## The Making of Hollywood Production: Televising and Visualizing Global Filmmaking in 1960s Promotional Featurettes

by Daniel Steinhart

**Abstract:** Before making-of documentaries became a regular part of home-video special features, 1960s promotional featurettes brought the public a behind-the-scenes look at Hollywood's production process. Based on historical evidence, this article explores the changes in Hollywood promotions when studios broadcasted these featurettes on television to market theatrical films and contracted out promotional campaigns to boutique advertising agencies. The making-of form matured in the 1960s as featurettes helped solidify some enduring conventions about the portrayal of filmmaking. Ultimately, featurettes serve as important paratexts for understanding how Hollywood's global production work was promoted during a time of industry transition.

aking-of documentaries have long made Hollywood's film production process visible to the public. Before becoming a staple of DVD and Blu-ray special features, early forms of making-ofs gave audiences a view of the inner workings of Hollywood filmmaking and movie companies. Shortly after its formation, 20th Century-Fox produced in 1936 a filmed studio tour that exhibited the company's different departments on the studio lot, a key feature of Hollywood's detailed division of labor. Even as studio-tour short subjects became less common because of the restructuring of studio operations after the 1948 antitrust Paramount Case, long-form trailers still conveyed behind-the-scenes information. In a trailer for The Ten Commandments (1956), director Cecil B. DeMille speaks from a library set and discusses the importance of foreign location shooting, recounting how he shot the film in the actual Egyptian locales where Moses once walked (see Figure 1). While the studio tour promotes a revitalized company brand and the trailer advertises a motion picture, such behind-the-scenes shorts also manufacture a vision of filmmaking that reveals the changing dynamics of the film industry in the United States. These marketing practices coalesced in the 1960s in the form of what Hollywood called "promotional featurettes," which captured the production of a single feature film usually in five to ten minutes and played to a wide audience before

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Daniel Steinhart is assistant professor of cinema studies at the University of Oregon. His book Runaway Hollywood: Internationalizing Postwar Production and Location Shooting is forthcoming from the University of California Press. the source film's theatrical release. Typically shown on television, featurettes helped institute many of the conventions of today's making-of documentaries.

The growth of promotional featurettes in the 1960s took place during a time of industrial uncertainty for the major Hollywood studios when the film busi-



Figure 1. Cecil B. DeMille uses a map to illustrate his location unit's trek through Egypt in a long-form trailer for *The Ten Commandments* (Paramount, 1956).

ness was volatile. Hits like *Mary Poppins* (Robert Stevenson, 1964) and *The Sound of Music* (Robert Wise, 1965) offered financial promise, but these successes were undercut by costly flops such as *Cleopatra* (Joseph L. Mankiewicz, 1963) and *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (Anthony Mann, 1964). In an attempt to bring some stability to the film business, conglomerates such as Gulf + Western, Transamerica, and Kinney took over the major studios. These conglomerates diversified their risk by injecting money from their other businesses into the ailing studios while selling off studio back lots and reducing the number of releases. Still, little seemed to help the studios. Even as Hollywood attempted to tap into a vibrant and youthful counterculture at the end of the decade, the industry suffered a major slump from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, with few hits and many failures.<sup>1</sup>

Alongside these transformations, the postwar image of film production continued to evolve from a movie colony based in Los Angeles into a moviemaking culture that extended beyond the geographical and symbolic space of Hollywood into regions around the world. Promotional featurettes in the 1960s played a critical role in promulgating this image to the public. Promoting international productions and a more global industry, however, was certainly not new. Starting in the late 1940s, Hollywood had used overseas "runaway" productions to navigate many of the changes that befell the industry. In the course of this expansion abroad, Hollywood studios created a global filmmaking enterprise that produced motion pictures more international in scope. By the 1960s, when the film business was an erratic affair, promotional featurettes provided a new means to render the drama of filmmaking and the spectacle of global production, thus helping to sell Hollywood movies. Even as the rate of production abroad fluctuated through the 1960s, featurettes sustained Hollywood's global image

<sup>1</sup> Paul Monaco, The Sixties: 1960–1969 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Guback, The International Film Industry: Western Europe and America since 1945 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969); Peter Lev, The Fifties: Transforming the Screen, 1950–1959 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Vanessa Schwartz, It's So French! Hollywood, Paris, and the Making of Cosmopolitan Film Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Robert R. Shandley, Runaway Romances: Hollywood's Postwar Tour of Europe (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009).

by promoting international pictures that had big ad budgets.<sup>3</sup> In shaping this image of 1960s Hollywood, featurettes brought the making-of form to maturity by reinforcing several thematic conventions that persist in today's behind-the-scenes films.

Thanks to the wide availability of making-of documentaries on home video and the internet, a growing body of literature has been examining the form. These analyses have revealed various aspects of contemporary media production and consumption: the culture of lesbian feature filmmaking, the role of making-ofs on DVD special editions, the "public disclosures" of media practitioners, and the public's attraction to peeking behind the scenes. These studies show that an ancillary product like making-of documentaries can communicate a lot about how the production of media has been marketed to audiences within the past couple of decades. However, historical treatments of making-ofs remain scant. We still know little about the history of the form, how film industries mobilized behind-the-scenes material in the past, and how making-ofs represented production work over time. This article explores that history by synthesizing archival production records, trade press coverage, interviews with veteran movie marketers, and analyses of promo films. It shows that promotional featurettes functioned as critical paratexts that visualized production work to add value to films and the industry as a whole.

The concept of the paratext is central to understanding how featurettes helped the Hollywood film industry promote itself. Scholars such as the late Lisa Kernan and Jonathan Gray adopted this term from Gérard Genette to characterize supplementary promotional materials that stand as key texts in their own right. For Kernan, movie trailers operate as paratexts by making meaning for the advertised film while at the same time being peripheral to that film. For Gray, items such as posters and video games are paratexts that go beyond the duties of marketing and profit generation to create textuality that builds a wider experience for audiences. Building on the work of Kernan and Gray, I argue that Hollywood promotional featurettes are paratexts that not only formulate meaning for the film they are marketing but also give the industry a way to narrativize the production operation for public consumption. Through this process of textuality, 1960s Hollywood studios used featurettes to emphasize the global dimensions of filmmaking during a period of ongoing production decentralization and falling audience numbers. Featurettes of this era demonstrate how promotional

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Record H'wood Prod'n Abroad," Daily Variety, April 14, 1960, 1, 4; "H'wood Hits Alltime Prod'n Low," Daily Variety, December 10, 1962, 1, 4; and Peter Bart, "Increased Hollywood Production Leading to Shortage in Facilities," New York Times, July 10, 1965, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Kelly Hankin, "Lesbian 'Making-of' Documentaries and the Production of Lesbian Sex," Velvet Light Trap 53 (Spring 2004): 26–39; Craig Hight, "Making-of Documentaries on DVD: The Lord of the Rings Trilogy and Special Editions," Velvet Light Trap 56 (Fall 2005): 4–17; John Thornton Caldwell, Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); and Nicola Jean Evans, "Undoing the Magic? DVD Extras and the Pleasure behind the Scenes," Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies 24, no. 4 (August 2010): 587–600.

<sup>5</sup> Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: The Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> Lisa Kernan, Coming Attractions: Reading American Movie Trailers (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Gray, Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers, and Other Media Paratexts (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

practices and visualizing filmmaking can work together to construct a marketable image of Hollywood production.

To understand this portrait of filmmaking in the 1960s, the following historical inquiry analyzes both the promotional and documentary impulses of featurettes. I begin by looking at how the proliferation of promotional featurettes in the 1960s emerged out of a series of changes that the Hollywood film industry experienced in the postwar era. The practice of movie promotions altered as Hollywood studios moved from relying on in-house publicity and advertising departments to contracting out marketing work to boutique ad agencies.<sup>8</sup> These new players in what Paul Grainge and Catherine Johnson call the "promotional screen industries" were adept at producing promotional featurettes to help sell a film in advance of its theatrical run. Featurettes also marked a vital phase in the intensifying convergence of film and television, as TV became a primary site for advertising theatrical films and illustrating production work. With more moviegoers staying at home to watch TV for their entertainment, the broadcast of featurettes reflected a wider postwar trend of moving away from promotional campaigns that aimed for mass appeal toward campaigns that targeted specific audiences in more focused ways. 10 For film studios and contracted ad agencies, the spread of featurettes offered a way to add value to theatrical films during the postwar industrial flux. By televising and narrativizing film production work, Hollywood also found a way to make its own production operations as compelling and mythologized as the movies themselves.

**Promoting Production Work.** The emergence of promotional featurettes in the 1960s hinged on shifts in film promotions and coincided with the rise of a new group of movie marketers during the postwar era. For decades during the classic studio era, Hollywood publicity and advertising departments had built up motion pictures through stars, genres, new technologies, and prevailing notions of realism and spectacle. By the 1950s, when studios produced fewer films and the movie business was more uncertain, calling attention to the organization and execution of productions was a way to inform viewers about how films were made. Developments taking place in the wider advertising business, which, unlike the film industry, experienced growth in the 1950s, affected the way this was done. Thanks to postwar boom times and higher ad budgets, advertising agencies could afford to sell products in new, innovative ways. In creative departments and books about the advertising business, agencies advanced a subtler way of selling products. Firms moved away from what were

<sup>8</sup> As Tino Balio explains: "Promotion was a catchall term for advertising, publicity, and exploitation. The term 'marketing' later replaced it, as the industry began to experiment with audience research." I similarly invoke promotion and marketing broadly. Balio, *United Artists: The Company That Changed the Film Industry* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 199.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Grainge and Catherine Johnson, Promotional Screen Industries (New York: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>10</sup> Janet Staiger, "Announcing Wares, Winning Patrons, Voicing Ideals: Thinking about the History and Theory of Film Advertising," *Cinema Journal* 29, no. 3 (Spring 1990): 17–19.

Janet Staiger, "The Hollywood Mode of Production to 1930," in *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*, by David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 97–102.

deemed "hard-sell" strategies that appealed directly to why the consumer should buy the product. Instead, agencies put forward "soft-sell" tactics that indirectly brought awareness to the quality features of a product and the reputability of a brand name. <sup>12</sup> These competing selling styles had existed in earlier eras, but they took on a renewed relevance in the 1950s and 1960s, when a strong economy, new research on consumer motivation, and the persuasive power of TV advertising encouraged agencies to embrace soft-sell techniques. <sup>13</sup> In his memoir on the "golden age of advertising," the commercial producer Robert Naud recollects that "with hard times behind the nation, advertisers changed their approach from hard sell to soft sell, using humor, less than beautiful people, and clever fresh ads American viewers talked about." <sup>14</sup>

The debate over soft sell versus hard sell affected how Hollywood sold movies in the late 1950s. While film companies had been selling movies through indirect means such as star publicity and product tie-ins since the 1910s, postwar soft-selling featured more nuanced methods that could help spread interest in a film by word of mouth. 15 Rather than pushing slogans such as "The greatest motion picture ever made!" in trailers and print advertisements, studios gave audiences behind-the-scenes insights into the filmmaking process. 16 This soft-sell style was especially useful with the strengthening power of the "pre-sell," a strategy to bring notice to a film before its release so that studios could increase the chances of recouping their costs on the theatrical first-run of a big-budget picture. 17 At a time when the financial success of a single film could make up a sizable portion of a studio's annual earnings, preselling a movie was critical to helping each film appear distinct to the public. The movie critic Jay E. Gordon articulated this need in the early 1950s, declaring, "Each motion picture should be sold as a separate article of commerce, advertised in accordance with its own merits and within the bounds of established rules of salesmanship pertinent to creations of art." 18 By the 1960s, preselling a film became a standard routine. 19

The practice of preselling changed which aspects of a movie a film company promoted. A promotional campaign was launched during the preproduction and shooting phases rather than just before a film's theatrical release.<sup>20</sup> The production experience then became subject matter for a campaign. Publicizing production had a long tradition in Hollywood, dating back to the 1910s, when film companies had

- 12 Arthur Bellaire, TV Advertising: A Handbook of Modern Practice (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 180; and Gene F. Seehafer and Jack W. Laemmar, Successful Television and Radio Advertising (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), 182–183.
- 13 Juliann Sivulka, Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1998), 55, 266–273.
- 14 Robert Naud, Lights, Camera, Madison Avenue: The Golden Age of Advertising (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016), 2.
- 15 Staiger, "Announcing Wares," 10-12.
- 16 "Soft-Selling Pix as 'Quality' an Industry Must: Goldwyn Jr.," Daily Variety, May 1, 1958, 7.
- 17 "Early Pre-Sell Need Greater Than Ever to Get Pix Coin; Ul's Lipton," Daily Variety, April 22, 1958, 1, 5.
- 18 Jay E. Gordon, "There's Really No Business Like Show Business," Hollywood Quarterly 6, no. 2 (Winter 1951), reprinted in Hollywood Quarterly: Film Culture in Postwar America, 1945–1957, ed. Eric Smoodin and Ann Martin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 289.
- 19 Balio, United Artists, 198.
- 20 "Agency Plumping for Ad-Bally Prior to Films' Shooting," Daily Variety, May 14, 1958, 4.

advertised the high budgets and large scale of prestige productions.<sup>21</sup> In the postwar era, when movie audience numbers were decreasing, marketers highlighted filmmaking procedures in promotional materials to prove a film's worth and the ingenuity of the cinematic medium.<sup>22</sup> With promotional featurettes, film companies found a form that could effectively foreground these attractions. Because the producers of featurettes were on film sets to chronicle production work, the story of how a movie was made became the focal point. The featurette then filled an intermediary stage in the promotional campaign, between when a production wrapped and when trailers played in movie theaters and advertisements appeared in newspapers. For film companies, the logic behind promotional featurettes was that when potential audience members saw ads for a movie upon its release, they would "remember having had a ringside seat at its making," as producer Harold Hecht insisted.<sup>23</sup>

Postwar internal rearrangements in publicity and advertising departments also brought about the reworking of movie promotions. Studios trimmed their in-house promotional operations in the early 1950s to cut overhead as a result of antitrust measures and the initial competition from television. These studios instead subcontracted some of this work to outside advertising firms. By the late 1950s, all the major studios, except for Warner Bros., had an exclusive deal with National Screen Services to create trailers.<sup>24</sup> In the following decade, studios contracted out some of their advertising work and trailer production to New York City advertising agencies, which had departments specializing in radio and TV commercials. The consumer ad agency Young & Rubicam did business with Paramount to devise innovative campaigns for films such as Rosemary's Baby (Roman Polanski, 1968), employing iconic posters and offbeat trailers.<sup>25</sup> 20th Century-Fox and United Artists signed deals with the entertainment agency Diener/Hauser/Greenthal, and MGM looked to William H. Schneider Inc. 26 By and large, studios depended on a variety of sources to mount promotional campaigns. The larger established agencies delivered print ads and placement, while the smaller, freelance creative shops generated media spots, including making-of featurettes.

All these adjustments occurred as Hollywood studios were injecting more money into campaigns mounted by outside agencies and downsizing their own publicity and advertising departments to cut overhead. Mike Shapiro, the director of the promotional film division at MGM during the 1960s, recalls trying to convince studio executives to invest more money in movie marketing because of the short time frame of a film's theatrical run. "You had a four-week window where a movie was determined

- 21 Staiger, "Hollywood Mode of Production," 99-100.
- 22 Daniel Steinhart, "'Paris . . . as You've Never Seen It Before!!!': The U.S. Marketing of Hollywood Foreign Productions in the Postwar Era," InMedia: The French Journal of Media and Media Representations in the English-Speaking World 3 (2013), http://inmedia.revues.org/633.
- 23 Philip K. Scheuer, "Movies Draft TV to Soft-Sell Fans," New York Times, November 13, 1962, D13.
- 24 "MGM in Deal for NSS to Handle Its Trailers," *Daily Variety*, June 5, 1957, 1. The National Screen Service had long dominated trailer production in Hollywood. "The NSS Story of Service," *Motion Picture Herald*, March 14, 1959, 18–21.
- 25 Joseph Morella, "Young Trailer-Makers of Manhattan," Variety, March 26, 1969, 35.
- 26 Stuart Byron, "MGM Changing Its Ad Setup," Daily Variety, June 17, 1969, 1, 4.

to be a hit or a bomb," recounts Shapiro. "You had to try to get the president of the movie company to expand its marketing budget so that it would include material like featurettes." The cost of a promotional featurette added greatly to the outlay of a marketing campaign, with featurette budgets ranging from \$6,000 to \$25,000 in 1960s dollars. The featurettes for an epic film could easily surpass that amount. The proposed budget for a featurette on *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (George Stevens, 1965) exceeded \$40,000. Pecause of the bigger overall budgets of large-scale productions, studios tended to produce promotional featurettes for the industry's higher-profile films rather than for smaller, middle-budget motion pictures. This promotional tactic would have an impact on the image of Hollywood, which tended to spotlight production activities that were ambitious and often global.

With the financial investment in a promotional campaign rising, and with so much depending on the success of an individual film, movie companies favored one-off ad campaigns tailored to each production. For this kind of work, Hollywood studios turned to smaller advertising shops with more customized procedures. Beginning in the mid- to late 1960s, New York-based boutique agencies, known in the industry as "vendors," offered full services, including print ads, copywriting, trailers, and media spots. Studios could count on these integrated one-stop shops for all their marketing needs, as opposed to working in a piecemeal fashion by resorting to individual companies to handle distinct aspects of promotions. Vendors such as Kaleidoscope, Cinemedia, Rosebud Advertising, and Floyd L. Peterson Inc. featured young "creatives" who were part of the "creative revolution" in advertising that galvanized the other, smaller consumer ad agencies behind unconventional campaigns for alcohol, cars, and commercial airlines.<sup>30</sup> Studios hired these film-oriented boutique agencies to fashion novel campaigns, and featurettes were frequently part of the package.<sup>31</sup> The agencies, which were in the business of manufacturing concepts that could market entertainment, assembled featurettes to sell the distinctive characteristics of each film. At the same time, they also advanced a vision of Hollywood that found value in the production process.

One of the principal creatives at the time was Merv Bloch, who started out in Paramount Pictures' advertising department. During the mid-1960s, he went on to do ad work at United Artists and the William H. Schneider agency when innovative campaigns for Beatles movies and the James Bond franchise were reinvigorating movie advertising. In 1968, Bloch formed the boutique agency Rosebud to provide movie companies a range of services, including promotional featurettes. Bloch suggests that

<sup>27</sup> Mike Shapiro, interview with author, June 11, 2015.

<sup>28 &</sup>quot;Promotional Featurettes for TV (5 to 30 Mins., Up to \$25,000) Enjoy Spreading Acceptance," Variety, December 11, 1963, 5.

<sup>29</sup> Eric Stacey to Maxwell Hamilton, December 6, 1962, Greatest Story Ever Told (Frank Davis, Documentary), George Stevens Papers, Margaret Herrick Library.

<sup>30</sup> Sivulka, Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes, 298–313; Thomas Frank, The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 97–100; and David Cracknell, The Real Mad Men (London: Quercus, 2011).

<sup>31</sup> Stuart Byron, "Unsung Film-Ad Copy Experts," Variety, June 26, 1968, 5, 20; and "'Featurette' Sells Feature," Variety, May 21, 1969, 7, 30.

studios outsourced their promotional work to boutique agencies because these smaller shops "had the pulse of the youth market," whereas the larger, establishment ad agencies fell back on old-fashioned hard-sell methods.<sup>32</sup> Considering that a traditional agency like Young & Rubicam designed modern movie ad campaigns in the late 1960s, such partisanship may have reflected the cultural and generational divisions of the times.

Another boutique promoter was Chuck Workman, who is best known today for his movie-clip montages, including the Oscar-winning short *Precious Images* (1986). Back in the 1960s, he began his promotions career by editing featurettes for the vendor Floyd L. Peterson, which produced radio spots for motion pictures before branching out to trailers, TV ads, and featurettes. Eventually, Workman formed Calliope Films Inc. and took over Floyd L. Peterson's featurette services for studios.<sup>33</sup> Workman explains that many of the vendors consisted of aspiring filmmakers who wanted to transform promotional featurettes into high-quality behind-the-scenes films.<sup>34</sup> In fact, several boutique agencies undertook feature filmmaking themselves. But rather than producing the kinds of high-budget feature films they promoted for Hollywood studios, vendors focused on low-budget, edgier fare. Floyd L. Peterson supplied production support services on the Madison Ave. satire *Putney Swope* (Robert Downey, 1969), and Merv Bloch produced the X-rated comedy *The Telephone Book* (Nelson Lyon, 1971).<sup>35</sup> For these ambitious vendors, featurettes proved a valuable training ground for feature filmmaking.

Once a studio decided to pursue developing a featurette for a film, its promotions department would subcontract an outside vendor like Rosebud or Calliope Films, which ordinarily submitted a script for approval. The script was in fact just a loose blueprint; ultimately, the material that ended up in the final promo was contingent on the footage shot during the production of the feature film. When the studio approved the provisional script, the vendor deployed a freelance crew normally made up of a director, a cameraperson, a sound recordist, and an assistant, who all visited the film set for three to five days. The featurette crews operated in a nimble manner thanks to new technological innovations, including lighter 16mm cameras, faster film stock, zoom lenses, and more portable sound equipment. These innovations, which advanced a new visual practice of promoting Hollywood films, were simultaneously sparking a more observational trend in documentary that was exemplified by direct cinema. Unlike direct cinema's goal to objectively capture reality, though, promotional featurettes manipulated reality in overt ways. After the footage was shot, vendor editors, like Chuck Workman, structured the featurette through voice-over narration

<sup>32</sup>  $\,$  Merv Bloch, interview with author, May 8, 2013.

<sup>33 &</sup>quot;Peterson Air Spottery Sold to Two Employees; He's for Features," Variety, July 23, 1969, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Chuck Workman, interview with author, June 1, 2015.

<sup>35 &</sup>quot;Peterson Air Spottery Sold to Two Employees," 3; and "Larry Applebaum of Cine Media Prepares for Own Feature Pic," Variety, November 27, 1968, 18.

<sup>36</sup> Ideally, the cinematographer of a featurette had to be a union member to shoot on a Hollywood set. The promotional film for *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* ran into problems with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees because the promo's creators were two nonunion students from the American Film Institute. See *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (Documentary 1969–1970), Sam Peckinpah Papers, Margaret Herrick Library.

and intercut the behind-the-scenes material with sequences from the production dailies or the source film's rough cut.<sup>37</sup> The resulting featurettes played a pivotal part in a new marketing plan that made production itself a dramatic attraction while demonstrating the studios' mounting reliance on the more personalized approaches of vendors. To share this work with the public, Hollywood studios had to find new venues to sell motion pictures beyond print publications and movie theaters.

Broadcasting Production Work. The most prized venue for promotional featurettes was television, which could reach millions of viewers during prime-time hours, far surpassing the potential of a theatrical audience. While Hollywood studios formulated a number of tactics, like new film technologies, to compete with television, they also took advantage of the medium from early on through a mixture of TV programming, production, and attempts at ownership. Studios initially wanted to advertise theatrical features on television, but struggles over rights and residuals with various Hollywood guilds and unions often complicated this goal. When some of these issues were resolved in the early 1960s, studios could more freely promote their films on TV and more easily sell them for broadcast. Showing featurettes on television was part of how the film industry continued to harness the emerging medium for promotional ends, and it was a sign of the strengthening convergence of cinema and TV.

Even before the broadcast of promotional featurettes, Hollywood studios had already capitalized on TV to bring audiences' insights into the production of theatrical films. In 1954, Walt Disney recognized the utility of television with his ABC program Disneyland (1954–1958) by devising a successful formula of old cartoon shorts, original TV productions, previews of the soon-to-open theme park, and behind-thescenes footage of Disney productions.<sup>39</sup> By turning TV into a site of education and entertainment where Walt Disney could explain how films were made, he discovered a productive means to promote his theatrical films and company brand (see Figure 2). Christopher Anderson claims that "Disney defined television as a companion medium to the cinema, an informational medium that could be used to reveal the process of filmmaking—since that impulse could not be indulged in the movies themselves."40 The popularity of Disneyland soon inspired other Hollywood studios to create their own TV programs. Warner Bros. Presents (ABC, 1955–1956), MGM Parade (ABC, 1955– 1956), and The 20th Century-Fox Hour (CBS, 1955-1957) all featured behind-the-scenes material. These shows arose during what Denise Mann describes as a shift in postwar promotions, when studios no longer counted on the publicity generated by fan magazines and gossip columnists. These studios increasingly depended on TV entertainers, who imparted "insider references" that helped the public gain insight into the operations

<sup>37</sup> Bloch, interview, May 8, 2013; Workman, interview, June 1, 2015.

<sup>38</sup> Jennifer Porst, "Disruptive Convergence: The Struggle over the Licensing and Sale of Hollywood's Feature Films to Television before 1955" (PhD diss., UCLA, 2014); Janet Wasko, "Hollywood and Television in the 1950s: The Roots of Diversification," in Lev, Fifties, 138–139.

<sup>39 &</sup>quot;Disney to Trailerize Pix on ABC-TV Shows," Daily Variety, April 2, 1954, 1, 10.

<sup>40</sup> Christopher Anderson, Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the Fifties (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 145.

of the film industries.<sup>41</sup> In treating television as a medium for showing how films are made, Disney and the various studio programs helped lay the groundwork for promotional featurettes.

As an indication of the intensifying use of marketing films on TV in the mid-1950s, Hollywood studios moved into producing featurettes for broadcast. One of the most active companies was United Artists, which

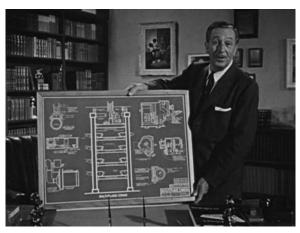


Figure 2. Walt Disney explains the animation process with a diagram of the multiplane camera in an office set from *Disneyland's* "Tricks of Our Trade" (ABC, February 13, 1957).

began putting together television promos that included background information on the making of the company's theatrical releases. <sup>42</sup> In 1956, the company conducted a survey of television stations and learned of their interest in allowing film companies to promote theatrical products on TV. Accordingly, it planned an ambitious output of seventy-five featurettes to air. <sup>43</sup> The following year, a reportedly unprecedented 115 TV stations aired *How a Great Film Is Made* (1957). <sup>44</sup> This featurette publicized United Artists' big-budget war film *The Pride and the Passion* (Stanley Kramer, 1957) during NBC's daytime program *Home* (1954–1957). <sup>45</sup> Attempting to target the show's female audience, the featurette follows Margaret Clark, an American elementary school teacher who worked as the production's bookkeeper while on sabbatical in Spain. Clark narrates a series of staged scenes, which portray her filmmaking experience as both an educational tour of Toledo and a romantic adventure with the film's Spanish assistant casting director.

Into the 1960s, United Artists expanded its featurette work by creating longer TV specials for high-profile films such as the Bob Hope—Bing Crosby comedy *The Road to Hong Kong* (Norman Panama, 1962), the Rat Pack western *Sergeants 3* (John Sturges, 1962), and the international coproduction *Five Miles to Midnight* (Anatole Litvak, 1963).

<sup>41</sup> Denise Mann, Hollywood Independents: The Postwar Talent Takeover (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 25–26.

<sup>42 &</sup>quot;Sullivan to Scan Film Studio Work," New York Times, January 11, 1956, 63; "No Sluff Times, Other Targets," Daily Variety, January 18, 1956, 7.

<sup>43 &</sup>quot;UA to Boost TV-Selling Of Pix," Daily Variety, December 4, 1956, 1, 17.

<sup>44</sup> Featurette titles and credits for directors and production companies tend to be inconsistent and sometimes unknown. In some cases, featurettes I viewed did not include a director's credit. In other cases, only the film company or vendor that produced the featurette was credited. Whenever possible, I include this information after the featurette title. The year of the featurette typically corresponds to the release of the source film that is being promoted.

<sup>45 &</sup>quot;115 Telestations to Carry 30-Min. Plug for 'Passion,'" Daily Variety, May 24, 1957, 2.

In addition, United Artists assembled a half-hour program called *Berlin Today* (aired in 1962), which promoted Stanley Kramer's *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961) with behind-the-scenes footage, along with a report on the crisis in Berlin that led to the city's partition. Because of the topical nature of Kramer's film, the company also produced ninety-second spots of the film's actors at work and at play to air between TV news broadcasts. <sup>46</sup> In time, United Artists branched out beyond its own advertising and publicity departments because of television's appetite for promotional material. It relied on outside vendors while setting up an in-house audio-video department to supply TV news programs with featurettes that promoted upcoming releases. <sup>47</sup>

Even as television provided the primary home for featurettes, Hollywood studios also capitalized on nontheatrical spaces and more traditional movie theaters to exhibit the making-of films for a diversity of audience groups. Fox example, *Rome in Madrid* (Globe Video, 1964), a featurette made for *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, was distributed to organizations such as schools, women's clubs, local TV stations, sales groups, and the press. A featurette could also exploit its source film's subject matter to appeal to a particular audience. Because of the biblical theme of *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, a promotional short for the film screened for church leaders in addition to TV and theatrical audiences. To market the film *Strangers When We Meet* (Richard Quine, 1960), which is partly about the construction of a building, a featurette played at various home and garden expositions around the United States. The promo plugged both the Columbia picture and Weyerhaeuser lumber to wood dealers, contractors, and the buying public. Doubling as both a movie and a lumber advertisement, the featurette demonstrated the far-reaching ways a film company could publicize its releases.

While not a widespread phenomenon, movie theaters showed some promotional featurettes. Certain exhibitors were eager to project shorts before a feature film, since studios had cut back on producing newsreels, animated cartoons, and serials. A cross between a short subject and a trailer, featurettes helped movie theaters fill out a feature program, often free of charge. Sometimes the theatrical featurette would give audiences a privileged peek into the making of the film they were about to see, closely linking the production process and final movie product. Before the projection of *Saint Joan* (Otto Preminger, 1957) in movie theaters, a series of shorts revealed the film's various stages of production. More often, these featurettes functioned like a trailer, appearing in theaters prior to a film's release to attract public interest. In the weeks before the opening of *The Night of the Iguana* (John Huston, 1964), 250 prints of the featurette *On the Trail of the Iguana* (Ross Lowell, 1964) circulated in US and foreign

<sup>46 &</sup>quot;UA Looking to TV as Happy Medium for Film Plugs via Documentaries," Variety, February 21, 1962, 18.

<sup>47 &</sup>quot;United Artists Creates TV-AM Dept. to Attain Maximum Air Sell Stress," Variety, July 19, 1967, 14.

<sup>48 &</sup>quot;Par's 'Rome in Madrid' Plug for Bronston Pic," Variety, February 19, 1964, 19.

<sup>49</sup> Ann del Valle, report, September 5, 1963, Greatest Story Ever Told (Frank Davis, Documentary), George Stevens Papers, Margaret Herrick Library.

<sup>50</sup> Various correspondence, 1959 and 1960, Strangers When We Meet (Featurette), Marty Weiser Papers, Margaret Herrick Library.

<sup>51</sup> Peter Musgrave, "Making a Movie of Movie-Making," American Cinematographer, September 1957, 596.

cinemas.<sup>52</sup> Tomorrow the Moon (1964), a featurette for Columbia Pictures' First Men in the Moon (Nathan Juran, 1964), played in more than six hundred US theaters leading up to the film's Thanksgiving holiday release.<sup>53</sup>

With a greater potential audience, though, television remained the principal medium for delivering promotional featurettes. Film companies eventually realized that television networks liked to show featurettes as supplements to the prime-time broadcast of Hollywood movies because they provided a way to fill TV schedules with inexpensive programming. However, studios could not always place their featurettes in coveted prime-time slots and instead looked to the daytime programming of local stations where the air needed filling.<sup>54</sup> Nonnetwork channels also programmed featurettes that were included in the purchase of syndicated film packages. The amplifying intersection of featurettes and television prompted *Variety* to comment: "The tv featurette is the newest wrinkle in this coexistence scheme and it is something that is taking on increasing importance all the time." This symbiotic relationship was significant because promotional featurettes helped convert television into a space where the viewing public could gain insights into filmmaking culture.

During the mid-1960s, featurettes attained their most high-profile position on TV when networks began to regularly telecast featurettes after feature films. On programs such as NBC Saturday Night at the Movies (1961–1978) and The ABC Sunday Night Movie (1964–1998), which had become robust ancillary venues for theatrical films, the scheduled slot lasted from two to two-and-a-half hours on average. When a feature film ran short, the network often filled the remaining period with a featurette. Both entities benefited: the network received programming that could occupy broadcast time, and the studio earned unpaid publicity for its films during prime-time hours. In addition, studios could target a TV audience who, research proved, were more likely to attend the movie theater—a reflection of film promotion's evolution from focusing on mass appeal to more specialized audience segments. See As feature films began to make up at least two hours of prime-time broadcasting every night by the late 1960s, the demand for programming filler continued to spur the production of promotional featurettes. During this period of growth, the strictures of broadcast TV would have a pivotal effect on the content of the promos and how production work would be depicted.

The promotional featurette existed in a nebulous realm in the televisual landscape, serving as a mix of documentary and advertisement. Because of this ambiguity, boutique agencies in collaboration with Hollywood studios had to steer clear of turning out a short that resembled a hard-sell advertisement, as the featurettes needed to be free TV programming and not a paid ad. Within TV's "magazine" programming format that had taken hold in the late 1950s, the featurette had to fit neatly into

<sup>52 &</sup>quot;13-Mins. Color Short Ballys Mono 'Iguana,'" Variety, June 24, 1964, 11.

<sup>53 &</sup>quot;Film Plugs & Pluggers," Variety, November 11, 1964, 14.

<sup>54 &</sup>quot;Promotional Featurettes for TV." 5.

<sup>55 &</sup>quot;Promotional Featurettes for TV." 5.

<sup>56</sup> William Lafferty, "Feature Films on Prime-Time Television," in *Hollywood in the Age of Television*, ed. Tino Balio (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 244.

<sup>57</sup> Lafferty, "Feature Films on Prime-Time Television," 246.

the network-controlled programming slot rather than the commercial breaks that advertisers bought into.58 United Artists encountered a problem with this divide between programming and advertising when its featurette for The Alamo (John Wayne, 1960) received bad press from TV critics for coming off like an overlong trailer.<sup>59</sup> To avoid criticism or rejection from a television broadcast, featurettes had to eschew the hard-sell line of traditional advertising campaigns and instead soft-sell the theatrical film by revealing the production phase. Ronald Saland, who was instrumental in producing dozens of featurettes and placing them on TV through his company, Professional Films, remembers how a network's guidelines shaped the structure and content of the promos. At times, featurettes were recut to meet the dictates of the network. "Almost everything we did would be tailored to the network," he explains. "In order to get on the network, [featurettes] couldn't be outright promotion in their eyes. We'd have to go through their programs and practices. And so we had to have some kind of a hook."60 Serving as a solution to TV's advertising restrictions, this hook took the form of conventional making-of themes that helped visualize filmmaking. Illustrating production to get a featurette on TV became a subterfuge that would influence the development of the making-of form for years to come.

Visualizing Production Work. As featurettes became a valuable component of promoting films, movie studios and boutique advertising agencies faced the task of how to show Hollywood filmmaking in light of the changes to postwar productions. During this period, production operations continued to decentralize as studios sold off their back lots and extended the trend of location shooting both in the United States and abroad. Promotional featurettes brought these issues into public view by recording the spectacle of foreign location shooting. By spotlighting global, off-thelot filmmaking, featurettes helped perpetuate location work and promote a shifting picture of Hollywood production during a time of industrial instability. As Janet Staiger explains, "What advertising stressed became grounds for competition and a large part of the set of standards for film practice."61 As a paratext that generated meaning beyond the film it sought to sell, this form of promotion rendered Hollywood production work in ways that were at once compelling and contrived through much of the 1960s. What gets left out of featurettes' portraits of movie shoots, as I will demonstrate, can reveal both the myths and the realities of production activities. To better understand the evolution of the depiction of Hollywood filmmaking, I want to first explore how production had been characterized through moving image before the 1960s.

While promotional featurettes gave a wide television audience insight into how movies were crafted, filming the production enterprise for marketing purposes was not novel in Hollywood. In the decades before the spread of promotional featurettes, the

<sup>58</sup> William Boddy, Fifties Television: The Industry and Its Critics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 155-164

<sup>59 &</sup>quot;UA Looking to TV as Happy Medium," 18.

<sup>60</sup> Ronald Saland, interview with author, July 8, 2015.

<sup>61</sup> Staiger, "Hollywood Mode of Production," 97.

representation of production was hardly realistic. In filmed studio tours that movie companies periodically made to strengthen their brand for exhibitors and the public, many filmmaking scenes were staged for the camera (see Figure 3). In the late 1940s

and early 1950s, the Motion Picture Association of America, in cooperation with the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, sought to offset the economic unease within Hollywood with a public relations campaign called Movies and You, which involved a series of documentaries about the industry. The short films, which shed light on different craft positions, mixed invented and *vérité* scenes of the production process to tout the movie business to the public. <sup>63</sup>



Figure 3. A visual tour of the Fox lot (20th Century-Fox, 1936) gives viewers a glimpse of the studio's process department specialists in a staged shot.

These instances of manipulated reality were also found in behind-the-scenes productions that featured hosts describing the making of a movie from a studio set and then introducing clips for a film. Walt Disney established the standard with his *Disneyland* program by explaining live-action and animated film productions from an office set. In what Jennifer Gillan calls a "brand management platform," these episodes aimed to reveal the creative work that went into each theatrical production as much as to promote a folksy visionary image of Disney and his studio.<sup>64</sup>

Promotional films that previewed future releases for sales departments and exhibitors used a fabricated approach to representing production work as well. In many of these filmed presentations, studio executives and filmmakers announced upcoming movies from offices and soundstages to give the suggestion of a production space. MGM produced *The Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Story* (1951), an extended sales film for exhibitors that incorporated preview clips introduced by production head Dore Schary from an office. Because of the film's success, the studio decided to tailor it to a general audience and release it theatrically and to produce separate theatrical trailers that featured stars presenting the coming attractions. <sup>65</sup> Several years later, MGM's exhibitor film *1955 Motion Picture Theater Celebration* interspersed scenes of new films with brief shots of the Culver City back lot and crews on soundstages. Other studios put together sales films that continued to use simulated episodes of filmmaking. In 1957, 20th Century-Fox released *The Big Show*, an ambitious, nearly two-hour feature filmed in DeLuxe color and its own

<sup>62 &</sup>quot;'Movies and You' Skillful Job of Public Relations," Hollywood Reporter, January 11, 1949, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Thank you to Jennifer Porst for sharing her knowledge of the Movies and You shorts and PR campaign.

<sup>64</sup> Jennifer Gillan, Television Brandcasting: The Return of the Content-Promotion Hybrid (New York: Routledge, 2015), 206–211.

<sup>65 &</sup>quot;'MGM Story' Big Hit at Houston Conclave," Daily Variety, November 1, 1950, 1, 15; "'MGM Story' Getting Fresh Format for General Release," Daily Variety, November 7, 1950, 5; and "'MGM Story' Success Prompts Studio to Plan Sequels," Daily Variety, February 27, 1951, 4.

widescreen system, CinemaScope. Eventually, Fox released a shorter, edited version for the general public, signaling a growing attempt to sell films to audiences through behind-the-scenes insights. 66 The Big Show proceeds down the studio hierarchy, presenting Fox personnel speaking to the camera, mostly from traditional spaces of production. From his office, President Spyros Skouras discusses his company's plan to make fifty-five films in 1957. Next, production head Buddy Adler praises the studio's operation over aerial shots of the Fox lot. Then the film moves on to an array of producers and directors who introduce clips of forthcoming movies from offices and soundstages. These scenes of filmmaking, which are associated with studio-bound production work, stand in contrast to a few segments that point to a more global outlook. With his newly independent producer status, Darryl F. Zanuck speaks from an office set in London about Fox's slate of international productions, including *The Sun Also Rises* (Henry King, 1957) and Island in the Sun (Robert Rossen, 1957). The film then switches to producer David O. Selznick, who describes his production of A Farewell to Arms (Charles Vidor, 1957) from the film's location in the Italian Alps (see Figure 4). While these dispatches from abroad still had the artificial look of earlier promotional films, they indicate that studios like Fox were mounting motion pictures that were bigger and more international as a strategy to help negotiate the industrial changes in the postwar era.



Figure 4. David O. Selznick speaks from the set of *A Farewell to Arms* (20th Century-Fox, 1957) on location in the Italian Alps in the promotional film *The Big Show* (20th Century-Fox, 1957).

With the growing need to soft-sell the production process on television in order not to violate a network's restrictions on programming that appeared as an advertisement, promotional featurettes opted for a different plan. They attempted to narrativize filmmaking by veering away from staged scenes of conventional production spaces toward documentary footage of casts and crews at work on location. By focusing on the mechanics of production, these featurettes utilized an "operational aesthetic," a concept that historian Neil Harris uses to describe the revelations of showman P. T. Barnum's hoaxes. The operational aesthetic made the desire to understand the hoax just as absorbing as the display of it. <sup>67</sup> Similarly, in featurettes the operational aesthetic

<sup>66 &</sup>quot;Theatres Get 20th 'Big Show,'" Daily Variety, June 27, 1957, 1, 2.

<sup>67</sup> Neil Harris, Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), chap. 3. Both Christopher Anderson and Steven Watts borrow the operational aesthetic concept from Harris to describe Walt Disney's

reveals the creation of films to trigger the audience's pleasure in understanding film-making procedures. The allure of making-of films lies in unveiling not just the trickery that went into producing what's on the screen but also the work of designing striking visuals, shooting in far-flung locales, and creating a more heightened sense of spectacle and realism.

Above all, the featurettes' operational aesthetic portrayed the craft that went into fashioning a film's high production values. The featurette Moscow in Madrid (Thomas Craven Film Corporation, 1965) stresses a production dilemma in the making of Doctor Zhivago (David Lean, 1965): how to re-create Russia outside of the Soviet Union? The voice-over narration proclaims that "Moscow has risen anew on the Spanish plains," while we see footage of *Zhivago*'s crew constructing intricate buildings and landscapes that replicate Moscow on locations throughout Spain. To promote Around the World under the Sea (Andrew Marton, 1966), a featurette presents another challenge: shooting complicated underwater sequences in the Bahamas and Australia's Great Barrier Reef. As the crew drops cameras and lighting equipment down to the ocean floor, the narration explains, "New techniques in making such a film as Around the World under the Sea require a totally new concept in support equipment and movie props." Subsequently, the short presents an inventory of real underwater gear: a twoperson submarine, a scuba sphere, and a diving suit. Both of these featurettes draw on hyperbolic voice-overs and sequences of technical know-how to express the ingenuity of manufacturing filmic spectacle.

As these featurettes illustrate, authentic foreign locales became production elements that brought visual interest to the films being sold. Owing to their documentary impulse, 1960s featurettes were particularly effective at conveying the semblance of realism that resulted from location shooting. The authenticity of place in MGM's French-Mexican-American coproduction Guns for San Sebastian (Henri Verneuil, 1968) comes to the fore in the featurette San Sebastian 1746 in 1968 (Floyd L. Peterson, 1968), which emphasizes the eponymous Mexican town. The location remains "exactly as it was two centuries ago," the narration informs us. Likewise, to promote The Sand Pebbles (Robert Wise, 1966), the featurette A Ship Called San Pablo (Theodore Taylor, 1966) singles out various locales in Hong Kong and Taiwan. However, because many of the locations stood in for mainland China, the featurette markets the source film by emphasizing verisimilitude rather than authenticity (see Figure 5). While the promo accentuated foreign settings to generate attention, ultimately the artistry of Hollywood filmmakers refashioning one location for another trumped true authenticity. Even if realism was a major justification for shooting films abroad, hyping the illusion of authenticity—a component of an operational aesthetic—was just as persuasive in promotional campaigns.

Some featurettes also address the technical and logistical hurdles of working on location, a theme that corresponds to an operational aesthetic's emphasis on process. A behind-the-scenes look at *King of Kings* (Nicholas Ray, 1961) depicts the filming of Jesus's Sermon on the Mount. The promo details the Super Technirama crew's

explanation of the filmmaking process. See Anderson, *Hollywood TV*, 145; and Steven Watts, *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001), 366.



Figure 5. The promotional featurette *A Ship Called San Pablo* (A China Seas Film, 1966) shows how the location unit for *The Sand Pebbles* (20th Century-Fox, 1966) re-created Shanghai in the streets of Taipei.

difficult camera setup, the coordination of thousands of Spanish extras, and the construction of production facilities in the hills outside of Madrid. In sum, the making of a biblical epic becomes a triumph of organization. For The Guns of Navarone (J. Lee Thompson, 1961), Columbia Pictures produced a series of featurettes that followed star James Darren's Greek honeymoon in one version and the shopping spree of actors Irene Papas and Gia Scala

in another. Both variants play like visual tours of the island of Rhodes, where the film was shot. These shorts juxtapose these passages of leisure with views of the risky camera positions the location shoot required. Over shots of the camera crew setting up on precipitous sea cliffs, a voice-over narrates: "A studio would be safer, but only such rugged landscapes as these could capture the searing drama and high adventure of a lastingly great film." The rhetoric of ballyhoo aside, the footage reflected changes in Hollywood production by progressing from static setups of hosts introducing movie clips—a lingering impression of the studio mode of production—to on-set shots of film units operating all around the world.

Through celebrations of a film's production values, foreign locations, and film-making expertise, featurettes maintained a promotional campaign's long-established tradition of realism and spectacle. Even as this tradition found a welcome home on television, Hollywood studios differentiated theatrical releases from television programming by having featurettes indirectly underscore facets of movie technologies, such as widescreen aspect ratios, that TV could not yet deliver. From today's vantage point, featurettes act as indispensable records for understanding 1960s Hollywood because of what they chronicled (e.g., increased off-the-lot filmmaking) and sold (e.g., the international character of film production). However, featurettes were anything but *vérité* records of production activities, as many of them were conceptualized before shooting commenced and then reshaped in postproduction. Extant scripts and production correspondence for featurettes reveal that standardized production routines could be framed with the aid of voice-over narration to meet the objectives of a promotional campaign. This formulation of production work often rested on a series of structuring motifs that solidified some conventions of the making-of form that continue today.

<sup>68</sup> Staiger, "Announcing Wares," 6-7.

<sup>69</sup> Promotional featurette scripts written by film publicist Jack Atlas for Columbia Pictures are collected in the Jack Atlas Papers, Margaret Herrick Library.

Manufacturing the Metaphors and Myths of Production Work. One of the most enduring conventions of promotional featurettes is how the film's story becomes a metaphor for the production. Here, the shooting of an adventure film is treated as a journey or the production of a war movie is regarded as a battle. This structuring method allowed the makers of featurettes to distill the complexities of a production into a pithy promo. The late Paul Arthur noted of the making-of form, "A recurring tactic is to seize on an integral trope for the filmmaking process that mirrors the typology of the original narrative."70 In a study of how Hollywood's making-of documentaries represent creative collaboration, Robert González identifies a similar use of metaphors that enable "a mapping of the fictional world of the film onto the real world of the production company."<sup>71</sup> By melding fiction and reality, these metaphors furnish the filmmakers with a way to validate their labor and foster a sense community. I argue that through the synthesis of the fictional narrative and the behind-the-scenes narrative, the story-as-production metaphor becomes an essential device that promotional featurettes employed to market Hollywood's filmmaking reputation in the 1960s and in the decades to come.

The metaphors often drew on the actual shooting locations to associate where the film was shot with where the story was set. In a series of featurettes made for *Lawrence of Arabia* (David Lean, 1962), the Jordanian desert landscape performs as both a backdrop for a story about desert warfare and a site where the location unit confronted real-life sand storms and scorching heat. "From the outset, the desert gave no quarter," announces the narrator of the promo *In Search of Lawrence* (Thomas Craven Film Corporation, 1962), as the crew members' perseverance in the face of extreme conditions imbues the production with a sense of daring that echoes the source film's epic adventure (see Figure 6). *Searchers for a Special City* (Kaleidoscope Films, 1966), a featurette for

the urban drama Mister Buddwing (1966), fuses production and story by having director Delbert Mann's location scout in New York City resemble the story's amnesiac protagonist, who searches for his identity while traversing the city. A Grand Prix (1966) promo titled Challenge of the Champions (Daniel Davis, 1966) shows how the location unit, led by director John Frankenheimer, stages a race sequence just before a real race in Monte Carlo to take advantage of genuine spectators.



Figure 6. The promotional featurette *In Search of Lawrence* (Thomas Craven Film Corporation, 1962) highlights the extreme desert conditions that the *Lawrence of Arabia* (Columbia, 1962) cast and crew faced in Jordan.

<sup>70</sup> Paul Arthur, "(In)dispensable Cinema: Confessions of a 'Making-of' Addict," Film Comment, July-August 2004, 41.

<sup>71</sup> Robert M. González Jr., "The Drama of Collaborative Creativity: A Rhetorical Analysis of Hollywood Film Making-of Documentaries" (PhD diss., University of South Florida, 2008), 126.

The featurette presents the filming of the fictional race like a race itself, with all the pressure of the actual Monaco Grand Prix. The story-as-production metaphors in these featurettes help sell the source film's story by narrativizing themes from the movie in the portrayal of filmmaking while simultaneously making the production work dramatic.

The story-as-production metaphor persisted in the ensuing years, becoming a customary narrative component in featurettes and feature-length making-of documentaries. Women in the Movies (Elliot Geisinger, 1974) relates the creation of Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore (Martin Scorsese, 1974) by making the film's female-driven plot resonate with the contributions of the production's female editor, art director, and producer, as well as their struggle to work in a male-dominated industry. In Burden of Dreams (Les Blank, 1982), an account of the filming of Fitzcarraldo (1982), director Werner Herzog's extravagant ambitions dovetail with the character Fitzcarraldo's dreams, as both individuals pursue the same Sisyphean task of hauling a ship over a mountain. Hearts of Darkness: A Filmmaker's Apocalypse (Fax Bahr and George Hickenlooper, 1991) depicts the arduous production of Apocalypse Now (1979) as war, or as director Francis Ford Coppola declared at a press conference that opens the documentary, the Vietnam War itself. Hearts of Darkness actually goes further and organizes much of its making-of narrative around the blending of story and production: filmmaking is presented like a jungle trek, the mad genius of Coppola is equated to Colonel Kurtz's, and actors are conflated with their characters. Lost in La Mancha (Keith Fulton and Louis Pepe, 2002) details another troubled film shoot by chronicling the breakdown of Terry Gilliam's incomplete production of The Man Who Killed Don Quixote. Gilliam's constant battles against uncontrollable forces become a manifestation of Quixote tilting at windmills. In all these documentaries, the story-as-production metaphor shapes the film's overall structure and the perception of modern filmmaking.

Why have producers of promotional featurettes and making-of documentaries repeatedly relied on this convention? First, the metaphors enable producers to apply a ready-made story formula to the form's narrative. The story-as-production metaphor could come into play when the promo creators devised a rough concept to guide the featurette crew in how to record the behind-the-scenes footage. A featurette script for *Lost Command* (Mark Robson, 1966) takes inspiration from the film's story of a French officer's military campaigns in Vietnam and Algeria. The script likens director Mark Robson to a "chief of staff" who can handle "large scale battle action and great masses of men and equipment." Alternatively, the story-as-production metaphor could serve as a reliable structuring option during the editing phase, providing a simple solution to the perennial problem of forming a narrative out of a mass of footage. In the archival records for a promotional film about Sam Peckinpah's western *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (1970), correspondence indicates that the filmmakers advocated for a means to edit what was initially a chaotic early cut of the featurette. One memo articulates, "We will sense that the goals of the actors and Sam are in many ways

<sup>72</sup> Joe Ansen and Jack Atlas, "The Un-Split Second" Featurette No. 4, May 23, 1966, Lost Command (Script), Jack Atlas Papers, Margaret Herrick Library.

identical to the goals of *Hogue*'s main characters."<sup>73</sup> This idea equates the filmmaking pursuits of Peckinpah and his cast with the movie characters' entrepreneurial spirit in the Wild West. Whether at the preplanning or editing stage, story-as-production metaphors were convenient devices for easily fashioning a narrative in the featurette. Furthermore, to be broadcast on network TV, featurettes could not act as a barefaced film advertisement. By merging story and production, a featurette producer could sell the film's plot by smuggling it into the depiction of its making.

The story-as-production metaphor also helps marketers interpret the filmmaking profession—an intensely technical trade involving endless decisions—for the public. By appealing to notions people are more familiar with, such as racing and war, the producers of making-of materials can evoke images of the filmmaking profession that are as dramatic as the movies themselves. In the case of 1960s featurettes, these tropes were sometimes more interesting than the promoted theatrical films. Describing the soft-selling of featurettes, Chuck Workman recalls, "You were dealing with a lot of weak movies that were kind of formulaic, and you were just looking for things that could make them special."<sup>74</sup> Using a film's story to decode production work has also been more widespread. This reading of the filmmaking enterprise is one way that film journalists, scholars, and the industry itself have treated the idea of moviemaking. After all, some interpretations of movie stars are predicated on integrating a screen persona and the actor's public identity. Scholars have shown that publicity and advertising departments associated actors' on-screen characters with their off-screen life so that audiences conflated the two, not unlike how a film's story can be mapped onto its making.75

What aspects of filmmaking do these metaphors leave out, especially as a demonstration of the realities of production in the 1960s? By collapsing the production process and the film's story, the rhetoric of the making-of form tends to transform the collective activity of moviemaking into heroic tales of directors mobilizing their artistry to surmount all manner of logistical complications. John Caldwell suggests that this "industrial self-theorizing" often found in making-of documentaries is "reductive and proprietary." Making-ofs simplify the learned skills of actual workers by invoking notions of magic to brand media companies as places of innovation. Barbara Klinger also points out that behind-the-scenes material on DVDs perpetuates the long-standing discourse of "movie magic." She writes, "Viewers do not get the unvarnished truth about the production; they are instead presented with the 'promotable' facts, behind-the-scenes information that supports and enhances a sense of the 'movie magic' associated with Hollywood production." Far from accurate

<sup>73 &</sup>quot;Notes on *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* documentary," n.d., *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (Documentary 1969–1970), Sam Peckinpah Papers, Margaret Herrick Library.

<sup>74</sup> Workman, interview, June 1, 2015.

<sup>75</sup> Cathy Klaprat, "The Star as Market Strategy: Bette Davis in Another Light," in *The American Film Industry*, ed. Tino Balio (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 351–376; and Richard Dyer, *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>76</sup> Caldwell, Production Culture, 21.

<sup>77</sup> Barbara Klinger, Beyond the Multiplex: Cinema, New Technologies, and the Home (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 73.

records, then, promotional featurettes obscure the realities of production work by exploiting metaphors and the myth of movie magic in the form of simplified, easy-to-sell making-of tales.

Key to this reductive tendency is highlighting above-the-line personnel, namely the director, as the protagonists of filmmaking adventures. The representation of a chief creative individual allows featurettes to tell a cohesive narrative succinctly and to bring coherence to the production operation. In a memo regarding the messy state of the promotional film for The Ballad of Cable Hogue, the producers recommend restructuring the promo by concentrating on director Sam Peckinpah. The memo explains that Peckinpah "will provide the needed illumination of transition and control of audience's point of view."78 Like the story-as-production metaphors, the foregrounding of an authorial position could begin at the conception of the featurette, too. A treatment outlining a promotional film about The Greatest Story Ever Told proposes connecting various aspects of the production through the figure of director George Stevens. The treatment describes, "All the elements of the production will be shown—the exhaustive research, the careful planning, the set designing, the technical equipment, location shooting, studio shooting, editing, scoring, etc.—but all of these are unified through the personality of Mr. Stevens, and become meaningful as instruments of his idea."<sup>79</sup> The proposal takes an auteurist approach by reducing the technology, filmmaking practices, and labor into mere tools to facilitate the execution of Stevens's vision. Although the focus on directors may have oversimplified the production process, singling out directors raised awareness of the creators behind the camera for a wide television audience. Movie viewers at the time, according to Chuck Workman, "were interested in the meta world of filmmaking. They were interested in who the directors were."80 This popular concern with directors reflected the 1960s discourse on auteurism found in cinema journals, monographs, and film schools.

In celebrating directors, promotional featurettes relegated others, primarily below-the-line personnel, to the background. On occasion, though, a featurette might single out a certain below-the-line crew member. *The Man Who Makes a Difference* (1968), a promo made for *Ice Station Zebra* (John Sturges, 1968), celebrates second-unit photographer John Stephens and his daredevil work in race cars and on ski slopes. But overall, featurettes tended to obscure the economic and logistical demands of large productions by centering on directors and actors. This bias may be found earlier on Walt Disney's TV programs, whose behind-the-scenes explorations, argues Christopher Anderson, obfuscated financial and labor issues in the show's treatment of movie productions. Nevertheless, insights into the labor of filmmaking could be glimpsed through the veneer that Disney fabricated. "Escape to Paradise," a *Walt Disney Presents* (ABC, 1958–1961) segment promoting *Swiss Family Robinson* (Ken Annakin, 1960), offers a more

<sup>78 &</sup>quot;Notes on The Ballad of Cable Hogue documentary."

<sup>79</sup> Morton Heilig, "Theme and Production Outline for a 30-Minute 35mm Color Documentary about George Stevens' Production of 'The Greatest Story Ever Told,'" n.d., The Greatest Story Ever Told (Frank Davis, Documentary), George Stevens Papers, Margaret Herrick Library.

<sup>80</sup> Workman, interview, June 1, 2015.

<sup>81</sup> Anderson, Hollywood TV, 145.

complicated depiction of labor than we see in demonstrations of production work from earlier Disney TV shows. The episode features narration by the locals of Tobago, where the film was shot. In the form of a calypso song, the commentary accompanies scenes of Tobagonians hauling filmmaking equipment. Even if the song tries to express the perspective of the local labor force, the calypso narration is ironically at odds with visuals that expose the hardships of production. The upbeat narration celebrates the joys of working on *Swiss Family Robinson*, but the camera reveals a violent tropical storm and the local workers cleaning up the ruined location. Such ironic contrasts are typical of the making-of form, when the imagery inadvertently lays bare how promotional tactics can misrepresent the production experience.

A less overt irony exists in the featurette promoting *The Night of the Iguana*. Portraying the location shoot in Mismaloya, Mexico, the promo consigns the local Mexican laborers to the background while pushing an auteurist agenda by profiling John Huston's personality and directorial style. Nonetheless, the actors receive some attention, too. Actor Deborah Kerr's voice-over explains that each day she climbed up and down a hill to reach the set in Mismaloya, a chore that reduced her legs to "jelly." To illustrate this point, the featurette creators present not Kerr ascending the hill but Mexican workers struggling to transport building materials to the remote location (see Figure 7). The shots were likely chosen to embody the hardship that Kerr recounts, but her description

is not commensurate with the actual physical labor of the set builders we witness onscreen. Consequently, the film foregrounds what is latent in the featurette, namely that the production benefited from the cheap manual labor of the locals—an important rea-



Figure 7. *On the Trail of the Iguana* (Professional Film Services, 1964) juxtaposes Deborah Kerr's voice-over narration with images of Mexican set builders.

son international productions like *The Night of the Iguana* and *Swiss Family Robinson* were shot outside of Hollywood. In contrast to the metaphors and myths that featurettes peddle, moments like these uncover the hidden benefit of promotional featurettes. Although cloaked in voice-over narrations and editing decisions that support marketing objectives, some of the realities of moviemaking are on display. Featurettes can equip us with critical information to understand how the motion picture industry constructed its own likeness for the public. Moreover, they help us witness the sometimes invisible labor of production, even when it is not the focal point of promoting films.

**Conclusion: Visualizing a Global Production Industry.** As production decentralized and international filmmaking grew, Hollywood developed an identity that helped reshape the image of movie production. The promotional featurettes of the 1960s

came up with one avenue for visualizing this identity. They departed from the classical studio-era portrait of filmmaking, when the film industry had cultivated a self-image of what John Caldwell calls "a visionary and technically savvy artists colony" that was closely tied to the geography and symbolic power of Hollywood.<sup>82</sup> This notion persisted into the 1950s on studio-backed TV shows such as Disneyland, which perpetuated an outmoded picture of the film industry, as Christopher Anderson has argued. "By representing the studio as an active self-contained creative community bustling with activity," he writes, "these scenes evoke impressions of studio-era Hollywood while masking the fact that historical conditions had rendered those very images obsolete."83 By the postwar era, this conception of Hollywood was transforming, because studios and independent producers were shooting movies outside of Southern California and around the globe, a situation that promotional featurettes captured. More than a mechanism of studio brand marketing, featurettes often showcased independent productions in which Hollywood studios functioned more as financiers and distributors, a reality that was difficult to convey. To transmit a more striking view of production work, featurettes refashioned old formulas of spectacle and realism through the allure of new settings, technologies, and location shooting.

However, this image of Hollywood production was simultaneously manufactured and rooted in documentary evidence. While promotional featurettes attempted to provide a candid look at the making of Hollywood films, they also sustained myths about the industry, chiefly its magic and might, by narrativizing actual production work. In the past, Hollywood was seen as a centralized production community teeming with ingenuity. Now featurettes presented location units traversing the globe to overcome the most complex of logistical challenges. In the past, filmmakers fabricated illusions on Hollywood back lots. Now featurettes presented directors mobilizing masses of people and contending with the unruly forces of nature. Despite these vivid glimpses of Hollywood production, promotional featurettes were not always successful at boosting box-office numbers, and the industry suffered a recession during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Even so, these promos helped refashion a changing understanding of Hollywood moviemaking that found a home on television, pointing to the convergence of the two mediums.

This portrait of Hollywood would further evolve as the film industry transformed into the more youthful New Hollywood that emerged in the late 1960s with films such as *Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn, 1967), *The Graduate* (Mike Nichols, 1967), and *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969), and then on into the 1970s blockbuster era. Even as featurettes continued to be made and shown on TV through the 1970s, they played a lesser role as film budgets fluctuated and studios focused their promotional campaigns on the theatrical run of a film rather than the prerelease period. <sup>84</sup> Eventually the promotional featurette form morphed into behind-the-scenes clips used in electronic press kits that

<sup>82</sup> Caldwell, Production Culture, 284.

<sup>83</sup> Anderson, Hollywood TV, 144.

<sup>84</sup> Balio, United Artists, 219–220. Chuck Workman recalls that he worked on his last promotional featurettes around 1980. Workman, interview, June 1, 2015. Similarly, Ronald Saland recollects that the production of featurettes petered out in the early 1980s. Saland, interview, July 8, 2015.

the media could repurpose. Today, original promotional featurettes have been revived as post-feature-film supplements on cable channels such as Turner Classic Movies. While their current presence on cable television recalls their role as programming filler on 1960s broadcast television, they now have a new paratextual purpose in displaying production work to cultivate a nostalgic appreciation of Hollywood's past.

The history of making-of films calls attention to the importance of what Jonathan Gray calls "off-screen studies" in understanding how a text's meaning is produced. In building meaning around the creation of movies, featurettes became paratexts that gave added value to theatrical films and reformulated the significance of Hollywood production in an age of uncertainty. As I have argued in this article, featurettes operate, as both marketing material and visible evidence of the production process. Synthesizing these two concerns through a historical perspective reveals how the industry sold itself to the public via television and through the work of advertising and publicity departments and vendors. More than just disposable pieces of movie marketing, promotional featurettes tell us a great deal about Hollywood filmmaking during a time of industrial transition. Their influence has endured, as featurettes also helped promote many of the making-of conventions that shape how we talk about production work today.

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85 Gray, Show Sold Separately, 4.