by, those newer media.[2] Precisely for this reason an analytical instrument is required that is stable enough to withstand the changes in technological platforms that are currently taking place at a very fast pace.

Another possible reason for the lesser popularity of textual analysis is the negative associations which this practice brings to mind; relations, for instance, with essentialist methods (among others geared towards the identification of signs of generic specificity) or overly structuralist ones (which, in turn, are blemished with the stain of immanentism). From a contemporary perspective, answering questions concerning textual meaning requires a very different approach. But by the same token it also demands an entirely different view of what textuality involves. Ideally, a text should be conceived of not as something which is, to all eternity, fixated on paper or film stock or captured in travelling code but as something that is inextricably bound up with, and to some extent even *incorporates*, a specific – although variable – *dispositif*.

Using the notion in this way, I believe, prevents one from focusing exclusively on that which is traditionally seen as 'the text' (for instance, in earlier studies of audio-visual rhetoric which drew on mathematical models of com-

munication, such as Peters 1973 and Hesling and Peters 1985) and to consider instead how it acquires meaning *in relation to* a socially distinct audience, watching within an equally specific institutional framework. In the course of my own analysis, for instance, I have repeatedly stressed the importance of the relational aspect of the 'pedagogical *dispositif*' (a concept coined in this work) and more specifically, the significance within such a constellation of the power relations between pupils (the viewers) and a teacher (the film's deployer). Compared to a 'regular' cinema set-up, this configuration incorporates an extra human agent: one that does *not* belong to the group of people that make up the film's primary audience (in traditional communicative terms, the message's receivers or addressees). This other party, however, cannot be reduced to a mere circumstantial factor, an aspect of the communicational *décor* that can help ease, or alternatively, hamper (as a producer of so-called 'noise') the transmission of what is said and/or shown. For after all, the teacher's decisions ultimately determine whether the title screened can indeed function as a classroom film. At the same time, his/her actions can only have such consequences when considered within, and in relation to, this specific framework and viewer group; hence my refusal to consider this person the (sole) enunciator (or in communicative terms: transmitter or addresser) of the filmic 'message'.[3] The merits of a perspective that thus emphasises the interactions between the various constituents of a *dispositif* far exceed the limits of the corpus dealt with here.[4]

Audience Implication

A second advantage of widening the scope of one's notion of textuality is that it counteracts any inclination to go search for genre-specific characteristics. Within the approach I have proposed here, what is particular about a corpus of films is not just what one sees and/or hears when viewing them – for after all, few of those elements, if any, can be considered unique to a given genre – but rather the ways in which, within a given social/institutional framework, they generate what Jean-Pierre Esquenazi (1995) calls a situation-specific 'effect' (for instance, a 'family/classroom film effect'). Very useful, in this respect, is the second concept which my approach rests on: that of textual implication.

The phrase 'implied audience', I explained above, derives from a literary concept, developed in the 1960s and 1970s. The version of the notion that I am using here is different in a number of ways from its narratological example; most notably in terms of its flexibility. Within a media studies context, a concept is required that accommodates for a much larger variety of reading/user modes than a study of literary texts (which may often presuppose a single,

highly concentrated reader). This way, its bounds and parameters can be (re-)defined on every occasion, for every particular corpus.

For instance, the implied audience which I constructed in this work is an institutionally defined collective rather than a loose combination of individual readers/viewers. In addition, I do not conceive of this entity as a mere pedagogical one (as did most of the authors who studied similar corpora in the past) but as one that also draws on its experience as a cinema public. The strategies which I identified, then, derive their rhetorical potential from the fact that they can function for this audience as elements of spectatorial appeal. Whether or not they do so, however, depends on the viewing attitude which the people in this collective are likely to adopt within the proposed *dispositif*. As I explained in chapter 4, this observation is relevant in particular to those textual elements that gain in attractiveness because the activity of film viewing itself is one that does not normally take place in class.

Another benefit of using the notion of an implied audience is that it can prevent one from considering films that seem to address their viewers in a very direct manner as 'forcing' certain readings upon their spectators. (I am thinking here in particular of shorts with sound, the category which earlier studies of educational corpora tended to concentrate on.) Ultimately, textual interpretation is always about the detection of 'potentials': rhetorical possibilities that come to activation in some performative situations but may get blocked in certain others. Even items that appear to claim a good deal of (rhetorical) authority, then, cannot be considered to unilaterally enforce their own readings in any way.

Dispositif, Implication, and the Unfinished Text

One of the main advantages of my analytical approach, in other words, is that it can help suppress one's inclination to make pronouncements about textual meaning as an overly immanent (and static) given. In principle, of course, an awareness of the instability of signification is beneficial to the close reading of any sort of corpus, audio-visual or otherwise. However, my approach is particularly suited to the study of what I have designated in chapter 3 as 'unfinished' media texts.

In what precedes, I have basically suggested that any title that is considered in isolation (i.e. without reference to its relevant *dispositif*) is in a sense incomplete, or even 'amputated'. The term 'unfinished', however, has been used more specifically with reference to corpora, often of the more utilitarian kind, that seem rhetorically underdetermined. My argument here was that such texts are *particularly* dependent on the situations in which they are per-

formed – if only because of the fact that when seen elsewhere, they seem to present all sorts of interpretational problems. (Evidence of this are the many studies which retrospectively denunciate representatives of such corpora, but by extension entire genres, as stylistically 'backward'. In my view, these are signs of incomprehension rather than enlightening characterisations of the material concerned.[5]) The approach which I have taken here helps to solve, or at the very least to mitigate, some of these interpretive difficulties.

Arguably, the analysis of other unfinished text types can draw on some of the categories which I developed here. At the same time it allows for, and even necessitates, the construction of new ones. For instance, it may not be useful, for every corpus, to differentiate between the two kinds of rhetoric which I have concentrated on. While the motivational strategies I identified are common to a wide variety of texts, this does not apply to the various references to the *dispositif*. Such elements, after all, precisely foreground that which distinguishes classroom films from other films: their status as tools in a pedagogical exchange. Although it is very well possible that references to (other) *dispositifs* occur in non-teaching films as well, these necessarily have to be conceptualised in different ways.[6]

Another distinction which I have made is applicable more widely. At the end of my first analytical chapter I asked the question of how, in the process of motivation, teaching films deal with the didactic matter which they are meant to help pass on. In doing so, I discriminated between the argument which a short makes (and which can very well be didactically irrelevant, as most of the language titles mentioned demonstrate) and that which constitutes the educational 'point' of the exchange that takes place. This distinction, it seems, is also valid in the case of other films with an instrumental function. With respect to advertising shorts, for instance, the notion of periphrasis might be useful as well; for instance, to discuss in which ways they consider the features (the use, the practicality, the good taste) of the product which they are supposed to help sell. Extreme periphrastic examples, here, would be those texts that do not visualise (or even mention) a particular good or brand, but count instead on the viewers' ability, or willingness, to make the association for themselves (for example, if the text is recognisable as part of a campaign that extends over a longer period of time; compare Kozloff 1992, 90).

Most importantly, my notion of periphrasis can also serve as a comparative tool: it can help make, or help sharpen, the distinction between texts that need to be associated with different rhetorical frames. Consider, for instance, the wildlife television documentaries studied by León (2004, 2007). It is my expectation that such titles would be considerably less periphrastic than the ones I discuss here. The reason is that they do not normally form part of a wider didactic exchange, in which at least some of the matter that needs to be

taught can be conveyed by the instructor who uses it rather than by the film, or programme, itself. When it comes to the making of an educational argument, then, such texts are basically left to their own devices.[7] Therefore, while they do make use of strategies that are geared towards making the viewing experience itself more attractive (León 2007, 63-100), they cannot rely on such tactics exclusively, like some of the films dealt with here.[8]

EDUCATIONAL MEDIA: UNCOVERED GROUND

Now that I have summed up some of the tools and perspectives that this book proposes, I would like to finish off by mentioning a number of issues, or areas of research, that have been touched upon but could not be discussed in detail. Although many of those issues have a much wider relevance, I focus my attention on how they relate to my object in this work: educational media.

Corpora

One set of alternative research directions that this study suggests concerns the particular corpus I have dealt with. In this work I have focused on a very specific collection, and this has in turn resulted in a number of restrictions with respect to the outcomes it generates. On the one hand, of course, restrictions in the temporal sense, because of the time frame which I adopted. On the other, in the spatial sense, due to the geographical range of NOF's distribution activities. Both of these restrictions have had their advantages. One benefit, for instance, was that I could deal with a manageable batch of films without having to compromise my analysis in terms of textual variety. Meanwhile, however, they also raised a number of new questions that can only be answered through confrontation with other corpora.

One query I still have is to what extent the observations I made are nationally-specific. The NOF collection, I demonstrated, is remarkably diverse, due to the fact that it was administered by a sizeable body which closely cooperated with producers and distributors elsewhere (at least, after its first decade or so). At the same time, however, this body also had a rather peculiar position internationally. NOF, after all, held some very strict production and distribution principles that also affected the composition of the collection (for instance, in terms of the ratio between films with/without sound). A good deal of the conclusions I have formulated are closely bound up with such aspects of institutional policy. One can wonder, therefore, whether they are valid only for the teaching film in the Netherlands or applicable more generally.

Another, related series of questions that an international comparison might help answer emerges from a consideration of the historical conditions for the proliferation and institutionalisation of classroom films. In this book, I have increasingly focused my attention on the (very specific) events that led up to the foundation of a state-supervised distribution agency in the Netherlands. Research conducted elsewhere suggests that in other parts of Europe, those events, as well as the dynamics between the interest groups involved, are different in subtle ways – even if the parties themselves seem to represent roughly the same (social, professional) categories. It would be worth finding out which national patterns are distinguishable here, and especially, in light of my own interest in classroom film rhetoric, which are the relations between those patterns and the institutional preferences referred to above.[9]

A third cluster of issues that require more intensive study of other corpora have to do with the various relations between the films discussed here and other audio-visual media for didactic purposes, both at the time and later on. One might wonder, for instance, if slides, film strips or school radio broadcasts make use of the same rhetorical strategies as teaching films. For instance, does textual purposiveness also constitute a motivational focus in the case of still images? How do auditory texts 'provide access'? Do they, by analogy with visual texts, also exploit the formal attractiveness of certain sound elements? Alternatively, a diachronic comparison of teaching films and various combinations of computer hard- and software might help answer the question which strategies become more and less prominent over time, or to what extent they continue to include references to the particular educational set-ups in which they functioned.

Configurations

Clearly, it is highly likely that many of the differences that would surface as part of such a comparison might be traced back to shifts in the mutual relations between the constituents of what I have designated earlier as the 'pedagogical *dispositif*'. The particular configuration which I have worked with, of course, is specific to a teaching *film* situation. In a constellation that involves different hardware the relations between the various contributors to that set-up are necessarily different as well. Precisely for this reason, the notion developed here makes a useful comparative tool.

In my introduction I summed up some of the distinctions between the *dispositifs* that can be associated with, respectively, the use of film and (school) television broadcasts. A similar differentiation could be made between educational shorts and slides. The latter, presumably, ask for verbal accompani-

ment by a teacher much more emphatically, and therefore, are less likely to stimulate what I referred to in chapter 5 as a 'delegation' of teacher authority. A confrontation of films and radio broadcasts, in contrast, might lead to the reverse conclusion.

In addition, one might wonder which differences would come to light in a confrontation of texts that can be associated with more and less participatory *dispositifs*; for instance, the items under scrutiny here as compared to some of the so-called 'interactive' media of recent decades. Deployment of the latter, even as part of a more or less traditional classroom set-up (as in the 'computer labs' of the 1980s and 1990s; see Cuban 1986, 78) necessarily entails a shift both in the relations between teacher and pupils (if only because it is the latter who are the 'users' of the medium here) and in terms of what constitutes the didactic 'text'. The latter question might get different replies in each child's case.

Following on from this last observation, it remains to be seen whether such media, even if they are used for formal classroom purposes, can be conceptualised in analogue ways. In an article on the collection dealt with in this work, I made the suggestion that most of the films it contains should be conceived of as *teaching* tools (means, in other words, to pass something down from an instructor to a pupil or student) rather than as *learning* tools (resources for helping viewers to acquire certain knowledge or skills). This conclusion was based on a combination of pronouncements made in instruction booklets and guides and the findings of educational historians on how those aids were put to use (Masson 2007, 398). The question is whether the same can also be said of software for PCs, for instance, or online applications. Theoretically speaking those as well may take on the role of mere 'transporters' of educationally relevant content. However, some of the conditions of their use – most notably, the fact that the hardware they work with needs to be operated by the pupils rather than their teachers – inevitably makes them into tools for learners at least to some extent. In addition to this, the very fact that it is the students who use them, and thereby, generate some sort of a 'text', foregrounds the meaning of the aid in the process of acquiring a certain audio-visual competence, and thus, the possibility of a shift in terms of what I designated earlier as the 'didactic matter'. From a rhetorical perspective, a particularly intriguing issue is how specific media texts (the particular programmes, or applications, deployed) play along with this new reality. Answering this question would allow one to account for historical transformations that are clearly related to, but that also go *beyond* matters of platform specificity.

Competencies

A last series of issues that I would like to briefly touch upon, finally, concern aspects of media literacy or media competence: the ability of users/viewers to interpret, deploy, or (co-) produce audio-visual texts. The one point in this work where I have dealt with the matter explicitly is in the context of my analysis of historical discourse on the educational role of the film medium. Here, I discussed some sources that deal with the ways in which (young) viewers 'read' audio-visual media, and what they can – and above all, can*not* – interpret or understand. One of the questions that remain to be answered is what the films themselves can tell us here. What sort of readerly abilities (knowledge of principles or conventions of representation or mediation) do they exploit, and by the same token, presuppose in their addressees?[10] A related question is how textual assumptions about what viewers can/cannot do have changed over time. Again, a project with such a focus seems useful in particular as part of a comparative endeavour which establishes relations with other texts or media types.

In addition to this, a comparative study can help shed more light on the (shifting) roles which media themselves play in the process of developing, stimulating or activating said literacies. In what precedes, I claimed that didactic tools which require the pupils to act as users inevitably foreground their own role in the development of specific media skills. In practice, of course, *all* classroom media have such a role to play – also the films discussed in this book. A question that still occupies me, however, is how this role of stimulant relates to the particular medial constellation of a given period, and how it develops in the course of time. For instance, I would imagine that as a consequence of a logic of media convergence (Jenkins 2006, 2-3), the stimulation of such competencies takes a more inter- or transmedial form now than in previous decades. In other words, familiarity with the conventions of one medium or application is probably more likely to lead to insights into the operation of, or the ability to work with, a series of others. In order to be able to state this with more confidence, however, I would have to dig into the matter more deeply. Again, the *dispositif* notion could function here as a useful heuristic tool.

NOTES

1 "Indien een film een onderwerp in zijn geheel naar het leven behandelt, b.v. een
bedrijf, een landstreek, het leven of de lotgevallen van mensen, dieren, planten,
enz. dan behoort ze, daar de speelfilms hier buiten beschouwing blijven tot
de categorie der *Onderwijsfilms*, der *Propaganda* (Opvoedkundige) films of der
Culturele films. [...] De *Onderwijsfilms* moeten [...] echter aan de volgende eisen
voldoen, waardoor ze zich [...] sterk onderscheiden van Opvoedkundige en
Culturele films. [...] 1. Ze geven een stukje werkelijkheid, waarbij *onderwerpen*
te pas komen, *welke in het leerplan van alle lagere scholen passen*. [...] 2. Het leven
moet op zodanige wijze weergegeven worden, dat bij de leerlingen de suggestie
gewekt wordt, alsof ze het gebeuren in werkelijkheid beleven. [...] 3. Er moet een
minimum aan aanschouwelijkheid geboden worden [...]. Overbodige details
moeten dus weggelaten of op de achtergrond gehouden worden [...]. [...] 4. De
gebeurtenissen moeten zodanig opgenomen zijn en zo geregeld op elkaar volgen,
dat de samenhang geen te grote moeilijkheden oplevert." "Keuze van films voor
het onderwijs," n.d., Dutch National Archives (Nationaal Archief, henceforth
abbreviated as 'NA'), The Hague, archive of the 'Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs
Film' ('NOF'), access no. 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 6, pp. 1-2. Although the text does not
mention his name, the author is A. A. Schoevers, who was responsible for most of
the documents in the same corpus. (For some notes on the reference system used
in this book, refer to the bibliography section in the back matter.)

2 Compare, for instance, A. A. Schoevers, "Projekt einer Schulfilmorganisation in
Holland," [1940], NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 2, p. 1.

3 The meaning of the Dutch term *onderwijsfilm* is difficult to render accurately in
English. *Onderwijs*, in Dutch, means 'education', but also 'teaching'. Because of
the original's connotation with formal, compulsory schooling, I stick in what fol-

lows to the English terms 'classroom film' and 'teaching film'. Although both of these phrases are somewhat less common than the more widely used 'educational film' (especially in the US), they do turn up in primary sources from the period I deal with (e.g. Buchanan 1951, PEP 1947). The reason why I prefer them in this text is that I focus on a very specific category of material (the boundaries of which are delineated further on) which both of these terms render more fully. In either case, the qualifier used ('classroom'/'teaching') contains an aspect of meaning that is also present in the Dutch one: in one case, the location/institution within which the films were meant to be shown; in the other, the practice they were supposed to support. A combination of both is the most evocative, but for convenience's sake, I use them here as alternatives.

4   Most pressure groups which advocated the establishment of similar bodies, such as a Nederlandse Vereniging voor Culturele Films (Dutch Association for Cultural Films), more often used the term *leerfilm* ('learning film'); see, for instance, "Plan voor een leerfilmorganisatie in Nederland," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 18, no. 4 (1941): 50-59. See also J. J. van der Meulen's series of articles for the teachers' union magazine *Christelijk Schoolblad*, entitled "De Film op School," published between October 1931 and March 1932. (Most of these items are signed 'v.d.M.', but their authorship can be established with near-certainty.)

5   Compare, for instance, the sources mentioned in the previous note, and [J. J.] v[an] d[er] M[eulen], "Paedagoog en cineast," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 5 February 1942, 3.

6   Here, but also elsewhere in this text, I am using the term 'foregrounding' in the most general sense: as designating a figuratively 'placing in the foreground' (and not in the more restricted sense specified by the Czech structuralists, or later on, film scholar David Bordwell, as in Bordwell 1985).

7   Like its prospective Dutch counterpart, the official German classroom film institute (Reichsanstalt für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, dealt with at greater length in chapter 1) was very particular about the terminology used to refer to its product (see Ewert 1998, 197-98).

8   Of course, the naming principle discussed in this paragraph applies not only to teaching films, but also to other films that served a more utilitarian purpose, so to speak, than that of recreation or artistic appreciation. Consider, for instance, such labels as 'research film', 'army training film' or 'commercial film', all phrases used in English-language publications of the late 1940s and early 1950s (respectively: Buchanan 1951, 17; Hoban 1946, 103; McClusky 1948, 24).

9   'Utility film' is a translation of the German *Gebrauchsfilm*, the term used to refer to the object of two consecutive issues of the journal *montage/AV* (vols. 14, no. 2, and 15, no. 1), edited by Vinzenz Hediger. For a rough definition, see Hediger 2005, 4. The English phrase 'utility film' was later used in the volume *Films That Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media* (see, for instance, the introduc-

tory article, Hediger and Vonderau 2009a). In their introduction to a 2007 issue of *Film History*, the editors translate the German original as 'useful film' (Streible, Roepke and Mebold 2007, 339). A variation on this term is also used in the title of the book *Useful Cinema* (Ackland and Wasson, forthcoming; this volume shall deal, among others, with the school as an exhibition site). Of course, the term is somewhat problematic, as it presupposes that films shown for purposes of entertainment cannot be considered utilitarian. However, many of its alternatives are also based on unjustifiable generalisations; for instance, 'non-theatrical film', as used in the title of the *Film History* issue mentioned above (a deployment which is criticised in a Dutch review: Klerk 2008).

As an exhaustive overview of recent work in what might be called 'utility film studies' would lead me too far, I restrict myself here to some more references to projects that focus specifically on materials made, or used, for educational purposes. For research carried out in France, a valuable source of information is Pastre-Robert, Dubost and Massit-Folléa 2004. In Switzerland, the University of Zurich hosted the project "Views and Perspectives: Studies on the History of Non-Fiction Film in Switzerland to 1964" (carried out between 2002 and 2006). One of the researchers involved, Anita Gertiser, focused in her study on teaching films (see, for instance, Gertiser 2006, or Gertiser, forthcoming). In the US, a major occasion for educational film scholars to present their work was the 2006 Orphan Film Symposium, entitled "Ophans 5: Science, Industry and Education" (held from 26 to 29 March of that year at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC); presentations can be consulted at http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/Orphans_Sound/orphans.htm (accessed 19 July 2011). Geoff Alexander's study of 'academic' films for the classroom (a term which the author reserves for those items whose prime objective is the dissemination of information, not the stimulation of socially acceptable behaviour, for instance) presents itself as a reference manual on the "history, philosophy and economic realities" that provided the background for the creation of these films in North America (the US and Canada) (2010, 8). The most recent research from that side of the Atlantic will be reported on in *Learning with the Lights Off: Educational Film in the United States* (Orgeron, Orgeron and Streible, forthcoming), a volume on film's educational uses in twentieth-century America with contents ranging from case studies of films and film-makers to broader historical assessments. In Europe, meanwhile, Vinzenz Hediger and Florian Hoof are also editing a volume on educational film (title and publication details to be announced).

10 Jacques Perriault, speaking specifically of research into 'documentaries and scientific and pedagogical films', attributes the lack of interest in these corpora in past decades to two main factors. On the one hand, he relates it to a dearth of platforms for the study of such films, due in part to the fact that both researchers and the public at large have long associated 'the birth of cinema' exclusively with

its exhibition in entertainment venues. On the other hand, he connects it with an insufficiently strong tradition of theoretical reflection when it comes to the study of projected images and their transformation (Perriault 2004, 8-14). Françoise Massit-Folléa adds to Perriault's points that the fast succession and/or replacement of educational audio-visual media, as a result of a combination of technical obsolescence, a permanent need for the actualisation of contents and policy changes, simply does not leave much time for scientific reflection (2004, 131). Alexander relates the lack of research on the topic to the adolescent age of the spectators and the fact that they watched the films in an unattractive (and therefore, easily forgotten) screening context (2010, 6). In addition, he blames it on the fact that although teaching films are now considered a 'moldy' phenomenon, they are not yet seen as 'antique' (3). Yvonne Zimmermann, speaking of utility films more in general, attributes it in turn to the fact that they contradict the idea of film as art, and as the work of an 'author', and therefore do not fit a concept of film studies that is primarily concerned with those. The exceptions, here, seem to confirm a more general rule (Zimmermann 2009, 101-2).

11 As far as I am aware, the phrase 'ephemeral film' was first used in a descriptive manner by Rick Prelinger, more specifically with reference to the material contained in his Prelinger Archive collection, now partially online at the Internet Archive web site (http://www.archive.org). For a very succinct definition, see http://www.archive.org/details/ephemera (accessed 19 July 2011). The term 'orphan film' is the medium-specific equivalent of 'orphan work', commonly employed to identify artefacts of which the copyright status is unclear. In the film archive world, it is often used in a broader sense to refer to all moving images that do not have interested caregivers: people who, usually out of some sort of a financial interest, make sure that they are preserved, and subsequently, shown and/or studied. In circles of media scholars, the label gained more widespread use after being adopted by the organisers of the first Orphan Film Symposium (1999). However, it had already been used by preservationists before that time.

12 An example of the first tendency is Slide 1992. Alexander 2010 also focuses primarily (but not exclusively) on the conditions of the films' production. In addition, most of the presentations in the "Modernizing Mass Instruction: Film and Institutions of American Visual Education" session at the 2005 Society for Cinema and Media Studies conference (London, UK, 3 April) can be considered to fit this bill. The one article that was ever written about the collection I study here deals primarily with aspects of institutional history (Hogenkamp 1997). Examples of the second tendency are numerous, but two sources in particular are worth mentioning here, as they are referred to further on in this text: Cuban 1986 and Saettler 1990 (the latter of which contains many references to such publications). Research focusing on contemporary media is reported on, for instance, in the journal *Audio-visual Communication Review* (published since 1953, and continued

after 1977 as *Educational Communication and Technology*). Jacquinot's work (1977) attests to the fact that also research carried out within a media studies context may have a normative slant.

13 In subsequent writings, Jacquinot would shift her attention to contemporary teaching tools such as television and, later on, interactive media. Examples are Jacquinot 1985 and 2002, and Jacquinot and Leblanc 1996. In the years before her superannuation, the author was head of the Groupe de Recherche sur les Apprentissages, les Médias et l'Education (GRAME) at the University of Paris VIII (Vincennes-Saint-Denis), which conducts research on the interface between pedagogy and information/communication science (http://com-media.univ-paris8.fr/commun/recherche.htm, accessed 14 August 2009; page now discontinued).

14 Alexander makes a similar claim, this time however with specific reference to American classroom films made before 1960, the beginning of what he calls the 'progressive era' in academic film-making (2010, e.g. 38).

15 The term 'formulaic', with reference to classroom films, has been used by Streible, organiser of the aforementioned Orphan Film Symposia, during a lecture in Amsterdam (University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 4 April 2005). More indirectly, evaluations to this effect have been made in Odin 1984, 272 (where the author considers 'pedagogical films' as an example of a so-called documentary 'sub-entity': a body of films which, by virtue of their stylistic recognisability, stimulate their viewers to adopt a 'documentarising reading') and Gertiser 2006, 68-69. (Both of these publications, I need to add, in turn refer to Jacquinot.) Compare also Pelletier 2011, 89.

16 On a much smaller scale, such an increase also occurred during and immediately after the First World War – although perhaps in Germany primarily so. See, for instance, Jung and Mühl-Benninghaus 2005.

17 I would like to add here that in the case of Jacquinot, this immanentism is by no means absolute. Despite her focus on textual elements, the author has always stressed the significance of what happens in the process of what I call (in chapter 3) a film's 'actualisation'; consider, for instance, Jacquinot 1977, 134. In her first book, however, the author does not develop this point any further, nor does she integrate it into her analysis. In later work, she more often considers educational media *in relation to* their respective *dispositifs* (a concept I discuss later). See for example her paper "Les NTIC: Écrans du savoir ou écrans au savoir" (presented during a colloquium in Lille, France, in 1996; see http://edutice.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/00/16/03/PDF/jacquino.pdf, accessed 19 July 2011). Indications of this new direction in her work can also be found in writings produced in the intervening years, for instance, Jacquinot 1984, 193, and 1990, 162-63.

18 Again, I should point out here that Jacquinot as well takes into consideration the ways in which the addressee of a teaching film is implicated by the text itself (see, for instance, Jacquinot 1977, 67-70). However, a crucial difference between her

approach and my own is that I consider implication to be a basic textual function – not one that is unique to, or characteristic of, teaching films. See chapter 3 for a more elaborate discussion of this mechanism.

19   The lesser degree of interest in teaching films became apparent at the 2006 meeting of the Orphan Film Symposium, which specifically dealt with 'films of science, industry and education' but featured relatively few presentations on the third category, and especially items used in formal education. Of those contributions that did focus on films that somehow fit the 'educational' bill, few concerned the period after, roughly, the late 1930s. (The forthcoming volumes mentioned at the end of note 9, of course, may shift the balance here.) For a short overview of publications in the domain of amateur/family film studies, see Schneider 2003. Martina Roepke's work on home cinema in pre-Second World War Germany (2006) is particularly relevant here because it considers a series of texts as part of a specific film practice – a goal which I also set myself. For a bibliography of work on industrial films, see Heymer and Vonderau 2009. For a discussion of the problems associated with use of the term 'industrial', see Kessler and Masson 2009.

20   Many thanks to Catherine Cormon of the Heineken Collection for pointing out titles that fit within the various categories mentioned here.

21   The institute's annual reports confirm that in the period I deal with, it never catered to other groups or organisations than primary and secondary schools.

22   Again, I might refer in this context to Kessler and Masson 2009, which addresses this matter as it pertains to industrial films. Nanna Verhoeff has considered similar issues in her book on early Westerns (2006, especially 11-21, 25-44, 108-26, 270-81).

23   In this respect, the collection takes up a rather unique position among comparable bodies internationally. The British National Audio-Visual Aids Library, for instance, supplied films not only to schools, but also to youth clubs and community centres (Educational Foundation for Visual Aids 1976, iii, vii). The Dutch foundation's policy seems to have been inspired by that of its German counterpart, the RWU (see chapter 1).

24   The Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision is the Dutch central broadcast archive. The transfer took place in 1994 (Hogenkamp 1997, 56). Out of the original distribution corpus, only a selection ended up in the archive collection (presumably because titles that had at some point been removed from the catalogue were either disposed of, or got lost, and therefore could not be handed over). However, the majority of the films that were released in the period I concentrate on did indeed end up at Sound and Vision. In this respect as well, the corpus under scrutiny is pretty exceptional; in many other countries, distribution collections have been preserved more fragmentarily (compare Masson 2002, 61-67).

25   All in all, around 450 films were released in the period I focus on (see the 'Time Frame' section in this introduction). The observations I make in this work are

based on viewings of about 145 films (around 30% of the total number), each of them between ten and fifty minutes long. The selection of films viewed has been determined by a number of factors. To some degree, my choices were due to archival circumstances, as not all the titles that form part of the collection are available for examination. Another reason for watching certain films rather than others was that in the process, patterns tended to emerge, for instance, recurring textual schemes or tactics (which could therefore be inferred for unseen titles, among others on the basis of catalogue descriptions). In addition to this, my viewing choices were also inspired by the various questions that these patterns in turn provoked, e.g. questions concerning potential relations with the subjects treated or shifts and transformations that took place over time. The filmography at the end of this work covers only the films that I mention in subsequent chapters (121 titles altogether).

26   More information on the circumstances of the institute's establishment, and its coincidence with the German occupation more specifically, follows in chapter 1.

27   However, I should add the remark that title lists in newsletters and catalogues show that films were often considered to be fit for several age groups at a time.

28   The section "Wat kost u het gebruik van films en/of filmstrips?" in *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Spring] 1955 (no. 2), 3, claims that in that year, the 4,000th member school was registered. (After the middle of the decade, a stagnation occurred in film rental, for reasons that I briefly speculate on in chapter 1.) Between September 1955 and September 1956, Holland had a school population of 1,930,600 – a figure covering pupils in both primary and extended primary education. See Statline, the online database of Statistics Netherlands, http://statline.cbs.nl/ StatWeb/default.aspx (object name "Historie onderwijs; leerlingen-studenten en geslaagden, 1950/'51-2007/'08"; accessed 1 August 2009). Of course, there is no reason to assume that all of these children actually saw films in school, as institutions that employed very few teachers who made use of the institute's services would also have been included in this list.

29   I use the word 'mute' here to refer to films without sound, produced at a time when silent films were no longer the standard, rather than in the more specific archival sense.

30   Bert Hogenkamp and Jan Pet, conversation with the author, 2 February 2004. This figure covers moving image programmes on all formats (also video).

31   The first experimental school television broadcasts took place on 22 and 29 October 1963, respectively. NOT provided the scripts; NTS (Nederlandse Televisie Stichting, the first Dutch broadcast organisation) made the programmes and sent them into the ether. Between November 1963 and 1964, 16 more programmes followed (Korte 1964, 98-99). Although it was a separate foundation, NOT was closely affiliated with NOF. Not only did the school television institute have the same founding director, it also shared most of its board members (see Ottenheim 1991, 37).

32   I need to stress here that although my end date is a very precise one, it functions in this study as a mere guideline. On the one hand, this is because the above-mentioned arguments make strict adherence to my time limit unnecessary; after all, the coincidence of film and television use in schools probably was not a common occurrence until much later. And on the other hand, it is because it is simply impossible, as the films' release dates cannot always be established with certainty.

33   As an aside, I should add here that the research will not deal with appreciation of the films: their evaluation by primary users (teachers) and/or the intended audience (the pupils that watched them). Even regardless of the methodological difficulties which, according to Robert C. Allen, a search for the experience of historical publics might entail (1990, 351) I do not consider it very useful in the context of what I am trying to do here. Of greater importance, in view of the inter-pretation's validity, is an understanding of what the author calls the "cultural repertoires" which the contemporary audiences of the films under scrutiny might have drawn on (354). Obtaining such a sense of their foreknowledge does not necessarily require empirical research. Instead, one can thoroughly explore the (written) discourse pertaining to those texts (my objective in chapter 1) and their day-to-day use (one of my goals in chapter 2).

34   In past years, authors dealing with aspects of audio-visual rhetoric have expressed the need for a method that allows for a consideration of factors *outside* of the text; for instance, Hesling 1989, 101-31, and Plantinga 1997, 1. (Both of these authors make a case for a rhetorical study with a pragmatic slant.) In his contribution to the International Industrial Film Workshop (Bochum, Germany, 10 December 2004), Thomas Elsaesser proposed to discuss utility films in terms of the 'events' of which they form part rather than as mere texts.

35   In his work on wildlife television documentaries, Bienvenido León analyses his object in terms of what one could designate, on the basis of the definition which I use in this text, as 'rhetorical strategies' (see León 2004; also León 2007). The main difference between his approach and my own is that he makes assumptions about the textual specificity of such programmes (just as Jacquinot and others do). Although I second some of the observations which he makes in this process, I do not agree with his more general conclusions. Roger Silverstone, one of León's own sources, makes claims as to the textual specificity of such programmes as well, but in the process also emphasises how they exploit narrative conventions that are not unique to this genre, or even television (see, for instance, Silverstone 1984). Even so, he clearly sets himself the task of determining what is typical of the storytelling procedures of a given medium (a structuralist endeavour, although he makes reference to the medium's social framework as well).

36   A few pages back, I pointed out that that I am not concerned here with matters relating to the educational effectiveness of classroom films. Aside from the

methodological problems which are associated with researching such a topic (in addition to those mentioned in note 33, I would like to mention the difficulty that there are no generally accepted criteria for measuring effectivity), I think that trying to answer them would not get me very far, as my objective is a purely interpretive one (and not a normative one). For similar reasons, I also exclude matters of rhetorical effectiveness. One piece of work that addresses such issues is Ed Tan's book on the emotional effects of rhetorical devices in audio-visual media (1996). Although it focuses specifically on feature films, this work is of particular interest to me here, as it asks some of the questions that I pose as well – albeit from a different perspective. The main differences between our endeavours is that I do not, like Tan, draw any conclusions as to how films *actually* impinge on their viewers, and also that I see textual motivation as a rhetorical function rather than as a psychological one (i.e. a factor in the fulfilment of certain cognitive or affective needs).

37 Readers may have noticed that in what precedes, I have consistently been using | 263
the adjective 'pedagogical' (rather than 'didactic') when referring to the wider institutional framework in which classroom screenings take place. Jacquinot, basing her argument on research done by Pierre Greco, points out that this term (*pédagogique*) is most often used to refer to the entire process of upbringing, whereas 'didactic' (*didactique*) tends to concern primarily the techniques that are available to further this process, and more in particular, procedures regarding the presentation of pedagogical content (1977, 36-37). In what follows, I roughly adhere to this distinction. In practice, this means that I reserve the word 'didactic' for those occasions when I deal with the more concrete, methodological aspects of classroom teaching. In the phrase 'didactic matter', I use it to avoid confusion; 'pedagogical matter', after all, might seem to refer to the object of pedagogy (as a scientific field) rather than to the knowledge or skills that are passed on in the course of a pedagogical process.

Something else that needs to be made explicit at this point is that for the type of analysis I want to conduct, the films' status as *teaching* tools, and therefore, that of the object of communication itself as *teaching matter*, is of greater significance than their status as aids to *learning*. In the course of this introduction, I have stressed on several occasions that I attach great importance to matters of film deployment: the ways in which films are integrated (or not) into an educational interaction. As a rule, decisions on such matters are taken by teachers – rather than pupils – and in function of the goals which they have in mind. So if my aim is to find out how these texts address an audience of learners, I should consider them in their capacity of didactic tools (i.e., aids to the business of teachers).

38 The web site www.filminnederland.nl also contains some additional information on the selected shorts.

1   NOF's foundation charter spells its name as 'Nederlandsche Onderwijs Film' ("Stichtingsbrief," 1941, NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 2, pp. 1-2). In this book, however, I am consistently using the most recent spellings for institutions and publications.

2   A. A. Schoevers, "Nederlandsche Onderwijs Film," 1946, NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 6, pp. 5 and 11; *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [November 1945] (no. 7), 1.

3   In doing so, I concentrate on the debates that unfolded in the West (i.e., Europe and the US), if only because of the wider availability of sources for those parts of the world.

4   Examples of such scientists are Eugène-Louis Doyen (surgeon, France), Osvaldo Polimanti (physiologist, Italy), Ludwig Münch (mathematician, Germany) or Arthur Van Gehuchten (neurologist, Belgium). All of them used film to instruct their students from the late 1890s or early 1900s onwards (Tosi 2005, 165-68, 172, 185, 187). Some authors also mention lesser-known secondary school teachers who used the medium from almost as early on (e.g. Coissac 1926, 3).

5   More than half a century on, the same was also true for claims about television (Saettler 1990, 468), video (Cuban 1986, 37) and IT applications (Cuban 1986, 72-75). Compare also Perriault 2004, 16.

6   An example of a similar pronouncement made more recently (with reference to contemporary 'new' media) is the claim by Edwin van Huis, the then general director of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, that the moving image digitisation project in which his institution currently takes part has "the replacement of books" (designated in his speech as "old-fashioned") as one of its objectives (Van Huis, introduction to the "Sustainable Images for the Future" session of the international working conference on "Economies of the Commons," Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 11 April 2008). Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin make mention of similar pronouncements among early 'cyber-enthusiasts' (1999, 60).

7   The Pathé quote is my translation of "Le Cinématographe sera le théâtre, le journal et l'école de demain". Jalabert spoke of "le maître de l'avenir".

8   With respect to the relation between film and scientific inquiry, Scott Curtis concludes that at the time, the medium was taken to be more than just a means, an instrument. In his view, it functioned as an intellectual 'soul mate' (*Geistesverwandt*) for researchers, because of the way in which it represented time, space and life: a manner that corresponded exceptionally well to their own views of the world (Curtis 2005, 40). For more on the topic of rationalisation, see, for instance, Florian Hoof's article on labour management films (2006, 123-38).

9   "L'intérêt du spectacle sollicite l'attention des élèves, de ceux mêmes dont l'imagination est paresseuse."

10 For Kahn's "Archives", see, for instance, William Routt's "Introduction" to the online version of Matuszewski's "A New Source of History: The Creation of a Depository for Historical Cinematography," http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/classics/clasjul/matintro.html (accessed 19 July 2011), or Amad 2001. For more information on the Paris institutions, see Pastre-Robert 2004 (which relates the history of the Cinémathèque Robert-Lynen de la Ville de Paris, sometimes also called the 'Cinémathèque Scolaire') and Gauthier 2004 (which talks about both institutions).

11 Metz speaks more specifically of the 'cosmophanic potential' (*pouvoir cosmophanique*), or aptitude for all sorts of revelation, which has been attributed to the cinema since its 'birth'. For the views of those involved in the realist-formalist discussion, see Benjamin (1955) 1999, 228-30; Paci 2006, 129-31, 134-35n12 (on the ideas of Epstein, Dulac and Delluc); Kracauer (1960) 1997, 27-40 (and elsewhere). I should point out, however, that in the 1920s, Kracauer had also criticised photography and film for capturing only the *outside* of things, and obscuring their true meanings (Kracauer [1963] 1995, 53-57). Compare also Doane 2002, 11-12, 33-35.

12 "Il [= le cinématographe] est la vie".

13 In Britain, where industrialisation began earlier than elsewhere in Europe and the US, adult education was already on the agenda in the 1820s. Therefore, such initiatives were taken earlier on. The Scottish Mechanics Institute, for instance, offered instruction to industrial labourers as of 1823. In its official form, however, university extension began in the 1890s (Gout and Metz 1985, 16-17).

14 See, for instance, R. Miedema, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," *Volksontwikkeling* 3, no. 3 (1921): 130. The author here specifically talks about the so-called *nutsinstituten*: local branches of the national Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen (the main instigator of adult education in the Netherlands; see Gout and Metz 1985, 11-29 for more background information).

15 A mixture between museum and fair/exhibition centre was the Royal Polytechnic Institution in London, founded in 1938, which provided a combination of scientific exhibits and lectures, and sensationalist attractions ('rational entertainment'). The institution was known in particular for its spectacular magic lantern shows. As Jemery Brooker (2007) argues, presentations and performances often emphasised the magical aspects of scientific principles or implements.

16 "Quand je pense que l'on en est encore dans les écoles (aussi bien au lycée que dans l'enseignement primaire) à ânnoner la géographie dans les manuels où les descriptions succèdent au nomenclatures! On y trouve sans doute un peu plus d'illustrations qu'autrefois; mais avec quelle indifférence ou quel espiègle dédain l'enfant qui sort du cinéma d'en face considère ces images d'un autre âge, l'âge des diligences et des voyages autour du monde illustrés en taille douce!"
In recent years, of course, similar pronouncements have been made with respect to the use of (among others) digital teaching tools. Compare, for instance, Bas-

tiaans 2007, 37, which makes the (more balanced) argument that the present generation of pupils simply *expect* the use of ICT in teaching or learning.

17 H. Zanen, "Filmleerstof in verband met het leerplan van onze lagere scholen," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 15, no. 10 (1938): 137-41 (which points out the need for "geestelijke en morele herbewapening", 140). Compare also Smith 1999, 19.

18 The final report of a French commission investigating the potential application of cinematography in schools observed that the objective of education was to "speed up and increase the intellectual and moral development of the country" ("hâter et [...] accroître le développement intellectuel et moral du pays"; see the reprint of this piece, originally from 1920, in L'Herbier 1946, 389). Compare also Prost 1968, which demonstrates that in late-nineteenth-century France, this sense of civic duty was seen before all else as a dedication to the country and its people (e.g. 335-340).

19 Symptomatic in this respect is the fact that in Germany, the production companies' so-called Kulturfilmabteilungen, which made films that were considered to serve the very general purpose of *Volksaufklärung*, often referred to their output as *Lehrfilme* (teaching films). See, for instance, Kalbus (1924) 2005, 101-5; compare Drewniak 1987, 52-53.

20 The science of paedology derived its insights mostly from child psychology, and postulated that children are not to be considered smaller versions of adults but rather beings with their own characteristic mental functions.

21 Of all those people, Montessori was the most sense-oriented. In institutions working with her ideas (usually primary and nursery schools) sensory discrimination formed the cornerstone of classroom activity (Saettler 1990, 62). Dewey, Boeke and Kerschensteiner set up schools in which learning revolved around manual work. Parkhurst laid the foundations of the Dalton Plan, a system based on individual written tasks that could be applied in single years or course units. Key was famous mostly for her book *Barnets århundrade* (1900, *The Century of the Child*); her ideal learning environment, however, was criticised for being too utopian.

22 See, for instance, [J.J.] v[an] d[er] M[eulen], "Oud en nieuw," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 18 September 1941, 10.

23 Consider, for instance, the early 1920s publications of school cinema proponent David van Staveren, such as "De bioscoop in dienst van het onderwijs en de volksontwikkeling," *Volksontwikkeling* 2, no. 10 (1921): 458-72 (458 and 459, in particular). The German concept of *Anschauungspädagogik* is dealt with retrospectively in Jung 2005a, 339-40. For an idea of the semantic scope of the term *aanschouwelijk onderwijs*, see, for instance, Th. L. M. B., "Het principe der aanschouwelijkheid," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 9 April 1942, 3-4.

24 Ph. A. Kohnstamm, "Het bioscoopgevaar: Een teleurstellend rapport," *Volksontwikkeling* 2, [no. 6] (1921): 282. Kohnstamm's foreign colleagues shared this view. In France, for instance, similar objections were voiced by professor Henri Arnould (Renonciat 2004, 63). German reform pedagogues, for their part, argued

that the process of film viewing conflicted with both the ideal of activity and that of personal experience (Keitz 2005b, 137).

25 See, for instance, D. van Staveren, "De film voor cultuur en onderwijs," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 13, no. 2 (1935): 17-25, and H. Zanen, "De didactische waarde van de film – I," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 14, no. 1 (1937): 5-7.

26 According to Kenneth P. King, this line was also used later, at the time of the introduction of school television (1999, see section 02).

27 For earlier examples, see, for instance, Saettler 1990, 140, and Gauthier 2004, 93.

28 For more on the subject of object teaching and its relation to the use of film, see, for instance, Gunning 1994, 425. According to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, object teaching is still a standard for teaching in museums today (2000, 105).

29 Zanen, "Filmleerstof in verband met het leerplan," 138. Compare also V[an] d[er] M[eulen], "Film op School – II," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 26 November 1931, 1-2.

30 Primary sources are Staveren, "Bioscoop in dienst van het onderwijs," 458, and Coissac 1925, 544.

31 See, for instance, Miedema, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 128-31 (where this possibility is alluded to).

32 Wallet, speaking of "ouvrir au réel et découvrir le monde", refers here specifically to the situation in France in the 1920s. The idea of film providing unmediated access to the world would become less prominent later on. In the 1950s and 1960s, proponents of the use of film in education would point out to their readers that the perception of the filmic as 'real' is a mere psychological effect, which can be related both to the medium's 'inherent' technological characteristics and to the way in which it is conventionally used (compare Peters 1955, 12, 18, 23 and passim).

33 "'Voir, c'est presque savoir' écrit […] notre […] collègue M. Roux".

34 There were also contemporary evaluations to this effect: see, for instance, Kohnstamm, "Bioscoopgevaar," 280-82, and another piece by the same author, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," *Volksontwikkeling* 3, no. 11/12 (1922): 457-92.

35 According to Luke McKernan's web page on the entrepreneur (a contribution to the site Who's Who of Victorian Cinema, http://www.victorian-cinema.net/urban.htm, accessed 24 October 2011) *Urbanora* was published in 1908; elsewhere, the author speaks of 1909 (McKernan 2005, 214). The second date, however, may refer to the second version of the same catalogue (also mentioned in Saettler 1990, 98).

36 The argument that the educational rubrication of the films should be seen as a commercial move was made by Jennifer Lynn Peterson in her presentation entitled "Beasts Fair and Foul: Locating Wildlife in Early Nature Films" for the 2006 Orphan Film Symposium (University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, 23 March 2006), which can be played back from http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/Orphans_Sound/orphans.htm.

37   The mission statement ("pour répondre aux besoins d'information et de culture du public catholique") is taken from a brief history of the Groupe Bayard (as the publishing company is presently called) on the Bibliopoche web site: http://www.bibliopoche.com/editeur/Bayard/23.html (accessed 19 July 2011). For more on the Maison de la Bonne Presse, see also Véronneau 2003, 24-35, and Vignaux 2007, 16-17.

38   Peterson, "Beasts Fair and Foul".

39   For instance, Lefebvre mentions that the popular science films distributed by Éclair (the so-called *Scientia* series) were variously tagged *vulgarisation*, *éducatif*, *instructif*, *scientifique* and *documentaire*, or labelled according to a range of more specific subject categories (such as, *astronomie*, *biologie*, *zoologie*, etc.) (1993a, 85).

40   Lefebvre's own phrase is: "la diffusion sociale d'un savoir". Examples of companies that produced such vernacular science films are Pathé-Frères, Gaumont, Éclair and Éclipse. Of course, the production of this type of material was not the *raison d'être* of all these firms. For instance, Pathé-Frères and Gaumont, already active in production, each took to marketing such a series but continued to make films on other topics as well. With regard to producers outside of France, one might think of the Charles Urban Company, according to Gaycken "the earliest [...] to produce a coherent and sustained popular science film catalogue" (quote taken from his presentation "A History of Violence: Recurring Motifs in Popular Science Films," held at the fifth Orphan Film Symposium, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, 23 March 2006, which can be played back from http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/Orphans_Sound/orphans.htm). For more on vernacular science films in the strict sense, see also Lefebvre 1993b and Gaycken 2002 and 2005 (which deal with the textual features of this material).

41   The phrase *cinéastes scientifiques* is used, among others, in Millet 1994, 86-94 (see 89-90 for a rough definition). For more on the films of Thévenard and Painlevé, see, for instance, Raynal 1994 and Millet 1994, respectively.

42   León's ideas on the television documentary as a mediation between two types of knowledge (and language) are similar to those in Silverstone 1984 (397, 407).

43   According to Slide, the use of motion pictures to document the work of surgeons had become "almost commonplace" by 1908 (1992, 45). In many cases, however, the phenomena or procedures that were filmed tended to be somewhat exceptional (see, for instance, Dijck 2001, 25-44). With respect to self-study and self-improvement, the pronouncements of Dr. Doyen have become quite famous; examples of those can be found in Coissac 1925 (529), or more recent publications such as Tosi 2005 (167), Lefebvre 2005 (71), and Baptista 2005 (44). With respect to the use of medical films for training purposes, the argument was once more that of efficiency. Moving images could help prepare students for real-life observation and thus limit their presence in operation rooms (Lefebvre 1994,

72-73). In addition to this, they allowed for trainees to be taught by the very best of teachers (Tosi 2005, 164; Baptista 2005, 64).

44 Dr. Doyen, again, was one of the people who used the medium for this purpose. Supposedly, moving images helped him justify his innovative surgical methods towards the international medical world (Baptista 2005, 42-43; Hediger 2005, 6). A second example is that of the Institut Pasteur, which, according to Raynal, used Thévenard's films for the purpose of disseminating its brand name (1994, 98).

45 Sometimes, titles underwent some form of transformation before they were shown to their secondary, popular audiences. For instance, in 1923, a year after its original release for study purposes, a film about the work of the German physiologist Eugen Steinach was re-edited in order to function as a 'popular-scientific teaching film' (*populär-wissenschaftliche Belehrungsfilm*; see Hernn and Brinckmann 2005, 80). In an article on 17.5mm film, Roepke describes a variation on this practice: the re-use of research-based scientific films for screening at home (2007, 349).

46 According to Hernn and Brinckmann, the same also happened with the work of Steinach (2005, 81). Doyen however was more fierce, and went to court to get the screening of his films in non-scientific contexts prohibited.

47 Compare also Dijck 2001 and Lefebvre 1994, 1997 and 2005.

48 Raynal literally writes: "Le cinéma est par naissance scientifique". Drevon claims that "Au début était le 'cinéma' scientifique et d'enseignement...".

49 In the original: "un pionnier du cinéma pour l'école".

50 For example, Drevon says in his piece that the development of Demenÿ's Phonoscope (the contraption which was used to play back an animated version of chronophotographic images of a speaking person) was a result of "the scientific logic of the application of research which, as a technological spin-off, had already led to the invention of cinema [...] while at the same time remaining an instrument to analyse movement" ("la logique scientifique de l'application d'une recherche, qui elle-même avait déjà entraîné, comme retombée technologique, l'invention du film [...] tout en demeurant un moyen d'analyse de mouvement"; Drevon 1994, 55). Compare also the source referenced in Doane 2002, 212.

51 As I explain later on, my own impression is that in most Western countries, sustainable forms of teaching film supply did not emerge until the Second World War, or even after that.

52 See, for instance, [C. W. J.] N[atzijl], "Een leerfilm-terugblik – II," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 12, no. 6 (1934): 42.

53 "La nécessité d'organiser enfin le cinématographe éducateur et d'enseignement apparaît toujours plus urgente. [...] Le manque actuel de coordination et de cohésion entre les départements ministériels intéressés, entre les divers offices régionaux, entre les œuvres d'éducation sociale, a, pour inévitable conséquence, en même temps qu'une ignorance mutuelle des résultats obtenus, une dispersion d'efforts et de doubles emplois regrettables."

54 The commission was officially called 'Commission extra-parlementaire chargée d'étudier les moyens de généraliser l'application du cinématographe dans les différentes branches de l'enseignement' (Extra-parliamentary Commission Charged with the Study of the Means of Generalising the Application of the Cinematograph in Education). Its report was entitled "Rapport général par Auguste Bessou sur l'emploi du cinématographe dans les différentes branches de l'enseignement" (Paris, 1920). For more information on the contents of the text, see, for instance, Besson in L'Herbier 1946, 399-402, or Renonciat 2004, 61-62.

55 For instance, the National Academy of Visual Instruction, the Visual Instruction Association of America and the Department of Visual Instruction (DVI) of the National Education Association joined forces in 1932.

56 See, respectively, D. van Staveren, "Het internationaal Congres te Rome – I," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 12, no. 1 (1934): 4, and "La convention pour faciliter la Circulation Internationale des films ayant un Caractère Éducatif," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 16, no. 9 (1939): 90. The institute was closed by Benito Mussolini in 1937; after that date, its tasks were referred once more to the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.
16mm film, invented in 1912 but introduced by Kodak in 1923, got accepted as an official (SMPE) standard in 1932. Its advantages over the theatrical gauge (35mm) were portability and safety. (The latter quality was due to the fact that it was made out of non-flammable film stock rather than combustible cellulose nitrate.) As opposed to its small-gauge alternatives such as 9.5mm, it also had a rather wide image surface, and used a relatively cheap reversal stock. For more details, see Alexander 2010, 15-16; Horak 2006, 113-14; Slide 1992, xi-xii.

57 As Saettler's overview shows, the results of the tests carried out at the time were often of a quantitative nature. For instance, they provided answers to the question how much more likely children were to retain factual information if films were being used (thus, it could be argued, going against the reformist tendency of valuing other, less easily measurable types of knowledge) or whether they could help raise the pupils' interest in a given lesson subject. Another research purpose was to find the optimal teaching film 'format', as in the case of the so-called 'Eastman experiment', which is dealt with further on (Saettler 1990, 223-38).

58 British Instructional Films, first an independent company headed by H. Bruce Woolfe, was later incorporated by G-BI (Low 1979, 17-18, 20-25).

59 Eastman Teaching Films (which changed its name to 'Eastman Classroom Films' in 1929) was one of several Eastman Kodak subsidiaries. The original research project was headed by Frank N. Freeman of the University of Chicago and Ben D. Wood of Columbia University (see also Slide 1992, 39-41). ERPI stands for Electrical Research Products, Inc., a subsidiary of the Western Electric Company. It set up an educational division in 1929; in the same year, it also made its first educational film (with sound). Encyclopaedia Britannica Films was the initiative

of William Benton, who bought the EB publishing company, and subsequently, the ERPI collection of classroom films and the old (silent) productions of Eastman Teaching Films. Together, the latter two acquisitions formed the basis of the Britannica catalogue. In the 1940s alone, 373 new productions were added to this list (Slide 1992, 92-93; Smith 1999, 99-100; Alexander 2010, 20-23).

60   Proof of the American system's relative efficiency is the ubiquity of distribution points for suitable films. In a chapter on the subject, Slide states that by the end of the 1930s, "most libraries [in the US] created audio-visual and film departments, making educational [...] films available to their patrons" (1992, 60). In addition to this, there was a variety of other institutions, both town- and state-funded, which provided such material. According to Prelinger, some of these distribution points were already in place in the mid-nineteen tens (2006, ix).

61   During the Second World War, Teaching Film Custodians (1939), a non-profit organisation that reviewed theatrical films and advised on their adaptation for classroom use, continued to provide an impetus to the deployment of film in schools (see Alexander 2010, 17).

62   Details concerning the production history for a good deal of those films can be found in the second chapter of Hogenkamp 1988 (25-44). One title that was definitely intended for a more general audience is *Neerland's volksleven in de lente* (1921, *Holland's Folk Life in Spring Time*).

63   In the original: "Oostersche menschentypen".

64   "Rien ne sépare un documentaire pour les écoles d'un documentaire 'grand public'".

65   For purposes of illustration, see my comparative list of small-gauge film providers in Britain in 1940 and 1945 in Masson 2000, 53 (appendix A). Compare also Alexander 2010, 23 (on the situation in the US). Jan-Christopher Horak claims that the upward tendency continued in the period after the war (2006, 114-15).

66   Another European example that has been discussed in some detail is that of Czechoslovakia. See Horníček 2007 (386 and 389, in particular) or Česálková 2009 (especially chapter 6, 192-208).

67   In 1939, just before the outbreak of the Second World War, the name of the institution was changed to Reichsanstalt für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht (RWU). After the war, the body was temporarily dissolved. From 1950 onwards, it continued as FWU (Institut für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht), servicing Western Germany (the Federal Republic). At the time, the East was provided by a Zentralinstitut für Film und Bild in Unterricht, Erziehung und Wissenschaft (ZFB).

68   However, there are other commentators, such as Knut Hickethier, who are convinced that the institute *was* an instrument of pure Nazi propaganda (see Ewert 1998, 179-89).

69   The Bilderbühnenbund was an association with a membership of towns that set up communal film theatres (so-called *Musterlichtspielbühnen*) which could hire

culturally 'sound' films at discounted rates. Apart from screenings targeted at a general audience, this venue also organised special *Lehrfilm* programmes for schools (Jung and Mühl-Benninghaus 2005, 483; Ewert 1998, 42-43). A factor that contributed to this development was a ban on cinema-going for children, accomplished by the *Kinoreformbewegung* in the early 1910s (Jung 2005a, 333 and 2005b, 351).

70   The core of the Ufa-Lehrfilmarchiv was formed by a selection from the holdings of the former BuFA, the Bild- und Filmamt (Photo and Film Office) of the German Army, which was dissolved in 1919 (see Montgomery 1989, 117-19). In addition to this, the Kulturabteilung itself also produced films for use in primary and secondary schools (Kreimeier 2005, 83).

71   Staveren, "Film voor cultuur en onderwijs," 21.

72   In most cases, moreover, government sponsoring for classroom films would not be quite as generous as in the German case. In the US, the most significant increase in funding would come much later. Alexander argues that a change in government attitude occurred with the passing of the so-called National Defense Education Act (NDEA, 1958) which followed the launch of the first Sputnik satellite (1957) and coincided with a growing fear in Washington that Russian students might be better educated than their American counterparts (2010, 38-39). According to the author, NDEA and subsequent legislation "in essence [created] an informal government-sponsored public film consortia grander in scale than that of any other country" (40).

73   See, for instance, Kohnstamm, "Bioscoopgevaar," 282.

74   For the first argument, see, for instance, Kohnstamm, "Bioscoopgevaar," 282, and Révész and Hazewinkel 1923, 37 and 39-41. For the second, see Kohnstamm, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 482. Compare also Renonciat 2004, 66-67, 69, 71.

75   For instance, Kohnstamm, "Bioscoopgevaar," 482-83, and Miedema, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 128-29. Compare also Renonciat 2004, 66.

76   Kohnstamm, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 458-59; Kohnstamm, "Bioscoopgevaar," 282.

77   The first phrase quoted reads in the original text: "le pouvoir quasi hallucinatoire de l'image cinématographique". The longer passage goes as follows: "le spectateur du film, peu à peu, ne voit plus devant lui des images mobiles mais des êtres réels; l'obscurité dans laquelle il est plongé renforce son illusion. Les enseignants rationalistes les plus intransigeants répugnent à asseoir les processus cognitifs de l'élève sur les vertus d'un simulacre dont le ressort procède d'un *faire croire* plus qu'un *faire penser*."

78   Kohnstamm, "Bioscoopgevaar," 282 (on the flickering effect) and Lefebvre 1993a, 90-91.

79   An article in a trade union magazine from the early 1960s hints at similar reservations about the use of television: see P. H. M. G., "Schooltelevisie," *Katholieke*

Schoolblad, 24 September 1960, 908. In a piece on the use of computers for teaching, Todd Openheimer quotes from a psychological study which argues that children may miss out on "emotional nurturance" due to overexposure to "unproven technologies" (1997).

80 See, for instance, N[atzijl], "Leerfilm-terugblik – II," 43, or Staveren, "Film voor cultuur en onderwijs," 18 and 22.

81 For instance, J. Faber, "De bioscoop in dienst van het onderwijs," *Volksontwikkeling* 2, no. 8 (1921): 378-80. Compare also Cuban 1986, 52-53, and Keitz 2005b, 137-38.

82 For the first argument, see, for instance, Staveren, "Film voor cultuur en onderwijs," 22, or H. Zanen, "Leerfilmorganisatie en filmpaedagogen," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 15, no. 5 (1938): 76. For the second, see Kohnstamm, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 488.

83 This is the case, for example, in Zanen, "Leerfilmorganisatie en filmpaedagogen," 76.

84 Another argument in favour of this conclusion is that the practical arguments mentioned above also tend to re-emerge in the course of time, regardless of the more specific characteristics of the 'new' medium concerned. In his article on the use of computers, for instance, Oppenheimer (1997) mentions such problems as a lack of suitable material, loss of time and cost.

85 For the first set of arguments, see, for instance, D. van Staveren, "Culturele, opbouwende filmarbeid," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 12, no. 9 (1935): 65-67, or Painlevé 1948, viii, and Smeelen 1928, 58. For the second series, see, for instance, Smeelen 1928, 28; [D. van] S[taveren], "Film en jeugd-criminaliteit: Nog een getuigenis," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 16, no. 1 (1939): 5; [D. van] S[taveren], "Baldadigheid, opvoeding en onderwijshervorming," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 17, no. 3 (1939): 40-45. Compare also Jung 2005a, 333; Gauthier 2004, 90. For more on the relation with other genres of popular culture, see Ewert 1998, 35; Grunder 2000, 62; Jung 2005a, 333.

86 For instance, Miedema, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 128-29; Kohnstamm, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 460-74; [D. van] S[taveren], "Over film en misdaad: Een belangrijke mededeling," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 15, no. 8 (1938): 118-19. See also Smeelen 1928, 28-29. In Holland, Protestants in particular were opposed to cinema-going; see "De film en de kerk," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 14, no. 7 (1937): 97-99. Elsewhere, it was primarily Catholics (Gauthier 2004, 90; Lacasse 2006, 188). Evidence of such objections outside religious circles can be found in Pelletier 2011, 76. John Hartley in turn shows that similar complaints were made about television later on (1999, 144).

87 For an idea of the sorts of measures that were proposed (also in parliament), see, for instance, Kohnstamm, "Bioscoopgevaar," 280-82.

88 See, for instance, Staveren, "Culturele, opbouwende filmarbeid," 65-68. For opinions from later dates, see Besson in L'Herbier 1946, 399, and Elliott 1948, 3-10. D.

v[an] S[taveren], "De culturele film in Nederland," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur*, 2nd ser., 13, no. 1 (1936) and "De bioscoop een nationaal gevaar?," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 15, no. 6 (1938) make pleas for positive action. Examples of groups dedicated to this cause were the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Culturele Films, the French *réseaux du 'Bon Cinéma'* and the German *Kinoreformer*. For pronouncements on the subject of the medium's 'original' mission, see Gauthier 2004, 91, 94.

89 See, for instance, Faber, "De bioscoop in dienst van het onderwijs," 379. Sources on cinema attendance are "Gaan er te veel kinderen naar de bioscoop? Een enquête," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 14, no. 11 (1937): 161-65, and V[an] S[taveren], "Bioscoop een nationaal gevaar?," 81-85. Abroad, George devotes a few pages to the subject (1935, 20-23). Compare also Langelaan 2005, 15.

90 Grunder, in this context, uses the term *unmündig* (incapable of self-governance; see Grunder 2000, 66). In my view, however, the problem was perceived to be much more profound, and ties in with the development of what van der Meulen, in the late 1940s, called "het oordeel des onderscheids" ("Wat doen we met de film? Onze houding ten opzichte van film en bioscoop," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 4 March 1948, 2).

91 In many countries, therefore, pleas were held for special measures to regulate the film-viewing behaviour of children. Once more, the requested restrictions concerned both the films shown (to be enforced through censorship systems) and the circumstances in which they were viewed (segregated, supervised screenings). Apparently, also concerns about negative moral influences are timeless. According to Grunder, the idea that cinema attendance might lead kids astray is as old as the medium of film itself (2000, 61). Publications dealing with media of later decades show that similar views have been expressed with respect to television and the Internet (Hartley 1999, 186, and Oppenheimer 1997). Compare also Beeksma with Hulst 2005, a Dutch publication on games in teaching (39-48, in particular).

92 "Meermaals is de vrees geuit, dat de film, eenmaal in de school toegelaten, de allures zal vertonen van een koekoeksjong; en al moge het hem niet gelukken den onderwijzer over boord te werpen, hij zal trachten met Hollywoodse behendigheid hem in 't overbekende hoekje te duwen. Men kent de macht van de film en vreest haar heerschappij. Men ziet haar al te dikwijls tronen als een tweede koningin der aarde." Zanen, "Filmleerstof in verband met het leerplan," 137. Compare also Lapierre 1948, 295.

93 See, for instance, [C. W. J.] N[atzijl], "Een leerfilm-terugblik," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 12, no. 5 (1934): 35, and an article by the same author, "Hoe moet de leerfilm den onderwijzer aangeboden worden?," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 18, no. 4 (1941): 60. Also concerns about mechanisation re-emerged with the introduction of every new classroom tool. See, for instance, Haak 1994, 279 (which mentions similar pronouncements on the topic of school radio), Ton Smits, "De film in het onder-

wijs," *Katholieke Schoolblad*, 10 September 1960, 865 (on school television) and Ottenheim 1991, 55 (on the use of ICT).

94 Primary sources are Zanen "Didactische waarde van de film," 6; Zanen, "Film-leerstof in verband met het leerplan," 139; Coissac 1925, 518. Compare also Keitz 2005a, 468, and 2005b, 130; Saettler 1990, 113. Because of the children's mental 'peculiarities', commentators asked for purpose-made materials (for instance, in Kleinstra, "Schoolfilms," *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur* 15, no. 9 (1938): 136).

95 See, for instance, G. H. Wanink, "De schoolbioscoop – I," *Bode*, 13 May 1921, 2; Staveren, "Film voor cultuur en onderwijs," 21; Zanen, "Filmleerstof in verband met het leerplan," 137-38; Moussinac 1925, 167. Compare Gauthier 2004, 94; Ren-onciat 2004, 65 and 66; McKernan 2005, 215. Once again, I need to point out that the same was said of other audio-visual tools later on; for instance, school radio (see W. Visser, "De school en de moderne techniek," *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, 17 July 1948, 95; A. S. Keuning, "De school en de moderne techniek," *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, 25 September 1948, 115; Denijs M., "Schoolradio: wanneer wij?," *Schoolblad*, 25 February 1950, 116).

96 Such a plea is held, among others, in Wanink, "De schoolbioscoop – I," 2-3; G. H. Wanink, "De schoolbioscoop – II," *Bode*, 20 May 1921, 2-3; V[an] d[er] M[eulen], "Film op School – II," 2; [J.J.] v[an] d[er] M[eulen], "De Film op School – V," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 3 March 1932, 5. See also the references in Keitz 2005b, 122, and Gertiser 2006, 62.

97 An example of a manual which predates this period is Coissac 1926. The British publications by George (1935) and Ottley (1935) came out about a decade later, but well before the first semi-official teaching film institutes in the UK had been set up.

98 Examples of institutional guides are, for instance, [Schreuder] 1948 and the pub-lications mentioned in Ewert 1998, 151-52. Manuals by independent authors are Wise 1939 and Hoban 1946.

99 At the most fundamental level, Anita Gertiser argues, this guidance was of a purely interpretational nature: it came down to a reduction (*disziplinieren*) of the 'semantic excess' (*semantische Überschüsse*) of the cinematic image (2006, 60). Compare also Grunder 2000, 58.

100 I should add that the difference between the two generations of publications dis-tinguished here (and more specifically, their respective conditions of authorship) is not always very clearly delineated. For instance, of the three main sources that I rely on in the next paragraph, only one can be considered as an actual mouth-piece for the distributor whose activities it promoted (Peters 1955). The others' statuses, in contrast, are much more unclear. One of these books (Meulen [1951]) was written by an ardent teaching film enthusiast, who also supported the initia-tives of NOF. Yet although the manual did get an official endorsement (in an inlay in *Mededelingen van de NOF*, March 1951), its author was not materially linked to the institute – at least, not at the time of its writing. The second publication

([Schreuder] 1948) was conceived by a member of staff, but sources attest that the ideas it expressed were not accepted by all his fellow employees (information obtained during interviews with Kees van Langeraad and Jan Marie L. Peters, conducted on 1 and 22 July 2005, respectively). Even so, both handbooks strongly encourage more intensive teaching film use. In both cases, it can also be assumed that the responsible authors had at least something to gain by the continued existence of the agency.

101 Among others, I am thinking here of France, Britain and the US. Elsewhere, for instance, in Germany and Switzerland, the activities of existing bodies were continued or expanded. Monopolisation of production and distribution took place, among others, in Holland (at least, in NOF's early years).

102 With respect to the teachers' willingness to use film, Alexander argues that another effect of the Second World War was that it had reinforced "the increasing feeling among educators that the medium had survived its infancy and grown into a powerfully effective and accepted means of delivering information" (2010, 20). However, he does not provide any direct evidence for this.

103 On those topics, few precise data are available. For more general observations on the supply of films, see Saettler 1990, 166 (on the situation in the US) and Masson 2000, 15-16 (which focuses on the UK). On the availability of projection equipment, see Masson 2000, 16 (UK). In Holland, the increase in projector ownership became particularly noticeable after 1954, when NOF began with the distribution of sound films. For figures, see R. H. Hakkert, "Stom en geluid in de onderwijsfilm," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, June 1959, 13.

104 I am thinking here of school television (with first broadcast dates ranging from 1950 in France, 1953 in the US, 1957 in the UK, 1963 in Holland, to 1964 in Germany) and early information technologies (used in class on an experimental basis from the 1960s onwards).

105 In May 1945, the institute briefly got disbanded, but after a hearing on its personnel's wartime activities, it continued in roughly the same form. See also Ottenheim 1991, 11.

106 For more on NOF's contribution system, see "Rondom de Stichting 'N.O.F.,'" *Schoolblad*, 17 September 1949, 413. RWU, the German teaching film institute which the Dutch took as their model, already had such a system in place during the war (see the first half of this chapter).

107 The first Dutch school cinema was modelled after a Belgian one, in Saint-Gilles (Brussels). For details on similar institutions elsewhere, see Gauthier 2004, 78, and Lefebvre 1993b, 145 (France) and Jung 2005b, 351-54 (Germany).

108 See also "'Nederlandse Onderwijs Film' Dir. Prof. Dr. Ph. Kohnstamm," [1947], NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 9, p. 2. For similar objections abroad, see among others Gauthier 2004, 83 (France) and Gertiser 2006, 62, 66 (Switzerland).

109 Wanink, "De schoolbioscoop – I," 3.

110 See, respectively, [Schreuder] 1948, 7; Faber, "De bioscoop in dienst van het onderwijs," 378, and Smeelen 1928, 20, 31-35; [Schreuder] 1948, 6-7. The films shown in school cinemas were often designated as *cultuurfilms* or 'cultural films' (retrospectively, for instance, by van der Meulen in "De onderwijsfilm," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 17 January 1946, 1). For more on the use of this genre label and its relation to what was considered fit for school audiences, see Masson 2007, 394; compare also Streible, Roepke and Mebold 2007, 341; Horníček 2007, 385; Keitz 2005a, 474; Gertiser 2006, 59. A few examples exist of films that were made specifically for screening in such venues (Hogenkamp 1997, 58).

111 Considered retrospectively, the timing of NOF's creation was extremely fortunate, in the sense that it may actually have accounted for the smoothness with which the process of its establishment was conducted. In occupied Holland, after all, there was little room for objection to the creation of an official educational institute, whether for didactic reasons or political ones. Although NOF was later branded as a product of collaboration (Hogenkamp 1997, 73), it managed to vindicate itself without too many difficulties. After the war, the archive documents show, a few replacements in the management and board of directors could ensure continued support from the state. Apparently, a set-up which, in the immediate post-war era, might have been considered far too ambitious or costly to initiate was also considered sufficiently valuable not to be put to waste.

112 Adriaan Adolf Schoevers (more widely known by his initials 'A. A.') was the director of a company that organised secretarial courses; in this capacity, he had produced a few instructional films. For more information on his background, see Hogenkamp 1997, 62. Proof of his familiarity with the German system can be found in many of the reports which he compiled just before and at the beginning of the war; for instance, "Exposé über die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, das Unterrichtsfilmwesen in einem Lande zu organisieren," [1941], NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 1.

113 For evidence as to the institute's monopoly, see "Bespreking ten huize van Dr. J. Smit, oud rector Chr. Lyceum en tegenwoordig wethouder van onderwijs in Amsterdam op donderdag 22 mei 1941," 1941, NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 6. The claim this document makes is confirmed by [M. R.] T[eijssen], "Beeld-onderwijs," *Katholieke Schoolblad*, 26 June 1941, 769.

114 J. J. van der Meulen, "Nederlandse onderwijsfilm – III: Coördinatie?," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 17 October 1946, 1. Of course, NOF's monopoly in terms of film distribution – first actual, then virtual – caused some complaints among potential competitors. See, for instance, H. Reys' letter to the editor in *Schoolblad*, 10 December 1949, 562, and H. Reys, "Schoolfilmonrecht," *Katholieke Schoolblad*, 22 October 1949, 227-28.

115 See Schoevers' notes, made in preparation for a meeting with the Ministry, n.d., NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 1, first page of the pile.

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116 See "'Nederlandse Onderwijs Film'," 2.

117 Ph. A. Kohnstamm, "De film en het lager onderwijs – III," *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, 29 January 1949, 9; A. A. Schoevers, the section "Leerfilm-organisatie" in: "Eerste project, 24 october 1940 ingediend bij Mr. Reynink," 1940, NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 2, p. 1. For completeness' sake, I should add here that after the war, when NOF's employees had to appear in front of a commission of inquiry, Schoevers pointed out that the latter argument also served the purpose of hiding from the Germans his efforts to ban RWU films from Dutch schools, as they might be considered products of the enemy's propaganda machine (Hogenkamp 1997, 62). In fact, NOF occasionally did distribute titles that had been made by third parties; however, it never credited the producers. These items, however, were usually of a kind that did not, strictly speaking, belong to the institute's area of expertise; for instance, puppet films (81).

118 The term *Distributieafdeling* is first mentioned in a brochure which dates from around 1947 ("'Nederlandse Onderwijs Film'," 1-2); the word *Opnamedienst* in a document written in 1945 ("Bespreking met den heer Mariouw Smit op 5 december 1945," NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 6). The three-part structure remained in place until the early 1950s, when the Educational and Recording Sections were replaced by a single Production Department (*Productie-afdeling*, first mentioned in *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Spring] 1954 (no. 1), 2).

119 Compare, for instance, "'Nederlandse Onderwijs Film'," 2, with Meulen [1951], 39. For completeness' sake, I should add here that testimonies by ex-employees suggest that technical staff may actually have had a little more influence on the production process than the documents claim, if only for practical reasons (such as unforeseen circumstances during shooting). Later on, when more third-party materials were acquired and adapted for a Dutch audience, production personnel were given even more freedom (Langeraad, interview).

120 "Stichting Nederlandsche Onderwijs Film N.O.F.," n.d., NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 2, [p. 1]. Van Langeraad's testimony suggests that this plan was indeed executed. In addition to this, the interviewee also mentions that in the 1940s and 50s, the Netherlands did not have a formal training course for film-makers, and most people therefore learnt the particulars of production on the job. Like teaching film institutes elsewhere, NOF in practice functioned as a breeding ground for those who envisaged careers in the feature film and/or documentary industries. Examples are Nico Crama (who became a producer/director of short fiction films, documentaries and animation films), Rob Mariouw-Smit (cameraman/director of documentary films) and van Langeraad himself (television director). As Alexander demonstrates, the same also happened elsewhere (2010, 50-52 and passim).

121 See, respectively, "Stichting Nederlandsche Onderwijs Film N.O.F.," [1], and "De Nederlandsche Onderwijs Film II," n.d., NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 7, p. 7.

122 Stichting Nederlandsche Onderwijs Film N.O.F.," [p. 1]. The original phrasing of

the quote is: "volkomen op de hoogte [...] van de filmerij en alles wat daarmede verband houdt".

123 For first-hand recollections of NOF's aversion from cinematic artistry, I refer to my interviews with van Langeraad and Jongbloed. The validity of the institute's position is confirmed by Meulen [1951], 36, and a film review by the same author: J. J. van der Meulen, "De Vondelfilm," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 21 October 1954, 2.

124 This is probably also the reason why many classroom films mention the names of academic advisors in their opening credits (scientists who, Alexander argues, often acted as consultants in name only; see Alexander 2010, 50). I should add however that in the early 1950s, the Educational Section's role in the process of classroom film production became slightly less prominent. The reason was that the then director, Peters, saw teaching films not as mere didactic tools, but as objects of cinematic communication, which should therefore display a reasonable amount of formal craftsmanship. Yet even then, the didactic 'lobby' inside the institute always remained a powerful one (Langeraad, interview, and Ed van Berkel, interview with the author, 25 May 2005).

125 Hogenkamp 1997, 77 and 83. In 1952, the institute ceased to be a departmental dependency, and became a foundation in its own right. The vital decisions were taken by its three sub-foundations: the Catholic Stichting Katholieke Onderwijsfilm (KOF), the Protestant Stichting Protestants-Christelijke Onderwijsfilm (PCOF) and the neutral Stichting Onderwijsfilm voor de Openbare en Neutraal Bijzondere Scholen (ONOF) (Ottenheim 1991, 30).

126 Ed van Berkel, interview with the author, 17 July 2008.

127 "Rondom de Stichting 'N.O.F.'," 413. For the period I deal with, the great majority of subscribers were primary schools; the rest of the membership was made up of institutions of 'extended' primary education and some secondary schools. (Compare, for instance, Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film 1947 and 1959. The latter of these publications shows that by the late 1950s, the percentage of primary schools had risen to about 75.)

128 In 1960, the newsletter was replaced by the magazine *Toonbeeld* (first published in 1958).

129 Evidence exists that certificates of didactic competence were handed out as late as 1957 (J. N. Schoonderbeek, interview with Ed van Berkel, 22 September 2007). In addition to the official permit, teachers could also obtain proof of their technical (projection) skills (see "De organisatie van de Nederlandse Onderwijs-Film," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Spring] 1954 (no. 1), 3; Theo Faasen, interview with Ed van Berkel, 22 September 2007).

130 See Jongbloed, interview; compare also Ottenheim 1991, 15.

131 Although authorship can be established from other sources, Schreuder is not credited in the book. For my research, I am using a later version (1948, fourth impression) in which a few minor changes have been made.

132 Van der Meulen was the headmaster of a primary school in Rotterdam. From 1951 onwards, he acted as a member of NOF's board of governors; the manual, however, was finished before that time.

133 See, for instance, *Mededelingen van de NOF*, March 1950 [to March 1951] (nos. 24-28). Compare also [Schreuder] 1948, 19-20 (which claims that in the mid-1940s, each film was shown to approximately 1,000 pupils before distribution) and Ottenheim 1991, 21.

134 N. Crama, "Montage," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, September 1958, 13.

135 For evidence of this, see, for instance, the results of an experiment with the film *Kabouters en elfjes* (1948, *Goblins and Elves*), as reported in "Kabouters en elfjes," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, April 1948, 1-2. Although in some cases the films' value as motivational tools was measured as well, the information such research produced was mostly of a quantitative nature: tests were designed to find out how much factual knowledge spectators could obtain, and how much time could be saved if films were used. This tendency also manifests itself elsewhere (compare Saettler 1990, 227) and later in time (Alexander 2010, 39). Once newer media such as instructional and school television were introduced, their effects were gauged in similar ways (Saettler 1990, 374; compare Korte 1964, 148-71).

136 It is Jongbloed (interview) who first drew my attention to the political nature of NOF's claims to educational progressivism.

137 "[...] dat er geen beter middel te vinden is [dan film] om de gezichtskring von [*sic*] de leerlingen te verruimen en de ramen van het klaslokaal, figuurlijk gesproken, wijd open te zetten voor de veelvormige rijkdom van het leven dat zich buiten de muren van het schoolgebouw afspeelt". See "Nieuwe films," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Autumn] 1955 (no. 2), p. 6.

138 See, for instance, Ph. A. Kohnstamm, "De film en het lager onderwijs – II," *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, 15 January 1949, 1.

139 The exact phrasing is: "natuur- en kunstproducten". Compare Staveren, "Bioscoop in dienst van het onderwijs," 458-59, Miedema, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 128, and Zanen, "Filmleerstof in verband met het leerplan," 140, which also add subject specifications.

140 The full title of the second film in this list is *Veluwe I: Zand en heide* (Veluwe I: Sand and Heath). An additional reason for the predominance of geography and biology titles in the collection at the time may have been that those were the two subjects of which Schoevers had been able to convince the German occupier that they needed to be purpose-produced, i.e. made *by* Dutch people, *for* Dutch people (and covering 'typically' Dutch topics) (Hogenkamp 1997, 81). (For the sake of consistency all English translations of film titles are rendered here in title case and italics, even if they are my own. The filmography at the end of this work identifies those films that also existed in English versions; in those cases, the official release titles are used.)

141 In the original text, the phrase reads as follows: "een algemeen vormend inzicht […] in de sociale, economische en culturele structuur van de maatschappij". J. Pilger, "De stad, hart van de ommelanden," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, April 1959, 9. Compare also Ton Smits, "De film als pedagogisch middel," *Katholieke School-blad*, 31 December 1960, 1193-94.

142 For the difference in notation of dates with and without brackets and with and without 'ca.', see the introductory notes to the filmography at the end of this work.

143 For this reason, it is very had to make a clear distinction, in the NOF collection, between what Alexander calls 'academic' and 'guidance' films – a yardstick for the composition of his own corpus (2010, 5).

144 Alexander argues however that even in the US, producers at the time were still fearful as to the controversies that this sort of material might cause (2010, 21).

145 In practice, there were exceptions to this rule. In his presentation for the "Cinema in Context" conference (University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 20 April 2006), Karel Dibbets gave an example of this. In the year 1940, the film that was screened the most often in Dutch theatres was one dealing with proper sexual conduct – a subject, in other words, that did not, strictly speaking, belong to the remit of the (non-pillarised) film exhibition sector. For more on the relation between the cinema business and the so-called *verzuiling*, see Dibbets 2006.

146 Louis Pelletier makes mention of a similar tendency towards avoiding certain film topics among the producers of educational films in early 1920s Canada. In this case, however, the reasons were mainly political (Pelletier 2011, 74).

147 Jongbloed, interview. There was only one area of teaching that required the distribution of separate films for each denomination: religious education. Mission films such as *De Paaswake* (1954, *Easter Wake*) or *De Bisschopswijding* ([ca. 1955], *The Ordination of a Bishop*) were intended specifically for Catholics. *Maarten Luther* (1959), by contrast, targeted a Protestant audience. See announcements for these films in *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Spring] 1955 (no. 1), 3, and June 1959, 6 (under "Onze nieuwe films").

148 Pronouncements to this effect were made until the late 1940s; see, for instance, Kohnstamm, "De film en het lager onderwijs – II," 1, or an article by the same author, "De film en het lager onderwijs," *Schoolblad*, 12 November 1949, 509. At the time, however, the institute already distributed third-party and foreign productions, albeit sporadically.

149 NOF's 1954 annual report mentions a ratio of 13 own productions vs. 15 films acquired from elsewhere (Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film 1955, 7-9). The membership figures for ICEF vary slightly: from 15 (H. J. L. Jongbloed, foreword to special issue, *Mededelingen van de NOF*, June 1958, 3) to 19 (H. J. W[itters], "N.O.F.-plannen voor 1960," *Katholieke Schoolblad*, 2 January 1960, 4-6). Ottenheim, for his part, writes that 17 countries were involved (1991, 38).

150 Consider, for instance, van Langeraad's account of the various specialisms of the institute's production staff at the time (interview). The first more 'ambitious' animated film NOF produced was *Transmutatie der atomen* ([ca. 1948], *The Transmutation of Atoms*), also mentioned in Hogenkamp 1997, 82. This title, however, was an exception at the time.

151 In this particular case, the film was acquired from FWU, RWU's successor in Western Germany. Because of the fact that I consider the NOF collection here as a user corpus, I always mention Dutch release dates in the case of foreign-made films. For production dates, see the filmography at the end of this work.

152 The series consisted of three films: *Le retour de Madeleine* (*The Return of Madeleine*) and *Départ de grandes vacances* (*Departure for the Summer Holidays*), both acquired by NOF in 1959, and *Histoire de poissons* (*A Story about Fish*), acquired in 1961.

153 The exchange of prints was a practice that would grow increasingly important over time, not only in Holland (Berkel, various interviews) but also abroad (compare, for instance, Alexander 2010, 48).

154 See also Jongbloed, interview; W[itters], "N.O.F.-plannen voor 1960," 4-5. The full title of the first of these films is *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: Een film over de ontwikkeling van de microscopie* * (*Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: A Film about the Development of Microscopy*).

155 See also Ph. A. Kohnstamm, "De film en het lager onderwijs," *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, 18 December 1948, 157.

156 "Ons inziens is het [...] belangrijker, dat men rekening houdt met de wijze waarop het kind een bepaalde leerstof opneemt en verwerkt, dan dat men er zorg voor draagt dat de te gebruiken films en strips aansluiten bij de leerstof die volgens het leerprogramma aan de orde is. Een der eerste eisen voor de systematische toepassing van visuele leermiddelen is dan ook, dat men de leerlingen met deze middelen vertrouwd maakt." The book this excerpt is taken from was first published in 1954; my research, however, is based on the second edition, brought out in 1955, which adds an introduction and bibliography.

157 Jan Marie Lambert Peters (1920-2008) began his academic career as a student of Dutch, and briefly taught language and psychology in a secondary school and a management college. In 1950, he obtained his doctoral degree with a dissertation entitled "De taal van de film: Een linguistisch-psychologisch onderzoek naar de aard en de betekenis van het expressiemiddel film" ("The language of film: A linguistic-psychological study of the nature and meaning of film as a means of expression"). After that, he acted, among others, as the editor of a film magazine (*Filmforum)* and as the president of a number of associations and foundations that promoted and organised film education. In 1958, he was one of the founders of the Amsterdam Film Academy, where he also taught courses. At the same time, he lectured in Film Studies (*Filmkunde*) at the University of Amsterdam, where he

got a permanent position in 1967; a year later, he also began to teach Film and Audio-Visual Communication at the Catholic University of Leuven in Belgium (Peters, interview; also http://www.filmacademie.nl/nfta/nieuws/bericht/080709_peters.shtml, an obituary on the film academy web site, accessed 11 March 2009, page now discontinued).

158 Compare also Jan Marie L. Peters, "Het beeld gaat een taal spreken," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Spring] 1953 (no. 1), 2.

159 Kohnstamm 1948, 35-37, and Kohnstamm, "Film en het lager onderwijs" (1948 version), 157-58.

Philip Abraham Kohnstamm (1875-1951) was one of the first academics in Holland to hold a chair in educational science. In 1919, he founded the Nutsseminarium voor Paedagogiek, a centre for experimental educational research at the University of Amsterdam. In the next few decades, he would remain one of the country's most solicited educational experts. In spite of his earlier objections to the use of film in school, he became director of NOF in 1946, after his official retirement from academia (Langeveld 1975, 87-93, and *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland, s.v.* "Kohnstamm, Philipp Abraham (1875-1951)" (by G. J. van de Poll), http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BWN/lemmata/bwn1/kohnstamm, accessed 19 July 2011). Considering the fact that in earlier years Kohnstamm had been radically opposed to the use of teaching films, his appointment as director of NOF is remarkable. By that time, of course, he had mitigated his position and admitted that NOF did indeed manage to compensate for the educationally less favourable aspects of the reproduction process. (See, for instance, Kohnstamm, "Film en het lager onderwijs" (1948 version), 157-58; for a retrospective account see also Hogenkamp 1997, 58 and 75-76.) At the time he was hired, the institute had been threatened in its survival by plans for subsidy cuts. The decision to appoint a well-known educational scientist can therefore be seen as an attempt to convince the government of its pedagogical benefits to society and the necessity of continued funding (Ottenheim 1991, 20).

160 Examples of Catholic associations are Katholieke Film Actie (KFA) and Instituut Film en Jeugd (which translates as 'Institute for Film and Youth'). Christelijke Film Actie (CEFA) was a Protestant organisation. KFA was established in 1937. It edited two magazines, *Het Witte Doek* and *Filmfront* (which were later merged into one, *Katholiek Filmfront*) and a series of publications entitled "Projectareeks" (some of the better-known issues being a 1956 booklet by B. J. Bertina on the dangers of film, and one by Jac. Dirkse, brought out around 1960, which claimed to be a manual for those teaching film education). Instituut voor Film en Jeugd, established about a decade later, brought out the magazine *Documentatie Film en Jeugd* (later renamed *Beeldcultuur en Opvoeding*). CEFA, the Protestant counterpart of KFA, was set up in 1948; its periodical was called *CEFA Filmgids* (later *CEFA contact*). For more on the connection between the Dutch

Catholics and film education, see also Hogenkamp 2003, 144, and Meulenbeld 1990.

161 See, for instance, [M. R.] T[eijssen], "Om de jeugdfilm" and "Het witte doek en de jeugd," *Katholieke Schoolblad*, 24 September 1948, 137-38 and 16 July 1949, 39-40, respectively; "Jeugd en film," *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, 29 January 1949, 12; "Film en bioscoop in het leven van onze kinderen – I," *Schoolblad*, 3 December 1955, 732. Grunder mentions that schools were assigned a similar 'reparatory' task in the era of television (2000, 64).

162 See, for instance, "Filmwaardering als een schoolvak" (based on a text by Stanley Reed) and "De plaats van de film in onze moderne samenleving" (after an original piece by Peters), in issues 5/6 and 8/9 of *Documentatie Film en Jeugd* 5 (1953), 1-7 and 1-3, respectively; [H. G.] de B[oer], "Film en rijpere jeugd," *Katholieke Schoolblad*, 5 February 1949, 38. A list of relevant organisations and their activities is given in Nico Crama, "Onderwijs over de film," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, April 1959, 20.

163 See issues of *Mededelingen van de NOF* in the years 1958-1959 and 1959-1960. References to its courses are made in C. J. M. H. Souren, "De film in het onderwijs," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, September 1959, 13-14, and Ottenheim 1991, 34.

164 Langeraad, interview. The editorial of the NOF newsletter for September 1958 explicitly states that film education ("filmvorming") is now part of the institute's objectives (1). See also Crama's article "Onderwijs over de film".

165 See N. Crama, "Drie Nederlandse documentaires," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, September 1958, 4-6. The original phrasing is: "het aankweken van het begrip 'film als expressiemiddel'" (6).

166 The original text for the first quote reads: "De film voor het onderwijs moet een samenhangend geheel geven, een serie van handelingen, gedragingen of bewegingen, welke tot een bepaald doel of resultaat voeren en waarbij alles er op gezet is om het verband tussen deel en geheel zo duidelijk mogelijk te laten uitkomen." See [Schreuder] 1948, 9. Compare also Keitz 2005a, 474, which quotes pronouncements to this effect in Germany.

167 "Keuze van films voor het onderwijs," 2 (see note 1 of the introduction).

168 See "Nieuwe films," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, May 1946, [2]. For its justification, the institute referred to the findings of Kohnstamm, who had argued in his early years that the film medium was fundamentally unfit as a teaching tool because photographic representation did not allow for any kind of selection ([Schreuder] 1948, 13-14, and Kohnstamm, "Bioscoop en volksontwikkeling," 482). Compare Gertiser 2006, 66 for similar statements made in Switzerland.

169 "[…] alles er op gericht is de aandacht van de leerling sterk op een bepaald onderwerp te concentreren en alle bijkomstigheden op de achtergrond te houden of zelfs af te snijden. Alleen op die wijze is het […] mogelijk de geestelijke activiteit geheel in de gewenste richting te dwingen, en daardoor gezonde belangstelling te wekken […]." Compare once more Gertiser 2006, 66.

170 Remarks on the preferred length of films were also made elsewhere: see Hoban
   1946, 92-95 (US) and Keitz 2005a, 475 (Germany).

171 Jean-Ovide Decroly (1871-1932) studied medicine in Ghent, Belgium, specialis-
   ing in pathological anatomy. During short stays in Berlin and Paris, he developed
   an interest in the mentally disturbed. At first, his concerns were purely medical,
   but later on he also got involved with psychology and pedagogy. In his view, con-
   tact with the mentally handicapped could generate insights into the behaviour of
   healthy children. From the 1920s onwards, he taught his pedagogical principles
   at the Free University of Brussels (Wolf 1975; Dubreucq 1993). Especially in the
   years after his death, Decoly's ideas met with a lot of enthusiasm – mostly in
   the French-speaking parts of Europe, but also in the Netherlands. According to
   Marc Depaepe, Frank Simon and Angelo Van Gorp, the excessive admiration for
   Decroly was slightly undeserved. In their article on the subject, they conclude
   that although he was good at synthesising, compiling and combining scientific
   concepts that were in the air at the time, he was not a very original thinker
   (2003).

172 "Orde in de chaos," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [March 1951] (no. 28), 2.

173 It might be argued here that the way in which NOF moulded the principle of
   globality to suit its own purposes did not quite match the spirit of Decroly's
   ideas. Educational journals from the 1940s occasionally voice the complaint that
   reformist ideas (which, as a rule, stress the importance of a child's own initiative
   in the learning process) threaten to lose their value through systematisation into
   ready-made methods and textbooks (see, for instance, "Het Belgisch leerplan – I,"
   Bode, 3 November 1939, 572, or "Levende vernieuwing," *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, 8
   May 1948, 54).The same objection could be made in the case of NOF's foundation
   films, which basically forced the idea of the spheres of interest into the straight-
   jacket of scripts.

174 See "Globale leerplanfilms voor de lagere school," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, Sep-
   tember 1947, [3]; also [Schreuder] 1948, 22, and Meulen [1951], 48. Compare also
   "Keuze van films voor het onderwijs," 1. The need for verisimilitude is empha-
   sised in Meulen [1951], 342.

175 For completeness' sake, I should add here that adherence to its rules may actually
   not have been the department's primary concern. A first-hand witness recalls that
   the first sets of benchmarks that the institute formulated were thought up 'after
   the fact' (Langeraad, interview). Once again, this confirms my view that they were
   attempts to justify its own activities at least as much as concrete guidelines for
   production.

176 Compare Jongbloed, interview.

177 The institute's financial concerns with respect to the introduction of film sound
   are addressed, among others, in "Ja, ik heb 't gezien," *Mededelingen van de NOF*,
   April 1949, [2], and Meulen [1951], 51.

178 For the link with the results of educational research, compare Kohnstamm, "Film en het lager onderwijs" (1948 version), 257-58. See also "'Sprekende' of 'zwijgende' films op de L.S.," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, January 1948, 1-2.

179 See, for instance, "Onderwijsfilm met geluid?" *Mededelingen van de NOF*, May 1946, [1].

180 See "Plan voor een leerfilmorganisatie," 51 (see note 4 of the introduction). Nederlandse Vereniging voor Culturele Films published the monthly magazine *Lichtbeeld en Cultuur*, which I quoted from on several occasions. One of its best-known members was van Staveren, founder of the first Dutch school cinema and author of a booklet on the subject (1919). The association's activities should be seen as part of an international movement against the excrescences of commercial film exploitation, which I discussed in the first half of this chapter.

181 Supposedly, the only critics of the German standpoint were the British, who at the time were already distributing sound films to schools. For completeness' sake, I should also add here that it has been argued that RWU's actual motives may have been political. As Ewert points out, post-war inspectors observed that the choice for mute films relieved the institute from supervision by the Propaganda Ministry, and have suggested that it might therefore be seen as an attempt at opposition to the country's fascist regime (1998, 169-71).

182 The influential American journal *Educational Screen*, for instance, praised NOF's perseverance in the matter. Meanwhile, it could only observe that many independent producers back home had already switched to the production of films with sound. See "Een Amerikaans oordeel," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, June 1947, [1-2].

183 Although developments in terms of production took place quite suddenly, the path towards acceptance of sound films had already been paved in previous years. Van der Meulen, for instance, was less categorical in his dismissal of such material than Schreuder, who wrote his manual almost a decade earlier (Meulen [1951], 52-53). (The author was clearly more open-minded in other matters as well; for instance, on the subject of alternatives to global films: see 19-51.)

184 See Hakkert, "Stom en geluid in de onderwijsfilm," 12-13. (On p. 12, the text reads: "In zijn hart is vrijwel iedere leerkracht er inmiddels van overtuigd, dat de geluidsfilm de strijd zal gaan winnen.") A few years earlier, van Langeraad had made this point in a more implicit manner: see his piece "Geluid in de klas," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, October 1957, 4.

185 Compare "Filmmanie," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, August 1948, 1-2.

186 Langeraad, "Geluid in de klas," 4.

187 This situation lasted until at least the early 1960s. At the time, NOF was still producing a number of films in two versions (one with sound and one without).

188 See Langeraad, "Geluid in de klas," 5, and Hakkert, "Stom en geluid in de onderwijsfilm," 13.

189 Kohnstamm, "Film en het lager onderwijs" (1948 version), 257-58, and Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film 1947.

190 Intertitles were disapproved of for this reason in Germany (Keitz 2005a, 472), but not in the Anglo-Saxon world. Hoban (1946), for instance, was far less tenacious when it came to the use of written texts.

191 Although the term *truc* (*trucage*) may have had a negative connotation at first (since it referred to a procedure which was not approved of) it also seems to have been the most common word for whatever we would now refer to as a 'special effect'.

192 Jongbloed, interview.

193 *Elf-stedentocht* is the first part in a series called *Het Friese weidegebied* (*The Grasslands of Friesland*). The title refers to a skating race on natural ice, leading through eleven towns in the province of Friesland in the north of the Netherlands. *Steenkool vervoer* is part I in the series *Onze grote rivieren* (*Our Major Rivers*).

194 "Films en lichtbeelden voor het onderwijs behoren in het gewone, dagelijkse klaslokaal thuis. [...] Daarvoor gaan we niet op stap. Zeker niet buiten het schoolgebouw, en bij voorkeur ook niet buiten de klas. Een lichtbeeldenles is wel iets prettigs, maar niet iets buitengewoons, iets sensationeels."

195 "Men hoede er zich [...] voor, lichtbeeld en film als de steen der didactische wijsheid te beschouwen! Beide kunnen de taak van de onderwijzer, die onder alle omstandigheden *de* man blijft, wel verlichten, maar niet overnemen. [...] Film en lichtbeeld zijn slechts *hulp*middelen, zij het ook zeer aantrekkelijke en doeltreffende."

196 The requirement that various tools be combined once again predates the establishment of NOF; see, for instance, Jung 2005a, 340 (for early pronouncements to this effect in Germany) and Gauthier 2004, 95, and Renonciat 2004, 68 (France).

197 For warnings against the interruption or early termination of film screenings, see Meulen [1951], 28; "Het stilzetten van de projector," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [December 1951] (no. 30), 2-4; Peters 1955, 49.

198 See also Kohnstamm, "Film en het lager onderwijs" (1948 version). I should point out here that NOF's attitude in such matters differs considerably from that of teaching film proponents in earlier decades. In the 1920s, in particular, interested parties argued that teachers should be allowed to freeze images (Gauthier 2004, 95) or even structurally adapt a film (for instance, by cutting in it, a practice mentioned in Gertiser 2006, 62-63).

199 Once again, this seems to confirm the observation by van Langeraad (interview) that the scientific explanation which the institute advanced was a justification much rather than an actual inspiration for the procedures concerned. For ideas from abroad, compare, for instance, the sources mentioned in Saettler 1990, 113-14, Keitz 2005a, 475, and Horníček 2007, 389.

200 Compare, for instance, V., "Schoolradio," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 20 February 1947, [2] and M., "Schoolradio: Wanneer wij?" 115-16 (two articles which established

benchmarks for the production and use of school radio), or "Heeft school-t.v. een toekomst? – II" in *Mededelingen van de NOF*, April 1959, 26-27 (which did the same for school television).

201 For references to such qualifications made at the time, see, for instance, "Het enquête-formulier," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, June 1950, 1, or "Bedenkelijke voorlichting over onderwijsfilms," *Schoolblad*, 23 April 1960, 296; hints to such pronouncements are also dropped in Meulen, "Onderwijsfilm," 2, and Kohn-stamm, "De film en het lager onderwijs – II," 1. For more recent statements to this effect, see, for instance, Hogenkamp 1997, where the author argues that NOF's films did carry on from pre-war traditions, however without the formal sophistica-tion of the so-called Filmliga-style; therefore he designates them as "naïve" (66) and "primitive" (66, 69).

For completeness' sake, I should add that the perceived outmodedness of the institute's output probably should not be associated exclusively with the formal restrictions which it imposed. Considering the fact that the production of audio-visual aids was a state-subsidised undertaking, it necessarily had to be subject to financial restrictions; therefore, there must have been limits to the standards that could be set. In addition to this, the titles which the institute distributed often remained in the collection for a very long time. In practice, therefore, children saw films that were years or even decades old. (To some extent, this may also account for the fact that even in countries where classroom films were made by commer-cial companies, they tended to be evaluated as 'hokey'; see Alexander 2010, 15.)

202 Adverts for a film about the 1948 royal jubilee, for instance, extol its technical virtues (such as its colours and sound features) and/or narrative traits (action and suspense); see issues of *Christelijk Schoolblad* and *Katholieke Schoolblad* of that year.

203 See, for instance, "Vernieuwing in de onderwijsfilm," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, December 1958, 17. Symptomatic for this change in attitude is a series of articles for one of the main union magazines for teachers, written by future documentary-maker Roelof Kiers ("School en film – I," *Schoolblad*, 25 June 1960, 477; "Opvoeden met film [School en film – II]," *Schoolblad*, 2 July 1960, 495-96; "Opvoeden tot de film [School en film – III]," *Schoolblad*, 16 July 1960, 533).

CHAPTER 2

1 Considerations of this type are not the only valid explanation for (Dutch) teachers' unwillingness to accept film as a classroom aid. Ottenheim, for instance, suggests that confessional motives may have played a role as well. According to the author, Reformist Protestants (*gereformeerden*) considered the medium to be 'the devil's picture book' (*des duivels prentenboek*) and therefore radically banned it from

their schools (1991, 28). Such arguments, however, were made only in isolated parts of the country.

2 My choice of words here is inspired by Jacquinot's (1977, 113-14).

3 Similar observations are also made in primary sources, especially with respect to the first set of constraints. Compare, for instance, [J. J.] v[an] d[er] M[eulen], "Leerstof-bezwaren," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 2 October 1941, 1-2.

4 The relation between the institute's specifications and the creation of an 'appropriate' classroom atmosphere is established, among others, in "'Nederlandse Onderwijs Film'," 2 (see chapter 1, note 108). For evidence of concerns regarding power relations in class, see Zanen, "Leerfilmorganisatie en filmpaedagogen," 76 (chapter 1, note 82).

5 This point is made quite literally in [J. J.] v[an] d[er] M[eulen], "Geen revolutie, wel restauratie," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 9 October 1941, 2. Compare also Zanen, "Leerfilmorganisatie en filmpaedagogen," 77. As far as the technical side of the problem is concerned, van der Meulen also suggests that during a screening, the operation of projection equipment be delegated to "a boy" ("de bediening van de projectielantaarn [kan] heel goed door een jongen geschieden"). This way, the teacher can concentrate on maintaining control instead of being distracted by the quirks of the machinery ([1951], 25).

6 Note that in my introduction, I have qualified this statement, formulating some observations that were also more media-specific.

7 In this context, it is worth mentioning that both Cuban and Saettler make the distinction between two types of educational progressivism. On the one hand, there is the kind practiced by those who primarily seek to make schools more time- and cost-effective, and focus therefore on the means by which already established goals are achieved. On the other hand, there is the strand which stems from a dissatisfaction with the objectives of the educational system itself, and is performed by people who aim at changing the ways in which knowledge is acquired – those I associated in what precedes with the so-called 'New Education' (Cuban 1986, 10-11; Saettler 1990, 5-6, 56-58, 123-45). The devising and promotion of new technologies, it seems, was primarily a task of those associated with the former category, even if they often exploited the latter's arguments.

8 Compare also Oppenheimer 1997 (which discusses such problems with reference to computerised instruction). For primary references to the cliché of the teaching profession as a particularly conservative one, I refer back to chapter 1.

9 Examples of early Dutch reports on the issue are "Wetenschap en practijk," *Bode*, 10 February 1939, 82-83, and "En nu … vooruit!," *Schoolblad*, 15 February 1946, 22-23. One particularly interesting piece is J. J. Dijk, "Moderne didactische hulpmiddelen," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 12 May 1955, 1, in which the author makes the distinction between those aids which, supposedly, entered schools in response to a call for a different, more visual kind of education (19th century tools such

as wall charts and maps) and those that were the result of technological innovations that had nothing to do with education as such (radio, film, television). The author seems to think that the latter type's more limited appeal to teachers is somehow connected to its status as 'alien' (*vreemdeling*) to the business of schools.

10 Another concern that might be worth mentioning in this context is that the pupils, during classroom screenings, be kept from getting too absorbed by, or immersed in, the activity of viewing. In most cases the reason the relevant sources give is that children can only learn from what is shown if they are prevented from getting emotionally overwhelmed by the events a film portrays, and are encouraged instead to consider with sufficient critical distance the arguments that are made ([Schreuder] 1948, 21; Peters 1955, 36, 48). (Mark here the conflict with some of the early claims made in the 'Benchmarks' section of chapter 1, 1.2.2, which stress instead the importance of an uninterrupted illusion of reality.) For more contemporary pronouncements to this effect, compare also Joost Raessens' article on educational video games (2009, 495). Yet in view of the above findings, it can be argued once more that what was at stake, beside the actual learning objectives, was the teachers' own status as the source of the knowledge conveyed.

11 In this respect, I see a difference with, for instance, medical films, which were often also mute – even in the immediate post-war period (Dijck 2000, 79-80). As opposed to classroom films, registrations of operations aimed at specialist audiences probably took this form for the more practical reason that it allowed lecturers to decide what they would focus on – much rather than because they wanted to preserve a functional or intellectual authority over their addressees.

12 See the figures I provided in note 28 of the introduction. The fact that few schools made use of NOF's films on a regular basis can be derived from the ratio between the number of institutions registered to the amount of film requests made per year. See, for instance, "De distributie van N.O.F.-films in 1953," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Autumn], 1954 (no. 2), 2. Compare also Cuban's work, which shows on the basis of similar figures that the use of teaching films in American schools has always been "infrequent" (1986, 17).

13 The primary sources that I rely on in this chapter are primarily interviews with former teachers and pupils, conducted by Ed van Berkel in preparation for an exhibition on teaching films held at Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum (National Education Museum) in Rotterdam between December 2008 and September 2009. In addition I also make use of the information I personally obtained during conversations with some of NOF's ex-employees and a few informal chats with people who watched the films as pupils.

14 "Voor wie werd dit boekje geschreven? Niet voor hen, die menen, dat het nieuwe niet goed is, omdat het nieuw is, en ook niet voor hen, die naar het lichtbeeld vragen, omdat 'men alle films van de N.O.F. al gezien heeft'! (historisch! [*sic*]) Wèl

voor hen, die projectie bij hun onderwijs begeren, maar voor wie de grote verscheidenheid en de vele mogelijkheden verwarrend zijn."

15   Kiers, "School en film," 477 (see chapter 1, note 203); compare Meulen [1951], 26.

16   Screening locations are mentioned in Peter, "Van koren tot brood," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 10 January 1946, 2-3; Gerrit Lansink, e-mail message to the author, 7 August 2005; D. van de Reijden, interview with Ed van Berkel, 27 January 2007. Ole Schepp (interview with the author, 9 May 2005) and Hans Volmer (interview with Ed van Berkel, 27 January 2007) testify that screenings were attended by entire school populations at a time. An ex-employee of NOF relates that the same also happened in the early years of school television. At the time, children from neighbouring schools were sometimes also brought in to watch (Marjolein de Zwaan, conversation with the author, 22 May 2008).

17   Reijden and Volmer, interviews; Cees van Bree, interview with Ed van Berkel, 22 September 2007. Thomas Dres (interview with Ed van Berkel, 22 September 2007) gives voice to such recollections of the late 1960s. In his school in Zeist, Volmer specifies, the children were even given lemonade (*ranja*) and sweets during the rewinding of the reels.

18   Consider, respectively, Henk Hidding's e-mail message to Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum, 15 November 2005, and Volmer, interview (both reporting on screenings for *Sinterklaas*, celebrated in Holland on 5 December); Reijden and Volmer, interviews (birthdays); the article "Iets naders over de groeps-indeling van de scholen," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Spring] 1955 (no. 1), 5 (the weeks before various holidays). Dres (speaking of the 1960s) also mentions a concentration of screenings at the end of the school week.

19   Compare also Hoban 1946, 107-8 (which reports on the situation in the US).

20   Ed van Berkel, e-mail message to the author, 5 April 2007; Trix Ginhoven, interview with van Berkel, 27 January 2007. For the term *seizoensfilms*, see "Van de Centrale Buitendienst," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, 1957 (no. 1), 9. Two examples of such films that still have some notoriety today are Albert Lamorisse's 1956 production *Le Ballon Rouge* (*The Red Balloon*, distributed by NOF from 1960 onwards) and *Piccolo, Saxo en Compagnie* (*Piccolo, Saxo and Company*, an advertising film for the Philips company produced by Joop Geesink/Dollywood in 1960, first distributed by the institute a few years later).

21   For recollections of mission films, see Dres, interview. For references to topical, informational and dramatic children's films, see, for instance, the adverts pages of the teachers' magazines *Christelijk Schoolblad* and *Katholieke Schoolblad*. (For instance, in issues that came out in mid-1948, adverts from Filmbureau Niestadt call attention to a film on Queen Wilhelmina's 50th jubilee, which took place that year.) In the 4 November 1948 issue of *Christelijk Schoolblad*, readers are warned in an ad by a company called 'Nederlandse Schoolbioscoop' that the films in stock are slowly getting booked up.

22 Compare Volmer, interview, or Schepp, interview.

23 "Renteloze leningen voor aanschaf eigen projectoren," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, September 1959, 4.

24 Wiebe Dijkstra and J. Rijnsent, interviews with Ed van Berkel on 29 January 2007 and 22 September 2007, respectively. For recollections of such screenings later on in time, see Ginhoven, interview, and M. van Nijnatten, interview with Ed van Berkel, 22 September 2007 (about the 1960s); Henk van der Sluis, e-mail to Ed van Berkel, 27 January 2007, and Volmer, interview (early 1970s). Compare also Gerrit Lansink and Ole Schepp, interviews with the author, 21 and 22 December 2005. Practical constraints could be that the children's own classrooms were difficult to darken (Meulen [1951], 23), that there was no wall or screen fit for projection, or that visibility was impaired due to the arrangement of desks and chairs (Ginhoven, interview).

25 See, for instance, Peter, "Van koren tot brood," 3; Filmgebruiker [pseud.], "Nederlandse onderwijsfilm," *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, 12 February 1949, 21; S. J. Nijdam's letter to the editor, *Schoolblad*, 10 December 1949, 561-62. Occasional deviations from NOF's rules are mentioned, respectively, in Bree, interview; Jos. Detony, "Geslaagde Nederlandse jeugdfilm," *Katholieke Schoolblad*, 9 April 1950, 635; [H. G.] de B[oer], "Een nieuwe film voor de scholen," *Katholieke Schoolblad*, 8 October 1955, 653. Even van der Meulen, although very loyal to the institute's objectives, was not exactly a bigot when it came to rules and regulations. In his article series on educational reform for *Christelijk Schoolblad*, he actually condemns teachers who follow manuals and methods too rigorously (e.g. M[eulen], "Geen revolutie, wel restauratie," 1-2; [J.J.] v[an] d[er] M[eulen], "Wat dàn?," *Christelijk Schoolblad*, 16 October 1941, 1-2). Also his 1931-1932 series "De Film op School" (again for *Christelijk Schoolblad*) shows evidence of his open-mindedness in such matters. Meanwhile, there were also users who were very strict about NOF's instructions (Rijnsent and Nijnatten, interviews).

26 Ole Schepp, interview with the author, 19 January 2006; Bree, interview. On the whole, regular screenings seem to have taken place most often in the upper years of primary school. One reason for this may have been that NOF distributed relatively few films for the youngest children. Hidding's experience constitutes an exception to this rule (interview).

27 For accounts of screenings organised by teachers who were highly enthusiastic about the medium, see, for instance, Hidding, e-mail, and Hagenauw, interview with Ed van Berkel, 23 May 2007; compare also Bree and Dres, interviews. Schepp's recollections (in the interview of 22 December 2005) constitute a rare exception to this rule. Indirect evidence of amateur film activities among teachers is provided in the pages of small-gauge magazines. The journal *Het veerwerk*, for instance, occasionally published adverts for educational and classroom films, but also articles that indicate that it did indeed count pedagogues among its readers

(e.g. M. Bronkhorst, "Film en jeugd," *Veerwerk* 17, no. 1 (1950): 6-7). Also certain sections of van der Meulen's manual appeal to teachers with a rather detailed knowledge of small-gauge technology ([1951], 43-47).

28 The first term is borrowed by Cuban from Harry Wolcott; the second is my own adaptation of Cuban's 'computer buff', which he uses to refer to those teachers on a school's staff who experiment with PCs at home and are subsequently called upon to continue to do so in class (1986, 76). Similar observations have also been made about early users of school television (see Haak 1994, 284).

29 Alexander makes claims to the contrary, but does not provide much supporting evidence (2010, 38).

30 Reijden, Volmer, Ginhoven, Bree, Rijnsent, interviews; Gérard Bosch, interview with Ed van Berkel, 29 January 2007; Sluis, e-mail.

31 Due to the sparseness of my data, I cannot make any estimates for the situation in Holland, but most of the people of the appropriate age that I questioned informally did not at all remember watching films in school. Compare also Cuban 1986, 16.

32 Reijden, Bree, Rijnsent and Dres (interviews) attest to such viewing circumstances.

33 The following pieces, among others, attest to this: Filmgebruiker, "Nederlandse onderwijsfilm," 21; "Wij hebben alle films al gezien," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [September 1951] (no. 29), 1-2; Meulen, "De Vondelfilm," 2 (see chapter 1, note 123).

34 I should add here that use of the concept does not necessarily imply that in the course of analysis, all three players in the aforementioned constellation are necessarily always given equal weight. In conclusion to the 2006 series of the Utrecht Media Research Seminar, which had the *dispositif* notion as its theme, the remark was made that it should be taken as a theoretical model in which each component can be either foregrounded or de-emphasised (compare also Kessler 2007, 17). In fact this is precisely what I am doing in the following chapters: I focus less on technological hardware and more on the text and viewing position that constitute a given pedagogical *dispositif*.

35 "Dans le champ de la pédagogie, le terme 'dispositif' est souvent utilisé de façon banale pour désigner un ensemble de moyens organisés, définis et stables, qui sont le cadre d'actions réitérables, conduites pour répondre à un problème récurrent. On dira ainsi que parmi les dispositifs de formation, l'alternance est un dispositif qui diffère du 'dispositif classique' organisé autour de cours théoriques."

36 The original of the quoted section reads: "l'idée technicienne qu'il s'agit de machineries institutionnalisées et finalisées, conçues par des décideurs cherchant à être efficaces".

37 In chapter 5 I further elaborate some of the claims made here. At this point, I merely want to add that the fact that teachers did not even have to make explicit

their approval of a film's contents may actually have contributed to their reluctance to deploy it in class. If the mere fact that they used a short indicated that they endorsed what it said, they may have experienced this as a restriction of their intellectual freedom as educators.

38 In those particular cases, the constraints the author thinks of are at least partly textual (the confining institutions being those of film history/film style itself).

39 For clarity's sake, I should add here that although the *dispositif* concept which I use does impose certain limitations in terms of the configurations of technology, text and viewing position that I consider, this does not imply that I exclude any variation in terms of the more specific characteristics of that particular set-up, or any of its constituents. For instance, if I say that I look at texts in their capacity of didactic tools, this still allows for a whole series of alternative deployment modes on the teachers' part (such as, more and less interactive ones). However, I do choose to ignore any conditions that change the features of the text itself; for instance, the turning down of a volume button in the case of a film with sound (a historical practice mentioned by Germain Lacasse at the colloquium "Pratiques Orales du Cinéma," Université de Montréal, Canada, 24 October 2007).

40 Once again, I would like to emphasise that the position I take here is not a purely theoretical one. Although I have not done any systematic research into the matter, first-hand reports seem to confirm that at least some of the pupils who regularly saw films in class did indeed perceive of them as aids to a didactic exchange. A particularly evocative example is that of F. Kole, who recalls that as a child, he would read the focus sign in the logo at the beginning of each NOF print (intended in fact to help teachers remove any blurriness in the image) as a reminder that the children should focalise, or 'sharpen', their minds to the task at hand (interview with Ed van Berkel, 29 January 2007). Compare also the experience of van de Reijden (interview).

41 Returning briefly to what I said earlier about the relation which some authors see between the pedagogical effectiveness of teaching films and their stylistic sobriety or even 'backwardness', I would like to add that the same observation applies here. In my view, the lack of formal up-to-dateness which many of these films display may in fact have evoked associations with other didactic texts. Very few schools, after all, have the luxury to work with state-of-the-art tools or aids. Therefore, such features can be considered to remind the audience of the pedagogical nature of the occasion, and by the same token, of the films' situationally most appropriate reading.

CHAPTER **3**

1 A telling example here is the 1963 short *Choosing a Classroom Film*: a moving image version, produced by the Centron company, of a paper prospectus com-

missioned by the American educational producer McGraw-Hill. It can be viewed online at the Internet Archive web site (http://www.archive.org/details/Choosing1963, accessed 28 July 2011).

2   Alexander's classification system is borrowed in turn from communication scholar Richard Campbell. Later on in his book, he uses different categories for network-television-produced films that were later transferred to the classroom (Alexander 2010, 125-26).

3   Of course, I am judging here on the basis of a corpus that is selected according to different criteria than hers. Therefore, the conclusions we can draw necessarily differ as well. For instance, one reason for the discrepancy between our respective observations is that Jacquinot's are based to a large extent on what happens in a film's soundtrack, or in the interaction between image and sound; most of the films in the collection I deal with, however, are mute. Yet even in those instances where NOF films do use voice-over narration, I still cannot conclude that it directs the readers unilaterally in their interpretation of what is shown. For more on this topic, see chapter 4.

4   See, for instance, the work of I. A. Richards, Chaïm Perelman, Stephen Toulmin or Kenneth Burke, as discussed in Foss, Foss and Trapp 2002, 19-49, 81-115, 117-53 and 187-232, respectively.

5   I should add here that in some sections of the article, the author does associate rhetoric, still, with the persuasion of an audience of certain values or truths.

6   Decades earlier, Burke as well had stressed the role of non-verbal elements and non-symbolic conditions in the rhetorical process (see, for instance, Burke 1962, 684-85, 695-97, or Foss, Foss and Trapp 2002, 194).

7   I prefer the term 'activation' to 'concretisation', more commonly used by structuralist reception theorists (e.g. Jauss 1982, 72-73), because the process I refer to encompasses much more than just the 'readerly' activity of the audience.

8   Bal's example also shows that in this process, the viewer can take on a highly active role: it is in fact he or she who, on the basis of what he/she knows, 'acts out' the performative potential of the work (2002, 207-9; compare also Brooks 1984, 37).

9   While Derrida and Burke, in the texts referenced earlier, argue that non-verbal contributors to the rhetorical process should not in themselves be seen as rhetorical (see Olson 1990, 194), I find this stance quite hard to maintain. As I argue further on, the extratextual elements that constitute a work's frame often also have features that can be considered rhetorical.

10 In this context, it might be worth taking up Bal's reference to Derrida, who speaks of the frame as 'parergon': an element which neither forms part of the work, nor is entirely extrinsic to it. If the parergon would be taken away, a lack would appear in the 'ergon', the work itself (Bal 2002, 140; compare also Derrida 1987, 59-60, 54-55).

11 Both titles are difficult to translate accurately, as each contains a linguistic witticism. The first film is set in Broek in Waterland, a village in the Dutch polders; the film's title, here, is a pun on this toponym. The word *kadotter*, in the second title, is a regional name for a young of the bird species more commonly know as *spreeuw* (starling); at the time of the film's release, however, it must also have been used as an informal term for a small child.

12 The teachers' notes accompanying these two films indicate that they could also be used in preparation for essay-writing activities (see chapter 4 for more on this type of use). When deployed as such, of course, the activation of the films' rhetoric would not have depended on their acceptability as factual statements. On occasion, then, also NOF itself left room for a certain measure of variety in terms of its texts' rhetorical functioning.

Another remark that I should make at this point is that also those aspects of the filmic statement which, in the scenario I sketched above, would not have been accentuated by the films' pedagogical framing (those elements which help constitute the imaginary universe represented) would have served a powerful rhetorical function. For a further elaboration of this point, however, I refer to chapter 4.

13 It is evident here that even if the object of communication is accepted as educationally appropriate and therefore takes on the status of didactic/lesson content, this does not necessarily entail that the children are also prepared to *learn* (i.e. memorise, or practise) what is said. It merely implies that they open themselves up to the possibilities of the communicative exchange.

14 It is important to note here that if a film functions as a tool in a didactic process, this does not mean that its content therefore automatically takes on the status of lesson subject. Teaching matter is what is designated as such in the course of a given educational exchange; whether or not film content takes on this status, therefore, varies from instance to instance. For example, it is imaginable that teaching matter is passed on with the help of a film which, in itself, does not advance a great deal of didactically relevant facts. Compare also my argument in chapter 4, section 4.3.

15 A similar prominence of the rhetorical qualities of the communicative exchange to that which I posit here could also be inferred for certain other environments; for instance, judicial ones. In courtrooms, the credibility of a statement or object as evidence or the legal validity of an ensuing verdict can determine the outcome of the proceedings. By analogy with that of the classroom teacher, the judge's role, and authority, is of crucial importance here. (Thanks to William Uricchio for bringing up this point during a seminar discussion.)

16 It is likely that Odin would argue here that this is the result of the fact that in our society (or social space), a so-called 'fictionalising reading' is the default one (1989, 91-92).

17 Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau, "Images as Tools, Films at Work: Perspectives for a European Research Network on the Industrial Film, Post-1945," paper held during the International Industrial Film Workshop (Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany, 10 December 2004). In Hediger and Vonderau 2009b, the authors use the term 'weak' as well, but here they relate it also to the formal indebtedness of industrial films to other genres.

18 The author also argues that this 'dominance of function over form' explains the films' *Langlebigkeit*: the fact that they could be used for so long, even at a time when they no longer looked 'up-to-date'. In her 2009 publication, Zimmermann specifies her earlier statements. Making a distinction between two different kinds of industrial film, she argues that it is only those that were meant to be shown in a *non*-theatrical context (as part of a larger 'media event' involving also lectures, for instance) that have this characteristic of textual indeterminacy (112-13).

19 Odin himself speaks of an *institution familiale* (1979, 369 and elsewhere).

20 As a side remark, I would like to add here that even within the *dispositif* that Odin proposes, the role of memory may not always be exactly as he postulates. The reason is that the audience of a domestic screening often also includes people who were not (consciously) part of what happened at the time of a film's shooting – even though, at the moment of its screening, they do belong to the family concerned, and therefore take a genuine interest in what is shown. Examples would be the partners of viewers who are shown as children.

21 The construction of a diegesis would have been likely, for instance, in the case of the two films mentioned earlier on in this chapter: *Een natte broek in Waterland* and *Een vrolijke kadotter in huis*.

22 Booth himself has borrowed the term 'second self' from Kathleen Tillotson.

23 In a chapter on the subject, Stephen Mailloux observes that the tendency identified here has become pretty much generalised: in the writings of reader-oriented critics, he argues, the author tends to be represented as "a *manipulator* of readers, with his or her techniques guiding the reader to the intended response" (1989, 35).

24 For convenience's sake, I stick here to the phrase 'implied reader/viewer'. I do so, primarily, because it is the most widely used term, but also because it is the one favoured by Paul Goetsch (2004), whose distinctions between various reader figures I draw on in chapter 5.

25 The phrases 'relational' and 'taxonomic collectives' are borrowed by Miller from Rom Harré. One of the points which her piece eventually leads to is that rhetorical processes, in addition to allowing the individual users of a language to communicate, also function as "centripetal forces" which keep communities from "flying apart" (Miller 1994, 74).

26 In her piece on industrial film, Zimmermann (2006) leaves room for the conclusion that this reasoning could also be reversed: that it is actually *because of* the

rhetorically compelling nature of the films' institutional framing that they can be so textually diverse and/or (seemingly) indeterminate.

27 The notion of 'addressivity' is comparable to what Tan, in the Dutch version of his book on the emotional effects of rhetorical devices in audio-visual media (the original PhD dissertation), calls a text's *appèl*, or '(structure of) appeal' (1991, passim). For completeness' sake, I should add that also Jacquinot, in her study of teaching films, claims to look for the 'code of implication' (*code d'implication*) by which texts reference some sort of a virtual addressee ("un interlocuteur absent mais visé comme present"; Jacquinot 1977, 69). In the course of her analysis, however, she takes this notion rather literally, in that she uses it with respect to those sections in her sample texts where a pupil figure is represented by an interviewer (e.g. 51ff). Although I consider such instances of visible implication as well (see chapter 5), I use the concept here in a much wider sense.

28 Mark here that I conceive of the motivational function of rhetorical elements as much more encompassing than some of the authors whose approach is strongly rooted in communication studies, such as, for instance, Peters (the former NOF director, who later became a professor of audio-visual communication). Many of the textual ingredients which he designates as 'predisposing operators' (*predisponerende operatoren*; see Peters 1973, 47-52) will also be dealt with here under the rubric 'motivational'. Another difference in approach that I should underscore is that between my own analytical endeavour, and the project of Tan (1996), mentioned in earlier notes. Unlike Tan, I explained, I do not conceive of textual motivation as a psychological function, but as a rhetorical one. A first consequence of this decision is that I am not concerned with the question of whether or not the motivational strategies which I identify can be related to the intended viewers' cognitive or affective needs. Another implication, at least equally relevant in the context of this chapter, is that I do not deal with what actually kept those viewers tuned, but with what the texts themselves suggest about how this goal can be attained – regardless of whether or not said views correspond to a historical reality. However, none of this precludes that some of the strategies which Tan discusses will also be mentioned here.

CHAPTER **4**

1 By using the term 'motivational' in this very restricted sense, I do not wish to ignore the more fundamental, inherent appeal of the film medium itself, which primary sources tend to consider one of the main arguments in favour of its deployment in schools (see, for instance, Meulen [1951], 31). My premise here is merely that teaching films, in addition to this, *also* contain features that can be interpreted as part of strategies that aim at keeping their audiences tuned.

2   For convenience's sake, I drop the predicate 'implied' in the remainder of this
    chapter – except of course in those cases when it is precisely the property of
    implied-ness that I wish to draw attention to. Meanwhile, it should always be
    understood as present.

3   An example that proves my point would be *Walvisvaart* (*Whale Fishing*), a short
    released by NOF around 1956, but composed of fragments that are considerably
    older. The animated sections in this film seem to stylistically predate the time of
    its release.

4   In some cases, it is possible to further break down the implied audience which I
    identify – for instance, in terms of older and younger children, or boys and girls.
    Examples of this are mentioned further on in this chapter.

5   The fact that I take this distinction between the appeal of matter and the appeal
    of viewing as my starting point for analysis necessarily entails that my approach
    to the rhetorical functioning of classroom films is fundamentally different from
    that of many of the authors who I quoted in chapter 1, in my section on so-called
    'vernacular' science films. In the conception of many of these scholars, devices
    such as visual spectacle, drama and anthropomorphism (all of which I deal with
    further on, albeit sometimes under different names) are manifestations of the
    same motivational principle. In their view, what these films do is to arouse curios-
    ity about the subjects they deal with by making them interesting for the particular
    audience they target (instead of scientifically accurate, as in the case of films that
    address specialists; see, for instance, Gaycken 2002, Lefebvre 1993b, or Munz
    2005; compare also León 2004 and 2007). In my experience, educational films
    may indeed motivate their viewers by presenting matter as inherently interesting;
    however, they do not *always* follow this rhetorical logic.
    In addition to this, I need to emphasise once more the difference between my
    own approach and that of Tan. In his book on the emotional effects of rhetorical
    devices in audio-visual media (1996), the author also makes a distinction between
    two textual 'levels' on which the motivational potential of (feature) films may be
    situated. The classification he proposes, however, is based on what he identifies
    as the two possible sources of 'primary satisfaction' (the fulfilment of needs that
    can only be achieved in the process of watching audio-visual fictions). One of
    these sources is the fictional world depicted by a film, which invites the viewer to
    a certain degree of involvement with what happens there (for instance, curiosity
    or empathy). Another source of satisfaction, he proposes, is a film's 'technical-
    stylistic qualities': a category that covers aspects of plot structure (which involve
    the viewer in a game of completing his overview of or insight in the action that
    unfolds) and formal elements that can cause some sort of an aesthetic experi-
    ence (32-36). As I conduct a rhetorical analysis (rather than a psychological one)
    I am not concerned here with the strategies that can be related to Tan's first set
    of motives. A few of the procedures which Tan brings together under the label

'technical-stylistic qualities', in contrast, are also dealt with here. However, those strategies are considered in terms of what they may contribute to the appeal of the viewing process rather than that of the appreciation of the 'artefact' as such, as in Tan's case.

6   The six strategies discussed here should be seen as possible alternatives, not as stages in some sort of hierarchy. By considering them in a specific order, in other words, I do not wish to make any statements on their relative frequency or the extent of their rhetorical potential.

7   Here, my sources on the films' classification in terms of lesson subject are the accompanying instruction sheets; elsewhere, however, I am mostly using a catalogue from the early 1950s (Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film 1953). Dates and translations of films and titles that have been mentioned in previous chapters are not repeated here. For a complete overview, I refer to the filmography at the end of this work.

8   The full title of the first film is *Goed bewaren – geld besparen: Een film over het bewaren van levensmiddelen* (*Preserve It Well – Save Money: A Film about the Preservation of Foods*). *De kust van Nederland* is the title of a series; the subtitle of the first instalment is *De duinen* (*The Dunes*).

9   For professional scientists the attraction of such images might, for instance, derive from the fact that they induce an experience of satisfaction of their scientific curiosity. The encouragement to stay tuned, then, is a consequence of the fact that doing so allows them to find out more about the phenomenon concerned.

10   I use the term 'virtual' here as referring to the visual/aural experience of what Lister et al. (2003) call the "metaphorical 'places' and 'spaces' created by communications networks" (25) "in a situation where the senses […] are felt to be in one place (the virtual environment or world) while the corporeal body of the user is in another, the physical and material world" (36).

11   In the film *De bergstroom* (1952, *The Mountain Stream*) excerpts from the same film are cut together in a new, faster montage, and many of the visually less spectacular phases of the procedures dealt with are left out. In this process, the rhetorical potential of unfamiliarity which it draws on is foregrounded even more. For more on the possibilities for virtual transportation provided by audio-visual media, both in the present and in the past, see, for instance, Huhtamo 1995.

12   Examples of the first technique are *Suikerfabriek* ([ca. 1944], *Sugar Factory*) and *Auto's aan de lopende band* ([ca. 1952], *Cars from the Assembly Line*). Extreme long shots are used in this way in the film *Haven en handel: Een film over de functie van de Amsterdamse haven in het internationaal goederenverkeer* ([ca. 1955], *Harbour and Trade: A Film about the Role of Amsterdam Harbour in International Freight Traffic*; abbreviated hereafter as *Haven en handel*).

13   Consider, for instance, *Suikerfabriek*; *Hoogovens* ([ca. 1951], *Blast Furnaces*); *Wasserij* ([ca. 1951], *Laundry*).

14 Combinations of those two principles are quite common in more recent films or television programmes that show what goes on inside the human body. Such texts tend to both transport their viewers to otherwise inaccessible locations and optically transform what they give them access to; for instance, through enlargements. For more on this subject, see, for instance, Hight 2008, 19-22.

15 As its instruction sheet points out, *Johannes Keppler* was intended for both geography and history teaching.

16 An NOF newsletter article dealing with the short *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* * emphasises precisely this point: it says that a historical film can only ever show an approximation of what actually took place. See J. Kramer, "Doel en opzet van de film *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek*," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, April 1959, 11.

17 For a statement to the effect that what a film shows can be even better, for teaching purposes, than actual reality, see, for instance, "Met gespannen aandacht," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, December 1949, 3.

18 Scholars of early film have pointed out that such staging often also takes place in titles that deal with plant or animal life (Munz 2005, 58-65; Lefebvre 1993a, e.g. 88). Examples from the NOF corpus follow further on in this work.

19 As a matter of fact, the two foundational texts on the concept of attraction (Gunning [1986] 2006 and Gaudreault and Gunning [1989] 2006) quote different end dates for this type of cinematic practice. In his piece, Gunning draws the line around 1906/7 (382); in his joint text with Gaudreault, he writes that the 'system of monstrative attractions' lasted until 1908 (373-74).

20 Of course, this configuration is only non-standard – or as Gunning puts it: "different" – if narrative form is taken to be the norm.

21 I should add here that in a much broader sense, attractionality is the textual feature that I focus on throughout this chapter. Motivation, I said, is a matter of luring, or attracting, the viewer with the help of textual ingredients that are likely to appeal. For clarity's sake, however, I continue to use the term here in the more narrow sense, in relation to textual examples of what I refer to as 'spectacularity'.

22 Other authors have made similar points. Scott Bukatman, for instance, argues that the spectacle which attractions rely on often not only foregrounds the unusual side of a phenomenon but also makes it disturbing (2006, 81).

23 For a thorough exploration of the original notion of *ostranenie* (later also adopted by neo-formalist authors such as Kristin Thompson), see Kessler 1996. Films like *Het bos in de bergen*, as a matter of fact, not only speculate on the audience's prior theoretical knowledge of the process shown but also on the fact that it has seen visual representations of it before (i.e. that it has previously seen films *like In de bruine boon* *).

24 Another important factor of course is the film's rhetorical framing, as discussed in chapter 3. In a classroom of easily distracted children, optically manipulated

sequences are more likely to function as visual attractions than in certain other contexts. However, whether or not they also generate an effect of defamiliarisation depends to a considerable extent on how a teacher deploys a film and which information or features of the text (magical or otherwise) he/she emphasises or ignores.

25 Again, it is primarily early film scholars who have dealt with the cosmic, quasi-religious dimensions of natural processes which optical image manipulation techniques underscore. Consider, for instance, the presentations by Scott Curtis ("On Magnification") and Paula Amad ("'Time is Invention': Jean Comandon's Time-lapse Cinematography, Bergsonian History, and Early French Film Theory") at the fifth Orphan Film Symposium (University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, 23 March 2006). Both of these papers dealt with the magnifying qualities (in the figurative sense) of microphotography. See http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/Orphans_Sound/orphans.htm for links to audio recordings.

26 Compare chapter 1, where I explain this difference with reference to the financial conditions for production at the institute.

27 Examples of sketches with moving parts are *Turf: Laagveen* (1944, *Peat: The Low Fens*), *Polderland* (1947, *Polder Land*) and *Walvisvaart*; recurring ones are featured in *Suikerfabriek* and *Houtskoolbranden* (1942, *Charcoal Burning*).

28 My term 'observational', here, is borrowed from Nichols 1991, 38-56, and 2001, 109-15 (where it is used to refer to a specific mode of documentary film-making).

29 In this respect, my views differ fundamentally from those of León (2007), who, in his section on simplification, does not make the distinction between comprehensibility and the appearance thereof (73-79).

30 This is the case, among others, in the films *Kaas* *, *Glas*, *Het boekbinden* ([ca. 1947], *Bookbinding*; this film is the second in a series of two, called *Het Boek*, the book), *Strokarton* ([ca. 1946], *Strawboard*), or the aforementioned *Auto's aan de lopende band*.

31 Examples are *Aardewerk* ([ca. 1949], *Pottery*), *Van koren tot brood*, *Kaas* *, *Spinnen en weven* (1947, *Spinning and Weaving*), *Groenten voor de grote stad* ([ca. 1947], *Vegetables for the Big City*), *Oesterteelt* ([ca. 1952], *Oyster Culture*). For a more elaborate discussion of this feature in the film *Kaas* *, see also Kessler and Masson 2009, 81.

32 Extreme examples are the NOF productions *Turf: Laagveen, Strokarton* and *Wij bouwen woningen* (1949, *We Build Houses*). In *Een Japans gezin* (1959, *A Japanese Family*), a film made by a Belgian producer, the markings on a work print in the NOF collection lead me to the conclusion that alterations to this effect were made. (Most of these changes, however, seem to have been made at the printing stage; therefore, the various prints of this film may not be identical.)

33 Clocks and watches are featured in *Twentse textielindustrie* * (1949, *The Textile Industry in Twente*), *Een wens verhoord binnen 24 uur: De post* (1953, *A Wish Granted*

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within 24 Hours: The Mail), *Verkiezingen voor de Tweede Kamer*, *Het dorp* (1956, *The Village*) and *Een natte broek in Waterland*. *Giethoorn* * uses church bells; *Papierbereiding: Oudhollands papier* (1942, *Paper Manufacture: Old Dutch Paper*) and *Twentse textielindustrie* * contain visual representations of factory bells or whistles.

34 See *Kaas* *, *Twentse textielindustrie* *, *Het boekbinden* and *Hout* (1957/1962, *Wood*; two dates are given here because five years after the film's first release, a new, shortened version was brought out, which also contained an extra sequence). In *Twentse textielindustrie* *, close iris shots of the basic operations that are carried out during spinning and weaving clearly do not represent the automated processes that are shown in the rest of the film but rather their traditional, manual alternatives. The reason, presumably, is that the latter are more easily accessible to a film camera. At the same time the choice of image content here can also be considered to serve the purpose of simplification: the manual versions of these processes, although essentially the same, unroll at a much lower speed and are therefore easier to follow.

35 The full title of the first film is *Zuiderzeepolders VI: Na 10 jaren arbeid* * (*Zuyder Zee Polders VI: After 10 Years of Labour*).

36 Of course, the above applies not only in the case of intertextual mirroring but also when patterns are repeated within the confines of a single film.

37 In the period I deal with the use of profilmic sound was extremely rare. One of the NOF films that can be viewed online features the characters' own speech; this film, of course, is post-synchronised.

38 Elsewhere, I have suggested that the explication of textual meaning therefore not only makes the matter a film deals with more attractive to pay attention to, but also entails that the viewing process itself becomes more pleasant, and therefore, more alluring (Masson 2011, 80-81).

39 Consider, for instance, *Zoetwatervisserij* (1942, *Freshwater Fishing*), *Kersen* (1943, *Cherries*), *Glas*, *De kapmeeuw*, or *Aardewerk*. In these films, intertitles seem to compensate for a certain textual deficiency: a lack of clarity, or self-explanatory power, of the images shown. A notable exception to the early tendency of using intertitles sparingly is the job application series *Solliciteren* ([1942], *Applying for a Job*), which will be dealt with later on.

40 Contents are identified in *Kaas* *, *Glas* and *Aardewerk* (raw materials), *Kersen* (a finished product) and *Wasserij* (various types of laundry). *De Bilt verwacht...* (1959, *De Bilt Forecasts...*) features inscriptions clarifying the functions of various measuring instruments. Professional responsibilities are explicated through signs on facades, doors and windows in *Na 10 jaren arbeid* *, *Polderland*, *Haven en handel*, *Verkiezingen voor de Tweede Kamer* and *De bruine rat II: Op het platteland* (1955, *The Brown Rat II: In the Countryside*). In this last film the inscription takes the form of a sticker on the back window of a doctor's car; a close shot here serves the pur-

pose of identifying the profession of the man who drives the vehicle (and in the same movement, the character's narrative function).

41 Locations are made explicit in this way in *Oesterteelt* and *De stad, hart van de ommelanden* (1959, *The City, the Heart of Its Environs*); directions in *Een klipvis-drogerij op IJsland* ([ca. 1946], *A Cod-drying Workshop in Iceland*), *Twentse textiel-industrie **, *Een wens verhoord binnen 24 uur*, *Vrachtvervoer over de weg* ([ca. 1953], *Freight Traffic by Road*). For a specification of temporal relations, consider, for instance, the clues on forms, posters, and newspapers in *Verkiezingen voor de Tweede Kamer*.

42 See, for instance, *Polderland* or *Een tijdperk ging voorbij*.

43 A rather curious example of such an implausible caption can be found in the film *Een Japans gezin*, where a profilmic text in Japanese (a placard with a New Year's wish) has been replaced with its Dutch translation.

44 In the films *Turf: Laagveen*, *Polderland*, *Walvisvaart*, *Hoogovens* and *Hout* they are part of an animated overlay.

45 The same principle is also applied in *Turf: Laagveen*, *Polderland* and *Hoogovens*, and in the profile drawing of a purification plant in *Alle water is geen drinkwater **. Iconic symbols or numerals sometimes fulfil a similar function. In *Walvisvaart*, for instance, a drawing of a clog stands for 'Holland', a camel means 'north Afri-ca', etc. In *Het ontstaan van ijsbergen aan de kust van Groenland* numbers are used to indicate the heights of ice caps and floes.

46 Of course, also maps, charts and models can be part of a film's *mise en scène*. In *Na 10 jaren arbeid ** and *De Bilt verwacht…*, for instance, they are handled by the people whose activities are portrayed. For more on the rhetorical functioning of such profilmic elements, see chapter 5.

47 The most obvious examples of this are films intended for foreign language teach-ing. Like textual explication, also the introduction of terminology can be seen as a way to keep viewers focused. By providing them with the necessary tools to talk about the matter discussed, films that use this strategy make their spectators a (conditional) promise of increased communicational involvement and thus encourage them to stay tuned. In most of the shorts under scrutiny, however, the textual function of naming derives its rhetorical potential at least in part from the fact that it constitutes a reference to the pedagogical *dispositif*. Therefore, I discuss it at greater length in chapter 5.

48 "Quoi qu'il en soit, les différents éléments sonores sont utilisés dans les films pédagogiques, le plus souvent, pour assurer le caractère univoque du message. Tout est fait pour contrôler ce qui risque le plus d'échapper à l'émetteur: les brui-tages renforcent la fonction analogique de l'image, les paroles ancrent le sens de l'image, l'image ancre le sens de la musique."

49 Examples are *Hoogovens*, *Haven en handel* and *Auto's aan de lopende band*. While the instruction booklets accompanying these films do not restrict their target

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audience to pupils in vocational education, entries for the relevant titles in NOF's catalogue do point out that they can, among others, be used in technical schools for boys ("nijverheidsonderwijs – jongens") and/or commercial/trade education (see Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film 1953). The film *Ruwe planken* ([ca. 1947], *Timber*) claims in an intertitle that it specifically targets pupils in vocational education; the accompanying instruction booklet, however, suggests that it can also be used in the upper years of primary school, in the context of classes on economic geography.

50   In his 1948 classification, McClusky designates such items as 'emulative' (32). While it is imaginable in theory that a similar strategy would be applied in shorts that are intended primarily for the transmission of facts or concepts (Jacquinot, for instance, mentions an on-screen interrogation on the notions her sample film is meant to pass on; see Jacquinot 1977, 73), I have not found any such examples in the corpus dealt with here.

51   The full title of the second film is: *S.L.O.: Een film over een schooldag voor de lichamelijke opvoeding en wat daaraan vooraf gaat* (*S.P.E.: A Film about a School Day for Physical Education and What Precedes It*).

52   I should point out here that none of the films mentioned seem to be intended exclusively as skill films. The physical education films, for instance, do more than just demonstrating the proper execution of a series of bodily movements. The first also stresses the importance of personal hygiene and appropriate poolside behaviour; the second addresses the usefulness of physical exercise and outlines the general course of events of a sports day in school. The instruction booklet accompanying *Aardig knutselwerk* even suggests that it is meant *primarily* to encourage children to creatively reuse discarded materials. In addition, the short can also function as a source of inspiration for writing and drawing tasks.

53   The latter, of course, is also a consequence of the fact that we never see what can go wrong in the process of construction. Because failure is not shown, the impression is created that the performance of the tasks shown is a metaphorical 'flat race'.

54   The motivational potential of this aspect of construction, designated in what follows as the foregrounding of 'textual purposiveness', is dealt with further on.

55   See, for instance, a letter by J. J. Derks, most likely to the board of governors of NOF, dated 4 December 1945, NA, NOF, 2.19.042.55, inv. no. 6, p. 1.

56   In the remainder of this section I continue to use the (American) phrase 'social guidance' instead of *civics* because it allows me to also address the more educative aspects of films that officially (according to the film catalogues) functioned as aids to the teaching of other lesson subjects.

57   In exceptional cases, social guidance films also target more restricted audiences, diversified according to either gender (for instance, the two versions of the film *Solliciteren*, one for boys and one for girls) or age (*Een tik van de mode?*, 1962,

Touched by Fashion?, which explicitly addresses a fad-sensitive audience of teen-agers).

58   A particularly striking example of this tactic can be found in the short *Solliciteren* (both versions). In the first half of this film, the job applicant featured behaves inappropriately, and subsequently does not get hired. In the second, shorter half, meant to be screened after a brief class discussion, the same youngster is shown in a more successful variant of the same procedure. Producers in other countries, especially in the US, made use of negative examples more intensively, albeit primarily in driver safety films (see Smith 1999, 27, 73-82).

59   Another text which makes mention of narrative desire (and the need for stories to awaken it) is Prince 1982 (e.g. 160). In this work, however, narrative passion is related to the relevance of the assertions made in terms of the readers' own lives, backgrounds and interests. For my part, I choose to relate this aspect of textual motivation more closely to another series of strategies: those that revolve around the films' potential for 'experiential correspondence' (dealt with further down in this section).

60   In his book Gaudreault distinguishes this 'basic' type of narrativity (which he also designates as 'intrinsic' and which he considers to be the result of an act of *monstration* or 'showing') from a kind which is medium-independent, and which is due to the combination, or structuration, of discrete segments into larger ones (a type which he also calls 'extrinsic' and which results from an act of *narration* or 'telling') (1988, 95-115). For my present purpose, however, this distinction is not so useful.
     As a matter of fact, the presence of a temporal logic is about the only defining feature of narrative that theorists seem to agree on. Many, however, make additional requirements, such as that of characterial agency or motivated action (for the field of media studies, see, for instance, Bordwell 1985, 54; Chatman 1990, 9; Winston 1995, 105; compare also Smith 1995, 18; Ryan 2005; Gunning 2005, 124). Pelc 1971 and Gaudreault 1988, 37-51 explicitly deal with this lack of consensus on the topic.

61   This observation leads him to the conclusion that it is possible to discern, in literary texts, various 'degrees' of narrativity. The latter formulation seems to imply that it would be possible to somehow quantify this textual characteristic, and even to attribute some sort of a hierarchy to individual items within a certain corpus. However, even regardless of the fact that I am not sure that this is at all possible (Prince, after all, does not explain how exactly narrativity should then be measured), I also do not think that it is very useful, especially within the context of my own project (which is based, after all, on the idea of textual *potentials*).

62   Also Tan stresses the importance of creating expectations to the process of audience motivation (1996, e.g. 86). Here, however, it very specifically concerns the anticipation of emotions (on the audience's own part) rather than the further development of the text itself.

63 It might be worth pointing out here that Jonathan Culler therefore argues that at certain (problematic) moments, story elements seem to be produced by the requirements of the discourse (its needs in terms of meaning) rather than the other way round (Culler quoted in Brooks 1984, 28). Barthes, in this context, talks about the "implacable constraint of the discourse" ([1973] 1992, 135).

64 Barthes and Brooks might counter this last formulation because in their view, characters are a function of the narrative events rather than the other way round (see Brooks 1984, 11, and Barthes [1973] 1992, 18, 62-63). However, the latter theorists' views do not conflict with the idea that I am most interested in here: that the individualisation of actions foregrounds the narrative character of texts.

65 The situation is very different, for instance, in the film *De grote karekiet: Nestbouw en broedverzorging* * (1948, *The Reed Warbler: Nest-building and Feeding*), dealt with further on. In this short, it is the fictional insert in the middle where the text's purposiveness takes centre stage. Later on, this rhetorical potential is somewhat lost, as the film returns to its original, purely temporally ordered chain of events.

66 *Départ de grandes vacances* is the second episode in the *La famille Martin* series (mentioned in chapter 1).

67 Quite possibly, the powerful role of characterisation in the foregrounding of textual purposiveness also explains why narrativity is so often associated primarily with fiction films (for instance, in Bordwell and Thompson 1997, 89-90). Fictional texts, after all, usually feature highly individualised events.

68 Brooks' use of the term 'death', of course, must be related to the psychoanalytical framework in which he embeds his observations.

69 Compare also León 2007, 99-100, which discusses the role of suspense as a rhetorical device in wildlife television documentaries.

70 The full titles of these films are, respectively, *Solliciteren I: Jongens* and *Solliciteren II: Meisjes*.

71 "Waarom werd Jan Geesen/Marie van Beuningen afgewezen?"

72 A more in-depth discussion of direct address of the audience follows in chapter 5.

73 This is also the reason why I consider them again later on. See the introduction to chapter 5 for more on the positioning of the audience as an ensemble of 'pupil-viewers'.

74 Tan as well briefly talks about the challenges which audio-visual narratives may pose to their viewers (1996, 93). However, he relates the notion to a much wider range of hermeneutic patterns (in the Barthesian sense) than I do here.

75 León here in turn draws on terminology introduced by the author Juan R. Muñoz Torres.

76 Like I did in my first chapter, I use the term 'pseudo-ethnographic' here to indicate that the shorts under scrutiny do not make any claims as to their actual scholarly value. In spite of this, they clearly subscribe to a long tradition of travelogue/scenic/ethnographic film-making, in which the boundaries between

scientific and recreational, also on a textual level, are very hazy (compare Griffiths 2005).

77   Again, the practice of recycling cultural clichés is not unique to classroom film-making. Early travelogues, for instance, tended to rely on familiar visual tropes as well (see Griffiths 2005, 222).

78   Authors who have dealt with the subject seem to agree that in order for a human figure, in any sort of text, to qualify as a character, it needs to fulfil a more or less central role in something that qualifies as a 'story'. See for example Chatman 1978, 140-41 (where the author speaks of 'degrees of characterhood', depending on the centrality of a human figure to the plot) or Smith 1995 (e.g. 17-39, where he associates character with fictional, and therefore narrative, agency).

79   In a review of this film, NOF's newsletter insists that its main benefit is that the story it presents allows for some sort of a mental 'transfer' ("zichzelf als het ware verplaatst voelen") into the situation shown. See "30,000 ongelukken per jaar," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [Spring] 1955 (no. 1), 8. Presumably, what is hinted at here is the possibility of what certain strands of film theory and criticism tend to refer to as audience 'identification'. Here, I choose not to use this concept. One rea-son for this is that it is a highly problematic notion. As several authors have pointed out, there is no single definition which all of the term's users share; in addition to this, its most common deployment in film/media studies is based on a series of misconceptions about – or at the very least, simplifying interpretations of – the original, psychoanalytic concept on which it draws. See, for instance, Bergala 1992, 82-83, 86-87 and passim; compare also Smith 1995, 1-13. The second, more impor-tant reason is that even those who are relatively faithful to the notion's psycho-analytic roots argue that processes of audience identification (or as Smith puts it: 'emotional viewer engagement') have more to do with the ways in which spectators are directed through purely film technical means (camera positioning, editing, etc.) than with a certain mental closeness to a given character or characters (the focus of my attention here). Again, both Bergala and Smith exemplify this view; in addition, also Tan's psychological study of textual motivation points out some difficulties associated with the use of the concept in this context (1996, 189-90).

80   For my definition of character, see note 78. NOF also distributed films that did feature animal characters (for instance, the 1952 short *Langoor gaat op stap*, *Long-Ears Goes for a Walk*).

81   In this respect the title discussed differs considerably from the television docu-mentaries dealt with by León, and many of the wildlife films released in earlier years. In those films, a species' struggle for survival is often the main theme; therefore, it is conflict that drives the plot (compare, for instance, León 2007, 97-100; Gaycken 2002; Peterson 2005).

82   "Onze nieuwe films," and Theo de Vries, "Het kasteel," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, April 1959, 5 and 8, respectively.

83 Special issue, *Mededelingen van de NOF*, [1944], 8. Also NOF's catalogue suggests that the stork was a particularly popular subject, as another short about this species was released later on: *Ooievaars* (1963, Storks). Quite possibly, the fact that the films which the institute brought out more often deal with animal life (in the 1953 catalogue, twenty-nine titles) than with the development and pollination of plants (in that same period, a mere five) can also be seen as a concession to the audience's topical preferences (see Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film 1953). If this is indeed the case, then the strategy dealt with here not only entailed restrictions in terms of the sort of arguments that were made but may also have affected the educational use of the medium itself. Apparently a Dutch teacher was more likely to find his or her pick in NOF's catalogue if he or she wished to deploy film as an aid in a zoology lesson than if he/she wanted to screen something in a class on a botany subject.

84 All of the films mentioned were acquired through the German educational distributor FWU, but had been produced in the 1940s by the brothers Ferdinand and Hermann Diehl, who owned what was then the country's leading puppet film studio. For more information on their activities, see Dietrich, Gehr and Kopf 1994.

85 For references to the intended audience, see the accompanying instruction booklets.

86 Although it is quite likely that narrative puppet films were often deployed in other ways than the instruction booklets prescribe, the above type of use is the only kind I can think of that would have made these texts into actual teaching tools. Therefore, I take it as my starting point for analysis. For more on the rhetorical functioning of fictional language films, see section 4.2.

87 Tan mentions the appeal of 'technical-stylistic qualities' (1996, 33-35) as well. In his interpretation, however, this term very specifically stands for the sort of narrative patterns that I have chosen to attribute the motivational potential of 'textual purposiveness'.

88 In *Elf-stedentocht*, skaters are filmed in tracking fashion (i.e. from a vehicle moving alongside on the ice); *Walvisvaart* contains a remarkable number of high-angle shots.

89 For more on the Filmliga, see, for instance, Hogenkamp 1988, 45-66, and Linssen, Schoots and Gunning 1999. For the Hollandse Documentaire School, see Hogenkamp 2003, 97-115 and passim.

90 In the article quoted from above, Thompson points out that a strict distinction should be made between the concepts of film style and cinematic excess ([1977] 1999, 489). However, the examples I just gave demonstrate that the two can sometimes also be connected. What is particular about the shorts I mentioned is that the use of a given stylistic form does not constitute an attempt to textually blend in, to conform to a specific artistic tradition, but should be seen instead as an act of setting off, of making a short formally 'stand out' (*as a teaching film*). Whether

or not particular textual features can be considered excessive, then, is also a matter of their functioning within a given *dispositif*.

91 Of course I do not wish to deny here that the strategies of spectacularisation and enabling sensorial indulgence may sometimes co-occur. In *Het bos in de Bergen*, for instance, the budding plants sequence is also aesthetically pleasing. One might however argue that its primary rhetorical function is to draw the audience's attention to the fundamental unknown-ness of the process which it depicts. In *Van tuin naar tafel*, in contrast, this is not the case.

92 Of course, the same logic also applies to the use of the medium as such. Because of the fact that films do not seem to belong in an educational setting, they are bound to have extra appeal. A result of this is that the technical standards of a classroom public are sometimes lower than those of an entertainment audience. Evidence of this is provided by Gerard Bosch (interview) who recalls that his pupils used to be fascinated by whichever film they were shown, regardless of its subject or quality – simply because viewing it in class was such an exceptional event. Compare also Gauthier 2004, 95.

93 Examples are *Kaas* *, *Strokarton* and *Auto's aan de lopende band*.

94 The Dutch terms used in the film are *spinklieren*, *raam* and *vangspiraal*.

95 "Kruisspin heet ze, naar de eigenaardige witte tekening op de rug."

96 Here the original phrasings are: "spitse kaakpoten" and "dodend gif".

97 Hoban here more specifically speaks of military training films, but he considers this genre as a model for shorts for classroom use (compare, for instance, Hoban 1946, 100-1). (Mark that Hoban's pronouncements are highly reminiscent of León's, quoted in my section on experiential correspondence.) NOF's writings as well seem to treat the co-occurrence of strategies as a quality requirement; as a matter of fact, they do so in even more general terms. A 1959 NOF newsletter, for instance, praises the film *Radio ontdekt de ruimte* (1959, *Mirror in the Sky*) for its mixture of science, romance and 'human traits' ("een mengsel van wetenschap, romantiek en menselijke trekjes"; C. van Rijsinge, "Radio ontdekt de ruimte," *Mededelingen van de NOF*, November 1959, 11). Although I am not concerned here with the question of which patterns are the best or most effective from a didactic point of view, it is worth noting that contemporary sources consider the coincidence of strategies rhetorically significant.

98 The science/humanities dichotomy which I proposed in an earlier piece on a British collection of teaching films (Masson 2002, 56-58) now seems to me to constitute an unwarranted generalisation (at least, with respect to the corpus considered here). For instance, although my observation on the recurrence of dramatic features in humanities titles still holds, it would be inappropriate to argue that they are absent from biology, zoology or physics shorts. After all, many science teaching films (including those featuring on the web sites mentioned in the introduction) contain at least some such elements. (Compare also the article

"Dierenfilms", *Mededelingen van de NOF*, April 1946, 1, in which the author suggests that animal films often combine the strategies which I designate here as 'providing access' and 'enabling recognition'.)

99 In my view, it is precisely this narrative umbrella which allows this short to fulfil the rhetorical function that is so specific to social guidance films: that of foregrounding the imitability of a behaviour or attitude. Through its relation with what precedes and follows, the central part of the text – which does not in itself provide much opportunity for empathy with the individuals shown – still incites viewers to vicariously take pride in the community portrayed, and consequently, encourages them to take on an equally responsible social role.

100 "[D]e film [doet] precies wat men van een schoolfilm mag verwachten: hij geeft een mengsel van wetenschap, romantiek en menselijke trekjes. [...] Op een eenvoudige wijze, *zo als het ware terloops*, wordt onze aandacht gevestigd op het proefondervindelijk onderzoek van de natuurwetenschap: hoe hier de hypothese vooraf gaat aan het bewijs" (C. van Rijsinge, "Radio ontdekt de ruimte," 11; the italics are my own).

101 Pronouncements to this effect, as a matter of fact, were rather common at the time. Primary sources attest that even the role of the film medium itself was often seen in this way: that it was conceived of as some sort of a bait, a means of making the pupils pay attention regardless of what content had to be passed on. For an example, see van der Meulen [1951], 31. Compare also Raessens 2009, which mentions the use of a "games-as-pain-relievers argument" in literature on the subject (495-96).

102 Of course, which aspects of a film's content should be considered didactically relevant depends on the way in which it is framed in day-to-day educational practice. As I have collected few empirical data on this subject, I take my departure here from the specifications given in teachers' notes and manuals. These stipulations, I argued earlier, tended to be followed only by the most dedicated users of NOF's services (the so-called 'classroom film buffs'). In the context of what I am doing here, I believe, my choice to take them as a starting point is entirely acceptable, as it is actually the deployment habits of those teachers that can be associated the most closely with the pedagical *dispositif* that I have chosen to concentrate on.

103 As a matter of fact, essay composition films are also the only category of shorts which require a user (or in retrospect, an archivist or researcher) to consult the accompanying instruction booklets to get an idea of their didactic objectives. While many items, and mute ones in particular, are not entirely clear about what children were supposed to learn from their screening, they usually do give their viewers some clues as to the broader curriculum area which they were relevant to.

104 The contents of the film's instruction sheet seem to confirm this. Although the leaflet mentions that the film can *also* be used to make a biological point (for this

reason it contains some references to denudation and long-term geological processes), most of the text points towards the above conclusion.

105 I would like to add here that because of the fact that the educational process is so central to the representation, the above films are not very likely to have been deployed for other purposes than the ones they were intended for. In the case of these shorts, indeed, any alternative uses might have caused some sort of a clash between a text and its pedagogical framework. Essay composition films, to be situated on the extreme other end of the scale, in contrast, may have served any purpose imaginable, whether didactic or purely recreational.

106 As I mentioned earlier, Jacquinot discusses a film in which this is the case (1977, 73). An example of a scene that goes somewhat in this direction is the one in *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* * where a girl is seen taking notes. Here, the close shot of her hand writing down the year of one of van Leeuwenhoek's scientific endeavours can be read as a visual reminder to the viewer (a form of verbal explication, underscoring the speaker's words) but also as a way of setting an example, and even of prompting him or her to do the same.

107 The teachers' notes to those films suggest that they rarely contain *all* the relevant knowledge on a subject, as they nearly always give instructions as to which information users should *add*.

108 For some concrete analyses of films in these terms, see Masson 2011.

109 Consequently, readers of this work may be able to think of other strategies than the ones I proposed. For instance, one tactic that I considered but did not develop here is one that could be called 'concretisation'. In some of NOF's films (very often shorts that seek to explain rather abstract phenomena, such as physical or chemical ones) the processes dealt with are explicitly related to some of their more concrete, day-to-day applications or manifestations; for instance, by means of framing narratives. An example here would be the first instalment of the film *Goed bewaren – geld besparen*, which discusses the phenomenon of fungal growth but embeds its argument in a story about the potential effects of bad kitchen hygiene. While often combined with textual procedures that aim at enabling (characterial/situational) recognition, the main objective of this strategy is to make the process shown more tangible (which means that it is an example of making *matter* more appealing).

CHAPTER 5

1 One could argue, then, that the notion of address, as I use it in this chapter, closely resembles Louis Althusser's concept of 'interpellation', which emphasises that in being spoken to (or 'hailed') a 'subject' (in my case, the reader/viewer) is also being constituted, or produced, ideologically (here: rhetorically) (Althusser

1971, 127-86, and 170-86, in particular). However, I share Stuart Hall's criticism of such Marxist thinkers as Althusser that the relation between text and viewer should not be seen too deterministically. Readers, in other words, do not *have* to take on a text's preferential viewing position – or as Hall himself puts it, comply with a text's 'preferred reading' (Hall 1980, 117-27, especially 125).

2   Odin objects to Jacquinot's use of the term 'world' (*monde*) because in his experience, it obscures the relation with the world constructed by the 'text' (*le monde textuel*). He therefore suggests *espace* as an alternative.

3   At the end of her second chapter, she distinguishes between three 'levels' on which the filmic text can acquire its 'didactic structure': "the level of the general organisation of the document", "the level of the rhetorical procedures", or otherwise, "the more specific level of the functioning of elements or 'motifs' of the image [...] and [...] its treatment" ("[le] niveau de l'organisation générale du document"; "[le] niveau des procédés rhétoriques"; "[le] niveau plus ponctuel de l'agencement des éléments ou 'motifs' de l'image [...] et [...] de son traitement"; see Jacquinot 1977, 58). In the remainder of her text, however, she does not take up this distinction – at least, not in a systematic way.

4   Further on in this chapter it will become clear that especially in cases of obvious self-reflexivity, the *dispositif* that is referenced is often one that incorporates a very traditional epistemic ideology, in which the film functions as an aid to a process of 'handing down' information from teacher to pupils. Whether or not such elements can take on their full rhetorical potential, of course, depends very much on the concrete user situation within which a text functions (a point I elaborate in section 5.3).

5   Consider, for instance, Joe Clark's presentation for the fifth Orphan Film Symposium ("Educating the Race: Inequality and Pedagogy in the Films of All-American News", University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, 24 March 2006) in which the phrase 'pedagogical address' was used to refer to a very diverse range of textual motifs, which were therefore difficult to keep apart (see http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/Orphans_Sound/orphans.htm for an audio link).

6   The author takes her cue here from Max Egly.

7   Examples are, respectively, *Na 10 jaren arbeid* * or *Het Handvest van de Verenigde Naties* (1962, *The United Nations' Charter*) (maps and charts); *Zuiderzeepolders I: Het ontstaan van een polder* (1959, *Zuyder Zee Polders I: The Genesis of a Polder*) (a model); *Wij bouwen woningen* (a sketch book); *Aardig knutselwerk* (handicraft tools).

8   The interruption, here, is specifically *visual*; if one also considers what happens on the auditory level of the text, the pause in the diegetic development should be considered to begin much earlier in the film. For more on the role of sound, however, I refer to my argumentation further down this section. The difference with the shot described by Odin is that here, also the map itself is extradiegetic; the skull in his example seems to be part of the scene.

9   'De Bilt', in the title of the first film, is the location of the royal Dutch meteorologi-
    cal institute; it is used here metonymically.

10 In the original: "par référence à *un interlocuteur absent mais visé comme présent*".

11 In this respect, one might argue, the teaching films under scrutiny differ con-
    siderably from many television programmes – another type of audio-visual texts
    which, according to Allen, "[stimulate] face-to-face encounter by directly address-
    ing the viewer" (1992, 117-18). In the latter, John Fiske adds, "linguistic recogni-
    tion of the viewer's presence has its visual counterpart in the way that television
    personalities [...] look at the camera and address it directly" (1987, 53).
    One exception to the situation described here is *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* *. In this
    film, the impression is created that the voice that is heard in the middle part of
    the text is the same as, and even originates from, the tour guide of the framing
    story. (This in spite of the fact that what the narrator says is not perfectly in synch
    with his lip movements.) In this respect the film is different again from *Vondel, het
    leven van een groot Nederlander,* which works with two voices: one that goes with
    the diegesis (even though it does not emanate from it) and another that does not.
    The words of the second speaker, however, always function as coming from an
    overall narrator; the film as a whole therefore still functions as directly addressed
    to the viewer. The same is true for *Erasmus*, *stem van de rede*, which adds even
    more voices (for instance, that of the literary persona in one of Erasmus' texts).

12 Jacquinot here speaks of a *code d'implication* (1977, 69); León uses the expression
    "[rhetorical] figures facing the public" (2004, 131). Wallet, for his part, says that
    the viewer is made to act as some sort of a 'witness' (*pris à témoin*; see Wallet 2004,
    103).
    My earlier example, the film *Het paard,* does use the word 'we', however not in
    the very specific way that I am thinking of here (as referring to the combination
    'speaker + his audience'). In the opening sentence of the short ("In de oude Indi-
    anenverhalen lezen we vaak [...]", which translates as: "In the old stories about
    Indians we often read [...]") the pronoun seems to point to an entity that is much
    more encompassing. In this case it functions as a synonym for 'one'. Other des-
    ignations of 'we' (or the possessive version of that pronoun, 'our') also occur, for
    instance, in *Sterren en sterrensystemen*. Here, the word alternately refers to 'every-
    one in the referential world' (as opposed to the world of the schematic representa-
    tion), 'all humans' (in contrast to any creatures that might live in other planetary
    systems), 'all regular people' (those who are not astronomers or physicists) and a
    more neutral 'one'. In all of these cases, however, it can be argued that the entity
    alluded to also includes the speaker and his audience. In this sense, then, it is
    implicative as well. The use of a 'royal we', which Chatman adds to the list of pos-
    sibilities (1978, 256) is far less common in the corpus dealt with here.

13 Examples of soft imperatives in the film mentioned are: "Let eens op hoe het klif
    aan de voet is uitgehold" ("Pay attention to how the cliff has been scooped out

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at the bottom"), "Laten wij eens een van die stenen volgen" ("Let us follow one of these stones") or "En zie nu wat er gebeurt als de kust van richting verandert" ("And now look what happens when the coast changes direction"). For examples of direct address, see chapter 4 (specifically the section on audience interrogation).

14 *Het paard*, for instance, uses the scientific terms *eo-hippus* ('dawn horse'), *voortbewegingssnelheid* ('progression rate') and *warm- en koudbloedig* ('warm- and cold-blooded'), but it combines these with such expressions as *er vreemd uitzien* ('to look strange'), *onaanzienlijk dwergvolkje* ('humble mountain tribe') and *trouwe helper* ('faithful helper'). Age-specific references are made in the sections of the film where the commentator speaks of "de oude Indianenboeken" ("the old books about Indians") or compares the size of a dawn horse to that of a fox; personifications are used in "de voorvader van het paard" ("the forefather of the horse") or "wat de natuur bereikte" ("what nature achieved"). In the case of the reference to stories about Indians, the speaker immediately reasserts his scientific authority by making the comment that the latter are merely the product of romance, and therefore (he implies) do not give an accurate rendition of reality ("maar, zoals de meeste romantiek, is het niet helemaal waar").

15 Arguably, also de Kuyper's text allows for this interpretation, as he literally says: "[ce regard] annule *pour ainsi dire* la médiation technique" (my italics). Compare also Bolter and Grusin 1999, 30. Allen, in this context, uses an even stronger expression than de Kuyper does, and speaks of 'de-mediation' (1992, 125).

16 Alternatives to the notion of fictive reader are the 'narratee', which is conceptualised, among others, by Genette (1966-1970) and Prince (1985), and defined by the latter as "signs of the 'you' in narrative discourse" (330; compare also Prince 1980a) or Rabinowitz' 'narrative audience' (which he distinguishes from Prince's concept; see Rabinowitz 1998, 95). I prefer not to use either of the above concepts because I have thus far always considered *reader* roles and would like to consider the various types of addressees in those same terms. The advantage of this is that it gives me the opportunity to conceptualise them as different versions of the same given on separate textual levels. (Prince, Rabinowitz or Chatman, in contrast, focus on the presence or absence of this role on one specific level: that of the narration.)

17 "Dit, bijvoorbeeld, is de voorvader van de huidige olifant."

18 For instance, the word *zo* in the sentence "Zo ziet een wild paard eruit" ("This is what a wild horse looks like").

19 In the original: "deze film".

20 For definitions of 'place' and 'discourse deixis', see Levinson 1983, 79-85 and 81 (on demonstrative pronouns) and 85-89, respectively. Discourse deixis, in Levinson's definition, is "the use of expressions within some utterance to refer to some portion of the discourse that contains that utterance" (85). It follows, then, that the term 'metatextual' is different from the adjectives in the names of the other

two levels which I distinguish in that it not only identifies the discursive level on which the reference is made but also specifies the object of referencing: that which is referred to. My naming logic, however, concerns the *location* of the reference; 'metatextual', in other words, is used here as in 'occurring on/situated on the meta-level of text'.

21 Here, I borrow my vocabulary from Bolter and Grusin (1999, 41), who in turn use the words of Richard Lanham.

22 The original versions of the above quotes go as follows: "Dit is een microscopische opname van een schimmel, 500 maal groter"; "Eén zo'n omwenteling duurt in werkelijkheid miljoenen jaren"; "Stellen we ons voor dat het land hier is gevormd uit verschillende rotssoorten; de meest bestendige zijn zwart getint."

23 Of course, the fact that it is narrated in French – not the viewers' own language – is the first, most obvious clue here.

24 The speaker says: "Dit is het verhaal van een jongetje, Hansje, die [*sic*] ze [de kleine mensjes van Madurodam] gezien heeft" ("This is the story of a boy, Johnny, who has seen them [the tiny people of Madurodam]"). (This introduction, as a matter of fact, only features in the sound version of the film, which can be consulted online. The mute one, brought out at the same time, opens with the second title card.)

25 For more definitions of the concept of *mise en abyme*, see, among others, Dällenbach 1977 (still one of the main reference works on the subject) or Metz (who uses the concept in his work on film, e.g. Metz 1991).

26 Metz here proposes the term 'metafilmic' (as opposed to 'metacinematographic', with which he refers to mirror effects that do not involve a redoubling of the text in which they turn up). The examples he gives, however, show that this notion is still applicable to a much wider range of textual elements than the kind I just mentioned (see, for instance, Metz 1991, 93-111).

27 This situation applies even in the case of *Départ de grandes vacances*. Despite the fact that the narrator, in this film, briefly enters the same profilmic space as the story's agents, he always remains invisible to them – hence, the shadow – and possesses superior knowledge (consider, for instance, his ironic comments on the family members' actions).

28 Examples like *Het paard*, then, are perfect illustrations of the paradoxical nature of the relation between the two logics of (re)mediation identified by Bolter and Grusin. Although the speaker's voice, here, functions as a means to create an impression of transparent immediacy, the deictic terms he uses inevitably underscore the fundamentally discursive, and by the same token, mediated character of the film.

29 My term 'artifice' here is inspired by the author's own (Dällenbach 1980, 440).

30 For completeness' sake I should add here that even if such elements can be seen as (more) powerful indications by the text itself of "how it would like to be read"

(Prince 1980b, 238), this does not imply that a viewer should therefore necessarily live up to the instructions given. Dällenbach suggests that textual reflexivity potentially constitutes a restriction of the freedom of movement permitted to the reader (1980, 436); however, I think that this view somewhat overstates the directive powers of any kind of text. Quite apart from the fact that it cannot be assumed that audiences always catch on to the references made, individual viewers also have a certain amount of choice with regard to the interpretational route they take. In addition to this, the rhetorical functioning of such textual elements also depends on their validation by other players within the *dispositif* in which they acquire meaning. For an elaboration of this point, see section 5.3.

31 The observations I make here seem to apply not only to teaching films but also to other (non-fiction) genres. A good example here is the 1930 psychiatry film screened by Zoe Beloff during the fifth Orphan Film Symposium. Beloff herself explained during her presentation that the verbosity of these pictures can be seen as an attempt by the film-makers to demonstrate their scientific integrity.

The intertitles, she argued, help steer the viewers' interpretation of what is seen and thus ensure the film's status as a piece of visual psychological documentation ("Dr. Clark's Projections," University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, 25 March 2006; to play back the presentation, click on the appropriate link at http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/Orphans_Sound/orphans.htm). I would like to add that in this process, the self-referentiality that characterises these texts encourages detachment in the audience: by constantly interrupting the diegetic representation, they prevent it from being drawn into the dramatised scene shown and encourage it to take an appropriate – in this case, scientific – viewing attitude.

32 In addition to this, it can also be argued that self-reflexive elements may serve some sort of a motivational purpose. Above I posited that the insertion of such references bears witness to a film's recognition of the viewer's ability to conceive of the text as being just that: a text. In those instances, in other words, the spectator is addressed as a more or less sophisticated reader: one that is at least sufficiently literate, or media competent, to decode those remarks. Therefore, these references can also constitute an appeal to the viewers' intellectual sense of pride (much like the instances of audience interrogation discussed in chapter 4).

33 In this respect, then, I fundamentally disagree with Jacquinot, who maintains that the educational institution *always* inscribes itself into the structure of a didactic audio-visual message (see section 5.1).

34 For a definition of the concept of illocution, see chapter 3.

35 Again, there may be a connection here with issues of authority. It is my suspicion that drawing attention to the fact that teachers as well have rules to follow (and implicitly, superiors to answer to) may be considered to jeopardise their institutional power prerogatives. In the case of factual information (as found in the great

majority of booklets that accompany teaching films) it might even be seen to threaten their position of intellectual authority.

36 Langeraad, interview.

37 An example is the Russian-made documentary *Moskou* (1962, *Moscow*), where the only indication of its classroom status is an added leader with a brief introductory text. In this particular case the title card also contains a condemnation of the film's supposedly communist slant. It reads: "De volgende opnamen zijn [vervaardigd] onder toezicht van de Russische autoriteiten [...]. De film geeft daarom slechts een eenzijdig beeld van het dagelijks leven in Moskou." ("The following recordings have been [made] under the supervision of the Russian authorities [...]. The film therefore gives only a partial image of daily life in Moscow.")

38 Odin, for example, says that spoken commentaries in documentaries are a means of (re-)introducing homogeneity, and even foreseeability, into the reading of a text. He writes: "la présence contraignante de la voix *over* impose une lecture quasiment univoque" ("the compelling presence of the voice-over imposes an almost univocal reading"; see Odin 2000, 136). Plantinga, in turn, states that in non-fictions that use a so-called 'formal style' "voice-over carries the authority over the meanings gleaned from the images" (1997, 159). Nichols, likewise, argues that since the coming of sound the dominant ('argumentative') style of documentary has been one "in which images serve primarily as illustration for the rhetorical claims of a spoken commentary with its problem-solving bent rather than allowing the potential of images [...] to attain full force" (1995, see the fourth section of the text).

39 In all of the films I have seen (also non-Dutch ones), the speaker's voice is male.

40 Jacquinot, for instance, characterises the realm of speech in teaching films as "le lieu de la parole pure, du discours vérité" ("the site of pure speech, of the discourse of truth"; see Jacquinot 1977, 93). Others relate the rhetorical operation of such shorts to the truth claims made by actuality genres such as newsreels or broadcast journalism. See, for instance, Clark, "Educating the Race", and León 2007, 77. Mark also that in chapter 3, I made similar observations on theorists' use of the term 'rhetoric'.

41 In chapter 2 I pointed out that educational historians argue that the unpopularity of audio-visual media was due at least in part to the fact that teachers found the prospect of having to do so rather daunting. However, this does not mean that those pedagogues who did use the medium therefore never attempted it. I should add however that in the period discussed, this possibility might have been more appealing to men teachers than to women (as they would then have had to oppose a *male* voice; compare note 39).

42 I have to add, however, that the text itself does not seem to encourage such a reading. The camera does not focus on individual contestants (as might be the case in

a newsreel) and in addition to this, the intertitles are not very specific about the timing of the competition.

43 Compare chapter 2 (where I actually opposed this view).

44 Considering the variety of meanings that have been attached to the term 'enunciation' by the authors I have cited so far, it might be useful to specify which of these Odin subscribes to. In the article just referred to, he defines it as "le faire énonciatif lui-même" ("the act of uttering itself"; see Odin 1984, 265) – a pronouncement that aligns his notion with Benveniste's original one (1966, a work which he also quotes).

45 The words 'source' and 'origin' are my translations of Odin's *je-origine* (1984, 265-66) or Metz' *foyer* and *source* (1991, 11-36). At this point, I should also add that Jacquinot as well speaks of the educator in terms of "le ou les responsables du document". In her case, however, it is not clear whether she refers here to the real teacher, or the (implied) specialist whose ideas are conveyed by the film's commentary (Jacquinot 1977, 131). | 319

46 For my use of the pronoun 'he', see note 39.

CONCLUSIONS

1 "Wel moet worden vastgesteld, dat de leerling bij het beleven van een film zeer *ontvankelijk* kan zijn voor alles wat de maker van de film hem wil meedelen. In de gewone bioscoop kan deze ontvankelijkheid leiden tot een meer dan normale suggestibiliteit, zodat de critiek van het verstand niet meer tussenbeide komt om het meegedeelde op zijn juistheid te toetsen. De klas-situatie verschilt echter aanmerkelijk van de bioscoop-situatie. De factoren die in de bioscoop een belangrijke rol spelen (de gemakkelijke bioscoop-fauteuil, het verlangen naar verstrooiing, de anonymiteit van de toeschouwer, de absolute donkerte en afgeslotenheid van de zaal, de 'overgave' aan de autoriteit van de filmmaker en de vereenzelviging met de held of heldin van het verhaal) zijn in de klas grotendeels afwezig. De verduistering van het klaslokaal, de onwillekeurige opmerkzaamheid voor alles wat er op het witte doek te zien is en het realiteitskarakter van de film kunnen de leerling wel ontvankelijker maken voor het vertoonde, maar op zichzelf genomen is dit alleen maar een voordeel. Suggestibiliteit veronderstelt het op de achtergrond treden van de verstandelijke, critische functies van de geest; ontvankelijkheid echter sluit de activiteit van verbeelding en verstand niet uit maar vergemakkelijkt deze juist."

2 For some of the problems associated with the use of the term 'text' in relation to newer (especially interactive) media, see, for instance, Lister et al. 2003, 23, 43.

3 Peters (incidentally, the same man who also acted as NOF's director, and who I quoted at the beginning of this chapter) has tried to overcome this problem by

differentiating between a primary, a secondary, and an 'additional' sender. These functions correspond, respectively, to that of the educational institution that 'emits' the text (presumably, an educational film producer or broadcast company), the teacher represented in the film, and the film's user (the actual teacher) (Hesling and Peters 1985, 184). My problem with this representation is, first, that it does not lend enough weight to the initiative of the (real) teacher, which is subordinate here to the other two, and second, that it obscures much rather than to clarify the *relations* between those three types of 'sender'.

4   For more on the structuralist terminology used in this section, see, for instance, Shannon and Weaver 1949, 55-56, 98-99 (the last two pages dealing with the concept of communicational 'noise') and Waugh 1976, 25 (for the terms 'addressee' and 'addresser', used in language theory).

5   Compare chapter 1, note 201 and chapter 2, p. 124.

6   In other corpora, moreover, the positioning of the viewer which such elements help attain does not necessarily establish or exploit a relation to a cinematic, or even televisual, *dispositif*. For instance, also advertising films place their viewers in well-delineated roles (that of housekeeper in the case of a cleaning product commercial; that of *bon-vivant* in a luxury holiday advert); however, these are not always the roles that spectators fulfil at the (exact) time of watching.

7   As an exception to this rule, one might think of films or episodes that are introduced and/or followed-up by a commentator or presenter, as sometimes happens in school television broadcasts or clusters of science programmes. However, these are not the kinds of situations which León talks about.

8   In addition to this, one might also argue that wildlife documentaries tend to serve a double rhetorical purpose. Apart from passing on certain biological/natural history facts, León points out, they also seek to make more attractive the practice of science itself (León 2007, 18; mark the difference in emphasis in Silverstone 1984, 401). Again, this seems to necessitate a more intensive use of strategies that foreground the appeal of the matter dealt with. However, only a more extensive comparison can establish whether such films therefore also motivate their viewers in more direct ways.

9   A good starting point for a comparison would be Lucie Česálková's study (in Czech) of teaching film in Czechoslovakia in the interwar period (2009), which discusses the above-mentioned dynamics in great detail.

10 Indirectly, my analyses have shown that the sorts of competencies the texts themselves ask for do not necessarily match the primary sources' assertions about children's 'natural' abilities. For a more diverse answer, however, more in-depth study is necessary.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

NOF FILMS ONLINE

The web sites www.openbeelden.nl, initiated by the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision and Stichting Nederland Kennisland (the Dutch Knowledgeland foundation), and www.filminnederland.nl, hosted by Eye Film Institute Netherlands, each contain nine films from the NOF collection at the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. These films, all of them NOF produced, are available under a Creative Commons licence. The Eye Film Institute web site also contains some additional information on the selected shorts.

In this book, the relevant titles are marked with an asterisk (*). They can be located on each web site with the help of its 'search' function.

Seven of the films that are available online are mute; two of them have sound. For the ones with sound (which have commentaries in Dutch), synopses are provided, which are also printed below.

TITLE LIST

Alle water is geen drinkwater (NOF, 1955, *Not All Water is Drinkable*)
Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: Een film over de ontwikkeling van de microscopie (NOF, 1959, *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: A Film about the Development of Microscopy*)
Giethoorn (NOF, 1942)
De grote karekiet: Nestbouw en broedverzorging (NOF, 1948, *The Reed Warbler: Nest-building and Feeding*)
Hansje en de Madurodammers (NOF, 1958, *Johnny and the Tiny People of Madurodam*)
In de bruine boon schuilt een plantenleven (NOF, 1955, *Plant Life Hidden inside the Brown Bean*)

Kaas (NOF, 1943, *Cheese*)

Twentse textielindustrie (NOF, 1949, *The Textile Industry in Twente*)

Zuiderzeepolders VI: Na 10 jaren arbeid (NOF, [ca. 1944], *Zuyder Zee Polders VI: After 10 Years of Labour*)

See the filmography for more production details.

SYNOPSES OF SOUND FILMS (WITH DUTCH COMMENTARIES)

Antoni van Leeuwenhoek

The opening sequence of the film shows a group of secondary school pupils on a guided tour of a museum. The commentary voice, supposedly that of the tour guide, relates some facts from the history of lens making. When his story touches upon the exploits of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, the film changes settings and turns to a series of enacted scenes from the life of the seventeenth-century amateur scientist and inventor of microscopic devices. The commentator highlights some of van Leeuwenhoek's main discoveries and personal relations and provides background information on the then-state of physical science, the British Royal Society (of which the film's subject was a member) and his international renown. In the closing scene, the tour guide, back in the exhibition space, briefly discusses the development of microscopy in the centuries that followed van Leeuwenhoek's death, focusing specifically on the possibilities which it currently provides to natural science.

Hansje en de Madurodammers

The sound track of this film consists primarily of a musical score; a voice-over can be heard only at the very beginning. The narrator introduces the location where its story is set: Madurodam, a theme park near The Hague with miniature versions of well-known Dutch buildings and sites.

CREDITS

Preservation, digitisation and streaming of the films: Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision

Web hosting: Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision; Eye Film Institute Netherlands

FILMOGRAPHY

The films listed in the next few pages are those mentioned in the main text of this work. For each I specify the Dutch release title (the title as it appears on the film print and/or in NOF's publications), followed, in brackets, by an English translation; production/original release date; production company; NOF release date (if different from the original date); some relevant technical details (M for mute and S for sound; B&W for black-and-white and C for colour); the catalogue number used by the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision (a code that incorporates the reference numbers introduced by NOF, which also appear in associated archive materials such as teachers' notes and treatments or scripts); and finally, the numbers of the pages where each film is mentioned in the book. The abbreviation 'n.a.' is used when one of the above categories is not applicable to the film mentioned.

The information given is derived from film and print materials that are currently accessible at the Netherlands Institute of Sound and Vision (Hilversum), Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum (Rotterdam) and the Dutch National Archives (The Hague). Due to the fragmentary nature of the sources, the list is incomplete. In addition, some of the details provided are uncertain, especially dates. In what follows, a year in square brackets usually indicates that it is copied directly from the Netherlands Institute of Sound and Vision's PICA catalogue, without confirmation by any other source. A year without brackets indicates that the archive's records are confirmed by at least one other document; for instance, a NOF catalogue, instruction booklet or annual report. Dates enclosed by square brackets that are also preceded by 'ca.' are reconstructed on the basis of more circumstantial evidence (such as a reference in a treatment or script, a citation in one of NOF's publications or newletters, or the year of an instruction booklet's first edition or imprint). The abbreviation 'n.d.' is used when one of the dates could not be established.

For most of the films which NOF distributed, no crew credits were provided; therefore, they are not mentioned here. When the available credits are significant to my argument, I mention them in the footnotes to the main text. In the case of children's feature films and documentaries that had a theatrical run before they were rereleased by the institute, I mention the directors' names (preceded by 'dir.') instead of the production companies'. The names of foreign producers (that are mentioned more than once) are abbreviated as follows:

Basic   Basic Films (UK)

EFVA   Educational Foundation for Visual Aids (UK)

FWU   Institut für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht (Federal Republic of Germany, from 1950 onwards)

MLA   Modern Language Assocation (UK)

Parvis   Les Productions de Parvis (France)

RWU   Reichsanstalt für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht (Germany, until the end of the Second World War)

SHB   Abteilung Wissenschaftlicher Film der Bundesstaatliche Hauptstelle für Lichtbild und Bildungsfilm, a.k.a. 'Bundesstaatliche Hauptstelle' (Austria)

FILMS

Aardewerk (*Pottery*), [ca. 1949], NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM066 302n31, 303n39, 303n40

Aardig knutselwerk (*Decent Handicraft*), n.d., RWU, [ca. 1950], M, B&W, 080NOF/ NIAM530 171-73, 305n52, 313n7

Alle water is geen drinkwater * (*Not All Water Is Drinkable*), 1955, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM114 166, 197, 198, 304n45

Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: Een film over de ontwikkeling van de microscopie * (*Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: A film about the Development of Microscopy*), 1959, NOF, n.a., S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM1019 81, 150, 213, 214, 282n154, 301n16, 312n106, 314n11, 324

Auto's aan de lopende band (*Cars from the Assembly Line*), [ca. 1952], NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM095 300n12, 302n30, 304n49, 310n93

Bergstroom, De (*The Mountain Stream*), [1952], SHB, 1952, M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM526 300n11

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Giethoorn * (*Giethoorn*), 1942, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM014 78, 191, *192*,
   303n33

Glas (*Glass*), [1943], NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM021 78, 87, 302n30, 303n39,
   303n40

Goed bewaren – geld besparen: Een film over het bewaren van levensmiddelen (*Preserve It
   Well – Save Money: A Film about the Preservation of Foods*), [ca. 1955], Voorlichtings-
   bureau van de Voedingsraad with NOF, n.a., S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM1006 150,
   159, 181, 220, 300n8, 312n109

Goochelaar ontgoocheld, De (*The Magician Disappointed*), 1958, dir. Rupert van der Lin-
   den (for NOF), n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM130 193, 201

Groenten voor de grote stad (*Vegetables for the Big City*), [ca. 1947], NOF, n.a., M, B&W,
   080NOF/NIAM043 302n31

Grote karekiet: Nestbouw en broedverzorging *, *De* (*The Reed Warbler: Nest-building and
   Feeding*), 1948, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM038 201, *202*, 204, 307n65

Hamster, De (*The Hamster*), [ca. 1959], FWU, 1960, M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM560 160,
   164

Handvest van de Verenigde Naties, Het [print title; also listed in NOF's publications as:
   Het Handvest: Een film van en over de Verenigde Naties] (*The United Nations' Char-
   ter*), [1960], United Nations Information Service, 1962, S, C, 080NOF/NIAM1548
   313n7

Hansje en de Madurodammers * (*Johnny and the Tiny People of Madurodam* †), 1958 (the
   spoken introduction to the sound version of the film was most likely inserted at
   a later date), NOF, n.a., M, S (two versions), B&W, 080NOF/NIAM131 , 080NOF/
   NIAM1016 180, 189, 221, 324

*Haven en handel: Een film over de functie van de Amsterdamse haven in het internationaal
   goederenverkeer* (*Harbour and Trade: A Film about the Role of Amsterdam Harbour
   in International Freight Traffic*), [ca. 1955], NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM117
   166, 167, 300n12, 303n40, 304n49

Helpers in nood (*Helpers in Times of Emergency*), [ca. 1948], NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/
   NIAM052 80, 166, 173, 179, 214

Hoe ontstaat een filmscène (*The Genesis of a Film Scene*), n.d., FWU, [1956], M, B&W,
   080NOF/NIAM547 83, 190

Honingbij, De (*The Honey Bee*), [1950], Sov-film (USSR), [ca. 1951] (shortened version,
   complemented with Dutch footage by NOF), M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM532 150, 154

Hoogovens (*Blast Furnaces*), [ca. 1951], NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM088 300n13,
   304n44, 304n45, 304n49

Hout (*Wood*) 1957/1962 (the second is the release date of a new, shortened version
   containing one extra sequence), NOF, n.a., S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM1012 303n34,
   304n44

Houtskoolbranden (*Charcoal Burning*), 1942, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM004
   302n27

In de bruine boon schuilt een plantenleven * (*Plant Life, Hidden Inside the Brown Bean*), 1955, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM119   150, *151*, 155, 157, 203-4, 214, 301n23

Jantje's droom [*sic*, print title; some catalogue entries use the correct spelling, *Jantjes droom*] (*Johnny's Dream* †), n.d., Machilsto, 1946 (remake, produced for NOF), M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM035   193, 201

Japans gezin, Een (*A Japanese Family*), n.d., Audiovision-Belge (Belgium), 1959 (adaptation by NOF and Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde), M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM556   182, *183*, 184, 185, 302n32, 304n43

Johannes Keppler (*Johannes Keppler*), [1960], FWU, 1960, S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM1529   154, 155, 159, 230, 301n15

Jonge ooievaars op het nest (*Young Storks in Their Nests*), n.d., RWU, [ca. 1946] ††, M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM503   188, 189

Kaas * (*Cheese*), 1943, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM018   *65*, 78, 92, 162, 302n30, 302n31, 303n34, 303n40, 310n93

Kaas (*Cheese*), 1960, NOF, n.a., S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM1025   162

Kabouters en elfjes (*Goblins and Elves*), [ca. 1947], Machilsto (for NOF), 1948, M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM055   280n135

Kamsalamander, De (*The Crested Newt*), 1949, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM063   150, 154, 196

Kapmeeuw, De (*The Black-headed Gull*), 1947, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM029   88, 153, 162, 188, 303n39

Kasteel, Het (*The Castle*), 1959, NOF with FWU, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM132   187, 189, 308n82

Kersen (*Cherries*)*, 1943, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM028   303n39, 303n40

Kieviet, De (*The Lapwing*), 1942, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM015   78, 88, 162, 188, 195

Klipvisdrogerij op IJsland, Een (*A Cod-drying Workshop in Iceland*), [before 1943] ††, RWU, [ca. 1946], M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM513   304n41

Koeien op stal (*Cows in the Shed*), 1942, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM008   162

Kruisspin, De (*The Garden Spider*), [ca. 1960], FWU, 1961, S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM1536   196-97

Kust van Nederland I: De duinen, De (*The Coast of Holland I: The Dunes*), 1957, NOF, n.a., S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM1013   151, 217, 300n8

Langoor gaat op stap (*Long-Ears Goes for a Walk*), 1952, NOF, n.a., M, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM097   308n80

Leger van gehouwen steen, Een (*An Army Cut in Stone*), 1957, dir. Theo van Haren Noman, 1958, S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM3002   83

Maarten Luther (*Martin Luther* †), 1953, dir. Irving Pichel, 1959 (German, shortened version), S, B&W, 080NOF/NIAM1520   154, 185, 224, 281n147

† The English title of this film is also the English release title.

†† This film belongs to a batch that was acquired by NOF during the Second World War. Although the films in this lot were first mentioned in one of the institute's 1944 newsletters, they most likely were not actually made available to users until 1946.

††† *De rode ballon*, a non-teaching film, was distributed by NOF but was not mentioned in its official catalogues because the institute did not own very many copies. The cost of prints included a license fee, which made the film more expensive to distribute than most of the other titles it had on file; therefore, only a couple of copies were acquired (H.J.L. Jongbloed, interview with Ed van Berkel, 21 July 2008).

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NOF archive. Nationaal Onderwijs Museum, Rotterdam, the Netherlands. (Teachers' notes, newsletters, production papers, catalogues, annual reports.)

NOF paper archive. Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum, the Netherlands. (Teachers' notes, production papers.)

Note on the collection at the National Archives

Most of the items in the collection at the National Archives that date from the period up to 1946 were drawn up by A. A. Schoevers (the foundation's first director) or one of his close collaborators. In my notes, however, I only mention his name if authorship of a document can be established on the basis of the papers themselves.

Since the time of my archival research, the collection has been reorganised. As a result, changes have been made in the codes with which specific documents' locations are referred to. In this work I use the inventory numbers linked to the collection's former access number, 2.19.042.55. The new number by which the papers can be accessed is 2.14.69; a conversion table is available from archive personnel upon request. In the process of reorganisation, some documents have also been removed from (the public part of) the collection, either because they were considered too brittle to handle or because they duplicated other items (in which case they have been destroyed). As a result, not all of the documents which I reference here may be traceable. In some cases it may also entail that the versions which I have used for establishing their production dates are no longer available.

NOF Magazines

Mededelingen van de Stichting Nederlandse Onderwijs Film (previously entitled *Mededeling van de stichting "Nederlandsche Onderwijs Film" te 's Gravenhage, ten behoeve van hen, die gebruik maken van onze projectoren en films*, or a variation thereof; shortened in notes as *Mededelingen van de NOF*), nos. 1-[31] ([1942]-March 1952); no. 1 ([Spring] 1953); nos. 1-2 (1954); nos. 1-2 (1955); nos. 1-2 (1956); nos. 1-2 (1957); no. 1 (September 1958); vols. 1-2 (1958-1959)

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Note on Reference System

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