Cinema culture and audience rituals: Early mediatisation of society

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Abstract

Cinema played an important role in the creation of media culture and in the mediatisation processes in the societies of the 20th century. In this paper, I use the cultural-historical approach and Geertz's thick description method to analyse cinema-going practices and audiences' ritual uses of cinema in Slovenia. Around 180 interviews with cinemagoers helped me to collect their memories of cinema-going habits to find out how the mediatisation of society is intertwined with ritualised human action. In its early and in its golden years, cinema was closely connected with sociability and functioned as an important social and leisure space for the emerging mass audience. With the examples from the Slovenian society until the 1970s I illustrate how ritualisation had been an integral part of mediatisation processes when cinema started to cultivate and disseminate specific media dispositions through the ritual practices.

KEYWORDS: cinema, audience, oral history, ritual, mediatisation, Slovenia

> *But there is another way of going to the movies [...] by letting oneself be fascinated* twice over*, by the image and by its surroundings – as if I had two bodies at the same time: a narcissistic body which gazes, lost, into the engulfing mirror, and a perverse body, ready to fetishise not the image but precisely what exceeds it: the texture of the sound, the hall, the darkness, the obscure mass of the other bodies, the rays of light, entering the theatre, leaving the hall; in short [...] I complicate a 'relation' by a 'situation'.*
> *(Barthes 1986: 349)*

> *Cinema fascinated us. I remember how my grandmother talked about cinema when I was very little that they went to the cinema to see how Emperor Franz Joseph was walking up and down. I could not believe that.*
> *(accountant, 73 years, Ljubljana)*

Introduction: about the theoretical background of cinema studies

The importance of cinema in the societies of the 20th century is overlooked in many ways. Cinema started to produce and disseminate mass popular culture; it went hand in hand with the industrialisation boom, and it played a historically crucial role in the creation of media culture and in the mediatisation of societies. Together with the film camera and film projector, cinema was, in fact, the first electronic medium that created mass media audience in the human history. Moreover, cinema started to create and disseminate, to borrow from Rothenbuhler, 'ritualised media use' (1998: 78–95). In other words, it started to teach people how to live with and through media. Certain ritualised practices developed around cinema; in this regard, cinema cultivated people's everyday habits and organised their leisure time. Cinema, together with radio, thus, started to shape media culture in the first half of the 20th century.

The basic concern of this paper is to determine the role of cinema in the early mediatisation of Slovenian society. In a more specific sense, this means that I am particularly interested in the ways how people developed certain ritual uses of cinema. My intention is to investigate people's practices, for instance, how certain habits and behaviours of cinema going, viewing and consuming cinema fit into a meaningful pattern, to borrow from Emerson and Perse (1995), and how associated beliefs, values, emotions, symbolic expressions emerged. In this regard, we can talk about ritualised media consumption. Ritualised media uses such as people's practices together with media texts that circulate in society, and other agents involved in media industries and media regulation together form a solid basis for the creation of media culture.[1] However, in this paper I want to determine how the mediatisation of society is intertwined with ritualisation processes, and I will develop this argument with the case study of cinema in 20th century Slovenia.

As a new medium, in its early years cinema caused indignation, and quite serious moral panics occurred around it. Cinema was accused of corrupting its mass and passive audience. Furthermore, in the early studies from the beginning of the 20th century, as Christie observes (2012), cinema audiences were described as crowds sleeping and dreaming a collective dream, from which they awake when leaving the cinema. Later, in the heyday of cinema, Frankfurt school theorists and Chicago school of sociologists such as Herbert Blumer's works (1970), with a critical agenda against Hollywood, criticised and accused cinema of creating a craving for excitement and for providing what does not educate but gives pleasure. These works decisively influenced studies of cinema in later years. Academic discussions on cinema as a medium, as a leisure cultural practice, as a social space, and on cinema-going practices are very rare. Only a small number of studies that focus on cinema consumption and cinema audiences and on their interaction rituals exists. Austin (1983) argued that no other media audience has been so ignored from a

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1 According to Rothenbuhler (1998), the whole mediated communication should be understood in a ritual form. For the Slovenian case, Jontes (2009) in such a manner investigates ritualised media production, when exploring rituals of journalistic work, how journalists through ritual practices of narrativisation or through "rhetorical rituals" maintain the authority of journalism.

social sciences point of view as the cinema audience is.[2] Richards (2003: 341) argues that lately there have appeared some reception studies that focus on cinema audience, but she notes that many years of reception history have been lost and 'the sources used to conduct work into the contemporary reception of films and cinema-going habits of previous decades are dwindling.'

On the other side, there exist many studies that focus on the production and distribution site of cinema, this is on cinema's content/film texts and on national cinema/film industries (cf. Sedgwick 1998; Reboll & Willis 2004). Moreover, most of the existing research on cinema was done in the domain of film studies, which emerged in the 1970s. However, when these studies discuss cinema, they talk about film, national cinematographies, or film production. Their focus of research was on the film text itself, but if it was on the cinema audience, they focused mostly on the ideal, implied viewer in the text from psychoanalytic or semiotic points of view and the audience was regarded as an abstraction (cf. Mulvey 1975; Metz 1984). As Barthes' example (1986) above also proves, cinema was addressed mostly as a special place with specific physical characteristics that influence viewers: dark space, big screen, loud sounds, specific lightning, isolated seats, crowd. They presumed that such characteristics put viewers in the mental status of hyper-reactivity and for these reasons viewers are more prone to the scenes shown (cf. Metz 1984; Ellis 1992). In the scope of these theories, cinema is considered very narrowly: it is used as a synonym for film and/or national film production, and it is dealt with as a film apparatus, or the focus is placed only on its specific characteristics and functions to provide pleasure to audiences and thus connect technological perspective of cinema (camera, projector, space) to mental or psychological processes activated in viewers (cf. Recuber 2007). Furthermore, in the Slovenian case, most histories and theories of cinema speak about history or film theory and national cinematography (cf. Majcen 2014; Brenk 1979; Vrdlovec 2013; Traven 1992).

Film studies dominated cinema studies for a long period and, according to Christie (2012: 17), film studies emerged in three different research paradigms, a) the emergence of semiotics with studying film as visual communication, b) the emergence of auteur theory focusing on the directors of the films, and c) a social turn focusing on the concrete conditions of cinema going and turning attention away from the timeless film texts. This third paradigm, characterised by "social turn", puts the focus on the empirical research of real audiences (cf. Maltby, Stokes & Allen 2007). However, most of these studies focusing on cinema audiences still predominantly focus either on audience's tastes or on the film program that attracts audiences (cf. Krämer 1999), on the perception of filmed scenes and film viewing habits in the context of the broader effects of film

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[2] To list some of these existing studies: social histories of cinema and cinema-going practices in Scotland and Scottish film production (Griffiths 2012), of cinema going in the USA and Britain in the 1930s (Glancy & Sedgwick 2012; Huggett 2002; Kuhn 1999; Richards 1983), a theoretical account of how Welsh society responded to the remarkable popularity of cinema entertainment and of the culture of film going that existed during the cinema's heyday of the 1930s and 1940s in Wales (Miskell 2005; see also Richards 2003), or the study of Bollywood films and cinema going and their role in the creation of diasporic British South Asian social identities and geographies (Dudrah 2002).

on society and culture (cf. Geraghty 2000)[3] or as the abovementioned case of Barthes (1986) shows, on the detailed phenomenologies of viewing experience. However, what is missing in these studies is the investigation of cinema as a medium, of the cinema audience and its ritualised practices. The audience is essential for cinema, and

> arguably, two concepts of audience have dominated the history of cinema: one is an imagined audience of 'they' and 'we', often credited with preferences and responses which are mere hypotheses, or projections of the author's assumptions and prejudices; and the other is economic or statistical audience, recorded in terms of admissions or box-office receipts, which has become the dominant concept of audience for the film industry (Christie 2012: 11).

Christie (2012: 11) points to yet another, a third, perspective, 'with the individual spectator understood in terms of psychology, anthropology or sociology,' which followed the turn to cultural studies and put the focus on cinema consumers to study meaning-making processes involved in the whole activity of cinema consumption. In such a way, Geraghty's (2000) work addresses the concrete experience of cinema going in Britain in the 1945–1965 period through the combination of the cultural history of cinema and film theory, although she is still focusing mainly on popular films' influence on broader society in the 1950s. However, such a turn to audience centred perspective, according to Meers (2000), also established historical and empirical models of the cinema spectator. The turn to study actual viewers in their social and cultural context and their cinematic experience means going beyond atomising, abstracting or psychologising the viewer (Hayward 1996; Meers 2000; Luthar 2010a; Luthar 2010b). When researching cinema audiences these studies still mostly place their focus on the analysis how individuals negotiate program output (film texts), but the cinematic experience is much more than that. If we want to understand the role of cinema in the early mediatisation processes we have to study, in addition to the influence of film texts on society, cinema as a social and leisure space, as a cultural practice in its broader context and its connection to ritualisation processes.[4]

Moreover, historically, the second important impulse for the development of cinema studies came from television studies and reception analyses (cf. Morley 1992), which emphasised the importance of the context of consumption. Studies following these analyses favour an ethnographic approach to cinema audiences but are reduced to film reception again in many cases. Inspired by Silverstone's (1994) and Hill's (1999)

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[3] There also exist a few studies of cinema from the perspective of visual anthropology, which study the value of film in the understanding of our world from visual and material perspectives (Gray 2010).

[4] In this regard, some studies might be helpful: Bensi's approach (1998) to the young cinema-goers in Europe and their consumer habits in order to construct a profile of the young audience; Kuhn's (1999) historically oriented studies whose purpose was to find out the traditions and changes in cinemagoing; Hubbard's (2003) social geographies of cinema, which explore cinemas as sites of recreation, leisure and consumption and attempt to describe the changes that have happened in the geography of cinemas (from traditional town centre cinemas to multi-screen out-of-town cinemas) and to determine how this affects the routines of cinemagoing; or Bowles' (2007) thesis on rural geographies and cinema, particularly in terms of early road development, the building of road bridges, etc. since these elements are part of a broad ecosystemic framework for cultural decision-making which can assist in our interpretation of the emergence and promotion of cinemas.

approaches to television as a part of everyday life, this paper is based on anthropologically oriented media-ethnography research and attempts to sort out structures of signification as well as structures of feeling to discuss diverse cinema practices in historical setting, audiences' encounters with film culture and to explore the experiences of people in everyday life with cinema. To paraphrase Silverstone (1994) and Hill (1999), cinema may appear to be a simple technology that we take for granted as an essential component of our daily lives, but over time we developed a whole set of relationships and dependencies with the cinema. For this purpose, the role of cinema in the lives of ordinary people and the complex relationship between cinema and people's ritualised uses of cinema need to be addressed.

Using the oral history approach and statistical sources, this survey provides insight into how people consumed cinema in order to make a thick description of mass cinema audiences' rituals and their popular experiences with cinema. This project is a kind of 'memory reclamation' (Richards 2003) of a medium whose golden years have already passed, but memories can provide a flavour of cinema-going habits, audience's ritual practices and also the sense of social context in which cinema began to mediatise society. The research was done biannually in 2011, 2013 and 2015 and during the fieldwork gathering of data 180 interviews were conducted with men and women of different ages (from 55 to 90), different social positions from all around Slovenia, from urban as well as rural areas, to evoke their memories of cinema-going practices and to reconstruct their experiences with cinema until the end of the 1970s.[5] Through the interviews, the direct testimonies of a generation for whom 'going to the pictures was an everyday, and perhaps for some even a formative, activity' (Kuhn 1999: 531) were gathered. I investigate how people thought about cinema and how they used it. In Geertz's (1973) sense, the ethnography of cinema is based on a method of thick description, which directs interpretive attention to the material practices of people but also to the nuances and various codes of the meaning of cinema and its performative role, that is its role in the world-making. This could serve to a better understanding of the role of cinema in the early mediatisation of Slovenian society. In addition, I also offer some statistics, which presents the demographics of mass cinema audiences and trends concerning cinema going, and which can explain some historical aspects of this particular form of culture in detail.

Cultural history of cinema going: cinemafication and mediatisation of the Slovenian society

Cinema is thought to be quite a modern form of popular culture, since it was created only at the end of the 19th century with the integration of film camera and film projector technology. When film was invented, it was necessary to project it to the audiences, and cinema was born from the efforts of how to show films to the masses of people. Fang (1997), when defining them as products for the ordinary person and packaged as goods

for sale, argues that films and cinemas are part of the mass media revolution, as well as part of entertainment media revolution when defining them as entertainment products for popular recreation. When cinema appeared, for the first time in the history masses of people could visualise the world in moving pictures, they could visually travel into distant and unknown lands and places, see new events and happenings and could enjoy the magic of fiction in moving pictures. People were fascinated by moving pictures; crowds rushed to the cinema to see them, and this was the moment when masses of people were for the first time acquainted with electronic media culture. Memories of people's early encounters with cinema testify that there were not only specific new practices and experiences connected to the cinema and the early formation of media culture, but specific emotions and feelings (pride, excitement, affection, pleasure, respect, etc.) also emerged. These characterised the cultural specificity of early mediatisation processes, when media started massively entering people's lives and started decisively shaping their lives through the total capture of all their senses (cf. Hardt 2004). Experiences with early cinema in this regard forecast the characteristics of the later development of media culture, whereby the emergence of each new medium in the 20th and 21st century captured the full attention of people. The micro-case of early cinema, thus, reveals much about how mediatised culture became the dominant, hegemonic culture in modern societies:

> Cinema was something totally new. We were breathless, the big screen enchanted us! (housewife, 79 years, Jurovci).

> I first went to the cinema as a child, and we thought that there were some people behind the screen doing all that action in the film. It was a real miracle for us, and I felt tingling throughout my body (economist, 77 years, Jesenice).

> It was a real attraction; it was for the first time that we saw how a man-picture says something to us. A true sensation for us at that time and we were all so excited that we wanted more. And this was in the late 1940s when the factory gave tickets to all workers to go to the cinema. I also saw the sea for the first time in cinema (administrative worker, 84 years, Medvode).

> I remember my first visit to the cinema. It was before WWII, I was a young girl, accompanied by my auntie, and it was something awesome. I peed my pants because it was so exciting (accountant, 85 years, Ljubljana).

The idea of cinema, that is of motion picture projection, was born in France, when Louis and Auguste Lumiere, following the idea of Edison's Kinetoscope, invented the Cinematographe, 'a combined camera, film printer, and projector [...] the Lumieres were able to project their films onto a screen for an audience, whereas Edison's Kinetoscope accommodated only one viewer at a time' (Fang, 1997: 97). Cinema[6] was born on 28 December 1895 when the 'Lumieres projected the first motion pictures before a paying audience in the basement of a Paris café.... In no time at all, long lines formed outside

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[6] Another popular name was also "a bioscope", introduced by a German inventor.

the café to see the show' (Fang, 1997: 97). Briggs and Burke (2002: 168) argue that the Lumieres created not only a new medium (cinema) but also that a new mass audience 'was brought into existence through film, far bigger than that ever created by the theatre, in what was to be called the golden age of cinema.' After popular penny press from the 19th century, which attracted reading audiences for the first time on a massive scale, cinema was a first electronic medium that gathered even greater audience at the same time and place for specific cinematic experience, media entertainment, and pleasure. Historically, cinema started to build and cultivate media audiences, and it had a significant impact on the lives of ordinary people. Geraghty (2000: 1–2) writes:

> In the 1920s and 1930s, cinema became strongly identified with forms of mass entertainment that were associated with the social and cultural consequences of modern industrialization. The urban crowds brought to the city by the factory and the office were organised by cinema into focused and intent mass audiences. Going to the pictures became a regular event, which fitted into the leisure spaces left by the organisation of the working day.

Cinemas were products of the industrialisation and urbanisation of society, starting in the late 19th century in the Western world, which was when also the concept of leisure time was born, which was conveniently filled with these new media. As my informants' testimonies prove, cinema was also a tool for urbanisation and modernisation of the Slovenian society; it brought people images of urban life; it helped to urbanise rural spaces and mentalities; it offered new concepts of spending time to the industrial milieus in accordance with the industrial and media consumer discursive regimes of connecting leisure time to media. Moreover, the new medium also affected the new conceptualisation of audiences (Sullivan 2013). If before for centuries, local fairs and religious festivals had brought people together for shared amusement, in the industrial and urban world this role was given to media and other popular recreation (e.g. amusement centres, sport), in the beginning years especially to cinema and 'as the industrial revolution gained strength, it gave rise not only to mass information, but to mass entertainment.... An entertainment industry grew to feed a discovered public hunger for packaged pleasure' (Fang 1997: 102). Hansen (1991: 117) argues that cinema opened up space more than any other entertainment form, 'a social space as well as a perceptual experiential horizon.' Cinema now brought entertainment also to the poor, uneducated, single women, and others, since in the USA, movie picture shows cost 10 or 15 cents, while, for instance, regular theatre or opera cost one or two dollars. Christie (2012) adds that the link can hardly be denied between audiences who could afford no other amusement and the spectacular rise of cinema going in the first half of the 20th century. These circumstances can also be mapped to the Slovenian case: 'I first went to the cinema in 1934. It was very cheap. It was entertainment for everybody. In Ljubljana, poor and rich people, educated and simple people went to the cinema. It was the only entertainment besides theatres and opera at that time' (director of a company, 88 years, Ljubljana).

Only a year after Lumiere's first cinema show in Paris, Slovenian audiences watched first cinema show with the help of Edison's travelling cinema in the autumn of

1896. Foreign travelling companies organised first public projections and screened the first films in hotels, pubs or restaurants in bigger cities, such as Ljubljana, Maribor, and Celje. They were advertised as 'display of live images in life size' (Žun & Bajsič 2014: 9; Majcen 2014). Until WWI, cinema shows were projected by travelling cinemas in hotels, coffee shops (Grand Hotel Union) or in parks (Tivoli), where they were joined with other entertainment facilities (such as circus, carousels, etc.) for public recreation (Žun & Bajsič 2014: 10). With the introduction of electricity into buildings, the first permanent cinemas appeared in the public halls as cheap public entertainment for a mass audience (first one was in Ljubljana in 1906). After WWI, the number of cinemas gradually increased and 'in the 1920s all Slovenian towns had their own cinema theatres' and in the 1930s its popularity rose' (Majcen 2014). Smaller villages had only travelling cinema theatres, and this trend endured in the years after WWII:

> In the summer time, we put travelling cinema outside in the yard and in the wintertime in the classroom in the school. We didn't have chairs and sometimes we also brought our own chairs, and there were also wooden benches. The screen was a white sheet. The projector stood on the table behind us, so the projectionist was changing film reels in front of us. He yelled: 'A five-minute break', and we discussed [what we saw] in the meantime. He had film reels in the box. And we all learned how to do this because we were sitting next to him (business owner, 75 years, Rodik).

> Travelling cinema came to my village in the early 1960s; it was wintertime, and we held it in our fire brigade hall. We had benches, and the hall was totally full, too small for all the people who came to see the film. That is why we sometimes placed a projector outside in front of the window so that we had more space for benches in the room. All the villagers were very proud that this miracle came to our village (farmer, 67 years, Šalamenci).

Just before WWII, the first film distribution companies were established which greatly facilitated the operation of cinemas. In the 1930s, cinemas started to appear on more regular basis around the country, and also people started to visit cinema more often. That cinema going became massive practice is also confirmed by official state statistical data. Since statistics as a discipline investigates mass phenomena, data about cinemas can be found in statistical yearbooks for the first time in the early 1930s. This testifies to the thesis that cinema became a mass popular practice in the first half of the 20th century. There are no separate data for Slovenia from the early 1930s, but data are gathered for the whole Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In 1933, for instance, there were 319 cinemas throughout the kingdom, but only six years later, in 1939 there were almost 100 cinemas more (413) (SZS 1989: 383).
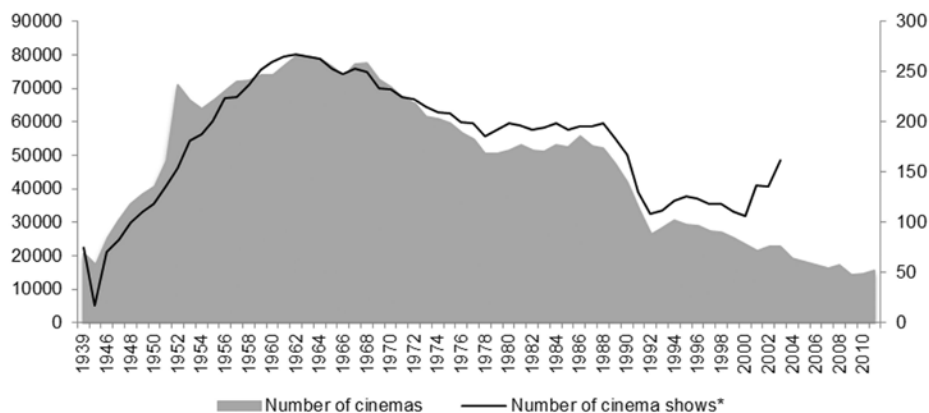
* For the period between 1940 and 1944 data were not collected because
of WWII. From 2004, onwards there is no data about the number of cinema shows in
statistical yearbooks; they stopped collecting this data.

*Figure 1: Number of cinemas and cinema shows from 1939 to 2011 in Slovenia
(ZSRSZS 1964: 41; SURS 1998; Maletin 1996: 40; Svetlin Kastelic 2005;
Svetlin Kastelic 2007; Svetlin Kastelic 2013).*

In 1939, there were 69 cinemas in Slovenia and the number of cinemas grew sharply until 1962/1963, peaking at 265 cinemas around Slovenia (see Figure 1). WWII brought some changes into the programs of cinematography: mostly Italian and German movies were presented, and there also appeared propagandistic introductory films and film weeklies. As one informant reported: 'During WWII there was a film weekly *Die Deutsche Wochenschau* before the film, strictly Nazi propaganda, but we all watched it because we went to see the movie' (forestry engineer, 86 years old, Zgornje Gorje).

If cinema visits fell sharply during the war, immediately afterwards, in 1945 there were 57 cinemas in Slovenia and people continued to visit cinemas in massive numbers. In the first years after the war, staunch Soviet propaganda was shown in cinemas, and the tradition of introductory films continued (Majcen 2014). However, this was now pointed to the building of a robust socialist country, as an informant recalled: 'Before movies we watched *Obzornik*. They informed us about important events in Yugoslavia. I still remember that Tito opened a new dairy plant and that workers from Zastava produced a record number of the then popular Fičo cars' (journalist, 70 years, Ljubljana).

American movies appeared again only in the early 1950s as they had in the interwar period. At that time, cinemas started to attract mass audiences in Slovenia. After WWII, in socialist Yugoslavia cinematographies became state-owned companies and the Slovenian cinematography was also included in the Yugoslav cinematographic network. As the restoration of the country and industrialisation were promoted, many new cinemas were also built. Žun and Bajsič (2014; Žun 2014) discuss the cinemafication of

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Slovenia, because the number of cinemas and cinema viewers rapidly grew. 'They began to restore the former halls and build new ones – especially in a number of cooperative and cultural centres' (Žun & Bajsič 2014: 20). The years after the war were also marked by the introduction of the domestic production of cinema projectors (e.g. Iskra) in the spirit of the industrialisation of the country and the socialist promotion of home production, which intensified the extension of cinemas. The quick restoration of cinemas and cinema-going practices after the war indicate that cinema was among the most popular leisure activities in Slovenia and, besides radio, among the central media that people consume at that time.

Two trends of sharp declines in the number of cinemas and cinema shows, the first one in the late 1960s and in the early 1970s, and the second in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see Figure 1) correspond with the advent of new media technologies that began to occupy people's leisure time and their everyday lives.

The first corresponds to the advent and mass dissemination of television technology when television sets were installed in almost every household (Pušnik & Starc 2008; Fang 1997: 135; Geraghty 2000: 12; Belson 1958; Žun & Bajsič 2014; Žun 2014). As my informants' testimonies also prove: 'When we got television, cinema almost appeared from our lives. People were not interested in cinema anymore and they had no wish to go to the cinema' (glazier, 78 years, Dobrna), or, 'The arrival of television marked the beginning of the end of cinema and the cultural and social life in general in our area' (sales representative, 69 years, Rakek). The persistent decline in the number of cinemas in the 1960s and 1970s (see Figure 1) is a response to the audience's transformed media habits when television started to dominate and structure leisure time.

The second decline in cinema attendance corresponds with the advent of video recorder technology (Cameron 1988; Žun & Bajsič 2014: 25) when VCR industry boomed in the 1980s; by the middle of the 1990s most Slovenian homes owned a VCR. The VCR and the practice of renting videocassettes in the video rental shops became a massive practice; this also resulted in the sharp decline in the number of cinemas and films presented in cinemas in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see Figure 1).

Moreover, after the independence of Slovenia in 1991, the entire cinema industry was restructured from state-owned companies to private enterprises. At the turn of the century, foreign capital also entered the cinema industry in Slovenia and the first multiplexes appeared (e.g. Kolosej, Planet Tuš, Cineplexx). This radically changed not only the ways of displaying movies but also the habits of cinema audiences. The decline in the number of cinemas from 113 in 1991 to 78 in 2000 and to 52 in 2011 (see Figure 1) is also a response to the economic and cultural restructuring of the cinema industry, according to which small cinemas were shut down, and the cinema industry was condensed into multiplexes with multiple screens and halls. This also confirms the fact that the number of cinema shows started to grow with the opening of the first multiplex in 2001 (Kolosej), since the number of the films presented in cinemas in Slovenia was by far the lowest in recent decades (31,796 screenings in 2000) and started to grow in the next years (48,556 screenings in 2003). Despite fears that new media such as television, video recorders, computers, the Internet, DVDs, or even the mobile phone would kill cinema, this has not happened, but cinema has only become more adapted to new circumstances,

as Fang (1997: 135) says, 'in an effort to make going to the movies a more enjoyable experience than simply watching a movie.'
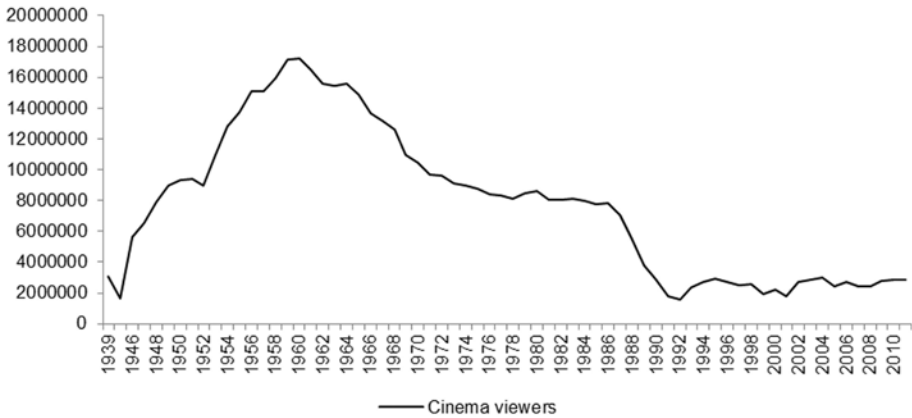

Figure 2: Number of cinema viewers from 1939 to 2011 in Slovenia (ZSRSZS 1964: 41; SURS 1998; Maletin 1996: 40; Svetlin Kastelic 2005; Svetlin Kastelic 2007; Svetlin Kastelic 2013).

Trends in the fluctuations of cinema viewers correspond with the trends mentioned above regarding the changing number of cinemas and screenings. The steep growth of cinema viewers in the 1940s and 1950s, from 5,654,000 in 1946 to 17,189,000 in 1960, when the number of cinema viewers peaked, proves that cinema was a central medium in the lives of people in Slovenia in that period (see Figure 2). If the 1940s would see the peak of cinema going in the USA and western European countries (cf. Christie 2012: 15), Slovenia reached this peak in the late 1950s and early 1960s, which represent the golden age of cinema going in Slovenia.[7] However, this is also due to the late introduction of television into people's homes in Slovenia. Cinema importantly contributed to the creation of media culture in Slovenia since with cinema and radio it was for the first time in history that masses of people in this region were connected to the same electronic medium and subjected to the same popular entertainment. After the 1960s, cinema began to lose its significance in society, as Figure 2 shows that the numbers of cinema viewers have been falling until the present. Due to the advent of a new medium, television, and its massive dissemination in the 1960s and 1970s, the number of cinema viewers from 1960 to 1980 fell by almost ten million. Moreover, in the next decade with the advent of video recorders by another six million by 1990. With television and video, people's media experience became more individualised, domesticated, isolated and distanced and media were more and more consumed in smaller groups and in private spaces. The previous mass

[7] For the British cinema, 1946 turned out to be a boom year, as Geraghty (2000: 5) ascertains, with 4500 cinemas and annual attendance of 1635 million visits: 'Attendances remained strong, although not quite on this scale, into the early 1950s.'

audience's direct, dialogical experience in public space became increasingly replaced by diffused and atomised audience experiences. Global changes in media infrastructure and economic, political and cultural changes in the last 25 years of Slovenia and the advent of new technologies (from the diffusion of TV ownership, expansion in the number of TV stations, the introduction of colour TV, video technology to computers, Internet, smart phones) influenced cinema attendance and cinema-going practices (cf. Cameron 1988). However, the number of cinema viewers has remained fairly stable over the last two and a half decades, ranging from 1,792,000 viewers in 1991 to 2,867,224 viewers in 2011.[8]

In the long history of media, each medium of a certain time marked that specific period, especially its nature and abilities. We talk about the ways cultures and societies have been mediatised through time, to borrow from Andreas Hepp (2013). The vigorous cinemafication of Slovenia society from the late 1930s onwards corresponds with the early mediatisation of Slovenian society. Mediatisation as a process of media influence on other social fields helps us to understand the relations between changes in society and culture on one side and media-communication changes on the other. With the rise of cinema and other electronic media of the 19th and 20th centuries, mass culture and global society began to be created, and these media started to synchronise society. With the cinemafication of Slovenian society and the dissemination of radio, the synchronisation processes started, and Slovenian society became increasingly dependent on media. The case of more than one hundred years of cinema in Slovenia proves that mediatisation does not originate from the digital era, as many believe today, but it is a long-term process in which not only have media been changed, mass media audiences have been created, but the symbolic forms of culture have also been transformed.

To paraphrase Hepp (2013), when talking about the influence of cinema on society and culture in this specific past era, this influence is dependent on the contents of the medium (e.g. films that were screened), but also on the technological characteristics of this specific medium. Cinema was among the first electronic media in Slovenia, which started to build tight and constant relations between media and audiences and to place media as an integral part of people's everyday lives. Moreover, according to Thompson (1995), the rise of such modern media resulted in the transformation of the spatial and temporal constitution of social life, whereby new forms of action and interaction in our intimate as well as in public spaces were shaped. Cinema with its film program also began to reproduce and circulate new symbolic forms that started to transform living tradition into symbolic content, and film culture increasingly permeated our everyday living experience. Thompson (1995) argues that this transformation represents the basis of the deeper mediatisation of society. Cinema created and disseminated new symbolic forms of culture that were connected more with mediated experience rather than with living tradition. Cinema was also among the first mass leisure practices connected with media use in Slovenia and as such it represents the first attempts to exchange social activities and institutions with media. However, when studying the historical role of cinema in the mediatisation of society cinema must be considered both

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[8] Kovarik (2011: 161), for instance, observes same trends for the USA: in 1948 4.6 billion cinema tickets were sold, in one year in the 1960s 2 billion and in 1980s 1 billion, but in 2010 1.3 billion.

as technology and as cultural form, as institutionalised and as a reified object, which is by no means only a product of social actors in the field, but also becomes an important social agent in creating social relations, rituals and communication (cf. Hjarvard 2013).

Cinema as a social and leisure space: sociability and media entertainment

In its golden years, cinema 'was selling a non-material good, a shared experience of seeing a film rather than the film itself, and the responses generated – the shared laughter and tears' (Geraghty 2000: 2). Cinema brought people together; it fostered sociability, and it was very common that people debated films in group discussions in public places. Many new practices emerged that had not previously existed; they slightly differed regarding the urban or rural environment but their common point was the promotion of socialising. Furthermore, the film itself meant more than its symbolic content, it became a social space around which people started to socialise, and this was also an important influence of cinema on the society. It is interesting that many informants remembered rather the practices of discussing the film than the film itself. The symbolic/film representation became a part of their living tradition and it brought people together through direct interpersonal communication:

> After the show we always gathered and debated about the movie. This was an indefinite revival of the film. In the early years of cinema, we usually discussed the movie with our teacher in the school, she helped us to understand the meaning of the movie (music teacher, 81 years, Ljubljana).

> After the film, we also put a gramophone outside and we socialised and debated films (photographer, 83 years, Dolenjske Toplice).

> We also talked a lot about movies at our workplace; during the meal break this was the main topic (administrative worker, 84 years, Medvode).

> We debated films after the cinema show. We didn't have television yet, and cinema was our only entertainment. We started to discuss kissing openly for the first time (secretary, 78 years, Murska Sobota).

> After the cinema we had to go to a cake and juice at the corner of Miklošičeva street, where there was the best pastry shop. We went there to discuss a movie and we spent hours talking about the actors that we really liked (secretary, 74 years, Ljubljana).

> We had to go to the cinema a few kilometres away so I took a tractor or even a trailer, and I took as many people as I could and drove them to the cinema. This was fun, we were chatting and even singing and on our way home we always discussed the film (farmer, 83 years, Apače).

However, studying the role of cinema in mediatisation processes is a question of not only studying the influence of films on the society or their consumption but also of studying the whole experience of cinema going. Cinema is a combination of human

practices that emerged around cinema technology and films. Historically, cinema was among the first public spaces that addressed a wide variety of social groups:

> Not everyone had the same kind of access to going out, however, and the spaces of entertainment were differently organised around age and gender; sport was largely a male affair, while dance halls and cinemas allowed women much more control (Geraghty 2000: 5).

Hiley (2012), in this sense, even argues that cinema also restructured family habits since men started to pay more attention to families, when they regularly went to the cinema with their wives and children. Already in its early years cinema was considered to be a part of the broader increase in popular entertainment, a social space that was open to all. Rather than just selling individual films, cinema is best understood as having sold and cultivated a habit, a specific human practice, a certain type of social experience that was formed during the consumption of this medium.

Cinema in this regard promoted new social spaces and new human practices in Slovenian society that had not previously existed, and it started to restructure, detraditionalise and modernise society. Geraghty (2000) reports that the audience for the cinema was the most heterogenic and the ways of using cinema as a social place were the most diverse. For instance, Miskell (2005) states that the value of cinemas as social places where couples could meet were all things that cinemagoers of the 1930s and 1940s remember more vividly than the films themselves and these aspects of popular experience are less frequently discussed. As my informants testified, cinema was in the first place a socialising space for them, a space where whole families could meet, where friends could go out, where couples could go on dates, where they could meet new people and other activities. Cinema represented a social space connected to electronic media where people could meet and mingle. Moreover, cinema was a public space but people transplanted many private, even intimate affairs (they were kissing in cinema, holding their hands, hugging, etc.) into its milieu. The trends of blurring the borders between public and private spaces, which later became one of the central characteristics of media culture, started with the cinema. People did not go to the cinema only to consume films, but also to meet other needs. Cinema took over the role of other more traditional social spaces for socialising, establishing contacts and for interacting, such as theatres, local inns, churches, and, in some regards, also the home. Therefore, to understand the role of cinema in the early creation of media culture in Slovenia, it is necessary to understand also the social and cultural changes that cinema brought into that society. Cinema serves as an example of how the medium started to take over the roles of other, more traditional social and cultural institutions in the society and of how people started to organise their lives according to that medium.

> Cinema had a great importance for our town. There was nothing else than singing choir, church, fire brigade and cinema. Cinema meant socialising and entertainment (mechanical technician, 80 years, Brežice).

> At that time, there were no televisions and no cars and Saturdays and Sundays were sold out, as in cinemas, as well as in opera and in theatres.

> After the film, we usually went for wine or a cup of tea. Socialising was mandatory. This was the only entertainment for people (ballet dancer, 86 years, Ljubljana).

> I went on a date in the cinema, and I am still married to the man. We usually gathered an hour before the film in the cinema, and we talked. With television, it all ended; I miss such a companionship (housewife, 67 years, Lovrenc na Pohorju).

> In the heyday of the cinema after the film, we went out to the pubs with the guys, where we drank, danced and also talked a lot about the film (soldier, 85 years, Ljubljana).

> When I got the job, I lived in a very small cold room. I went very often to the cinema, because it was warm, nice and I met other people, so I wasn't alone (teacher, 84 years, Ljubljana).

> Sometimes after Mass, the whole church went directly to the cinema to see the morning matinee (housewife, 82 years, Laško).

> Cinema quickly became a junction point of the village. It took this place from the fire brigade hall and village inn where people previously met (landlady, 73 years, Cirkulane).

> My boyfriend worked in another town, and we didn't have phones at that time; he sent me a postcard to go to see that movie at specific day and time and that I had to buy tickets. I did, and we met at the cinema (economist, 81 years, Ljubljana).

A sense of relaxation and socialising was combined with a sense of fun, entertainment and excitement. Cinema offered certain pleasures; however, it was not so much pleasure from watching a movie but rather a pleasure as an escape from home to the cinematographic space and its sociable potentials. Going to see a movie was a common need for all informants, but it was a need to socialise or just to spend some time with friends. This social activity also offered to audiences shared knowledge of the cinematic experience, which can only be achieved by going out and seeing a movie. Hiley (2012) writes that cinema functioned as a social practice when viewers expected pleasure and demanded free time in cinema halls. However, cinema was not bringing only new human practices of socialising, but also new feelings, emotions, and senses of identity. According to Huggett (2002), we can observe cinema going as a strategy of mediation through which people make sense of themselves, their lives and their relationships with others. As Christie (2012: 13) ascertains: 'Warmth, comfort, somewhere to sleep or pass the time; a chance to meet friends and to make new ones; and a place for "a date" – all of these were, and have remained, important reasons for cinema going.' The cinemafication of the society, thus, established media audiences, which was done beyond the sole consumption of a movie, but was also connected to the diverse set of practices that emerged, e.g. how people consumed cinema as a social space or how they entertain themselves with the help of this medium. My informants' histories prove that cinema in its heyday in Slovenia

significantly began to build their everyday habits and that their time was also increasingly structured according to the medium's characteristics. Moreover, the whole cinema going was surrounded by certain physical pleasure, and the idea of the sole glamour of films and cinema represented a place for people, which offered an escape from the everyday reality to fantasy, leisure, sociability, and entertainment (cf. Fang 1997).

During the golden years of cinema going in Slovenia, it was a very sociable and dialogical experience and many times cinema space and film were of secondary importance, while people put socialising and debate about films in the first place (cf. Shimpach 2014). Cinema fostered sociability and conversation among viewers, it brought not only new symbolic forms through film representations but also new patterns of sociability into the Slovenian society. Such an experience of cinema also created media culture, which was in that time an entertaining, collective and dialogical experience.

Cinema and ritualisation: interaction rituals and ritualised media uses

Cinema-going patterns are closely connected with human practices that were structured either as ritualised uses of this medium or were involved in the interaction rituals. As far as interaction rituals are concerned, I showed in the previous chapter how cinema was involved in the production, dissemination and maintenance of various interaction rituals that emerged with this new medium. In its golden years, cinema was a space of sociability, it brought people together, and it represented a ritualistic transition from the work of the day to the leisure time and to a period of greater togetherness and stronger integration of people. To illustrate this with another example of common practice from that era: 'We went to the cinema with our friends, we both bought annual subscriptions, and we went to see a movie every week. We also agreed with some other friends to take care of our children at that time' (electrician, 68 years, Prevalje). The whole lives of families were organised around this medium, and almost all informants emphasised relations with other people, sociability, and interaction when talking about cinema. Cinema became an important part of people's interaction rituals, which served as 'symbolic activities for participation in some larger order of meanings' (Rothenbuhler 1998: 83). That is in the creation of media culture. However, to understand cinemafication as a part of a broader mediatisation of society we need to define cinema communication as a ritual phenomenon and cinema-going as 'ritual ways of doing things' (Rothenbuhler 1998: ix) or as 'ritual creation of community' (Jontes 2009: 816; see also Jontes 2010). As my informants' testimonies prove, social actors developed certain ritualised cinema uses, like the ritual of special preparation for cinema, watching the movie, discussing the movie, dating in cinema, and other activities.

These ritual practices were associated with 'signalling-communicative behaviour,' as Leach (1966: 403) suggested. They were a kind of symbolic action and served the specific purpose of maintaining social relations between people and social order in society. For its self-realisation, the mediatisation process needs ritual practices, which means that people have to subject themselves to these rituals and perform them repetitively to sustain a specific media culture. Rothenbuhler (1998: 21) argues that ritual is 'a performance of a

script ... repetitive in the sense that others have done it this way.' Precisely the repetition of ritualised practices became the basis of the mediatisation of Slovenian society when people developed certain ritualised uses of cinema and repeated them constantly. Erikson (1966: 337) discusses the 'human kind of ritualisation,' when going beyond ethologist, clinical and narrower anthropological definitions of the term, and argues

> that behaviour to be called ritualisation in man must consist of an agreed-upon interplay between at least two persons who repeat it at meaningful intervals and in recurring contexts; and that this interplay should have adaptive value for both participants.

Ritualisation is, in this sense, a way of acting and represents an indispensable part of every mediatisation process. Bell (1992) maintains that ritual is the basic social act and has a prominent role in securing social knowledge. In other words, ritualised human uses of media played an important role in a process of media influence on other social fields and in securing specific knowledge connected to media. From a historical perspective, this also evoked specific changes in society and culture. For instance, as interviews with informants show, an entire range of new practices developed connected to cinema that previously had not been present in society, and they slowly took on a ritualised form. It is also important to emphasise that ritual cannot be performed without bodily participation. When we discuss mediatisation of societies we usually focus on symbolic aspects, how symbolic media representations started to create social knowledge, but we usually forget material aspects, e.g. embodied ritualised media uses that are involved in a mediatisation process and are significantly included in the subjugation of individuals to media culture. Ritualisation as an important part of mediatisation processes, thus, produces and interpellates concrete individuals as concrete media subjects. This means that cinema going should be understood as a ritualised practice and as important in the early mediatisation of the Slovenian society as films themselves were: 'How things are said and done is as important in ritual as what is said and done' (Rothenbuhler 1998: 32). The analysis of interviews with informants proves that certain practices developed, which became an integral part of cinema going, and people consistently repeated them, e.g. dressing up for cinema, buying tickets, debates after the film, writing to actors, joint actions during the film breaks, and others.

> We always dressed nicely when going to the cinema. It was a special occasion. We were wearing nice skirts and blouses and, of course, high heels. It was a common practice to write letters to these famous actors. I still have a picture of Margaret Lockwood at home (saleswoman, 78 years, Ljubljana).

> Girls had to be ladies for the cinema, and I wore nylon stockings, and this was really something. We didn't have them a lot at that time, and I wore them only for the cinema (professor, 81 years, Ljubljana).

> Many times the picture disappeared during the film. The film was torn, and we had a break for a while as they repaired the film. They lit up the hall, we listened to music, ate sweets, and these breaks were very pleasant, boys usually started to whistle, we girls laughed, and we talked a lot in the me-

antime. It was also a popular practice that we guessed how the film would continue (accountant, 74 years, Mojstrana).

During the projection of the film, we were always silent. You could hear only quiet crying, sighing, laughing or we were sometimes clapping if there was a good scene. The man who was maintaining the order in the cinema also shone his flashlight in someone's face if he or she was misbehaving and he escorted him or her out of the hall (cultural worker, 70 years, Lendava).

Sometimes, it was difficult to get tickets. There was a crowd in front of the cinema. So we usually go earlier to get tickets. For some films, we even waited for hours in long queues, and we debated [various subjects] (accountant, 73 years, Ljubljana).

It was very popular to collect these brochures or leaflets that promoted films, which came to our cinema. We girls collected them and even exchanged them. I had around three hundred of them (economist, 81 years, Ljubljana).

Once the cinema projectionist fell asleep during the film, and when the film tore he didn't notice. We screamed really loud, 'Ljubo, wake up.' Only this woke him up, and he repaired the film so that we could watch the rest (journalist, 70 years, Ljubljana).

Moreover, the consumption of the film was also confined in specific ritualised practices that started to appear around cinema content. It is illustrative how informants in their narratives were describing and mixing the event of the cinema show itself and the movie content. With cinema, it was for the first time that they started to live through media images and also their emotions, feelings and perceptions were structured by these images through their specific ritualised uses of these texts; informants were discussing strong emotions, moral polarisation, uncertainty, powerlessness, and other elements, when talking about the films (cf. Neale 2001). All these examples prove how these early media images came alive: they were mixed with a living tradition of informants through their practices of consumption. Images by themselves did not shape people's everyday lives and influenced societies, but it was precisely the images in combination with ritualised media uses that people developed. To illustrate this with few examples, which show how culture and society became permeated by media images in this early era:

This was in the 1950s. We came into the hall; people were dancing. Suddenly the lights turned off. And then appeared first images on the screen. It was *The War of the Worlds*. It was a terrific film. Pi-pi-pi-pi it sounded. And these eyes were watching all over. There were many victims. Later they got one of our diseases, and they died out. I was so scared when I was walking home alone (forestry engineer, 86 years old, Zgornje Gorje).

Cinema impressed me and started to create my image of a woman. I remember how eagerly I practiced before a mirror to look like some actresses. Especially the film Gone with the Wind, when Vivien Leigh in the role of the cute Scarlet for a few years completely created my image of the perfect

woman, I wanted to look like her. I cut out a picture from the film poster, and I glued it on the mirror (director of the company, 80 years, Maribor).

Watching American movies in the 1950s was like a great wonder. We saw how they live in America in these Hollywood movies, of course, we all thought that all people in America live like this. Cinema was a true window to a fantasy world (philosopher, 77 years, Ljubljana).

We cried a lot in cinema; we even wiped our tears after the film. People could express their feelings and their inner pain in cinema, and that was perfect (mechanical engineer, 72 years, Žirovnica).

We were very connected through the film, and we strongly identified with it. We booed negative characters, but when the main character appeared, the whole cinema hall applauded the hero (printmaker, 76 years, Ptuj).

All these ritualised media practices were kinds of displays and were not imposed on the people, but were invented by them when they were faced with the new media technology – cinema. The new social and cultural environment that appeared around cinema technology forced people to invent new practices, to repeat them and to accentuate ritual aspects of cinema technology. Only these ritual practices enabled the creation and sustenance of media culture, and this is possible because rituals 'are also used as socialisation devices, in which it is important that ritual forms can be imposed on the actor from without' (Rothenbuhler 1998: 67–8). It is precisely the ritualisation, which is imposed on individuals through the socialisation that allows the sustenance of media culture. Bell (1992) argues that distinctive strategies of ritual action play a major role in the construction of the social body. The goal of ritualisation is, thus, the ritualisation of social agents; this is a practical ritual mastery, mastery of internalised strategic schemes for ritualisation with which subjects are capable of reinterpreting reality: 'This sense is not a matter of self-conscious knowledge of any explicit rules of ritual but is an implicit cultivated disposition' (Bell 1992: 98). In the case of cinema and the early mediatisation of Slovenian society, it was precisely the ritualisation that produced social agents that were creating and sustaining media culture through their interaction 'with structured and structuring environment ... through a series of physical movements ritual practices spatially and temporally construct an environment organised according to schemes of privileged opposition' (Bell 1992: 98). It is, thus, necessary to treat equally ritual practices that emerged around cinema as well as the film texts that were presented in cinema because only the combination of both could help us to reveal the implicit cultivated dispositions that media culture began to construct and disseminate.

Conclusion: mediatisation, human action and media dispositions

The ethnographic research of memories of cinema-going practices from the heyday of cinema in Slovenia revealed the characteristics of cinema culture and deconstructed the correlation between the mediatisation of the Slovenian society and ritualisation processes

involved in cinema consumption. Cinema together with radio represents the first electronic medium that taught masses of people to become accustomed to living with media. The industrialisation and urbanisation of Slovenian society gave a strong impetus to the cinema boom, which was also a synonym for the modernisation of the country, bringing new images, practices and enabling people to be increasingly connected with media.

People invented new practices, constantly repeated them and internalised them. Ritualised cinema practices became an integral part of socialisation and, therefore, cinema started to cultivate specific, so-called media dispositions. Borrowing from Bourdieu (2002), I can argue that media culture emerged as a specific field, in which specific dispositions as lasting and acquired schemes of perception, thought and action were created and learned through long social and institutional training. Bourdieu's theory of practice can be very helpful for the understanding of the creation of media culture since it teaches us how ritualised media uses and interaction rituals should be understood as human action in the network of objective structures. To paraphrase Bourdieu (2002), precisely through the ritual practices, people developed a certain disposition for social action that was conditioned by their position in the media field. The individual develops a specific "practical sense" or "practical reason" through his engagement with a social world (Bourdieu 1998). This means that individuals eventually developed a sense of the game (actions, opinions, tastes, bodily movements, mannerism, etc.) in the media field.

So-called media dispositions are, thus, a product of the specific environment that began to be built in the 19th century and evolved in the first half of the 20th century with the invention of new electronic media. Moreover, they are mostly a product of people's encounter with these new media technologies. Cinema in the Slovenian society started to equip people with specific dispositions of manner as well as thought that were in agreement with the media environment that had appeared. Bourdieu (1998) would say that media field was formed, but which existed only insofar as social agents possessed these specific dispositions. When faced with cinema, people were inventing new ritual practices, repeating them and through socialisation they cultivated new media dispositions that equipped them for living in media culture.

If an early cinema and cinema going in its golden years were closely connected to sociability and direct interaction rituals, the later evolvement of cinema is characterised more by isolated experience. According to Shimpach (2014), the cinema has been transforming, e.g. the place itself and narrative structure of film started to make the experience of viewing in cinema very individual. Such an experience with cinema, which changes cinema from an early sociable activity to a more isolated and individual activity also corresponds with the development of media culture (with television and video), which in the 1980s and 1990s turned into more individualised, isolated and atomised experiences.

Moreover, if films were once consumed only in cinemas, nowadays films can be consumed across several media, from cinema, television, video, DVDs, DIVX, VCD, SUPERVCD, Internet, Interactive TV to mobile phones. Daly (2010: 81) argues that in this context cinema 'is taking on the characteristics of new media, existing in a networked, intertextual space, which enables new developments in narrative that are increasingly

interactive.' Nowadays, we can observe profound transformations of cinema technology, cinema audience and cinema culture in general. To paraphrase Luthar (2010a), cinema and cinema audience should be understood in the perspective of its prosthetic and sensory role. Barker (1999) even argues, that the audience no longer exists in a form of an audience from the golden years of cinema, nowadays it is diffused among different media.

Due to the radical changes in technologies, cinema audiences of the digital age 'become increasingly producers, commentators and even participants, rather than merely spectators of cinema's folklore – with the potential of screen entertainment to become literally interactive' (Christie 2012: 21). The lines between performance and audience are blurred what results in many new human practices that are emerging around these new technologies and new ways of cinema consumption. These new practices through their repetition produce new media dispositions, which have serious effects on the transformation of media culture. Going to the cinema is nowadays no longer a special event, but this does not mean that cinema culture is disappearing; on the contrary, new ritual practices are invented by cinema consumers, which are far more interactive, mediated and indirect as were in any time in history, but are still weaving around cinema going as a way to relax, as a way to go on a date, to socialise, or to experience fear, astonishment, surprise, joy, sadness through the screen.

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Povzetek

Kino je igral pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju medijske kulture in v procesih mediatizacije v družbah 20. stoletja. V članku uporabljam kulturno-zgodovinski pristop in Geertzovo metodo podrobnih opisov, da bi proučila prakse obiskovanja kina in ritualne rabe kina v Sloveniji. S pomočjo 180 intervjujev zberem spomine medijskih uporabnikov na njihove navade obiskovanja kina, da bi ugotovila, kako se mediatizacija družbe prepleta z ritualiziranim človekovim delovanjem. Kino je bil v svojih zgodnjih in v zlatih časih tesno povezan z družabnostjo, predstavljal je pomemben družbeni prostor in prostor za preživljanje prostega časa nastajajočemu množičnemu občinstvu. S primeri iz slovenske družbe do 1970. let prikažem, kako je bila ritualizacija sestavni del procesov mediatizacije, ko je kino začel kultivirati in razširjati specifične medijske dispozicije prek ritualnih praks.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: kino, občinstvo, oralne zgodovine, ritual, mediatizacija, Slovenija

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