

The everyday life of cinema

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RENATA ROGOWSKI POZZO

PhD in Geography, Federal University of Santa Catarina, Florianopolis, Santa Catarina, Brazil. Professor at the Department of Architecture and Urbanism of the same institution. Brazil. E-mail: sul.renate@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0003-3965-4813

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Abstract

This paper explores the *effects of cinema on everyday life*, starting from a reflection on the Brazilian film screenings of the 1950s and 1960s, through the experiences of a resident of the city of Laguna, Santa Catarina. For 18 years, Dona Betinha kept a diary where she recorded 805 times she went to the movie theater – in 69 of them she watched national productions in two of the city's cinemas: Cine Mussi and Cine Roma. This poses the problem of thinking the cinema that existed as part of everyday life in the context of modernity, which was extended as an event in the city, a sociability engine, which is present as memory.

Keywords

Brazilian cinema; Film screening; Urban sociability; Modernity.

Introduction

Things can only attain true poetic status by mediating human destinies Lukács, 1965, p. 73

Between 1950 and 1968 Maria Bernadete Fernandes Pereira went to the movies 805 times. Nearly 50 years later, a research project carried out on the street cinemas of Santa Catarina led to her and her diary, the subject of analysis of this essay.¹ For 18 years Mrs Betinha took notes on all the films she watched in two movie theaters in the city of Laguna, Cine Mussi and Cine Roma. These annotations are endowed with great representativity to the historiography of Brazilian cinema, considering that a strict monitoring of film screenings in Brazil started only from the foundation of Embrafilme (Brazilian Film Company) in 1972. In the period reported in the diary, Betinha watched 69 national productions.

From the analysis of this source, the central objective of this paper is to investigate the presence of cinema in the sphere of social relations and, more specifically, urban sociability. According to Benjamin (2006, p.240): "The true method of making things present is to represent them in our space (not represent ourselves in their space). (...). We don't displace our being into theirs; they step into our life." The problem is to think cinema from the viewer's gaze, the cinema that existed as part of the daily life of the public. The cinema that extends as an event in the city, engine of sociability, and which is present as memory. For this reason, the analysis can be understood as an - urban - geography of cinema or as an analysis of its geography. Therefore, we work with the daily raw material, from Lefebvre's (1991: 35) perspective:

In the case of everyday life, it is a matter of characterizing the society in which we live, which generates everyday life (and modernity). It is about defining it, defining its transformations, and its perspectives, retaining, among apparently insignificant facts, something essential, and ordering the facts. Not only the everyday life as a concept, but also, we can still take this concept as the guiding thread to know the 'society', situating daily life in the global: state, technique and technicity, culture (or the decomposition of culture), etc.

The background of this essay is a reflection on Brazilian cinema in the 1950s and 1960s, in its aspects of production, distribution and screenings, from these notes by Betinha, a true collector in the Benjaminian sense. The analysis is given to Betinha's narrative, and, through it, finds the historiography of Brazilian cinema, especially in the sphere of the screenings. This movement, from the particular

¹ Research project "Cinema Space Body: a social cartography of old movie theaters in Santa Catarina," under development at the State University of Santa Catarina (2016/2 - 2018/1).

(Betinha's diary) to the general (film screenings), was theoretically based on the ideas of Western Marxists² Walter Benjamin, Georg Lukács and Henri Lefebvre, as well as their interlocutors, Agnes Heller and Marshall Berman.

In his writings collected in "Passages", Benjamin (2006, p.15) defined precisely this play between the general and the particular as the central problem of Marxism, thinking about "which way it would be possible to reconcile full visibility with application of the Marxist method ". Appropriately, the response found by Benjamin related historical research to the method of filmmaking:

The first step would be to retake in history the principle of montage. Therefore, build the large constructions from minimal elements, made with sharpness and precision. That is, to discover in the analysis of the small singular moment, the crystal of the total event. (BENJAMIN, 2006, p.15).

In turn, Lukacs (1981) points out that a broad research cannot neglect the daily chain of events, having its unity as a horizon, but rather abstract from the particular facts the meaning that reveals a historical feature of society. For Lukacs (1965, p. 57), "the truth of the social process is also the truth of individual destinies."

In this sense, dismantling and reassembling Betinha's diary provides immersion in a fruitful past until the present (using Rampim's expression , 2014), at this time when the film industry grows more than other sectors in Brazil (Nunomura, Medeiros and Sanches, 2016), and progressive initiatives such as those promoted by Spcine (public company of cinema of the city of São Paulo) emerge. The diary assists in the study of film reception, so important for the contemporary historiography of Brazilian cinema that traditionally concentrated its analyzes in the sphere of production, neglecting distribution and screenings.

The relation between the spectator and the cinema integrates the field of reception theories or the filmic specter. Film theory has been concerned with this relationship since its origins, according to the publication of Hugo Munsterberg's book "The Film: a psychological study" in 1916 in the USA (Xavier, 2003). Especially since the 1970s, a greater concern with "the modes of reception, reading and interpretation, including the use and appropriation of films as textual objects or works in the social space" occupies the center of theoretical debates about cinema, especially through aesthetic, or textual, and psychoanalysis, focused on the interpretations and reactions of the viewer regarding the filmic image (Bamba, 2013, p.9). A little later, social analyzes of reception arise, which anchor this interpretation in class and gender content, for example.

² According to Anderson's demarcation (2004).

Although the reception of the public is part of the history of the cinema as much as the films and the filmmakers, in Brazil the interest for this sphere gains greater body only from the years 1980, notably from the publication of the anthology "The experience of the cinema" by Ismail Xavier in 1983, although some important texts dealing directly and indirectly with this question were already collected in 1969 in José Lino Grunewald's collection "The Idea of Cinema".

In these analyzes, the idea of *cinema* is usually restricted to the *film*. The spectator-cinema relationship investigated in the present essay considers the cinema as form and content, in other words, *a film being exhibited in a space*, the screenings room. According to Bamba (2013, p. 11), researches on the spectators reception can "raise issues related to the type of relationship they maintain with so-called institutional movie places (movie theaters, film clubs, cinematheques, etc.)." This is what Silva and Bonin (2013) call the situational context of reception. These analyzes, however, do not connect the so-called movie places to the historical movement of the city; have not shown the interest of finally reflecting on the geography of this special daily habit³.

This lack of debate is possibly based on psychoanalysis of reception - predominant to the present day - in which, in the direct opposite of what is sought to be problematized in this work, it is common for the cinema situation to be presented as a voluntary escape from everyday reality, as Mauerhofer says in: "The Psychology of Film Experience", 1966⁴. The same tone of separation and isolation between everyday life and the practice of going to the movies appears in another seminal text of the psychoanalytic theories of reception. In "Cinema: ideological effects produced by the basic apparatus" of 1970, Jean-Louis Baudry states that: "Without a doubt, the dark room and the screen surrounded by black as a card of condolences already have privileged conditions of effectiveness. No circulation, no exchange, no transfusion with the outside. " (Baudry, 2003, p.395).

At the present time, analyzes that focus on the movies as the basis for a daily driving practice of urban sociability, as proposed in this essay, are carried out within the framework of the Center for Cinema and Media Studies of the University of Ghent, Belgium, coordinated by Daniel Biltereyst. This is the case of the project

³ The rare relations between cinema and everyday life usually appear in the sense of revealing the influence of filmic content on social life. Heller (2004, p. 27), for example, mentions how cinema influences and values certain social roles: "all meaningful work returns to everyday life and its effect survives in the everyday lives of others."

⁴ However, his appreciation for the customary practice of going to the movies is interesting: "Every day it makes the lives of millions of people bearable. (...) Cinema [...] offers compensation for lives that have lost much of their substance. It is a modern necessity, not yet sung in verses. (...). It relieves the burden of daily life and serves as food for our impoverished imagination. "(MAUERHOFER, 2003, 380).

'The Enlightened' City, developed by Lies Van de Vijver⁵.

Following these theoretical paths, the essay is organized in two parts. In the first part, he presents Betinha's diary as a work and as a source of research, starting from the ideas contained in "The Collector" and "The Narrator" by Benjamin (2006, 1983b), "Narrate or Describe?" By Lukács and thinkers of the field of history theory who reflected on the adoption of diaries and personal narratives as a research paper. At this moment, we also briefly analyze the national bonds attended by Betinha in the time period corresponding to the diary.

In the second moment, the problematic about the importance of the two movies theaters attended by Betinha, Cine Mussi and Cine Roma, is developed as nodal points of a network of urban sociability established in the center of the city in the two decades of notes. In this context, based on the spatial organization of the film industry, it is reflected on how the process of closing the movie theaters experienced in most small Brazilian cities impacts its traditional center in terms of urban sociability. At the same time, the closure of movie theaters is the result of a process of changing the social meaning of traditional Brazilian centers in the second half of the twentieth century. The sources of the information about the movie theatres are interviews with city dwellers, moviegoers of the past, compiled in the publication "Cinema in the city: a cartography of the old movie theaters of Laguna" (Pozzo, 2016).

The diary

Especially from the publication of "History of Private Life" in 1990 (a collection led by Phillippe Ariès and Georges Duby), this historiographic research has taken on new spaces and, consequently, new documents (Gomes, 2004), becoming worrying about the diaries and autobiographical letters, which were already an object of interest in literature theory.

Betinha's diary comprises annotations from the dates of December 17, 1950 and April 13, 1968. The desire to start the record shows that it appeared after the inauguration of Cine Mussi, because the first entry in the diary is the film that was shown on the opening night of this movie theatre (Figure 1).

⁵Available at: <<http://www.cims.ugent.be/research/past-research-projects/-enlightened-city>>. Accessed on June 20, 2017.

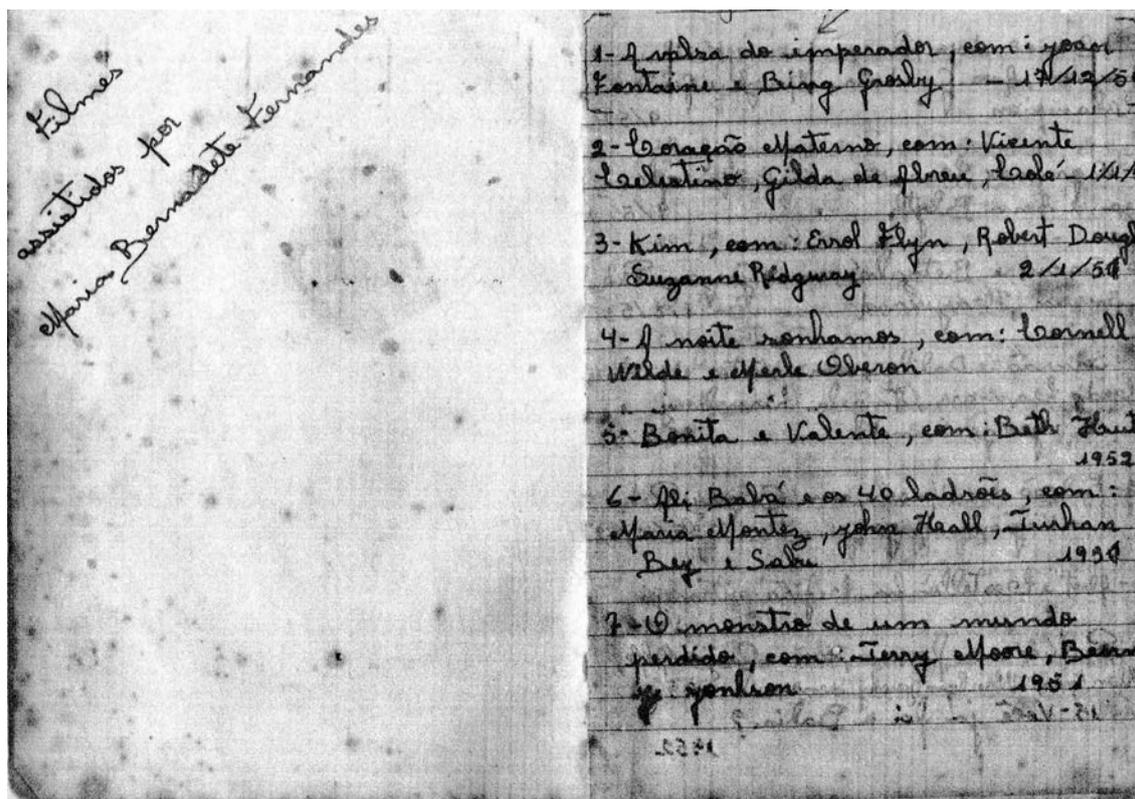


Figure 1 - Back cover and first page of Betinha's diary.
Source: Author's collection.

In the first two years, there is no precision in the date annotation; in some moments Betinha marks only the year, in others back in time. This indicates that during this period she was not used to note daily what she had seen, moments of remembrance taking place. After these initial lapses, the diary follows a rigid organizational pattern. Betinha creates a numerical sequence for the movies she watches (from numbers 1 to 805). After the number, writes down the name of the movie that, followed by the conjunction "with", is added by the main actors and actresses. Then, it comes with the date that the movie was seen by her in the movies.

Betinha captures these 805 works of his apparently independent existence and integrates them into a system that, from the historiographic point of view, can represent her salvation, or, redemption. Such an order identifies Betinha's figure to the Benjaminian collector. According to Benjamin (2006, p. 245) "The collector (...) gathers things that are related; in this way he can inform about things through their affinities or their succession in time." In this way, in Betinha's collection, each film is something that through the diary finds another that is similar to it (BENJAMIN, 2006). It is as if, through her notes, she promoted the encounter between films that at first would have nothing in common. Going through his diary,

"The Price of Illusion" (Brazil, Nilton Nascimento, 1957) ⁶ and "Cinderella in Paris" (USA, Stanley Donen, 1957) becoming two films watched by Betinha at Cine Mussi in 1959.

At the same time, and also through the diary, Betinha, consciously or not, undertakes the "struggle against dispersion", a characteristic attitude of the Benjaminian collector⁷. This is because, in addition to providing the encounter between the films, it makes between these and us, anachronistic and remote observers of her trips to the movie theater. The diary, as narrated and written testimony, is an antidote to oblivion, which permeates the relationship between memory and history, according to Ricoeur (2003). According to Chartier and Hébrard (1998, p.42), "writing changes the relationship with time because the writing can be reread." Therefore, writing establishes a *relationship of duration, accumulates past*.

On the other hand, the impetus to register the films according to the date in which they watched them shows that Betinha does not collect the films she has seen, but, more properly, her trips to the movies. In this sense, the historical system to which Betinha integrates such departures is an apparently important part of her own personal history. The diary is itself a collection, but also a narrative. A collection of movements in space, from space reports (Certeau, 1994). Every note Betinha tells, in fact, that he went to the movies and that this act is an important part of his daily life.

The narrative content of the diary becomes even more evident in light of the way in which the research has had access to the document. Betinha did not use many words, and handed a copy of the two notebooks that integrate the work next to an essentially narrative letter of handwriting, written by hand with blue pen. Benjamin (1983b, p. 68) describes the narrative by the sensation, on the part of those who hear the story, of being in the company of the narrator and adds that "even those who read participate in this company." Lukács (1965 p. 94) adds: "... participating or observing (narrating or describing?) is a question connected with the position of the writer in the face of life."

There are also two types of narrators, according to Benjamin (1983b, p. 58):

⁶ "The price of illusion" is considered the first catarinense feature film. It was conceived by the Grupo Sul modernists, with a screenplay by Salim Miguel and Eglê Malheiros, and shot in Florianópolis. The movie disappointed the audience and the only existing copy mysteriously disappeared. Until the research had access to the diary, it was not possible to state that the film had been exhibited outside the capital.

⁷ It is interesting to note that the identification of the cinema spectator as a collector, and his obstinacy, was pointed out by Federico Fellini about his own experience as such: "In my assiduity as a spectator of American films there was a stubbornness of collector, for whom all interpretations of an actor or an actress were like the seals of a series that I glued on the album of my memory, filling the gaps little by little "(FELLINI, 2004, p.16).

When someone goes on a trip, then there is something to tell, says the people's voice and imagines the narrator as someone who comes from afar. But it is no less pleasant to hear one who, living honestly in his work, stayed at home and knows the stories and traditions of his land. If one wants to identify these two groups in their archaic representatives, then one is incarnated in the sedentary farmer and the other in the merchant seaman.

Movie stories bring together the two types of narrators: the movie theater turns the sedentary peasant into a merchant sailor. Certeau (1994, p. 199-200) supplements: "The reports ... cross and organize places, they are selected and join then in an only set, from then, they make phrases and itineraries. They are spaces paths. Seeing things like this, narrative structures have the value of spatial syntaxes. (...). Every report is a travel - a practice of space. "

Taking a look at the letter:

"Cine theater Mussi"

How beautiful! How many dreams! How many graduations! How many wonderful movies! How many love stories, both in the movies and in real life. How many shows, dances theaters! How many lectures! All this and much more at "Cine Teatro Mussi". Inaugurated on December 17, 1950, with the film "The Waltz of the Emperor" with Joan Fontaine and Bing Crosby.

On a sunny day, me and my sister Darci, were there, right up front, watching Mr. João Mussi cutting the ribbon. There were a lot of people, but I only remember Mr. João Mussi, my sister and me. When the doors opened, and the people entered, they were all so enchanted with so much beauty.

The waiting room with armchairs and with bullet counter (unforgettable chocolate candy), side stairs to go upstairs to watch the movie from there.

The women's toilet was in the waiting room on the right side of the entering and the men's room on the left.

Next to the chairs were the tall ashtrays.

We went up three steps and through the wine curtains we entered to the spectacle. And what a spectacle! With light sets on the sides and front. First it was in the gloom, then it darkened and until the light came again. The lights would turn on and the trendies of the signal (3 trendies) would start, to start the movie. Where there are people, there is voicing, and when the first signal was given, everyone was quiet and when the third signal was given, the silence was total and there began the film, which always ended with the famous kiss of the young lady and the good guy (Main stars) and finally: The end! End! The lights turned on and everyone went out through the three side doors or through the front door, the entrance.

I have marked in two passbooks all the films I watched in the golden age of "Cine Teatro Mussi".

Every Sunday at 2:00 p.m. there was matinee for the children, but there were also many young people and adults, as it was usually the same film that would happen in the session from 6:15 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.

Sometimes the matinee movie was different.

People had to go early to buy the tickets because the cinema was always crowded. Many times, the queue to buy the tickets, passed from the post office building.

That movement was wonderful!

It was a total joy, our class uses to go to the movies, we used to meet at home after lunch and then we all used to go together to the Cine Mussi Theater.

Maria Bernadete Fernandes Pereira
Laguna, October 6, 2014.

It is also noted that Betinha does not give signs on his taste in relation to the films. It is only noticeable her admiration for certain actors and actresses in the cases in which she quotes them as part of the cast with certain frequency, while ignores others. This is a timid trace of "unconscious intentionality," described by Le Goff (2003) when it comes to working with memory as a document. Because of rational, chronological, and summary organization, the few displays of predilection are intriguing. On page 28, for example, there is a marking at the top of the page and the name of Ronald Reagan - a Hollywood actor who became US president in 1981 - is underlined (Figure 2). On page 25 of the second notebook, there is a heart around in the number of the film 792 (Figure 3).

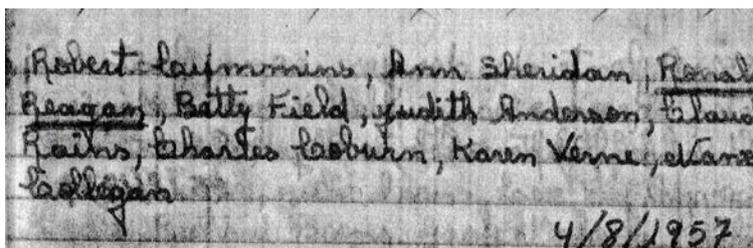


Figure 2 - Page 28 of the first notebook.
Source: Author's collection.

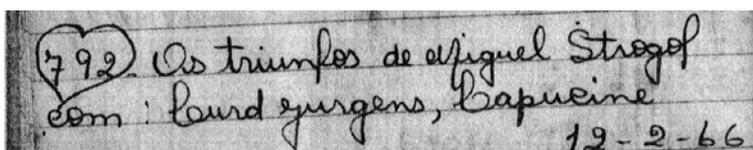
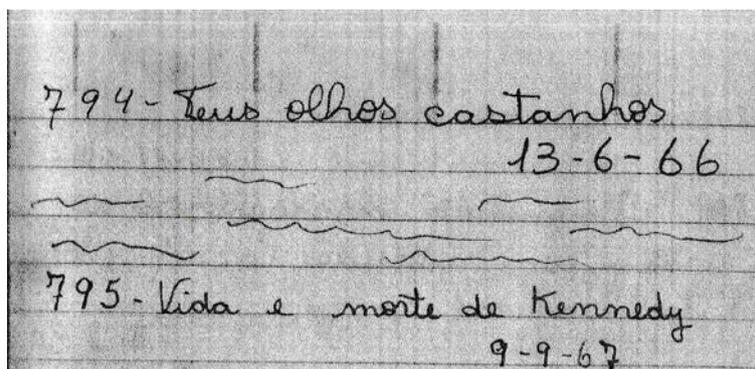


Figure 3 - Page 25 of the second notebook.
Source: Author's collection.

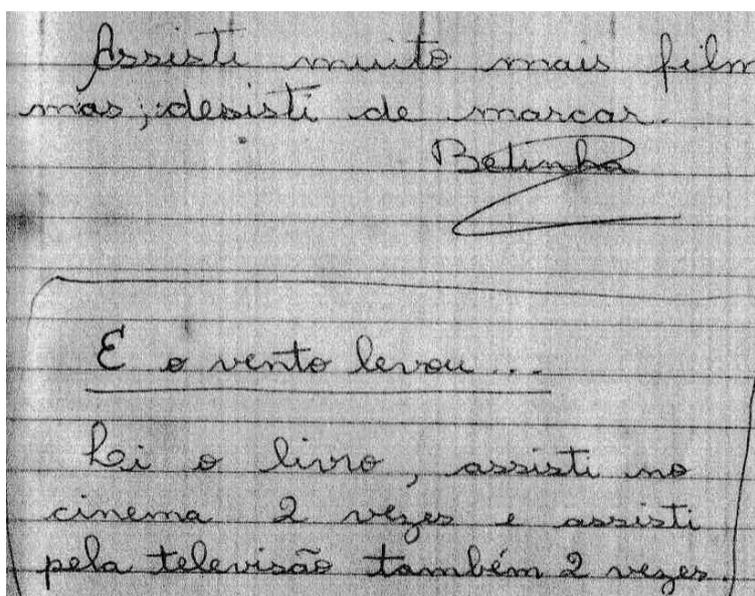
The imprecision of the beginning of the diary reappears at its end. On page 26 of the second notebook, in a period between 13/6/66 and 9/9/67 there are no annotations (Figure 4). Soon after, she "gives up", and gives us a clue as to why: the movie theater was no longer the only window to watch a movie (Figure 5).



794 - Teus olhos castanhos
13-6-66

795 - Vida e morte de Kennedy
9-9-67

Figure 4 - Page 26 of the second notebook.
Source: Author's collection.



Assisti muito mais filmes
mas; desisti de marcar.
Betinha

E o vento levou...

lei o livro, assisti no
cinema 2 vezes e assisti
pela televisão também 2 vezes.

Figure 5 - Last page of the second notebook.
Source: Author's collection.

The diary, even without a great deal of apparent subjectivity, had a part censored at the time when she made the copy granted to the research (Figure 6). It is also noticed that there was a re-reading of the copy of the diary before delivery, as it was noticed some corrections to the pen on the photocopy. Contradictions aside, in fact, Betinha's diary is not intimate. It was written for your readers.

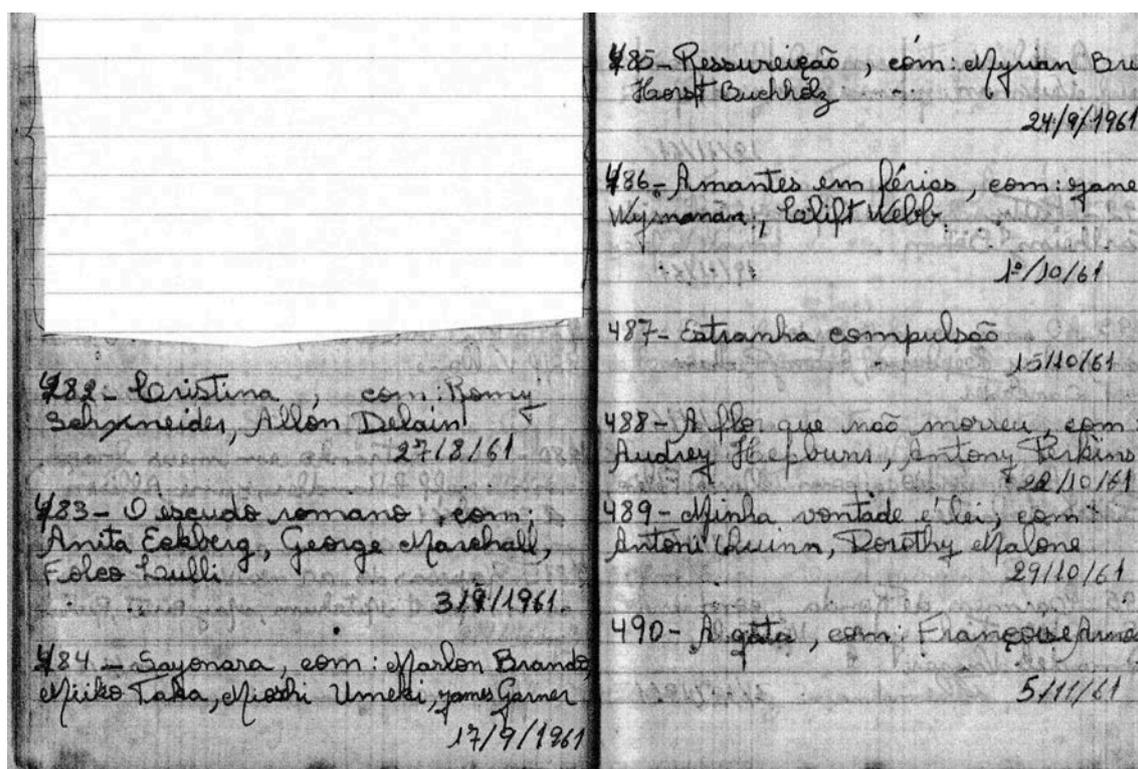


Figure 6 - Censorship in the daily photocopy.
Source: Author's collection.

The national cinema seen by Betinha

The closure of the movie theaters, the disappearance of these spaces in the small towns and their concentration in big city malls, was a process accompanied by the rareness of the national productions in the screens. The street room was the space for the Brazilian cinema, while the multiplex was created to be the place of projection of the great productions of the majors⁸. In the period included in the diary, the rooms formed the public for the boom of Brazilian cinema of the 1970s - also the apex of the number of theaters in the national territory.

In the two decades of Betinha's notes, several film strands coexisted in Brazil: the Cinema of Studios, the Popular Cinema of Atlantis and Mazzaropi, the Cinema of Boca do Lixo, Cinema Novo and Marginal Cinema (POZZO, 2015). Only the first two currents are present in her diary, that is, they have reached the city of Laguna.

VeraCruz (1949-1954) was founded with capital of paulista bourgeoisie entrepreneurs, according to a strategy that used to consist in an appropriation of the formula of major production, joining technology, studio and production in series, but without vertically integrated, it means, not granting the distribution and

⁸Great media corporations.

display. Most of producer's films have been distributed by Columbia. From Vera Cruz, Betinha attended to "Ângela" (with Eliane Lage, Inezita Barroso and Ruth de Souza) in 1952; "The Cangaceiro" on 3/8/1953; "Sinhá Moça" (with Eliane Lage, Anselmo Duarte and Ruth de Souza) in 1953; "Floradas da Serra", the last film of the most important phase of the studio (NETO, 2002, p. 356), 3/7/1955; "Candinho" (third and last Mazaropi film for the studio) on 1/1/1956 and; "Kissing is forbidden" on 10/12/1957, almost three years after its official launch.

Other production companies of the period were Maristela, Cinédia, Multifilmes and Cinedistri. Maristela was also founded by entrepreneurs and established its studio in Jaçanã, São Paulo, establishing distribution partnerships with Columbia, as well as Vera Cruz. Already the Cinédia was founded in 1930 by the carioca Adhemar Gonzaga, who maintained the magazine of cinematic criticism Cinearte. The first national film seen by D. Betinha at Cine Mussi was "Coração Materno", on 01/01/1952, produced by Cinédia and distributed by União Cinematográfica Brasileira (UCB), a distributor founded by Luiz Severiano Ribeiro from the purchase of some pre-existing companies. This was the third and last film directed by Gilda de Abreu and starring her husband, Vicente Celestino (NETO, 2002). The film was re-released 10 years later, on 24/7/1962, and watched again by Betinha. On 7/31/1955 Betinha attended a co-production of Cinédia-Maristela, "Carnaval em lá maior", the first carnival movie filmed in São Paulo (NETO, 2002). From Maristela, she also saw "Stella's pension", on 8/2/1959 and "Who killed Anabela" on 20/2/1960. On 07/12/1954 he watched "A Sogra", a production of Multifilmes starring Eva Wilma and Procópio Ferreira, and distributed by UCB. Produced by Multifilmes, she also saw "O craque", on 4/26/1957, and "A life for two", on 5/19/1957.

On 15/2/1959 attended "A certain Lucrecia", from Cinedistri, created in 1949 by Oswaldo Massaini, one of the largest independent producers and distributors in Brazil, with more than 70 titles in its catalog. From Cinedistri, Betinha also watched "Carnival on Mars" on 17/4/1955, a co-production with Watson Macedo distributed by Unida Filmes. The United appears as a distributor in other films seen by Betinha between 1955 and 1956: "O petróleo é nosso", the first film by Zezé Macedo, on March 6, 1955; "The cousin of the cangaceiro", on 10/30/55; and "A step of glory," on 17/1/56.

At the turn of the 1950s to the 1960s, Herbert Richers appeared in a production and distribution partnership with smaller companies such as Sino and Fama Filmes. Among them are "Madame Masseur", seen by Betinha on 3/8/1963 although it was released in 1959; "Vai que é Mole" (with Ankito and Great Othello) seen on 3/8/1963 and released in 1960; "Women, I Arrived", seen on 18/8/1963

and released in 1961; "Partner of Alcova" (with Norma Bengell and Tônia Carrero), first Brazilian color film, seen by Betinha on 22/8/1963; "Candango da Belacap" (with Ankito and Grande Otelo), seen on 9/28/1963 and; "Women at a Glance", assisted on 10/19/1963.

Unlike Vera Cruz, the carioca Atlantida had a small production structure. However, as Bernardet (2009) explain, it took its advantages through the sphere of distribution, from his association with Luiz Severiano Ribeiro. In the face of all the historical mishaps of the studio era, Bernardet (2009, p. 127) concludes in the 1970s that "it is indisputable that small business, the almost artisanal enterprise, is much more adapted to Brazilian film reality."

Atlantida found, in Bernardet's words (2009, p.127), "a business form adapted to the possibilities of the Brazilian market". It had no studios, no fixed cast and conquered the public through the "admired debauchery" of Hollywood and Italian comedies. Of the 69 national films watched by Betinha over the years recorded in the journal, 20 were produced by Atlantida. The first was "Tudo Azul", with Marlene and Dalva de Oliveira, directed by Moacyr Fenelon, on 12/4/1953. Then came "Aí vem o Barão", seen on 3/8/1953, with Oscarito and a cast of weight: Eliana Macedo, Adelaide Chiozzo, Ivon Curi, Cyll Farney and Jose Lewgoy. Also with Oscarito, Betinha watched the parody of Hollywood productions "Carnaval Atlântida", on 9/13/1953, this one also counting with Grande Otelo and Colé Santana in the cast. Another successful parody of Atlantis was "Neither Samson nor Delilah," with Oscarito, seen on 7/7/1954. With Oscarito and Grande Otelo, Betinha also saw "The Double of Noise" and "Barnabé, tu és meu", both distributed by UCB in 1953. The last film of the pair, "Killing or Running", was seen by Betinha in 25/12/1956. But the film considered fin de cycle of Atlantida is "Garotas e Samba", in which the great stars, like Eliana Macedo, no longer appear, seen by Betinha in 23/6/1957. Oscarito continued to feature productions of Atlantis, as in "Colégio de Brotos", seen on 1/9/1957, "Thirteen Chairs", seen on 17/12/1957, "De vento em popa", 7/27/1958, "This Million is Mine" on 9/20/1959 and "Two Stories", seen on 2/12/1962, although it was released in 1960.

In the early 1960s the first films of Mazzaropi's own production appeared: "Jeca Tatu", released in 1959 and seen by Betinha on 25/8/1962 and "Adventures of Pedro Malazartes", released in 1960 and seen by Betinha in 6 / 10/1962.

The movie teathers: screens for modernity

Everyday life is one of the spheres that form the heterogeneity of history, which for Agnes Heller (2004) is the substance of society: "Everyday life is not

'outside' history, but at the 'center' of historical events: is the true 'essence' of social substance. " (Heller, 2004, p.20). Historically, in small Brazilian cities, cinema has emerged as a vector for the insertion of modernity in daily life since the 1940s. In fact, as Ortiz (1995, 38) points out, "it is only in the 1940s that one can seriously consider the presence of a series of activities linked to a mass popular culture in Brazil, "the product of a modern society. At that moment, cinema becomes a symbolic consumption commodity, particularly through the presence of Hollywood cinema in the process of inflection of its export policy, which is now turning aggressively to the external market (Ortiz, 1995). At the same time, Atlântida and Vera Cruz have been created in this decade, putting a considerable number of national films in circulation. This market of symbolic goods formed in the 1940s stabilized between the 1960s and 1970s, accompanied by the consolidation of the habit of going to the movies daily in Brazilians.

In the city of Laguna, movie theaters emerge in the traditional center just as the city undergoes its great transition to modernity (from the nineteenth to the twentieth century), driven by commercial capital linked to the port function, and decay along with the decline of the driving forces of this process⁹. This moment is set in the center of the city. The tourism-real estate capital, which develops in the second half of the twentieth century, attracts the nocturnal movement to the city by the sea. According to Lucena (1998, p. 110), between the 1930s and 1960s, private spaces such as cinemas, ice cream parlors and cafes complemented the activities of public spaces such as gardens and squares, and the streets themselves, promoting the nocturnal movement of urban centrality of the city: "The leisure of the weekends was the 'footing', after the sessions of cinema, theater or mass."

Betinha recorded in her diary the frequency in two cinemas that worked simultaneously for some years in the city: Cine Mussi and Cine Roma. In addition to these, Laguna presented five other street halls, all located in the central region: Cine Poeirinha (operated between the decade of 1940 and 1960), Cine Central /

⁹ The city of Laguna, which had its foundation linked to the fact that it is a strategic point in the disputes of the Territory of the Silver, being a bay sheltered by the Lagoa de Santo Antônio dos Anjos, and being on the initial route of the cattle tracks (Lucena, 1998), lived its first great impulse if it grew in the eighteenth century by the Azorean immigration. However, the passage from the nineteenth to the twentieth century was the great economic moment for the city, when it became the main export port of production of the prosperous Atlantic valleys of the south of the state. This rise would be short-lived, since the low draft characteristic of the ports established in sheltered bays would soon cause the port of Laguna to stagnate, followed by the development of the port of Imbituba. In the 1960s and 1970s, summer tourism was raised by the public power as the great hope of overcoming the economic crisis that was abating on the city - a hope that, in fact, never came to fruition. In this context, however, begins the occupation of the neighborhood Mar Grosso, the neighborhood that today has the best urban infrastructure of the city, with a large number of buildings that are occupied by vacationers during the season.

Palace (between 1910 and 1970, having the building burned down in 1977), Cine Gloria / Arajé (between 1910 and 1950, when the building fell into a state of ruin in 1984), Cine Natal (active between 1910 and 1950), Cine Saturn (also active between 1910 and 1950)¹⁰.

The story of the Laguna cinemas is confused with the life story of Mr. Epiphanio Joaquim Nunes Medeiros, born in Jaguaruna, southern Santa Catarina state, on August 20, 1886 and died in 1971. The first Epiphanio cinema was in the city of Tubarão, 30 km from Laguna, and was called Cine Azul. In this city also mounted the Cinema Yolanda. He moved to Laguna and leased the Cine Central and Arajé, built the Cine Poeirinha and later the great Cine Roma (Figure 7). There were also cinemas in Jaguaruna, Criciúma and Orleans.

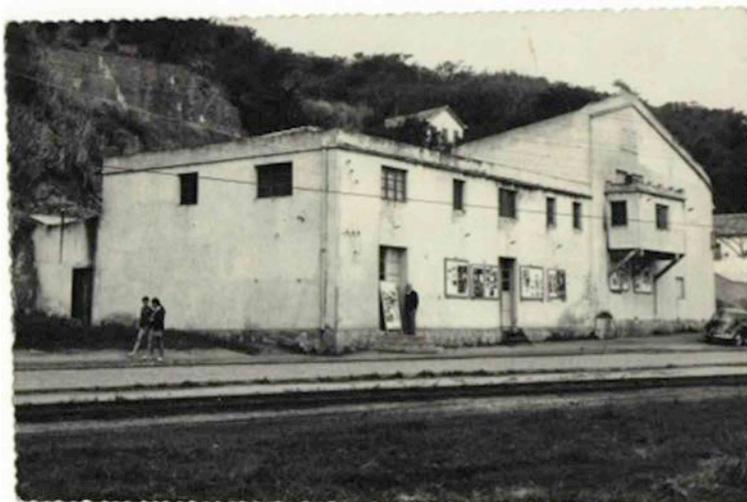


Figure 7 - The Cine Roma.
Source: Pozzo, 2016.

Cine Roma was inaugurated on August 22, 1965 with the film "The Avenging Swordsman" (Italy, Luigi Capuano, 1961 - Figure 8). But it is Cine Mussi the most present room in the population's imagination, because of the imposing building, which is striking to this day. The building was designed by Swiss architect Wolfgang Ludwig Rau, who designed other cinemas in the state, and began to be built on April 4, 1947. Opened on December 17, 1950, with the screening of "The Waltz of the Emperor" (USA, Billy Wilder, 1948), has become a major center of social activities for the city.

¹⁰ The building of Cine Roma currently houses a funeral home. In the place of the old Cine Natal runs a sporting goods store, and in the old Cine Saturn, a pharmacy.

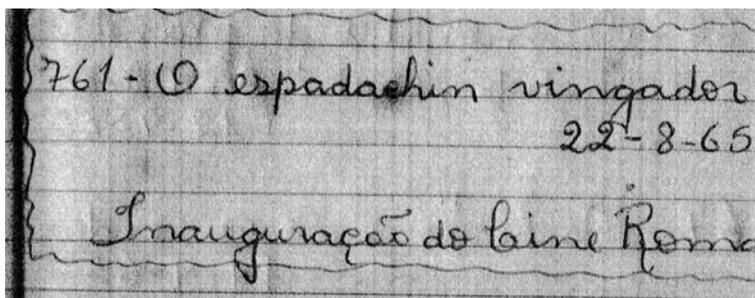


Figure 8 - Annotation of the inauguration of Cine Roma.

Source: Author's collection.

In addition to the film sessions, great national and international orchestras performed at Cine Mussi. The building has mixed use, characteristic of Rau's projects, and is composed of two modules: the showroom and the commercial rooms and apartments (Figure 9). After a great success of public in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the film sessions were extinguished in the 1980s. Until the early 1990s, graduations and cultural presentations were still held in the building. After its temporary closure in 1992, it was reopened in 2001 as an evangelical church. After 2005, the part of the building corresponding to Cine Teatro was closed because the electrical installations are inadequate according to the current regulations, and only the commercial area is in operation. The building was then acquired by the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN), which began the rehabilitation process in 2011, and was completed in 2014. Currently, an irregular cinema program is maintained in the space that, after the renovation, acquired the of a cultural center. Still, Cine Music is the closest to what can be considered a movie theater in the city.

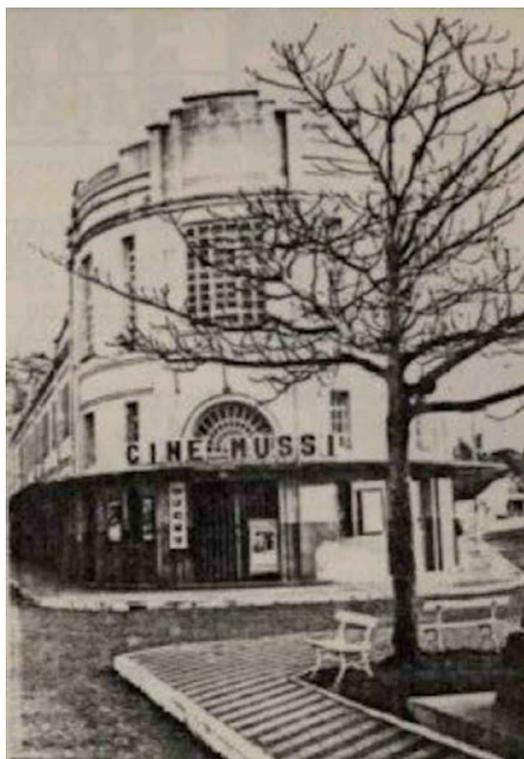


Figure 9 - Facade of Cine Mussi.
Source: Pozzo, 2016.

Theaters are focal points of the new urban landscape in which modern life takes place. According to Charney and Schwarz (2004, p.17) "cinema, as it developed at the end of the nineteenth century, became the most complete expression and combination of the attributes of modernity." If the film per se enables this modern experience, when it is projected into a display room properly built for it, using modern techniques and beautiful ornaments, the experience intensifies. After the modernization images brought by the railway and steamships that docked in its port, in a small town like Laguna, this art-technique¹¹, by its own characteristics, was responsible for offering to the inhabitants the first images of modernity, combining modernization (material production) and modernism (superstructure), according to the Berman (1986). The magic of universal

¹¹ "Broadening the world of the objects of which we became aware, both in the visual and in the auditory sense, cinema brought, consequently, a deepening of perception. And it is as a result that their achievements can be analyzed much more accurately and with a greater number of perspectives than those offered by theater or painting. In relation to painting, the superiority of cinema is justified by what allows it to better analyze the content of the films and by the fact that it provides a survey of reality incomparably more precise. Concerning the theater, because it is able to isolate much larger number of constituent elements. This fact-and from which comes its capital importance-tends to favor the mutual interpenetration of art and science. In fact, when you consider a structure perfectly adjusted to the core of a given situation (such as the muscle in the body), it cannot be stipulated whether cohesion refers primarily to its artistic value, or to scientific exploitation that can be realized. Thanks to the cinema - and here is one of its revolutionary functions, we can now recognize the identity between the artistic aspect of photography and its scientific use, hitherto often divergent "(Benjamin 1983a, p. 22).

screenings, the discoveries of science, and the movement of large cities could be experienced in these buildings through their own materiality and, of course, the films exhibited therein. It can be said that many small cities participate in the phenomenon of modernity in its entirety through theaters.

It is remarkable, as Betinha's narrative-letter showed, that in the case of a movie theater like Cine Mussi, the interior spectator frequented the cinema not only to watch the film, but also to be in that building and to enjoy that architecture (Figure 10). Cinema and architecture, two great arts emancipated by the expansion of industry in the passage from the nineteenth century to the twentieth, gathered in one point of the city, radiate curiosity and movement. According to Benjamin (1997), in modern times, the architectural and urban constructions themselves are seen as pieces of art: the interior of the bourgeois house takes to the streets, is in the luxury of cinemas and coffees. The same combination of art and technique in the films is expressed in the building.

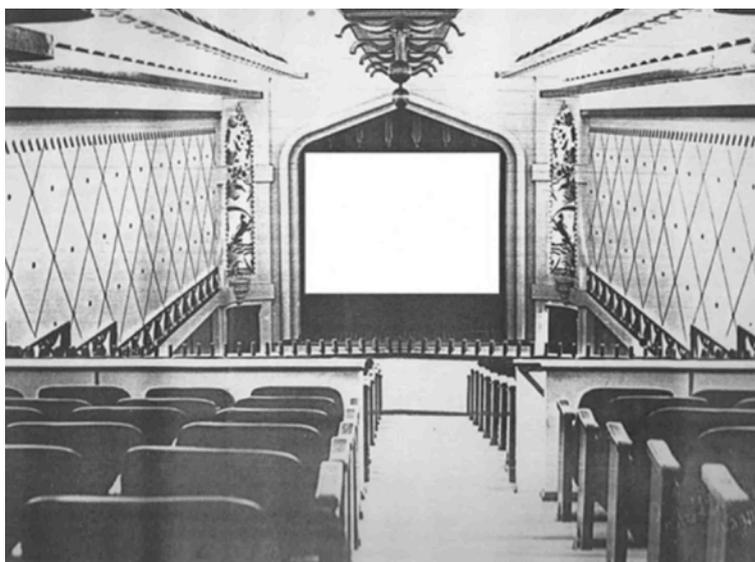


Figure 10 - Interior of the Cine Mussi, view from the mezzanine.
Source: Pozzo, 2016.

Returning to the contents of the letter, the sense of wonder¹² before the building of Cine Mussi can be seen.

¹² This astonishment also appears in an account published in a local newspaper, dated between the 1950s and 1960s, written by the chronicler Antonio Sbissa, entitled "Grandiose enterprise: a cinema of enviable conceptions": We have been in Laguna for days. it was not two decades ago. The improvements of the ancient and heroic Republica Juliana are remarkable. The urban feature is entirely different from what we used to know. And among so many things we admire, we went to find, on the seafront street, a monumental cinema, bold reception and harmonious and modern architectural lines. Our curiosity has grown in size. We wanted to see well that wonderful work that both honors and exalts its creators. We wanted to feel the grandeur of that large projection room, worthy of Sao Paulo, Rio, and other great centers. Frankly, we do not believe that such a formidable endeavor was one day performed more successfully, with its modest upholstered armchairs, its sober luxury

When the doors opened, and the people entered, they were all so enchanted with so much beauty.

The waiting room with armchairs and with bullet counter (unforgettable chocolate candy), side stairs to go upstairs to watch the movie from there.

The women's toilet was in the waiting room on the right side of the entering and the men's room on the left.

Next to the chairs were the tall ashtrays.

We went up three steps and through the wine curtains we entered to the spectacle. And what a spectacle! With light sets on the sides and front. First it was in the gloom, then it darkened and until the light came again. The lights would turn on and the trendies of the signal (3 trendies) would start, to start the movie. Where there are people, there is voicing, and when the first signal was given, everyone was quiet and when the third signal was given, the silence was total and there began the film, which always ended with the famous kiss of the young lady and the good guy (Main stars) and finally: The end! End!

The lights turned on and everyone went out through the three side doors or through the front door, the entrance.

But cinema was not only a place of contemplation, it was also a place to be seen and to attend it meant to participate in some form of modernity. The large audiences, which reached 1000 seats, allowed the spectator to perceive himself in the crowd, an essentially modern feeling, even in a small city, and with certain anonymity guaranteed at least in moments of gloom. The urban movement generated by the halls, the box office ticket, the popcorn sale, the flirtation (Figure 11) also appear in Betinha's letter: "People had to go early to buy the tickets because the cinema was always full. Many times, the queue to buy the tickets, passed from the post office building. That movement was wonderful! "

facilities and perfect lines, reversed by an artistic painting of admirable nuances. The stranger who enters the CINE TEATRO MUSSI, feels immediately invading his self, the security of well-being and the perfect satisfaction of the hours that will pass, together with the thousand other assistants, within that environment that transports us to the great capitals . [...]. Laguna Territans! CINE TEATRO MUSSI is an honor for this heroic city, with its traditions of its own! You will see all the monumental productions of Hollywood and its screen, you will see the famous figures of the cinema and you will hear their voices, with the sonority of the modern equipment SIMPLEX. The enterprising genius of three strugglers, he created this marvelous jewel, that on the edge of the calm waters of the great lagoon, will perpetuate their names and excite the crowds and the true aficionados of the seventh art, as we thrilled. (Pozzo, 2016, pp. 72-73).

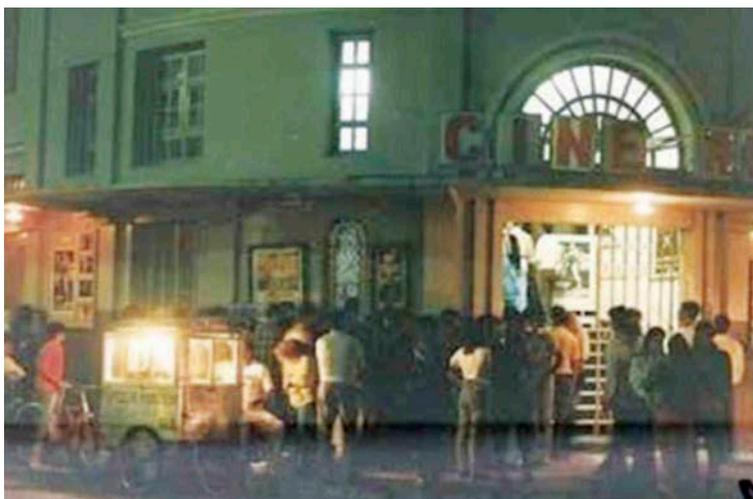


Figure 11 - Night movement in front of Cine Mussi.
Source: POZZO, 2016.

It should be noted, therefore, that Betinha reveals a "topographical memory" (BENJAMIN, 2006) about a moment in Laguna's urban history and points to movie theaters as sociability knots. The way of people between cinemas, coffees, squares, etc., made the center a space of intense sociability woven by "moments articulated in a network of social relations and understandings" (MASSEY, 2000, p.184).

It is important to emphasize that the presence of the cinemas made the transition between day and night in the traditional center. With its absence, the center again has the day-night demarcation characteristic of traditional cities, which Giddens refers to (1989, p.96 apud LEITE, 2007): "The division between day and night, in all societies, used to be perhaps the most fundamental demarcation of zones between the intensity of social life and its relaxation. " Leite (2007 p. 241) argues that "this temporal-space demarcation, however, is not completely dissipated. Instead, it remains in many places with the most effective way of creating routines and ordering public and everyday life. " The image currently crystallized from the center as an unsafe place (a fact that is not exclusive to Laguna) is precisely related to this character of noncontinuous time formed by a monofunctional framework. At dusk, the center of Laguna today houses the "remains" of everyday work: garbage, cardboard boxes, soapy water from the shops. After that, he just passes through the center, no longer enters it.

Social depletion of a model

Going through this history, it is inevitable to wonder about why a small city that has already had seven movie theaters on the street, now unavailable. How did

these rooms melt in the air? It is observed that the state of Santa Catarina, as a whole, suffered from the national movement to close cinemas in the early 1990s, so that nowadays most of the cities that have cinema as a traditional leisure, missed this everyday habit.

Since the 1970s, there has been a drop in the number of screenings rooms installed in our country¹³. This fall, in addition to being related to the expansion of television, is also associated with the emergence of new technological standards in the screenings and commercial organization, for which few Brazilian entrepreneurs were prepared to adapt. From the 1990s, large foreign companies entered the screenings segment in Brazil (Cinemark and UCI, for example). These introduce into our reality the concept of multiplex: "characterized by the meeting of several rooms under the same architectural unit, invariably associated with large commercial ventures (malls), and with a large supply of blockbusters." (ANCINE, 2011, p.34). Currently 90% of cinemas in Brazil are installed in malls, following the technical standards dictated by Hollywood.

This technological imposition inaugurated a process of increasing valorization of the technical apparatuses of the movie theaters, and made its modernization urgent. The concentration in the most lucrative points of the national territory is one of the main reasons that can be listed to explain the decrease in the number of cinemas in Brazil, and the disappearance of the cinemas of the city in question. In this process, the street movie theaters were the main victims. The great halls of the 1930s came to the 1970s technically obsolete, and their model of large halls and audiences of more than 1,000 seats did not withstand real estate speculation in urban centers, as they no longer profited enough. With the closing of the street halls, the traditional centers of the cities lost night movement and saw weaken their character of place of meeting and urban sociability.

However, the exhaustion of the model of street movie theaters has a social bias that goes beyond this technological issue. This model meets one of the great fantasies of the first phase of modernity: the street. Urban investments in Brazilian cities, especially in the second half of the twentieth century, were destined to motorways, closely linked to other structures such as shopping malls, where the movies migrated. From then on, in a few decades, the street, which had always served as the expression of modernity, came to symbolize "everything that was

¹³ According to the last detailed mapping of the sector exhibited by ANCINE (National Cinema Agency) in 2015, while 99.2% of Brazilian cities with more than 500 thousand inhabitants have movie theaters, as well as 77% of those with more than 100 thousand, in municipalities between 20 and 50 thousand this percentage drops to 16%, and in those with less than 20 thousand it is 0.2%. The 3005 commercial exhibition rooms we currently have in Brazil are concentrated, in fact, in 743 exhibition points, distributed among 388 cities. Half of the cinemas' exhibition rooms, tickets sold and ticket sales are concentrated in the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (ANCINE, 2015).

grimy, disorderly, apathetic, stagnant, worn and obsolete" (Berman, 1986, p. 301). The emptying of the streets resulted in the closure of the cinemas linked to them.

Final considerations

[...] men only acquire a truly human physiognomy when we accompany them in their actions, which can not be replaced either by a meticulous psychological description of their intimate life or by a vague 'sociological' description of general situations.

Lukács, 1965, p. 88

This essay sought to explore a field of study concerning the sphere of cinematic screenings, and related to reception theories, beyond the relation spectator-film (object). Cinema was considered in its social aspects, more specifically, the daily and urban practice of attending a street movie theater as a motor of sociability. This practice is more and more left to the past, since the rooms themselves are no longer present, and can only be understood from historical readings on spectators' experiences with cinema. These life histories are commonly obtained through orality, however, in this work we focus on a diary, written material, narrative, as a source of information.

In this sense, Betinha's diary reveals a geography of Brazilian cinema that is an urban geography, linked to the daily movement motivated by the street movie theaters, markedly present in the traditional centers of small, medium and large Brazilian cities until the 1980s. Betinha diary makes it possible to perceive and analyze the effects of cinema, which enclose lives and territories. The movie theater, the sphere of exhibit, makes cinema happen on the scale of human life and the historical movement of the city

Reading and interpreting this diary was, in a way, comparable to going to a movie theater and watching a movie. The diary took us far beyond the daily life of a resident of the city of Laguna. Agnes Heller (2004) expresses that nobody can get away from everyday life and not just live the daily life. Therefore, through the analysis of this daily practice we are led to perceive the reproduction in a small city of global movements from the dialectical interaction between scales involving a close order and a distant order:

The great movements, the vast rhythms, the dense waves crash, interfere. The small movements interpenetrate; each social place can only be understood in a double determination: unleashed, carried, sometimes broken by the great movements ... but in crossed opposition, penetrated by the small movements, those of networks and ramifications. (Lefebvre, 2000).

The existence of street cinemas makes sense in the social configuration of the modern Brazilian city typical of the first half of the twentieth century, when the streets were still present as meeting places. Leaving home, walking the streets, seeing and being seen, watching a movie, among other actions, everything was very modern. In such a way that it would be convenient to ask ourselves: who died first, the cinema or the street? The fact is that the model of urbanization that has prevailed since then does not privilege this kind of structure of modern-traditional sociability, based on public space, but rather new structures such as highways and shopping centers where meetings take place in corridors protected from chaos the city, the rain, the wind and, above all, the imaginary of urban violence.

However, as Heller (2004) points out, these transformations are characteristic of the dynamics of everyday life, which is heterogeneous and hierarchical as to the value and meaning of the various activities that make it up. The hierarchy of these practices varies over time depending on the different socio-economic structures.

We see that there are many other possibilities of analysis for film historiography from this source of research: the soundtracks by Radamés Gnattali, the performances of Zezé Macedo or Cyll Farney, the photograph of the Turkish Ozen Sermet. Not to mention the foreign productions, notably US, Italian and Spanish that appear in the diary and were not analyzed in this essay. Another possible approach is that of gender, considering that cinema also had an important role of integrating women into social life.

Finally, it is necessary to point out that it is not intended, with this essay, to claim a nostalgic view of the cinema, but to reflect, from the urban memory linked to it, about its possibilities of existence in the contemporary world. In this sense, it is illuminating the experience of implementing the Spcine Circuit, a network of 20 public cinemas in São Paulo, between 2015 and 2016, as Manevy (2017) reports based on testimony from managers and spectators. These testimonies revealed "uses of the cinema as a space of qualification of social relations", spaces, these, so fundamental for the construction of the citizenship. "It is evidence that the movie theater not only has a future, but will also, for a long time, be able to change the world and people's lives" (Manevy, 2017).

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