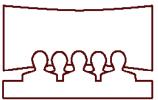
VOGLIE MATTE, MERLI MASCHI, PECCATI VENIALI. LA QUESTIONE SESSUALE NEL CINEMA POPOLARE ITALIANO DAL MIRACOLO ECONOMICO ALL'AVVENTO DEL PORNO

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MAKING EROTIC THRILLERS: LABOUR, POWER AND TIME IN THE ITALIAN CINEMA OF THE 1960S AND 1970S

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Using the example of the Italian film industry of the 1960s and 1970s and, in particular, popular erotic thriller cycles, the article focuses on different types of time periods closely associated with film production: the shooting stage and the phase of apprenticeship for newcomers. These labour temporalities were fraught with hierarchical tensions and power imbalances. Directors appropriated the length of film shooting as a means of occupational distinction. Under the pretext of apprenticeship, experienced mentors took advantage of moneyless trainees who lacked a personal network of supportive film practitioners. Apprentices weathered through this period in anticipation of fairly compensated freelance work.

KEYWORDS

Time; Creative labour; Giallo; Gothic horror; Production studies

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I. INTRODUCTION

As conceptions of morality were relaxing and state censorship was transforming¹, erotic content became more and more important in the Italian cinema of the 1960s and 1970s. Despite Italy's firm Catholic roots², all kinds of films – be they exploitation, middlebrow or art-house productions – relied increasingly on the permissive representation of sexuality. The proliferation of film titles dripping with sexual innuendo attests to this development which constituted a wider trend in Italy's media culture³. This was clearly visible in popular genre cinema and its varied film cycles, a realm that had always depended on titillating stories in order to attract audiences⁴. The erotic thriller constituted a significant element of contemporary lowbrow film culture. Basically, in the 1960s and 1970s

¹ For an account of this transformation, see Di Chiara and Noto, 2020.

² See Giori and Subini. 2017.

³ Film critics monitored sceptically the phenomenon. See Negri, 1972.

⁴ See Brizio-Skov, 2011; Manzoli, 2012; Bayman and Rigoletto, 2013.

there were two categories of erotic thrillers: Gothic horror films and gialli⁵. From the late 1950s until the mid-1960s, many Italian producers invested in Gothic horror films populated by vampires, ghosts and other supernatural entities. In the wake of Hammer's Dracula (Terence Fisher, 1958), these movies were violent and, above all, sexy. Usually, they had a historical setting. When the home-grown horror cycle proved economically unsustainable in the mid-1960s, it was replaced by a suspenseful genre with a more modern look. Instead of eerie narratives of monsters, mad scientists and cobwebby castles, audiences started to prefer gialli, contemporary-set thrillers about serial killing and other crimes. From the late 1960s until the mid-1970s, indigenous zeitgeisty thrillers, which were just as sexualised as their Gothic predecessors, thrived on the Italian cinema market. Combining displays of sex and violence, Gothic horrors and gialli presented a darker take on the ongoing sexual liberation in the wake of the economic miracle. Alongside salacious comedies⁶, erotic thrillers epitomise the surge of risqué content in Italian film culture during an era of social and political upheaval.

The article aims to shed light on the ways in which sexy Italian thrillers were made and place emphasis on the meaning of time within this process. For about 20 years, labour issues have been at the core of creative industries and media production studies⁷. Like other forms of work, filmmaking practices are strongly determined by temporal logics⁸. From a time-related perspective, film production can be grasped as a sequence of distinct working phases (writing, financing, shooting, post-production) or, focusing on the experience of the individual worker, as a succession of career stages (apprenticeship, establishment, middle career etc.) which, in its entirety, form a professional biography. As in any branch of trade, the temporal regimes at work in the film industry of the 1960s and 1970s were not neutral phenomena, but they were rife with issues of politics and power.

Thinking of filmmaking and temporality, widespread occupational problems such as excessive working hours come to mind. Here, however, seemingly inconspicuous manifestations of labour time will be explored: the duration of film shoots and the stage of apprenticeships which was mandatory for many young

⁵ For more extensive studies of the Italian horror films and thrillers, see Koven, 2006; Venturini, 2014; Baschiera and Hunter, 2016; Kannas, 2017, 2020; Guarneri, 2020. ⁶ See Rigola, 2019.

⁷ See McRobbie, 1998, 2015; Banks, 2007, 2017; Caldwell, 2008; Holt and Perren, 2009; Mayer, Banks and Caldwell, 2009; McKinlay and Smith, 2009; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; Szczepanik and Vonderau, 2013; Conor, Gill and Taylor, 2015; Banks, Conor and Mayer, 2016; Barra, Bonini and Splendore, 2016; Curtin and Sanson, 2016; Hill, 2016; Duffy, 2017; Maxwell, 2017; Krauss and Loist 2018; Cucco and Di Chiara, 2019; Deuze and Prenger, 2019; Gill, Pratt and Virani, 2019; and Gundle, Schoonover and Baschiera, 2020. Beyond the long-standing interest in the work of actors and directors, recently a wider variety of film professions has attracted attention. See Spicer, 2006; Kemper, 2009; Corsi, 2012; Spicer and McKenna, 2013; Conor, 2014; Spicer, McKenna and Meir, 2014; Banks, 2015; Roussel and Bielby, 2015; McKenna, 2016; Roussel, 2017; Salzberg, 2020.

⁸ Lately, there has been a surge of scholarly interest in temporal dimensions of creative labour. See Adkins, 2013; Banks, 2014, 2019; De Verdalle, 2015; Vonderau, 2016; and Serafini and Banks, 2020. For an economic perspective on time and the media industries, see Albarran and Arrese, 2003. Time has also been examined as a significant factor that shapes media industry research. See Ryfe, 2016.

practitioners. While the shooting period is an integral part of an organisational-technical understanding of film production, the length of apprenticeships represents an essential element of work biographies. In terms of their temporal traits, these phenomena are opposed diametrically. Whereas a film's shooting length is a precisely defined amount of time, apprenticeship periods are characterised by a high degree of informality and an unclear duration. Both notions share a certain matter-of-fact quality. What could be more trivial in the working world than time schedules and apprenticeship positions for entry-level workers? This article seeks to challenge the perception that such temporalities are perfectly ordinary. By pinpointing their inherent socio-political tensions, I will demonstrate that these practical time regimes were tied up with questions of authorship, hierarchy and ownership.

My investigation of 1960s and 1970s erotic thriller production is based on a number of semi-structured interviews with practitioners⁹ and archival research for which I consulted film files preserved at Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome¹⁰. Beginning with a case study of giallo shooting periods, I will discuss the effects of time constraints during the production phase and the association of shooting length and quality in trade discourses. The second part of the argument investigates the apprenticeship stages of budding filmmakers, analysing the work experience of a young screenwriter during the Gothic horror wave around 1960.

II. FILM SHOOTING AND TIME MANAGEMENT

When trying to comprehend the temporal dimension of producing erotic thrillers, a film's shooting schedule is an obvious starting point. Breaking down a screenplay by logistic criteria, the shooting schedule allocates actors and locations in an efficient way in order to save working days. The compilation of such plans has always been an essential time management device in the cost-intensive business of fiction filmmaking. In 1960s and 1970s Italy, film crews usually worked six days a week. In my sample of 92 gialli¹¹, the average shooting process

⁹ For this article, I interviewed seven practitioners who worked in the Italian film business during the 1960s and 1970s. While this kind of evidence cannot account for the industry in its entirety, the interviews allow worthwhile and exclusive insights into historical labour practices. For a reflection on interviewing in production research, see Bruun, 2016.

Producers who wanted their films to be recognised as national and benefit from state support had to submit an application to the Ministry of Tourism and Entertainment which monitored the domestic industry. For each film, the ministry created a file which contains documents and correspondence with the production company. Today, these records are accessible at Archivio Centrale dello Stato.

¹¹ When drawing up the sample, I considered canonical entries to the cycle (e.g., *L'uccello dalle piume di cristallo*, Dario Argento, 1970) as well as obscure examples (e.g., *Yellow - Le cugine*, Gianfranco Baldanello, 1969). Like any generic grouping, this selection is arbitrary, as film genres defy conclusive categorisation. Also, the choice depended on the availability of archival records. Although the Archivio Centrale dello Stato possesses material about a great number of Italian films from the 1960s and 1970s, not every single production is documented there.

took 7.1 weeks (see Table 1)12. Interrabang (Giuliano Biagetti, 1969) and Amore e morte nel giardino degli dei (Sauro Scavolini, 1972) were made in only three weeks, the shortest amount of time out of the entire sample. However, such extremely tight schedules were exceptional, as producers usually financed four weeks even when they had little money. This pertains to Yellow - Le cugine (Gianfranco Baldanello, 1969), 5 bambole per la luna d'agosto (Mario Bava, 1970), Delirio caldo (Renato Polselli, 1972), Un bianco vestito per Marialè (Romano Scavolini, 1972), Giochi erotici di una famiglia per bene (Francesco Degli Espinosa, 1975) and Nude per l'assassino (Andrea Bianchi, 1975). These eight films' shooting periods ranged from 20 to 26 days excluding Sundays and holidays. Every day, the filmmakers had to create at least between 3.5 and 4.5 minutes of suitable material in order to compile a running time of 90 minutes. All the films made in just three or four weeks were realised in a similar way: their producers were strongly inclined to choose few locations at close quarters. Thereby, they avoided transferring the entire crew from one location to another which could take up one or more working days of longer projects.

For instance, Un bianco vestito per Marialè was planned as an Italian-Spanish co-production with five weeks of filming in both countries. Initially, Giorgio Ferroni was listed as the director. When the co-production fell apart due to problems with the Spanish censorship authority, principal photography – which was instead to be carried out entirely in Artena and the Roman Safa Studios – was curtailed by a week and Ferroni was replaced by Romano Scavolini. 16 days into the shooting, when the crew should have moved on to the studios according to the official schedule, the Italian Ministry of Tourism and Entertainment received a complaint from a union which accused the producers of working exclusively on location in Palazzo Borghese in Artena without recording live sound¹³. Renting a domestic studio and hiring a sound recordist were preconditions for receiving state support. This demonstrates that producers were keen to reduce labour and studio costs and save time by executing the entire work in a single location. In contrast to projects realised with a great deal of time pressure, there existed well-organised productions which commanded ample financial and temporal resources. Director Lucio Fulci was given 12 weeks to stage Non si sevizia un paperino (1972) which represents the sample's longest filming period. Then, there were several high-budget projects shot in 11 weeks: Un tranquillo posto di campagna (Elio Petri, 1968), L'uccello dalle piume di cristallo (1970), Il gatto a nove code (1971) and Profondo rosso (Dario Argento, 1975). However, such extended periods were exceptional too. Most erotic thrillers ranged between these extremes.

¹² In order to take partial weeks into account, I rounded down 1 to 3 working days and rounded up 4 to 6 days. For instance, a shooting period of 5 weeks and 5 days is listed as 6 weeks in the table. There is a single case in the entire sample, a 13-week shoot for *La morte cammina con i tacchi alti* (Luciano Ercoli, 1971), which seems implausible, as the project's limited budget would not have allowed such a long period. Hence, instead of 13 weeks, I used the average of 7 weeks. If I had counted the alleged 13 weeks for *La morte cammina con i tacchi alti*, the average shooting length would have been 7.2 weeks.

¹³ These remarks about the film's production history are based on documents from Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Rome), Ministero del Turismo e dello Spettacolo, Direzione Generale dello Spettacolo, Cinema, CF 6391.

The available time for principal photography determined the kind of content that could be realised. Commonly, a project required a wide variety of scenes to be filmed, and each type of scene and shooting location (indoor, outdoor, in a studio etc.) entailed a different expenditure of time. The more complex the action or the special effects, the longer it took filmmakers to stage and record a shot. Extended periods of work allowed complex scenes to be realised, while brief ones not only resulted in hectic working conditions, but also imposed significant artistic and material limitations on the practitioners.

Time constraints on the film set frequently brought about convenient, less laborious solutions: preferring immobile shots, indoor locations and dialogue sequences; accepting slightly imperfect takes with underwhelming performances of actors or continuity issues; contracting, shortening or omitting intricate scenes; protracting shots intentionally, etc. Sometimes, the shooting period was insufficient to such an extent that practitioners did not manage to edit a convincing 90-minute version of the film. However, the contract between producer and distributor usually stipulated a minimum running time. When the final cut of their erotic thriller *Libido* (1965) had only 75 minutes, directors Ernesto Gastaldi and Vittorio Salerno could not afford additional shooting. They were forced to generate supplementary material in the editing process through re-printing and modifying existing shots¹⁴. The excessive use of prolongation strategies like these could make films appear dull and eventless.

A proclivity for time-saving decisions during the production process tends to be reflected in textual characteristics such as weak acting, low production values and awkward pacing. Hence, some of the erotic thrillers made under great time pressure exhibit a peculiar kind of aesthetic which is incongruent with the standards of the classical realist text¹⁵. Measured by the narrative-stylistic norms of classical Hollywood cinema, gialli lacking adequate shooting time are "bad" texts whose alternative formal properties are often cherished as manifestations of cult cinema¹⁶. Considering the shooting schedules alongside the films themselves, the correlation of available time and artistic quality falls into place. Frequently, irreducible shooting periods resulted in "flawed" movies like *Delirio caldo* and *Un bianco vestito per Marialè*, while directors such as Dario Argento, Lucio Fulci and Elio Petri succeeded in crafting engaging narratives because they were assigned ample time frames. These shooting schedule statistics seem to confirm vague impressions of quality which can be deduced from the traits of the film text.

A similar association between the number of shooting weeks and a notion of quality informs trade discourses. When asked about film production, different practitioners brought up the duration of principal photography. Sergio Martino, director of gialli such as *Lo strano vizio della Signora Wardh* (1971) and *La coda dello scorpione* (1971), highlights the link between temporal and economic constraints:

¹⁴ Gastaldi, 1991: 191-192.

¹⁵ Schaefer, 2005: 89-90.

¹⁶ On cult cinema, see Mathijs and Mendik, 2008, and Mathijs and Sexton, 2012.

I've often been told: «Your best films are those where you were less stressed about saving money». Maybe that's true. But my attitude of respecting the budget, I had it also when [instead of working for Luciano Martino] I made films with [Carlo] Ponti and other producers who gave me many more weeks. [...] For most of my films, I had more time than many other directors.¹⁷

Subsequently, Martino mentions two directors who were forced to make their films in extremely short periods. Romolo Guerrieri, who directed erotic thrillers like *Il dolce corpo di Deborah* (1968) and *Un detective* (1969), emphasises that he has never had to cope with tight shooting schedules:

Italian films were usually shot in seven, eight weeks. But you could also make a film in five weeks, these were very small, very commercial movies. We've done my films mostly in seven weeks [...]. Then I had some projects which took twelve weeks, like *Un uomo, una città* (1974), a complex film that had to narrate many things.¹⁸

Both directors hint at the existence of an implicit hierarchy associated with the length of shooting. Sufficient time allocation is framed as a privilege which stands out in a professional environment populated by producers aiming at financial and temporal austerity. The hierarchical distinctions to which the interviewees allude remain ambiguous and cannot be defined exactly, but the directors attach importance to emphasising their authorial reputation as legitimate artists or artisans who were not forced to work hastily. Guerrieri and Martino feel compelled to distance themselves from colleagues and works that they do not deem to be equivalent to their own achievements. As both directors are retired, their «reputation work» is not geared to securing future employment¹⁹. Despite the absence of a financial motivation for doing so, they habitually continue their performance of being high-profile practitioners in the field of popular genre cinema.

In the retrospective self-conception of these filmmakers, the duration of shooting serves as an indicator of seriousness and authorial renown. They engage in what media scholar John Thornton Caldwell characterises as «turf marking»²⁰, i.e., practitioners emphasising their own superiority to other colleagues. As the directors are representatives of lowbrow cinema, a traditionally underestimated field of film work²¹, their references to satisfactory production periods signal professional recognition – they would only work if producers guaranteed adequate temporal terms – and the existence of many dubious, rival practitioners. From Guerrieri and Martino's perspective, it was precisely the precarious willingness to work under massive time constraints and, as a result, risk the film to be botched that made their competitors untrustworthy.

These remarks are not only performances of authorship. They also emphasize the dependence of the director, being at the mercy of the producer. Although it was common knowledge in the industry that any reasonably sophisticated film

¹⁷ Martino interviewed in Rome, 29 May 2018.

¹⁸ Guerrieri interviewed in Rome, 13 February 2018.

¹⁹ On the concept of reputation work, see Zafirau, 2008.

²⁰ Caldwell, 2008: 49-50.

²¹ In the 1960s and 1970s, popular genre movies were severely stigmatised through the hostile attitude of film critics. See Bisoni, 2009.

required more than three or four weeks of shooting, the director was hardly in a position to negotiate a longer period. As a freelancer facing massive competition for what was regarded as a desirable job, any serious protest against the working conditions could have caused his replacement by a professional who was willing to direct the film in the given time frame. Guerrieri and Martino's statements about prevalent shooting schedules make clear that directors were often less self-determined than one might assume. In contrast to an auteuristic notion of directorial work, the filmmakers insinuate the fundamental power imbalance in the relationship of producer and director that was much to the detriment of the latter.

The veteran directors' remarks about shooting length are vivid reminders that the working period assigned to a film project is not merely a numerical value which allows comparisons with similar figures. Besides its factual quality, the shooting schedule statistics of gialli from the 1960s and 1970s, which maps the temporal organisation of contemporary film production, is inscribed with intricate hierarchies and power imbalances. This applies to all kinds of film industry practices, phenomena and artefacts and their inherent temporalities: they are not neutral entities, and they require detailed contextualisation.

Media theorist Sarah Sharma demands a holistic analysis of temporal configurations which pays attention to its political implications: «Temporalities [...] exist in a grid of temporal power relations. [...] The temporal is not a general sense of time particular to an epoch of history but a specific experience of time that is structured in specific political and economic contexts»²². Sharma's approach for examining temporality is called «power-chronography», a term that signifies subjecting temporal phenomena and conditions to careful scrutiny while maintaining an acute sense of the manifold forms of inequality in society: «power-chronography provides a politicization of time that [...] allows the social and relational contours of power in its temporal forms to emerge»²³. Just like the ostensibly matter-of-fact parameter of the shooting schedule, in the decades of the erotic thriller boom the Italian film business depended on a host of apparently neutral temporal regimes which workers had to accept as normal. One such practice was the extended stage of apprenticeship demanded from newcomers willing to enter the industry.

III. PRECARIOUS APPRENTICESHIPS AND INFORMAL CAREERS

As the employee of various production companies, Francesca De Pinto spent her entire career in the film sector in Rome. When the accountant speaks about the work that she took up in 1972, she still depicts it in a remarkable way. According to De Pinto, working in the cinema business «was not a standard job»²⁴, but a fascinating and special activity. The media industries' high degree of attractiveness, which usually depended on the promise of creative labour, also enhanced the prestige of more ordinary jobs within the same domain. If administrative positions in production companies were already deemed to be appealing, one can only imagine the great allure of creative work.

²² Sharma, 2014: 9.

²³ Sharma, 2014: 14.

²⁴ De Pinto interviewed in Rome, 21 September 2019.

In the 1960s and 1970s, there were significant obstacles for outsiders who wanted to pursue a career in the film industry. The sector's drawing power on the labour market generated a massive imbalance of vacancies and applicants. Employers were used to choosing from a large group of candidates²⁵. Due to intense competition, formal education such as film school degrees or vocational training was not the guarantee of a job in the sought-after industry²⁶. Instead, personal networks were much more helpful for finding work²⁷.

If one did not have the advantage of knowing a film entrepreneur beforehand or, even better, of growing up in a family of practitioners, apprenticeships with experienced professionals often constituted the only way of gaining access to the exclusive trade²⁸. However, periods of apprenticeship did not provide regular employment. They were loose agreements with senior experts who, more or less frequently, needed help with some of their projects. As a highly informal mode of labour, an apprenticeship neither guaranteed steady work nor a minimum income. Moreover, an expert could have several trainees who competed for a limited number of engagements. This kind of occupational experience was made even more precarious by the fact that one did not know when it would end, or whether supporting an established practitioner would ever lead to a viable freelance career or a stable, regularly paid position²⁹. Whether trainees would be promoted so they could actually make a living from their professional activity depended entirely on the good will of the supervisor. To make things worse, apprentices were usually not credited for their work, rendering it invisible in filmographies³⁰. In case a newcomer abandoned the training for some reason, its informal character and the lacking documentation of acquired skills could mean that all endeavours were in vain. Then again, an apprenticeship could turn out to be extremely beneficial to starting a career in the industry if the mentor took to the student. The experience of how a writer of Gothic horror films and gialli became dependent from a senior professional illustrates the mode in which such agreements were organised³¹.

Around 1960, Ernesto Gastaldi was one of the many enthusiasts who saw his future in the film business but did not have the means or connections which would have allowed him to get an appropriate job. In his autobiography, he described his situation as follows: «I try to enter the world of cinema, but I feel that those who are inside have locked the door»³². When the budding film-maker, a former student at the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, met the established screenwriter Ugo Guerra, Gastaldi started phoning him periodically to ask for work. After some time, Guerra made his young colleague an

Workers in the film industry were often male. For studies of women's labour in the Italian media industries in the 1960s and 1970s, see Fanchi, 2015; Missero, 2018.

²⁶ See Ashton and Noonan, 2013.

²⁷ On the characteristics of film industry networks, see Blair, 2003; Antcliff, Saundry and Stuart, 2007; and Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012.

²⁸ In trade parlance, such work was termed "fare il negro".

²⁹ On the instability of media industry careers, see Wallis, van Raalte and Allegrini, 2020.

³⁰ On disadvantageous copyright agreements in writers' freelance work, see Cohen, 2012.

³¹ Previous screenwriting research in the Italian context has focused on art-house cinema. See Pelo, 2010; Russo, 2014a; and Romanelli, 2019. Russo, 2014b, is more inclusive in terms of Italy's lowbrow film culture.

³² Gastaldi, 1991: 133.

offer: he asked Gastaldi to conceive a film treatment which had already been paid by the producer. The movie was designed to advertise the producer's new nightclub on via Appia Antica in Rome. Guerra deemed the project unimportant and had no idea for a film about such an idiosyncratic topic, but he did not want to lose the money. Requesting Gastaldi to deliver the treatment already on the next day, the experienced writer imagined that he would get rid of his insistent admirer in this way. Instead, Gastaldi managed to finish the assignment within the tight deadline, so Guerra assumed the young author's credit and delivered to the client a substantial treatment which he claimed to be his own work. A couple of days later, it was Gastaldi who received a phone call from Guerra. The nightclub owner had been satisfied and complemented the purported writer: «One can recognise your style, Ugo». The established screenwriter made Gastaldi the offer for which he had been waiting so long: «If you write and they recognise my style, come to me, there's a lot of work waiting for you». This way, the aspirant joined Guerra's ghostwriters, a team of five or six ambitious newcomers, and started to earn money from screenwriting³³. What is interesting about this narrative is not so much the finding that, out of the many commercial reasons for making films, producing a movie in order to promote a bar was a particularly banal motivation. Rather, it is striking that the screenwriter tells the story about his professional beginnings as a comical anecdote³⁴. He does not give the impression that he thought his older colleague's behaviour to be unfair³⁵. At any rate, the title of his autobiography Voglio entrare nel cinema. Storia di uno che ce l'ha fatta is a strong indication that his success in penetrating the industry as an outsider was of great personal importance to the author.

Gastaldi's relaxed attitude towards the paternalism of his mentor does not hide the fact that the apprenticeship he had to endure was characterised by massive inequality³⁶. While Guerra earned significant sums, to his collaborators he passed down much less: «He paid 50,000, 60,000 [lire], but he took 5, 6 million»³⁷. The exploitation of ghostwriters had economic, symbolic and social consequences³⁸. Firstly, they only received a modest share in the fee that the senior had charged for a piece of writing. Secondly, they were deprived of the credit which meant that they could not provide evidence for their work experience gained during the apprenticeship. In the medium and long term, the denial of credits became even more unfair since unnamed authors did not receive any royalties. Thirdly, even though they were successful screenwriters, they were not able to cultivate business relationships with potential customers

³³ Gastaldi interviewed in Rome, 11 September 2019.

³⁴ As with many experienced practitioners, Gastaldi's testimony is both a spontaneous recollection of his youth and a self-conscious, carefully crafted narrative that has been retold and brought to perfection throughout his life. For more on autobiographical narratives, see Banks, 2015: 233.

³⁵ In other interviews, Gastaldi speaks approvingly of Guerra too. See Švábenický, 2014: 72, 88-89, 99.

³⁶ Social inequality is a basic characteristic of creative work due to the project-based model of production. See Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013.

³⁷ Gastaldi interviewed in Rome, 11 September 2019.

Recently, such work methods have been picked up by Italian cinema. *Notti magiche* (Paolo Virzì, 2018) depicts the collective writing practice of trainees as sweatshop labour.

or utilise their professional reputation in order to secure more lucrative jobs. Withheld credits could have unpleasant repercussions. For example, when Dario Argento did not acknowledge Aldo Lado's co-authorship of *L'uccello dalle piume di cristallo*, Lado agreed to receive compensation and remain discreet about Argento's appropriation of their joint work. In hindsight, the deceived filmmaker realised that the compensation money was insignificant in comparison with the potential career advancement that the co-authorship of Argento's massive box-office hit could have caused. Lado is convinced that if anybody had known about his creative contribution to *L'uccello dalle piume di cristallo*, he might have found a producer for his first film as a director earlier. Accordingly, Argento's dishonesty delayed his directorial career³⁹. For a young practitioner, a presentable personal filmography signified a crucial advantage on the employment market given the oversupply of workers. Invisible labour was detrimental to one's career prospects. In a fast-moving industry geared to the financial results of a filmmaker's recent projects, credits proved to be essential.

This demonstrates that the submission which budding creative workers had to endure when taking up an apprenticeship was not just a polite gesture towards an older colleague but a far-reaching mode of repression. Although such training periods were widely accepted as an effective manner of vocational preparation, apprentices were systematically deprived of economic and social capital. As trainees, young workers were at the mercy of their mentors and did not know when they would be able to work autonomously. Gastaldi was one of the trainees who were not happy with their occupational situation. He was annoyed that he did not know how long his unfavourable collaboration with Guerra would continue. While working as a ghostwriter, Gastaldi tried to sell scripts under his own name. Over a longer period, he offered a specific story to the major production and distribution company Titanus. Despite numerous enquiries, he was not even told if anybody had read his work. Silvio Clementelli, then head of the Titanus story department⁴⁰, did not want to talk with the young author, and the company's employees turned Gastaldi away. When Guerra heard of his collaborator's ready-to-use story, he proposed to sell it under his own name and share the fee. Subsequently, the production company bought the film from Guerra. After the deal had been concluded, Gastaldi finally managed to speak with Clementelli. He informed him that he was the actual author of the recently acquired story: «If you had accepted my offer, you'd have paid 50,000 [lire] instead of 6 million». Gastaldi also tried to get in touch with the head of Titanus, Goffredo Lombardo, but was only allowed to meet him after Lombardo had come to the conclusion that something was wrong with a draft of Sodom and Gomorrah (Sodoma e Gomorra, Robert Aldrich, 1962). Notwithstanding Gastaldi's co-authorship, Guerra claimed that he himself had written the screenplay. When Lombardo noticed remarkable inconsistencies in the script, he called Guerra's bluff. The mentor could not help but introduce his assistant to the studio head⁴¹.

³⁹ Lado interviewed in Vienna, 31 August 2019.

⁴⁰ In 1964, Clementelli founded his own production company Clesi - Compagnia Produzioni Cinematografiche (Bernardini, 2000: 99).

⁴¹ Gastaldi interviewed in Rome, 11 September 2019. The excessive costs of *Sodom and Gomorrah* and *Il gattopardo* (Luchino Visconti, 1963) forced Titanus to give up its production arm (Di Chiara, 2013: 62).

Escaping from a professional relationship of dependence was extremely difficult. Gastaldi made several attempts to make himself heard when he did not have a track record due to his status as a ghostwriter. By speaking with Clementelli and Lombardo, he hoped to get rid of the intermediary Guerra and finally be accepted as a screenwriter in his own right. But as an ordinary person who did not have an official function or reputation in the film industry, the Titanus employees kept the young practitioner at bay so that he did not succeed in talking with any senior managers. Despite great efforts of obtaining regularly paid jobs, over and over Gastaldi was forced to reverting to Guerra, his reputation and his network in order to survive economically.

As relationships of trust were essential for all practitioners, studios would only buy material from established writers. This is why Gastaldi's struggle was in vain. The industry acquiesced to experienced practitioners who operated like small businesses and outsourced assignments that they deemed non-relevant or could not accomplish themselves. If producers had taken seriously people like Gastaldi, who was outspoken about the power relations in his field of work, production expenses could have been reduced. But for producers, it was more important to maintain good business relations with established, tried practitioners. They believed in professionality and reliability, trusted in the idea that an experienced screenwriter like Guerra would deliver work of acceptable quality. They were probably aware of the team of ghostwriters he employed, but as long as they were satisfied with the results of Guerra's collaborative writing factory, producers did not worry about questions of authorship.

Gastaldi's experience substantiates the fact that mandatory periods of apprenticeship, which any budding worker without a pre-existing network was forced to complete, permitted the relentless exploitation of young people at the outset of their occupational lives⁴². The way in which the former apprentice, now 86 years old, narrates the story of his arduous transition from invisible work to freelancing does not betray bitterness. If he once bemoaned his difficult situation, he has overcome any negative feelings just like he overcame the hindrances for newcomers to the film industry, or at least he prefers not to disclose his real emotions. Of course, vocational training in the media industries was not inherently corrupt. Some aspirants decided voluntarily to become apprentices, and this stage could also turn out to be a beneficial preparation for independent work. Yet, most newcomers had no other choice but to work incognito for a senior practitioner, as this was their only chance to earn money⁴³. In relationships of mentors and students, legitimate training and exploitation of labour were tightly entangled.

It was Gastaldi's own network of friends and colleagues which allowed him to become more independent from Guerra. Tina Gloriani, an acquaintance from his time at the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, gave the screenwriter's contact to her partner, the director-producer Renato Polselli. The latter, who had already made a number of films, asked Gastaldi to re-write the screenplay for his

⁴² For a more nuanced examination of labour exploitation in media industries, see Hesmondhalgh, 2017.

⁴³ In fact, Gastaldi refused unpaid work as he was forced to earn a living. For instance, he declined to work as an unpaid assistant to Federico Fellini (Gastaldi, 1991: 144). For more on unpaid work of early-career practitioners, see Percival and Hesmondhalgh, 2014, and Shade and Jacobson, 2015.

upcoming project, a low-budget Gothic horror film called *L'amante del vampiro* (1960). The production, which was shot at Palazzo Borghese in Artena, constituted the first official credit of Gastaldi⁴⁴. Gradually, he succeeded in relying less on ghostwriting for Guerra and building a reputation as an independent author. Subsequently, Gastaldi worked mostly within the realm of popular genre cinema. In the 1960s and 1970s, he became known as a specialist in erotic thrillers. Gastaldi's fate was not exceptional. Many practitioners commenced their careers under similar circumstances: editor Eugenio Alabiso was the apprentice of Roberto Cinquini, director Luigi Cozzi started as the right hand man of Dario Argento, director Aldo Lado worked as an assistant director⁴⁵. Nearly every career in the media industries depended on some kind of low-level training period. However, the possibility of reverting to a pre-existing network of established practitioners facilitated significantly the first stage of media work.

The early-career experiences of well-connected workers differed drastically from the first steps of industry outsiders. Manolo Bolognini's recollections are a case in point: «My entry into the field of cinema was pretty quick and easy»⁴⁶, he remembers in an interview. He was the younger brother of director Mauro Bolognini who, by the time of the younger sibling's arrival in Rome, had already made his first film *Ci troviamo in galleria* (1953). Later, Manolo Bolognini would produce the gialli *La donna nel lago* (1965) and *Giornata nera per l'ariete* (1971). Contrasting his and Gastaldi's apprenticeship periods, Bolognini's experience definitely appears less troubled.

Many budding filmmakers could not help but get through periods of apprenticeship or assistantship, but actually, they wanted to move on to more interesting fields of work as soon as possible. They saw their activities as apprentices, trainees or assistants as a transitory period on the way to a better type of occupational activity that was artistically fulfilling, lucrative or both⁴⁷. Therefore, the period of apprenticeship can be understood as «hope labour». Communication scholars Kathleen Kuehn and Thomas F. Corrigan propose this term for analysing the unpaid production of social media content in the digital economy. The authors define hope labour as

un- or under-compensated work carried out in the present, often for experience or exposure, in the hope that future employment opportunities may follow. Hope labor's distinctiveness compared to other forms of free labor lies in the temporal relationship between present experience and future aspirations. This relationship shifts costs and risks onto the hope laborer.⁴⁸

The notion of hope labour allows to understand apprenticeship, a common occurrence in the biographies of most media industry workers, as a phenomenon which unites conflictive temporalities: the agonisingly slow present, which is characterised by hard work, low pay and marginal social recognition, and the

⁴⁴ Gastaldi, 1991: 158-163. The screenwriter also contributed to this film as assistant director.

⁴⁵ Alabiso interviewed in Rome, 3 April 2018, Cozzi interviewed in Rome, 19 September 2019, Lado interviewed in Vienna, 31 August 2019. Like Guerra, Cozzi distributed screenwriting jobs to ghostwriters.

⁴⁶ Bolognini, 2017: 15.

⁴⁷ On the temporal qualities of meaningful work, see Bailey and Madden, 2017.

⁴⁸ Kuehn and Corrigan, 2013: 21.

future, a period full of meaningful, socially valued labour, which compensates for the toil of serving as an apprentice⁴⁹. Kuehn and Corrigan's idea, which has been developed in regard to corporations profiting from user-created online content, is worthwhile for understanding media economies beyond digital capitalism.

To apply the notion to training periods in Italian cinema, however, it is necessary to reframe the significance of exposure. For some hope labourers of the 1960s and 1970s, their achievements' public visibility might have played an important role, but if intermediaries were involved, the non-availability of exposure was exactly why trainees' work was so precarious. The example of Gastaldi proves that mentors reaped profit, i.e., money and credits, from the accomplishments of "hidden" apprentices. Hence, in the Italian film culture of the 1960s and 1970s, the meaning of exposure as a benefit of hope labour was more complicated than in digital business models.

Film practitioners like Alabiso, Gastaldi and Lado started their careers as hope labourers. They succeeded in transforming a substantial expenditure of work into the economic and social capital of a long-term career in the film business. In project-based industries, such steady occupational careers are exceptional. It is crucial to acknowledge that every successful media industry biography is built on the disappointment of an invisible mass of competing hope labourers who failed at securing their dream jobs. As usual, we do not hear anything about failed efforts; only success stories continue to be told.

IV. CONCLUSION

This article examined the inherent political dynamics of temporalities typical for media industry labour. Using the example of the Italian film sector of the 1960s and 1970s and, in particular, popular erotic thriller cycles, the argument focused on two different types of time periods which are closely associated with film production: the shooting stage and the phase of apprenticeship for newcomers trying to gain a foothold in the industry. Both temporalities are socially constructed as ordinary and neutral. While the notion of the shooting period is commonly understood as an organisational-technical imperative, the time of apprenticeship is framed as a worthwhile form of on-the-job training which allows aspiring workers to hone their professional skills supervised by senior experts. The analysis has demonstrated that, despite their apparent factuality, these normalised temporalities of labour were heavily fraught with hierarchical tensions and power imbalances. Directors appropriated the length of film shooting as a means of occupational distinction, equating longer durations with professionalism and high-quality product. Under the pretext of apprenticeship, experienced mentors took advantage of moneyless trainees who lacked a personal network of supportive film practitioners. Apprentices weathered through this period in anticipation of regular freelance work that was compensated fairly.

Ultimately, the ways in which practitioners perceive both time periods betray meritocratic logics. The alleged mutual relationship of shooting schedules and directorial competence is based on the idea that the most hard-working film-makers were rewarded with adequate temporal working conditions, eliding

⁴⁹ For Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011), the quest for "good work" constitutes the central motivation for working the media industries.

the fact that even accomplished directors struggled fiercely to produce decent films when forced to fulfil breakneck schedules. During their vocational training, young creative labourers who hoped to make a career in the film industry bowed to mentors because, at least at the outset of their efforts, they believed in the meritocratic ideal. The promise of financial and social promotion as the consequence of strenuous productivity made them condone the misappropriation of their work by senior professionals. Ideologically, the temporalities of the film shooting and apprenticeship were undergirded by notions of meritocracy, obscuring fundamental inequalities between practitioners. Sustaining hierarchies and normalising exploitation, the achievement ideology that dominated the media industry was a means of social oppression. As this enquiry has shown, examining the temporal qualities of ostensibly trivial phenomena is a fruitful approach for understanding creative labour in media production.

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Table 1 -The shooting periods of 92 Italian gialli

Film title	Release year	Shooting period in weeks
Amore e morte nel giardino degli dei	1972	3
Interrabang	1969	3
5 bambole per la luna d'agosto	1970	4
Delirio caldo	1972	4
Giochi erotici di una famiglia per bene	1975	4
Nude per l'assassino	1975	4
Un bianco vestito per Marialè	1972	4
Yellow - Le cugine	1969	4
Gatti rossi in un labirin- to di vetro	1975	5
I ragazzi del massacro	1969	5

Film title	Release year	Shooting period in weeks
Il rosso segno della follia	1970	5
Il sorriso della iena	1972	5
La rossa dalla pelle che scotta	1972	5
Lo strangolatore di Vienna	1971	5
Omicidio per vocazione	1968	5
Ondata di piacere	1975	5
Reazione a catena	1971	5
Top sensation	1969	5
Chi l'ha vista morire?	1972	6
Femina ridens	1969	6
I caldi amori di una minorenne	1969	6
Il caso «Venere privata»	1970	6
Il coltello di ghiaccio	1972	6
Il vuoto intorno	1969	6
L'assassino è costretto ad uccidere ancora	1975	6
L'iguana dalla lingua di fuoco	1971	6
La notte che Evelyn uscì dalla tomba	1971	6
La volpe dalla coda di velluto	1971	6
Lo strano vizio della Signora Wardh	1971	6
Paranoia	1970	6

Film title	Release year	Shooting period in weeks
Rivelazioni di un maniaco sessuale al capo della squadra mobile	1972	6
Sette scialli di seta gialla	1972	6
Un omicidio perfetto a termine di legge	1971	6
A doppia faccia	1969	7
Alla ricerca del piacere	1972	7
Casa d'appuntamento	1972	7
Col cuore in gola	1967	7
Cosa avete fatto a Solange?	1972	7
Diabolicamente tua	1967	7
l corpi presentano tracce di violenza carnale	1973	7
L'assassino è al telefono	1972	7
L'assassino ha riservato nove poltrone	1974	7
L'uomo senza memoria	1974	7
La coda dello scorpione	1971	7
La dama rossa uccide sette volte	1972	7
La vittima designata	1971	7
Le foto proibite di una signora per bene	1970	7
Le tue mani sul mio corpo	1970	7
Mio caro assassino	1972	7
Nelle pieghe della carne	1970	7

Film title	Release year	Shooting period in weeks
Orgasmo	1969	7
Perché quelle strane gocce di sangue sul corpo di Jennifer?	1972	7
Sette orchidee macchiate di rosso	1972	7
Stéphane - La moglie infedele	1969	7
Tutti i colori del buio	1972	7
Vergogna, schifosi!	1969	7
Al tropico del cancro	1972	8
Concerto per pistola solista	1970	8
Così dolce così perversa	1969	8
Delitto al circolo del tennis	1969	8
Giornata nera per l'ariete	1971	8
Il dolce corpo di Deborah	1968	8
Il profumo della signora in nero	1974	8
Il sesso degli angeli	1968	8
Il tuo vizio è una stanza chiusa e solo io ne ho la chiave	1972	8
Indagine su un cittadino al di sopra di ogni sospetto	1970	8
L'arma, l'ora, il movente	1972	8
La morte ha fatto l'uovo	1968	8
La polizia chiede aiuto	1974	8
Salvare la faccia	1969	8

Film title	Release year	Shooting period in weeks
Spasmo	1974	8
Uccidete il vitello grasso e arrostitelo	1970	8
Una farfalla con le ali insanguinate	1971	8
Il diavolo nel cervello	1972	9
La controfigura	1971	9
La morte accarezza a mezzanotte	1972	9
La morte non ha sesso	1968	9
Macchie solari	1975	9
Senza sapere niente di lei	1969	9
Un detective	1969	9
Un posto ideale per uccidere	1971	9
Una lucertola con la pelle di donna	1971	9
Quattro mosche di velluto grigio	1971	10
Una ragazza piuttosto complicata	1969	10
Una sull'altra	1969	10
Femmine insaziabili	1969	11
Il gatto a nove code	1971	11
L'uccello dalle piume di cristallo	1970	11
Profondo rosso	1975	11

Film title	Release year	Shooting period in weeks
Un tranquillo posto di campagna	1968	11
Non si sevizia un paperino	1972	12
La morte cammina con i tacchi alti	1971	13

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