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Michael Neulinger

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Thank you

Parents!
Grandma!
Friends!
Lover!

And thank you to my supervisor and everybody else who was
involved!

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1. Introduction

Hence The MORAL IMPORTANCE of entertainment is something which has been universally recognized. It enters intimately into the lives of men and women and affects them closely; it occupies their minds and affections during leisure hours; and ultimately touches the while of their lives. A man may be judged by his standard of entertainment as easily as by the standard of his work. So correct entertainment raises the whole standard of a nation. Wrong entertainment lowers the whole living conditions and moral ideals of a race. (Inglis 212)

The above quote is taken from the Motion Picture Production Code of 1930, a set of rules and guidelines operating from 1930 to 1968, which was installed to secure the moral values of American movies (Tropiano 52). During this time, also ironically known as the Golden Age of Hollywood, filmmakers had to obey the code in order to find work with film studios and consequently, release their films. Violations of the guidelines were punished with a monetary penalty of \$25,000 and movies were not allowed to be released without the Production Code seal of approval. These strict measurements ensured the enforcement of the code (Keough 309).

By the mid 1960s, after two decades of enforced censorship, the production code slowly lost its tight grip on the American film industry. During that time, various films were released that did not fully adhere to the imposed rules. First screened in 1966, Mike Nichols' *Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf* allegedly caused the eventual failure of the Production Code due to its explicit language. Two years later in 1968, the newly appointed president of the MPAA (Motion Picture Association of America), Jack Valenti, introduced an age based rating system, which replaced the old Production Code and is still in use today (Keough 309-310).

Throughout its history, the American film industry was subject to various forms of censorship, which led to a disciplinary omnipresence of (self)-regulation shaping and defining all vital aspects of this important sector of cultural production. Since external interventions show such a long-standing history within the area of movie production, my diploma thesis is specifically dealing with the effects censorship has on the American cinema.

As an introduction to the field of film censorship in the United States, I will summarize the historic developments that lead to the implementation of the contemporary film rating system and the MPAA as its representative institution. Beginning with the pre-code area and the situation of the film industry in the 1920s, I will highlight the events which ultimately caused the enforcement of the Production Code in the 1930s. Subsequently, the focus will shift towards the post-code area, dealing with the MPAA and its “voluntary” rating system. I will explain the MPAA’s function within the industry in more detail and present the different ratings, their meaning and the impact they have on films. Since the MPAA scarcely releases information about itself, most of my knowledge is based on second hand material, i.e. academic studies, articles, and the documentary *This Film Is Not Yet Rated* by Kirby Dick, which offers a rare insight behind the institution’s walls.

The aim of this paper is to show that the MPAA is using a disciplinary system of power as a strategy to censor films and foster self-discipline by employing certain regulatory techniques such as normalization and constant surveillance among others. Through a comparative discourse analysis of three selected films from the early years of the movie rating system in the 1970s and their contemporary remakes of the 2000s, I will analyze in greater detail regulatory measures imposed by the MPAA. Comparing these two decades will help me to answer the question in how far the MPAA’s behavior towards censorship has changed from the beginning of the rating system to its contemporary conduction. Since recent studies by Jenkins (2005), Leone (2006), and Tickle (2009) have already addressed violence and sex as separate topics of research concerning censorship. As a consequence, I will focus my analysis on scenes depicting sexual violence and rape in order to provide a greater variety of results.

Michel Foucault’s concepts of power, knowledge and discipline, which fundamentally influenced the way we approach cultural studies, serve as the base for my theoretical analysis. Foucault states that power and discipline are not one-dimensionally imposed by authoritarian institutions that work from above but that disciplinary discourses shape our very subjectivity and work from within, constructing “docile bodies”, which police and regulate themselves. Disciplinary power is employing mechanisms such as normalizing judgment and hierarchical

observation to classify, normalize and discipline individuals. However, disciplinary knowledge also gives authority to institutions such as the MPAA and legitimizes their power to decide which content is appropriate and acceptable. Correspondingly, the emphasis of my research is on demonstrating the direct link between the Foucauldian concepts power, discipline and knowledge, which ultimately leads to an idea of self-regulation as a consequence of operations of disciplinary technologies of power and Foucault's technologies of self. Going back to my original proposition that the MPAA is censoring film content, I will argue that by doing so it is shaping our collective memory of various subjects such as sexuality, violence and also, in my case, sexual violence.

After decoding these general concepts by Foucault, I will deploy them in my analysis of the MPAA as a, in my opinion, picture book example of a disciplinary institution which is using a construct of normalizing and disciplinary power relations in order to regulate content and establish specific truths and norms. Furthermore, I will introduce the internal structure of the MPAA in order to provide a better understanding of the existing power relations.

In the final part of my thesis, I will compare three movies of the 1970s and their respective contemporary remakes to identify the amount of applied censorship. These films are: *I Spit On Your Grave* (1978 and 2010), *The Last House On The Left* (1972 and 2009), and *Straw Dogs* (1971 and 2001). The reason why I chose to specifically deal with remakes is that these movie constellations allow a clearer comparison of censored content. From each movie I will choose one scene which is depicting sexual violence. Due to the fact that these scenes inherit a central role in the corresponding film versions, the narrative differences between original and remake are reduced. For the purpose of precisely indicating the differences between the unrated or uncensored versions and those which were released theatrically with an MPAA rating, I will conduct a shot-by-shot analysis of each relevant scene. After analyzing the respective groups of scenes I will bring my findings together in a concluding discussion in which I will discuss the effects of the MPAA's system of disciplinary power.

2. Censorship and the American Film Industry

In the following chapter I will provide a short summary of important events and developments of American film history that influenced and shaped the film industry's approach towards censorship. Most of the historic facts are based on Tropiano (2009) and Inglis (1947) who offer a great and detailed insight in the chronological developments of film censorship in America.

From the beginning, censorship has been a part of the American film industry. In 1894, when Thomas Edison invented the kinetoscope, one of the first motion picture exhibition devices, authorities such as politicians and moral reformers already exposed the emerging film industry to regulatory measures. The kinetoscope was a device that allowed one person at a time to look through a peephole at moving images. The devices were merely exhibited at amusement parks and some ancestors of modern films sparked controversies, because of their allegedly disturbing and inappropriate content. Throughout the kinetoscope's early years, certain films were demanded to be completely removed from the exhibition and replaced by other films. The fear that films promoted obscenity produced a number of campaigns against the exhibition of peephole devices. Censorship was deployed especially to protect children from obscene and vulgar content (Tropiano 1-7). Although the early form of cinemas and movie production was exposed to a plurality of negative reactions, it established itself as a popular form of entertainment.

In 1909, a short time after the introduction of the moving pictures, the National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures (later renamed National Board of Reviews) was established. It was the film industry's first attempt to self-regulation so that government interference could be avoided. It was comprised of voluntary members from various different backgrounds "[...] including representatives from the Public Education Association, the Federation of Churches, the Society for the Prevention of Crime, the Board of Education, and the Women's Municipal League" (Tropiano 15). The board's main function was to review film material in order to detect inappropriate and obscene content, which, as a consequence, had to be removed.

Film distributors voluntarily sent their films to the censorship board and agreed to incorporate the demanded changes in the version that was subsequently released in cinemas. As a reward, the board issued statements about which movies had been pre-screened and given their approval. Furthermore, exhibitors were urged to solely screen films that had passed the censorship board or else they were exposed to the risk of police or local censorship interference (Tropiano 15-16).

The National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures was criticized from various different angles. The consensus was that due to the fact that the board was part of the motion picture industry, its decisions were ambiguous and could never be factually reached, because of the board's attachment to the industry. Other points of critique were the board's omission to review all films that were screened and a lack of pursuing filmmakers to assure that demanded cuts were completed. Critics of the board endorsed the appointment of a censorship board that functioned outside of the film industry and was able to take legal actions. As a consequence of the general displeasure with the censorship board, many cities and states either introduced a legal form film censorship, which was followed up by local censorship boards, or they appointed the police as executing force. By the beginning of the 1920s, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kansas, Maryland, New York, and Virginia established statewide censorship boards and cities such as Seattle, Chicago, Missouri, or Memphis employed local censors to protect the population from immoral movie content. Both forms of censorship employed a relatively small amount of censors to classify movies and each state censorship board created its own regulatory set of guidelines. The Pennsylvanian State Board of Censors of Motion Pictures, for example also demanded every piece of advertising to be submitted for review. Every movie that was granted an approval, received the board's seal, which appeared at the beginning of each movie (Tropiano 14-20).

The National Board of Censors opposed the formation of state censorship boards, because in their opinion, movies are entitled to a freedom of speech. Furthermore, the board critically questioned the small number of censors who decided for an entire state which films were inappropriate (Tropiano 18).

In the 1920s, the voices for federal regulation grew louder, because a series of scandals involving Hollywood stars garnered bad press for the American film

industry. These scandals were interpreted as a sign of the industry's moral decline. The National Association of the Motion Picture Industry (NAMPI), which was formed in 1916, opposed government interference and actively rallied against federal censorship. In 1919, the organization introduced plans to promote self-regulation within the film industry and condemned all depictions of immoral content. The NAMPI presented a review system that entitled filmmakers to submit their films and subsequently carry out possible changes and cuts. Furthermore, members who violated the agreement were supposed to be suspended from the organization. Additionally, the organization provided a list of problematic topics, the so-called Thirteen Points, including subjects, such as sex, obscenity, and nudity (Tropiano 23-29). Due to the fact that the NAMPI did not have the financial means and support from within the industry, they were not able to enforce their plan. As a consequence, pressure on the film industry increased and bills seeking for federal and state censorship emerged in the political sphere. In 1921, one of these bills was passed in New York State, granting a statewide censorship board. The film industry suffered a major setback and was in need of new proposals. In 1922, Will H. Hays emerged as director of the newly found Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) and although the NAMPI, as an organization, never officially realized its proposal, the topics presented in their list were later on incorporated in the Motion Picture Production Code (Inglis 83-88).

2.1. The Rise of the Hays Office

In 1922, the American film industry founded the MPPDA in order to re-establish itself in a valued position within the American society and to counteract government interference. Will H. Hays, a former politician, was appointed as the head of the new agency. From the beginning, Hays received full support from the industry, which realized the necessity for internal reforms in order to survive and avoid censorship from the outside. Hays functioned as the industry's direct voice to the public whereas internal subsidiaries focused on the self-regulatory measures, which functioned as essential parts of the new agency. After 1934, the

Production Code Administration (PCA), also known as Hays Office, was in charge of reviewing, regulating and approving or rejecting film content. The Advertising Code Administration pursued a similar procedure with advertising material and the Title Registration Bureau, which was established in 1925, secured allocation of film titles (Inglis 89-92).

As Inglis states “The pressing threats of external control were not averted automatically by the creation of a new agency. Rather, the establishment of the Hays Office provided the opportunity for the industry itself to forge machinery for controlling the content of motion pictures” (97). Thus, the MPPDA’s goal was to establish a system of self-regulation in order to avoid government interference.

Will Hays realized that the numerous scandals in the early 20s tarnished the reputation of Hollywood and the film industry and supported the demand of censorship. Therefore, his earliest efforts included creating a new image for the industry by reducing the negative connotations people associate with Hollywood. In a big public relations campaign, the MPPDA took several measures in order to cleanse the industry from all negative stereotypes. Hays also urged movie studios to improve the content of their productions. At first no change was appreciable, but already in 1922, the MPPDA started reviewing films prior to their release and although the reviewer were not able to demand mandatory changes, a first step towards self-regulation was initiated (Inglis 97-100).

The Hays Office actively promoted members of the MPPDA to value its policy of self-regulation. But before a system of self-regulation could be fully integrated, a number of problems and difficulties had to be addressed. One of the reasons why producers hesitated to commit to the MPPDA’s policy was the fear of the result being movies which were essentially lacking excitement and interesting content. The other big obstacle was the nonexistence of enforcing measures. Since Hollywood has always been a very competitive business it was unclear how to promote self-regulation on an individual level (Inglis 111).

One of the first measures that were employed by the Hays Office was the introduction of the so-called *Formula*. The Formula required every member studio to submit any books, plays, or stories, which they intended to turn into a movie, to the MPPDA. A member of the agency reviewed the material and consulted the studios on the appropriateness of the content (Tropiano 31). This execution was

opposed with various difficulties. First, the rejected titles were not allowed to be published. As a consequence, material that was worth being filmed could be rejected, because of some inappropriate parts. Furthermore, the agency prohibited film studios to release films under the original title after they omitted the questionable parts from the material, because the title would falsify the expectation. However, in 1927, the MPPDA reached an agreement with the Authors League of America, which allowed inappropriate material to be re-written on the condition that the film was renamed and no further information on the initial rejection of the book or story was to be published. Another problem was that the Formula did not concern original screenplay and participation was voluntary in order to avoid boycotts. But the Formula constituted the first step towards a self-disciplined film industry (Inglis 111-113).

The MPPDA improved its relationship with member studios when Will Hays appointed Colonel Jason S. Joy as director of public relations and sent him to Hollywood to negotiate and lobby with studio executives. Producers started to send scripts before principal photography and he in turn gave them advice on how to handle certain themes and subjects in order to avoid inappropriate content that would initiate further censorship measures by the states and the government (Tropiano 31-32). Additionally, in 1927, the Hays Office released a list, referred to as the *Don'ts and Be Carefuls*, which should serve as regulatory support for filmmakers. This list contained eleven topics which should be avoided in movies due to fact that they were constantly rejected and censored by state censorship boards and caused controversial reactions among the public. Furthermore, the list also provided additional twenty-six subjects which should be treated with caution. Amongst the eleven topics were, for example, white slavery, illegal traffic in drugs, any interference of sex perversion, children's sex organs, or pointed profanity. Subjects that the MPPDA thought needed special care were the use of the flag, the use of firearms, rape or attempted rape, man and woman in bed together, arson, etc. The *Don'ts and Be Carefuls* did not deliver the intended impact, because the list did not entail elaborate definitions, which producers and filmmakers could use as guidelines in how to approach these issues (Inglis 114-116).

2.2. The Motion Picture Production Code

In 1930, Will Hays released a new set of rules and guidelines, called *The Motion Picture Production Code*, which constituted the underlying base for any future self-regulatory measures employed by the film industry. The MPPDA saw the Production Code as the valid instrument to reduce federal government interference and avoid confrontations with the public (Tropiano 33).

The advent of the Production Code coincided with the introduction of sound to film. Talkies added further difficulties, because silent films were easier to cut and re-edit. Sound offered a new layer that needed to be regulated. Furthermore, producers and movie studios believed that the Production Code restricted depictions of certain topics, which were accepted by the audience. Due to the business depression and its consequences, the film industry lost revenues and therefore, filmmakers and producers digressed from the code in order to draw people back to the theaters. The code seemed to fail and the public announced its disappointment. Various religious and educational groups complaint about the inappropriate content of movies and demanded a form of federal censorship (Inglis 116-117).

The Production Code was written with the help of several religious groups, which supported Will Hays from the beginning. The initial failure of the code was seen as a great disappointment. In 1934, at the annual meeting of Catholic bishops, religious leaders decided to form the National Legion of Decency with the agenda to economically boycott movies that violated the code. Thus, the Legion of Decency chose the box office, the film industry's most damageable element, as their target. Due to the fact that, at that time, the film industry had already been in a financial dilemma, numerous studios were close to bankruptcy, and box office sales were declining, the legion's campaign harmed the industry all the more. Over a short period of time, more and more religious groups affiliated with the campaign and the Legion deployed a nationwide propaganda machinery and successfully enforced the execution of the Production Code (Inglis 122-125).

As a result, new regulations were introduced. The MPPDA became the decisive force in cases of appeals, which strengthened the organization. Furthermore, every movie was obligated to receive a seal of approval from the

Production Code Administration. All members of the MPPDA agreed that they would not release any film without the official seal. In addition, every film that was released, produced or exhibited without the seal was fined \$25,000. Thereby, the Production Code was officially enforced in 1934 (Inglis 125).

With the enforcement of the Motion Picture Production Code, studios were required to submit all scripts to the Production Code Administration before films went into production. The PCA reviewed the material and discussed it at staff meetings. The movie studio was then informed of the PCA's decision and in case of concerns was handed explicit notes on parts which were inappropriate. Film studios had to resubmit any revised scripts and wait for the PCA to comment. Furthermore, song lyrics and costumes had to be submitted as well in order to exclude obscene material. Additionally, the Advertising Code Administration reviewed all advertising material. The final cut of every movie had to be submitted to the PCA. In case additional cuts were demanded, film studios had to resubmit the altered versions. The final version of the movie had to bear the MPPDA's official seal of approval and functioned as a binding contract between the studios and the agency. From this point onwards, every copy of the film was requested to be a print of the reviewed version. The same applied to the approved advertising material (Tropiano 55). Hence, every aspect of the film production was regulated by the PCA.

The *Motion Picture Production Code* incorporated the *Don'ts and Be Carefuls* and the *Formula* and added additional themes and subjects, which were either forbidden or demanded special care. In its general principles, the code stated, "No picture shall be produced which will lower the moral standards of those who see it" before saying, "Correct standards of life, subject only to the requirements of drama and entertainment, shall be presented" (Inglis 205). In its part of particular applications the code presented various different subjects and themes that were forbidden or should be avoided unless they were essential to the plot. The guidelines regulated topics that were connected to crimes against the law, sex, vulgarity, obscenity, profanity, costume, dances, religion, locations, national feelings, titles, and repellent subjects. In the second half of the code, the underlying reasons for its enforcement and imposition were explained (Inglis 206-219).

In case filmmakers and studios did not approve of the PCA's decision they had the possibility to appeal to the board of directors, which was a part of the MPPDA. Most of the time, the board followed the PCA's decision but in some instances they granted the appeal. But revoking a decision did not automatically result in an alteration of the code. The PCA was ready to make exceptions but the code itself was never questioned (Tropiano 58-61).

In 1945, the MPPDA and the Hays Office underwent its first official internal reform. After twenty-three years, Eric Johnston succeeded Will Hays as the president of the agency and by the end of the year he renamed it to Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). By appointing Johnston, the MPAA opened the door for further reformations.

In the 1950s, stage plays received greater freedom in expression compared to motion pictures. Therefore, theaters were able to incorporate more controversial themes and topics into its plays. As a consequence, the film adaptation of these plays caused difficulties, because the Production Code forbade the provocative content to be transferred to the silver screen and frequently, the film industry had to drastically alter stage material in order to turn it into a movie. Producers demanded a modification of the code to reflect the changing times. Throughout the years, the MPAA had loosened or tightened its grip on the film industry by updating the code and allowing certain films to depict formerly strictly forbidden subjects such as rape or miscegenation. These exceptions weakened the code over the years and in 1938 and 1940, sections of special regulations were introduced to the code, which provided further definitions and explanations on how certain topics had to be treated. In 1951, additional subjects such as abortion, drug addiction, and suicide were added to the list of forbidden topics (Tropiano 71-74). Hence, the first revision of the code did not initiate a more liberal approach. The pressure from within the industry, demanding reformative actions on part of the MPAA grew stronger and in 1953, movie producer Samuel Goldwyn stated in a letter to MPAA president Johnston that "[...] we must realize that in the almost quarter of a century since the Code's adoption the world has moved on. But the Code has stood still. Today there is a far greater maturity among audiences than there was 25 years ago [...]" (Tropiano 75).

By the end of 1956, the MPAA finally reformed the code. Certain subjects, which were previously prohibited, were allowed to be used under special care and restrictions. Prostitution, nudity, and drug addiction were amongst topics that the MPAA now allowed in movies. The loosening of the code was the MPAA's answer to a cultural change in America. Decreasing numbers at the box office, the invention of TV, the arrival of foreign movies, which did not need to adhere to the Production Code, and a general change in moral perspective after the Second World War were only a few developments, which caused difficulties for the MPAA (Tropiano 75).

Furthermore, two important court rulings diminished the strength of the Production Code. In addition to movie production, the five major film studios, MGM, Paramount, RKO, Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Brothers also controlled the first-run theaters. The three minor studios, Columbia, United Artists, and Universal, which did not own theaters, were allowed to release their films in theaters owned by the big five studios. This constellation prohibited independent movie productions to be screened at these theaters and attributed a big economic advantage to the bigger studios. In 1948, in *United States v. Paramount, Inc.* the court decided that this exhibition system was violating anti-trust laws, because all control was executed by the big studios. As a consequence, the movie studios had to give up their theaters. The second court ruling in 1952, in *Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson* had a tremendous impact on the execution of film censorship in the United States, because the Supreme Court ruled that films were granted freedom of speech and freedom of press. Hence, state and local censorship boards had to be abandoned and were replaced by the Production Code (Tropiano 76, 89).

After the MPAA released the reformed Production Code, movie studios regularly undermined the strict standards and released movies containing controversial subjects and themes. The PCA granted more and more exceptions, which proved fatal in the following years. In the 1960s, films dealing with sexual matters were granted the seal of approval and consequently weakened the code's strength. In 1966, the release of Mike Nichol's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* is said to have caused the eventual elimination of the code, because of its controversial use of language (Keough 309). In the following years the Production

Code was abandoned and a new rating system was introduced to ensure the film industry's self-regulation.

2.3. The New Rating System

The year of 1966 constituted more changes for the MPAA and the Production Code. Jack Valenti, a former politician, was appointed president of the MPAA, three years after Johnston's death in 1963. Valenti immediately realized the need to update the code in order to avoid federal government censorship. Therefore, in 1966, he released a revised form of the code, which continued the tradition of prohibiting and restricting the depiction of certain subjects and topics. This list of subjects was directly adopted from the former Production Code but did not offer concrete definitions and clarifications. Additionally, the new code provided certain movies with a seal that indicated strong and mature content and initiated the first step towards an age based classification system (Tropiano 90-91).

This newly introduced code was only in force for the limited timespan of two years, before Jack Valenti introduced a radically new system of self-regulation. Although Valenti claimed that the new ratings system was entirely different from the Production Code, in reality several old features and practices continued to play a vital role. The list of controversial subjects, which were prohibited by the code, as well as the reviewing of scripts prior to movie production and the overall consultation of movie studio personnel to guide them towards the desired rating were still part of the new system (Tropiano 91).

Age-based ratings, which should provide parents with knowledge about movie contents, constituted the core of the new classificatory system,. The initial ratings were G (General Audiences), M (Mature Audiences), R (Restricted – Persons under 16 not admitted unless accompanied by parent or adult guardian), and X (Persons under 16 not admitted). The basic concept of the original ratings system is still employed today but the individual ratings have been confronted with various updates and changes over the years (Tropiano 92-93).

Following the example of the Production Code, the ratings system only required MPAA members to submit their films for review. The Code And Ratings

Administration (CARA), which replaced the PCA and was later on renamed to Classification And Ratings Board, assigned the four ratings to the submitted movies. It was also possible for filmmakers to appeal the board's decision. The initial response to the ratings system was positive but after three years, objections grew stronger and several changes were applied to accommodate critics. Various religious and social groups criticized CARA's position within the film industry and demanded a more independent organization. Furthermore, the individual ratings caused confusion about which kind of movie content they represented. In an attempt to please the masses, the MPAA changed the existing ratings and introduced new letters to avoid further confusion. In 1970, the M rating was replaced by GP, because parents were confused whether or not films rated M contained stronger content than R rated films. But in 1972, GP was already replaced by PG (Parental Guidance Suggested), because parents indicated that GP rated movies shared no valuable consensus. Furthermore, the age limit of R rated movies was raised in 1970 to seventeen. Simultaneously, the age limit of X rated movies was changed to 17 and 18, respectively. In 1984, the MPAA introduced PG-13 as a new intermediate rating between PG and R. The most recent change was the replacement of the X rating with the new NC-17 in order to avoid references to the pornography industry (Tropiano 92-94). The current ratings are G, PG, PG-13, R, and NC-17 and will be further discussed in the fourth chapter.

Since its inception, the ratings system has caused controversies due to the fact that the MPAA does not provide a clear set of guidelines and rules officially, the institution is not a censorship board. Critically analyzing its claim for initiating self-regulation will be one of the main goals of my thesis and will be included in the following chapter.

3. Michel Foucault: Power, Knowledge & Discipline

Michel Foucault's extensive work on power, discipline and knowledge will serve as an outline for my analysis. In this part of my thesis, I will present the main concepts and ideas that are vital for the understanding of the most important underlying mechanisms of disciplinary systems of power in general and more specifically of institutions such as the MPAA and correspondingly discuss Michel Foucault's model of power in detail, starting with his fundamental thoughts on discourse and discursive formation. My theoretic approach will be based on interpretations and discussions by scholars such as Hall (2001), Danaher, Schirato, and Webb (2000), Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982), Alvesson (1996), and Smart (2002) and will be supported by my own close readings of a variety of Michel Foucault's texts.

The main concern will be to define what the term discourse means to Foucault and how it is influencing his model of power. Subsequently, my focus will be set on discussing the notion of power relations in connection with knowledge. According to Foucault's concept of power-knowledge we are all subjects to knowledge, because we try to identify and create ourselves through certain established ideas and truths. Furthermore, his thoughts on resistance and technologies of self will bring us to the notion of self-regulation. In the next chapter, all these concepts will be used to analyze the MPAA as an example of an institution which deploys a disciplinary system of power.

3.1. Discourse

In his early works Foucault analyzed the concept of discourse. As for linguists, this term basically refers to the use of language in writing or speech. Foucault expanded the meaning of the term discourse. He was more interested in the system of rules and practices that shaped and regulated discursive statements (Hall 72). In his book *The Archeology of Knowledge* he explains the idea behind his definition of discourse but still stresses the importance of language and speech: "Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more

than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech” (Foucault 54).

Foucault defines discourse as multiple statements and definitions in a certain language which are used to communicate within a society at a specific time in history (Hall 72). For him, the elementary units of discourse are statements which are able to correlate with other statements, forming relationships that provide context and space. At the same time, these relationships are not stable but subject to constant change leading to the possibility of statements disappearing or being replaced by others within a certain discourse. Although discourse has the ability to include an unlimited amount of statements, generally only few are engaged in creating discourse (Danaher, Schirato, and Webb 35). These statements constitute a structure of knowledge that is essential to create meaning. Therefore, “[d]iscourse is about the production of knowledge through language and practices” (Hall 72).

By bringing together language and practice, Foucault argues that without discourse, topics or objects of knowledge are not produced, because they lack definitions. Therefore, discourse is the fundamental base for knowledge and language. How we talk about certain topics in everyday life is governed by a discursive system of rules. This system offers a variety of choices but it also regulates conduct. Just as it formulates appropriate statements, it also defines inappropriate ways of talking about topics, always depending on our own positions towards these topics. Foucault says that discourse never provides only one choice or one direction. Every discourse appears in a wide range of contexts and is not limited to one particular definition (Hall 72). Therefore, Foucault introduces the term discursive formation in order to group and combine discourses that “refer to the same object, share the same style and [...] support a strategy [...] a common institutional, administrative or political drift and pattern” (qtd. in Hall 73). Danaher, Schirato, and Webb add that discursive formations are defined by everything they include but also by excluded discourses. Especially oppositional concepts add and provide an extra layer of meaning (35-36).

As Foucault summarizes the idea of discourse formation by saying:

We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation [.. Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form [...] it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history [...] posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality. (Archaeology of Knowledge 131)

He goes a step further by saying that everything outside of discourse is meaningless, because discourse constructs knowledge and without knowledge there can be no meaning and vice versa. Arising out of this explanation is the question whether anything can exist outside the field of discourse? Foucault does not deny the existence of objects outside of discourse (Hall 73). But as he argues, nothing has any meaning outside of discourse (Foucault, Archeology of Knowledge 32). Consequently, Foucault shifts the focus away from the discussion of whether objects can actually exist to the question of how the attached meaning is produced.

According to Foucault, there is no intrinsic truth or meaning to objects of knowledge. Elaborating on this argument, he says that in order to be understood, things have to be embedded in and given meaning by discourse. For example the subject of sexuality has only meaning within its related discourses. Sexuality, as a concept is constructed in discourse, since it is only its discursive framework which gives it its meaning (Hall 73).

Therefore, when analyzing discourses in a Foucauldian manner, it is important to factor statements about subjects (e.g. sexuality, insanity, religion...) that provide fundamental knowledge. On the level of language and speech we have to examine rules, which regulate the appropriate ways of communication. These rules specifically determine what is allowed to say and think about certain subjects and also what is deemed as inappropriate. On a more physical level, people or subjects who represent discourses are attributed with particular characteristics, which refer back to the knowledge that was constructed by the relevant discourse. Based on this idea, categories of subjects such as the criminal, the pervert or the madman are created. Institutions such as the prison, the hospital or the asylum deal with these subjects. Each institution applies various practices to the body of the subject, depending on the underlying discourse. A proper

Foucauldian discourse analysis has to take into account that discourses are not fixed or stable concepts but, over the course of history, are rather exposed to changes (Hall 73-74).

In the aforementioned *Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault's early book on discourse, he emphasizes the historical context of discourse formation. He says, "the autonomy of discourse and its specificity nevertheless do not give it the status of pure ideality and total historical independence [...]" (*Archeology of Knowledge* 182). Here, although attributing autonomy to discourse, he insists that concepts and truths are only true and valid at a certain moment in history. According to Foucault, these historic units do not necessarily overlap. Every historical period entails its own set of concepts and discourses. So for Foucault, for example, sexuality was not a concept that was shared throughout history by all societies carrying the exact same meaning. The essential argument is that in order to become a meaningful unit, the object, sexuality, had to be positioned within a formulated discursive formation (Hall 74). That is, it had to be defined and "constituted by all that was said, in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its development, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its discourses that were to be taken as its own" (Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge* 35).

After defining what discourses are and how they influence our language and our behavior, the question arises how do discourses or discursive formations turn into normative concepts or validated truths? Institutions, both on a private and public level, influence the formulation of truths and norms. An institution is based on a structure of relationships between individuals, groups and objects. Most of the time this structure is organized in a hierarchical manner. For example in the field of education common relationships would be between headmaster and teachers, teachers and students, etc.

Institutions need a concrete and physical locality to serve their purpose. This purpose always connected to the field of operation in which the institution is situated. Every field, be it education, military, family, culture, etc. has different characteristics but can be identified as either belonging to the private, i.e. family

or personal affairs, or the public sphere. Both, private and public institutions produce and promote truths through a set of rules that is dependent on internal discursive practices (Danaher, Schirato, and Webb 36-38, 40-41). Foucault introduces the term game of truth to refer to this set of rules and defines it as “as set of procedures that lead to a certain result, which on the basis of its principles and rules of procedure, may be considered valid or invalid, winning or losing [...]” (Practices of Self 297). Since, following Foucault, there is no single universal truth, there are numerous games of truth interfering with each other, establishing relationships with other institutions, individuals and objects. Of course, every institution follows the goal to establish its own truth as being perceived as essential. Especially public institutions claim an authority, as Foucault argues:

[Truth] is subject to constant economic and political incitement (the demand for truth, as much for economic power as for political power); it is the object, under diverse forms, of immense diffusion and consumption (circulating through apparatuses of education and information whose extent is relatively broad in the social body [...]); it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing, media); lastly, it is the issue of a while political debate and social confrontation (“ideological” struggles) (Foucault Reader 73).

In the above quote, Foucault indicates that institutions supported by systems of power and power relations establish truth.

3.2. Power Relations, Knowledge & the Subject

Foucault proposes an analytical approach to power, since he refuses the idea that power can be presented as a context free, ahistorical, objective theory (Dreyfus and Rabinow 184). In *The Confession of the Flesh*, he argues,

If one tries to erect a theory of power one will always be obliged to view it as emerging at a given place and time and hence to deduce it, to reconstruct its genesis. But if power is in reality an open, more-or-less coordinated [...] cluster of relations, then the

only problem is to provide oneself with a grid of analysis which makes possible an analytic of relations of power” (Foucault 199).

In his view, it is not possible to trace power back to one specific individual or institution, because power is fluid and has no essence. Therefore, power does not naturally belong to anybody, nor can it be owned or shared. Foucault uses the example of the monarch to refer to an older idea of power, the idea of sovereign power, which was connected to a sovereign agent. Kings and Queens had the right to exercise power, because it simply belonged to them. But Foucault is more interested to analyze power in its current state within modern society (Alvesson 96). Consequently, if power is not in fact connected to individuals or selected institutions, the goal is to investigate and identify how power operates (Dreyfus and Rabinow 185). For Foucault, the way to analyze power, which he mentions again in the first volume of his *History of Sexuality*, “[...] is to move less toward a theory of power [but] toward a definition of a specific domain formed by power relations and toward a determination of the instruments that will make possible its analysis” (82). Hence, power can only be understood by examining the network of power relations and the instruments used to establish these relations.

In Foucault’s view, power is omnipresent. Due to the fact that power relations infuse the entire social body, power cannot be solely attributed to specific units, such as the state or the church but institutions and the entire population are entangled in this network of power relations.

Since power affects every part of society, Foucault localizes his analysis on a micro level, also referring to it as the micro-physics of power (Alvesson 97). In his book, *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault explains that “[...] the study of this micro-physics presupposes that the power exercised on the body is conceived not as a property, but as a strategy, that its effects domination are not ‘appropriation’, but to dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings [...]”. He continues by stating “[...] power is exercised rather than possessed; it is not the ‘privilege’ [...] of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions – an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated” (26-27).

Though Foucault is not denying the dominant position of the state, the law, the educational system, etc. but he is directing the attention away from the overarching strategies of power to a localized micro level. These lower levels are not simply mirroring the impact of power but they also shape and extend it.

According to Foucault, the object that is most heavily affected by the micro-physics of power is the body. Although included, the body Foucault is referring to is more than the natural human body. It is a body that is formed and shaped by history, culture, discourse and discursive formations, paying particular consideration to those which sustained a regime of truth (Hall 76,78). For Foucault, the body is constantly subjected to power relations, as he argues, “the body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks [...] the body becomes a useful force only if its both a productive body and a subjected body” (Discipline Punish 25-26). The exercise of power is primarily aimed at the body which is located in a political field and directly affected by power relations. The impact of these power relations constructs a docile and productive body, raising its political and economic value (Smart 75).

Foucault’s definition of the body or subject is radical in the sense that only discourse is able to produce knowledge and not the subject itself. Therefore, the subject becomes an object of knowledge, carrying attributes that are related to the respective discourse. It can never step outside the realm of discourse because it is subjected to it. Furthermore, this means that discourse produces subjects. As Foucault mentions in *The Subject and Power*, “This form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and other have to recognize him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects” (130). Here Foucault implies that discourses do not only produce subjects through power relations but that they also arrange positions from where they can be understood. Since not everybody is subjected to the exact same discourses, all discourses produce places for those who are outside of it, so that the viewer and reader, is able to understand the knowledge and meaning. By assuming a position, which offers a clear insight to the discourse, bodies are also subjecting themselves to its knowledge and meaning. Therefore, all discourses

produce subject-positions, which are vital for their understanding. Following this argument, all power lays in the hands of discourse because it is constructing subject-positions independent from the subject itself. So in order to understand discourses, bodies have to be subjected to their meaning, their knowledge and their power (Hall 79-80).

By explaining the subjects' position, Foucault touches on the important inter-relation in his analytics of power, namely, the relationship between power and knowledge.

For Foucault the central question of his analytics of power is the relationship between power and knowledge. In order to explain this relationship, Foucault uses Nietzsche as a base for his thoughts (Smart 76). In his prominent book *Discipline and Punish* he formulates the close connection shared by power and knowledge by suggesting that

[...] Power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations (Foucault 27).

According to Foucault, knowledge and power are inextricably intertwined because power defines what is accepted as knowledge in a given context. Knowledge thus depends on its construction and legitimization through the regulatory force of discursive power. Knowledge is created in and through power and power relations are essentially connected to corresponding fields of knowledge. Discourse relays on power to create meaning and therefore, every thought is embedded in an interrelated network of power relations, creating, as mentioned before, the subject as a product of the power/knowledge relationship.

In Foucault's argument, knowledge takes up a central space, especially as an instrument for discipline (which will be discussed in section *Discipline, Surveillance, and Normalization*) by, amongst other things, correlating with discourses, which indicate what is normal and what is evil, what is inappropriate

and what is accepted within a society. Institutions use this knowledge, which Foucault also refers to as truths, to regulate and discipline individuals. Therefore, in accordance with Foucault, knowledge can never be neutral and cannot be extracted from the realm of power (Alvesson 100). Alvesson describes this complex network by saying that “[k]nowledge lies at the root of the exercise of power, while the exercise of power also produces knowledge. [...] Power becomes a central dimension not only of knowledge supported by institutional practices, but also of institutional practices based on knowledge” (101). He strengthens Foucault’s theory that wherever power is exercised, knowledge is being produced. Alvesson’s statement also shows the clear connection between institutions, knowledge, and power that is needed to establish games/regimes of truth.

By using the genealogical method of analysis Foucault offers a new definition of a power and knowledge relation because he does not define power as an object institutions or individuals can either possess or lack, nor does he divide knowledge into being either objective or subjective but he rather presents them as essential units in constructing systems of power and truth (Dreyfus and Rabinow 117).

Foucault emphasizes the importance of the historical context. Knowledge and games/regimes of truth are only valid at certain periods of time and not throughout history. Essentially, knowledge does not have a universality attached to it but relays on power relations to establish a necessary degree of validity. For Foucault “truth isn’t outside of power [...] Each society has its regimes of truth [...] that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true and false statements [...] ‘Truth’ is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements” (Truth and Power 73, 74).

For Foucault, power should not be defined as a commodity or an object that belongs to institutions or certain individuals but rather as a system of power relations. In the interview *The Ethics of the Concern of the Self*, Foucault reflects on that very notion by saying about himself, “I scarcely use the word power, and if I use it on occasion it is simply as shorthand for the expression I generally use: relations of power” (34). So instead of defining power as an object that can be

possessed, Foucault focuses on analyzing power relations. Correspondingly, he rearranges the direction in which power relations are distributed. Generally, we tend to see power exercised from top to bottom, by the oppressor down onto the oppressed. However, Foucault's theory sees power relations functioning as a network without a one-dimensional direction. They circulate through the entire social body (Hall 77).

Foucault also stresses the fact that for him power is not solely a repressive, violent force but additionally includes a productive side. "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Discipline and Punish 194). Power is not a means to an end, used by individuals or institutions in order to subject others. In fact, power relations constitute a network that produces reality by creating discourses and knowledge.

As stated by Foucault, power is not an entity that exists on its own. It is not a law of nature. In *The Ethics of the Concern of the Self* he says, "Power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action [...]" (137). This statement might suggest a wide range of possible power relations but Foucault argues that power offers a restricted number of potential relations, because "[power] is inscribed in a field of sparse available possibilities underpinned by permanent structures" (137). Hereby, Foucault also indicates that power and consent are not dependent on each other. "The relationship of power may be an effect of a prior or permanent consent, but it is not by nature the manifestation of a consensus" (137). Therefore, although certain power relations can be built on a past consent, or an already established regime of truth, he refuses to attribute a natural connection between power and consent to his analytics. By extricating an embedded concept of consent, Foucault consequently eliminates the notion of choice of engaging because power relations demand a response. As he furthermore argues that "[...] a relationship of power is [...] a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions" (137). Therefore, power relations recognize both ends as being capable to respond, react, or resist but it always results in a responding action. Foucault is aware that "[...]

consent and violence are instruments or results, they do not constitute the principle of basic nature of power” (138). Thus, he does not disqualify consent or violence and repression as instruments or results caused by power relations but they are not fundamental aspects because power is able to cause a variety of actions. These actions are, as Foucault phrases it, governed or directed by power. He uses the word *government* to refer to an approach that allows managing and structuring the conducts and responses to power relations by others (138).

Following Foucault’s theory of power relations as reciprocal combinations of actions upon actions of others, he also introduces the notion of freedom as a fundamental aspect of these relations. “Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are ‘free.’ [sic] By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several kinds of conduct, several ways of reacting and modes of behavior are available” (139). In order for power to be exercised, individuals have to be able to choose their actions and reactions when confronted with power relations. Without freedom power relations cannot exist. Therefore, for Foucault, “[...] freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power (at the same time its precondition, since freedom must exist for power to be exerted [...])” (139). Although freedom functions as the base on which power relations can develop, the degree of freedom is subject to constant variation. Not every individual is in the position to demand the same amount of free space. But the will for freedom is a driving force in the creation of power relations.

Since Foucault argues that power is not a possession, he presents it as a strategy. This proposal leads to the conclusion that power has to be intentional because using power strategically implies that it is used to “arrive at an objective”, “to have the advantage over others” and as “the means to obtain victory” (Foucault, *Ethics* 142). As Foucault summarizes in *Discipline and Punish*, “the power exercised on the body is conceived not as a property, but as a strategy, that its effects of domination are attributed not to ‘appropriation’, but to dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings [...]” (26).

Foucault’s analysis of power relations differs from ideas of power which approached the issue from different angles. For example, the Marxist theory claims that power maintains class domination and the relations of production.

Thereby, this theory formulates an economist analysis of power. Foucault opposes this approach because it solely focuses on the repressive qualities of power rather than including the positive and productive aspects of power relations, as he sees these aspects representing essential elements of modern societies (Smart 77-78).

Foucault's concept and analytics of power are vital to understand the functions of disciplinary institutions such as the MPAA. Since the MPAA acts from within the movie industry, everyone is entangled in its power relations. Power, as Foucault describes it, does not belong to the MPAA but it has established a network of power relations, which is omnipresent and affects every aspect of the film industry. Power becomes the MPAA's strategy to establish its own regime of truths and discourses, creating power relations which are directly shaping and subjected filmmakers and studios. These discourse construct the MPAA's position as a disciplinary institution within the film industry, because the MPAA uses the produced knowledge to regulate and subject its members.

3.3. Discipline, Surveillance & Normalization

Foucault argues that disciplinary power is the most important form of power in modern societies. The main purpose of this power is to regulate and discipline conduct and individual bodies. Through techniques such as normalization and surveillance norms and truths about what is appropriate and what is inappropriate are established. Foucault is mostly concerned with the emergence of docile bodies as a result of the employment of these techniques. For him, as previously mentioned, discourse is directly influenced by this system of power (Alvesson 98). Institutions give authority to those discourses that serve their purpose of disciplining and regulating the population. Therefore, the body is the primary target of subjectification. In doing so, disciplinary power does not focus primarily on the body as an entity, but uses technologies that norm and discipline specific aspects, such as gestures or movements, in order to improve the body's overall efficiency (Smart 85).

Foucault classifies discipline as a technique of power. In *Discipline and Punish*, he identifies three instruments as important resources of disciplinary power. For him, "[t]he success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the

use of simple instruments; hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination” (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 170).

For Foucault, establishing discipline as a technique of power requires a mechanism of coercion with the aid of surveillance, “[...] an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible” (170-171). In order to use discipline as a regulatory technique those who are subjected to it need to become visible. Foucault calls this process hierarchical observation and it is achieved by applying various techniques which simultaneously enforce power relations. Once all the subjects are visible, it becomes easier to alter and regulate them. Foucault defines a utopian disciplinary institution when he says: “The perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly” (173).

But he also argues, the task of permanently observing everything is not possible. As a result, the disciplinary gaze requires support in the form of a hierarchy of surveillance (Smart 86). Foucault uses the pyramid as a symbol to illustrate this hierarchy because it requires “to be complete enough to form an uninterrupted network, [...] the possibility of multiplying its levels, and of distributing them over the entire surface to be supervised” (174). Furthermore, the hierarchy of surveillance is not allowed to disrupt the disciplinary power relations and the productivity of the population. Since a single gaze is not sufficient to control and observe everything, Foucault suggests that by applying a hierarchy, surveillance is segmented into smaller specified units which provide better and constant support for a system of power (174). Although the instrument of observation is hierarchically structured, this does not imply that power is a possession or property of an institution or individual. Rather it is the institution itself that is enforcing power relations supported by the mechanism of surveillance. As Foucault argues, “although surveillance rests on individuals, its functioning is that of a network of relations [...]; this network ‘holds’ the whole together and traverses it in its entirety with effects of power that derive from one another: supervisors, perpetually supervised” (176-177).

The second important instrument of disciplinary power is normalizing judgment. Foucault places a penal mechanism at the center of every disciplinary system. This mechanism functions outside of the juridical system of the law. As Foucault argues, “the disciplines established an ‘infra-penalty’; [...] they defined and repressed a mass of behavior that the relative indifference of the great systems of punishment had allowed to escape” (178). Therefore, in most cases, law does not prosecute this behavior. Subsequently, normalizing judgment is the punishment of non-confirmative behavior. This type of punishment is conducted on a field of various aspects of the social body. Foucault identifies “micro-penalty of time (lateness, negligence, lack of zeal), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle, chatter, insolence), of the body (‘incorrect’ attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness, [and] of sexuality (impurity, indecency)” (178). The delinquencies are not universally recognized and depend on the context and on the underlying regime of truth. Whenever behavior does not observe an established norm, it is punished. The type of punishment is directly borrowed from the juridical system of law and new ways of penalty emerged which are created by disciplinary power. For Foucault, “[d]isciplinary punishment has the function of reducing gaps. It must therefore be essentially *corrective*” (179). The aforementioned micro-penalties are following certain patterns. The method of punishment for each delinquency is repetitive. As a consequence, revenge or retribution are not included as reasons of execution.

“In discipline, punishment is only one element of a double system: gratification-punishment” (180). For Foucault, discipline also reaches its goal through the implementation of gratification. Whereas non-confirmative behavior is punished, good conduct is rewarded. Foucault also argues that gratification, as a disciplinary technique, should be enforced to a greater extent than punishment because it raises positivity and implements a wish for reward (180).

Through the regulatory pattern of punishment and gratification, discourses are aligned along the lines of valuation. “[D]iscipline judges individuals ‘in truth’; the penalty that it implements is integrated into the cycle of knowledge of individuals” (180). Hence, discipline enforces truths and discourses of what is considered appropriate and inappropriate through normalizing judgment. Human behavior is judged according to its conformity with normative expectations. “The

perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short it *normalizes*” (183). The aim of disciplinary power is neither to repress nor to establish a system of sovereign power, but to normalize conduct and bodies.

The instrument of examination combines hierarchical observation and normalizing judgments in order to obtain, in Foucault’s words, a normalizing gaze. This gaze constitutes an overarching visibility that exposes individuals to judgment, qualification and punishment. “In [the examination] are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth” (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 184). It functions as the core instrument of a disciplinary system of power because it combines all mechanisms and techniques which are essential components in establishing discipline. It creates knowledge and power relations by subjecting those who are ranked as objects and objectifies those who are subjected (185). Three main mechanisms, produced by the examination, directly relate the formation of knowledge to the exercise of power.

The examination establishes a field of visibility in which individuals are subjected to regimes of truth and thereby to the exercise of power. Foucault argues that sovereign systems of power operate on a level of visibility that allows power to be distinguishable, whereas those who are subjected to it are left invisible. “Disciplinary power, on the other hand, is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility” (187). Visibility migrates from the realm of power and is transferred to the subjected individuals. This constant projected perceptibility assures a permanent subjectification, because power imposes itself on the individuals.

The second mechanism focuses on the collation of written data and the documentation of individuals. “The examination that places individuals in a field of surveillance also situates them in a network of writing; it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them” (189). Features, attributes, and behavior of individuals are inserted into systems of documentation (e.g. medical, military, educational, etc.). These documents comprise the basis for an

analysis and description of the population as well as the identification of commonly occurring features and characteristics of specific groups or individuals. It is exactly this mechanism that Foucault saw aligned with the birth of the human sciences because it defined human behavior, features, and attributes.

The third and final mechanism combines the visibility and the extensive documentation to create a case from each individual. Subsequently, the individual is transformed into an object and effect of knowledge and power relations. As Foucault argues, “it is the individual as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded, etc.” (191). It is this mechanism of examination which allows disciplinary power to reach its full regulatory potential.

In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault first presents the concept of the Panopticon as an institution which employs a disciplinary system of power. Originally, Jeremy Bentham designed the Panopticon as a prison building. Its basic innovation is the aim for the constant visibility of its subjects. A watchtower forms the center of the building. All subjects are arranged in such a way so as to be exposed to an invisible surveillance. However, the subjects are consciously aware of the permanent observation, thereby establishing a power relation which automatizes a system of power and the individualization of those who are subjected to it (Smart 88). As a result, “he who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection” (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 202-203). Here, Foucault refers to the idea of self-regulation. As a consequence, subjects who are consciously aware of being in a visible space regulate themselves in order to avoid punishment and move towards gratification. Disciplinary institutions such as schools, universities, hospitals or churches apply a similar system of power, resulting in self-regulating subjects.

Disciplinary mechanisms crossed the boundaries of their institutions and entered non-institutional spaces and the entire social body. Foucault refers to this phenomenon as a de-institutionalization, which results in a disciplinary society.

This does not implicate that modern societies are disciplined societies. Instead, it refers to a diffusion of disciplinary mechanisms (Smart 89, 91). Discipline, according to Foucault, “may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a wide set of instruments, techniques and procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a ‘physics’ or ‘anatomy’ of power, a technology” (Discipline and Punish 215).

The MPAA uses disciplinary power relations as a strategy to regulate movie content and subject filmmakers and movie studios to its regimes of truth. Following Foucault, the MPAA employs the three techniques of normalizing judgment, hierarchical observation and examination to establish normative knowledge about appropriateness, which results in self-regulation and censorship.

3.4. Resistance, Self-Regulation & Technologies of Self

The emergence of technologies of power and their subsequent diffusion in the social body are essential to Foucault's theory of power. Furthermore, the technology of discipline and its attributed mechanisms of examination, normalizing judgment, and hierarchical observation subjects individuals to a disciplinary system of power. But all of these technologies and mechanisms of power are not entirely flawless. They do not provide the promised effects all the time, which is why Foucault differentiates between disciplinary societies and disciplined societies.

Modern societies are not entirely subjected to regimes of truth because, as Foucault argues, "[w]here there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Sexuality Vol. 1 95). Thus, forms of resistance are only able to occur within the sphere of power. But resistance constitutes an immediate effect of power relations, establishing a counter-dependence because, on the other hand, it is impossible for power relations to exist without corresponding resistance. Similar to power, resistance can appear in various forms, without emerging from a universal source. "There is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: resistances that are possible, necessary, improbable; others that are spontaneous, savage, solitary, concerted, rampant, or violent [...] by definition, they can only exist in the strategic field of power relations" (Foucault, Sexuality Vol. 1 96).

This relative failure of technologies of power can be identified as an integrated part of the system. Since disciplinary power aims towards a unifying normalization of subjected individuals, conquering resistance and problems per se demands constant expansion of its knowledge of inappropriate behavior and the continuous improvement of the system's technologies of power in order to maintain its effectiveness (Smart 106). On the basis of this theory, Foucault also sees a connection between technologies of power and the human sciences. Both reinforce each other in the process of normalizing the social body. Human sciences establish a notion of normality, which enhances and refines technologies of power by categorizing newly emerging behavior as either normal or abnormal.

Throughout his works, Foucault is very reluctant to offer a coherent concept of resistance. For him, every individual is entangled in various power relations. No subject can leave its position within a system of power, because power is simply everywhere. Many scholars and academics have criticized this theory, because it can be read as reducing humans to the status of docile bodies. If power is omnipresent and resistance can only occur as an effect of power, then individuals are not capable of controlling their own lives, because they are constantly subjected to discourses and knowledge, leaving no space for freedom. In his later works, Foucault responds to this criticism with the introduction of the concept of technologies of the self.

In his text *Technologies of the Self*, Foucault states, “[p]erhaps, I’ve insisted too much on the technology of domination and power. I am more and more interested in the interaction between oneself and others and in the technologies of individual domination, the history of how an individual acts upon himself in the technology of self” (147). Foucault thus shifts his focus away from technologies of power and towards an interpretation of the individual’s role in power relations. He analyses the mechanisms and technologies that individuals employ in order to respond to the subjectification of disciplinary power.

Foucault rejects any form of universalism. For him, an essence of the self does not exist because the subject is constructed by power relations and subjected to regimes of truth. It cannot exist outside the order of power. But Foucault argues that individuals are not helplessly exposed to power relations. Power does not form and shape bodies regardless of the individual’s self. He attributes subjects a dimension of morality and criticism that allows space for responding to disciplinary practices. Therefore, technologies of the self are techniques which individuals use to regulate and form themselves within the realm of power relations. Foucault defines these techniques by stating that they “permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality” (146). The essence of these technologies of the self is the embedded possibility that individuals are able to identify disciplinary discourses and knowledge. Furthermore, individuals

recognize the ways in which these discourses influence and shape them as human beings. However, Foucault's definition does not implicate a radical resistance, resulting in a transformation of power relations. In fact, technologies of the self support the formation of subjects within regimes of truth because they do not represent total freedom, inasmuch as these practices are not detached from rules and regulations (Markula and Pringle 139-140).

Additionally, Foucault introduces his concepts of thought, criticism, and problematization as practices of reflection. These practices provide grounds on which individuals are able to reflect on and negotiate their position as subjects of power. The concept of thought entails the possibility to actively reflect on conduct, the conditions under which conduct occurs, and the effects that this conduct causes. In *Polemics, Politics, and Problematization*, Foucault states, "[thought] is what allows one to step back from this way of acting or reacting, to present [behavior] to oneself as an object of thought and to question it as to its meaning, its conditions, and its goals" (23). Furthermore, he argues that "[t]hought is freedom in relation to what one does, the motion by which one detaches itself from it, establishes it as an object, and reflects on it as a problem" (23). Foucault already implies the idea of critically reflecting on behavior and discourses, leading to his concept of criticism.

In criticism, Foucault sees "a historical investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying" (Enlightenment 46). Hereby, he is drawing on his genealogical method to indicate the importance of a critical analysis of a subject's own history. The concept of criticism helps the individual to understand the formation of its subjection through actions and conduct. Thought and criticism combined lead to a problematization of practices and the individual's subjection.

Thus, technologies of the self are practices of self-formation and self-examination, but ultimately result in self-regulation. As already mentioned, Foucault rejects the idea of a true self therefore, subjects in a Foucauldian sense have no autonomy because they are constantly embedded in power relations. They can never find their natural essence because it does not exist. Everything is constituted by discourses and regimes of truth. Yet, although individuals can only act within a disciplinary system of power, they are able to critically analyze its

practices and mechanisms. Therefore, they have the possibility to intentionally negotiate their own position within the system. This means that subjects are able to choose which norms and discourses they want to follow or resist in order to reach a state of happiness and perfection. “The technologies of the self, however, are ultimately about the role of the self within power relations – how an individual makes sense of the limitations set for him/her within the power relations and the truth games s/he is involved in” (Markula and Pringle 146).

In his analytics of power relations, Foucault leaves space for individuals to create themselves through critically analyzing their positions within disciplinary systems of power. However, due to the fact that Foucault does not conceptualize identity as a pre-discursive essence that can exist outside of power relations, the process of self-creation can be more appropriately described as a process of self-regulation and self-discipline because individuals can only choose and negotiate amongst discourses and truths that have already been created by power relations. Furthermore, individuals are aware they act within a visible space, which is monitored by disciplinary mechanisms. Thus, although Foucault leaves space for freedom and choices, these choices are always tied to a disciplinary system of power.

In the case of the MPAA, the so-called appeals board, which will be discussed in the next chapter, provides filmmakers and studios with the important possibility of resistance. Power relations need resistance to be established and subject individuals or filmmakers and studios in the case of the MPAA. By allowing a sense of freedom, the MPAA allows its members to appeal assigned ratings and therefore, filmmakers are able to negotiate their position within the network of disciplinary power relations.

4. The MPAA & Disciplinary Power

Former president of the MPAA Jack Valenti introduced the new ratings system in 1968 to establish a so-called self-regulating movie industry that was safe from government intervention. The original idea was to create an institution that offered a sense of regulation but still allowed greater freedom of expression that was neglected during the Hays Code. At the same time, the ratings system was supposed to define a space for adult cinema which followed different criteria than movies that were made for everybody. Shortly after its initiation, the ratings system's aim for self-regulation turned into censorship. In the following chapter I will approach the MPAA with Foucault's analytics of disciplinary power. This approach will show that mechanisms and tools such as hierarchical observation and normalizing judgment supported the MPAA in establishing itself as a censorship board and an institution that fosters self-discipline and regulation amongst its members.

4.1. The MPAA as a Disciplinary Institution

Publicly available information about the MPAA is very sparse. For my research I had to rely on texts and guidelines published on the MPAA's website, Kirby Dick's documentary *This Film Is Not Yet Rated*, and information from scholarly articles and studies. One of the many criticisms that surround the MPAA is that it operates out of an invisible space. Its internal structure and day-to-day operations are not made public. Therefore, little is known about the exact ratings process itself and how decisions are made. Part of the public discourse is that the MPAA was installed by the movie industry as part of the industry itself. The main goal for its implementation was to avoid government censorship and instead provide self-regulatory measures.

The ratings system functions as the MPAA's most important disciplinary tool. Officially, its main concern is to determine the age appropriateness of movie content and assign age restrictions when necessary. According to the MPAA, a board of eight to thirteen raters are working full time at the institution. All of these raters need to fulfill the job's only prerequisite of being parents because they are

supposed to represent the average American parent, which raises the question ‘How exactly does the MPAA define the average American parent?’ Furthermore, raters do not require any further knowledge about the film industry. The raters support the MPAA in creating a visible space that subjects all movies, which are submitted, to the institutions system of disciplinary power. CARA, the Classification and Rating Administration, which is a subsidiary of the MPAA, employs all raters (MPAA, Rating System 11) (In the following chapters I will solely refer to the MPAA as the overall disciplinary institution to avoid confusion between the abbreviations CARA and MPAA). The MPAA does not publish the raters’ names to protect them from external influences. Only senior raters work within the public sphere to create a sense of transparency. According to the MPAA, the ratings process itself begins with a viewing of the film where raters are present. Then all members of the ratings board discuss the movie’s content and afterwards vote on the rating. The eventual rating is based on the majority of the votes (Rating System 12). No further information on what exact criteria raters base their decisions is available.

In the documentary *This Film Is Not Yet Rated*, two former raters explain that the MPAA does not provide general guidelines or clear standards which they had to follow in order to classify films. Furthermore, they state that Joan Graves, chairwoman of the MPAA’s ratings department, is in the position to hire and fire all raters. She also examines the raters’ decisions and forces raters to vote in favor of the group and the majority. In the case of a tie, the chair is allowed to vote again. These former raters also mention that they had to sign a confidentiality agreement, which forbids them to talk about their work or release any kind of information concerning the ratings board.

Once the board decides on a rating, the filmmakers are informed of the decision. Then, senior raters specifically explain to the filmmakers why the film received its respective rating, also leaving open the opportunity to re-edit the movie and res-submit it to the ratings board (MPAA, Rating System 12). By releasing specific notes and, therefore, problematizing particular scenes, the MPAA occupies the position of a disciplinary institution and censorship board, because it forms and establishes certain truths that are either punished or gratified. Jon Lewis, author of *Hollywood vs. Hardcore*, argues that “[t]he current rating

system is a form of censorship in a kind of fundamental way because it categorizes films in advance of their release and categorized not by the people who made them but by a handful of people whose names we never know” (Film Not Yet Rated).

In case filmmakers are not willing to re-edit or self-censor their movie, they have the possibility to appeal the assigned rating. As Foucault states in his *Technologies of the Self*, resistance always accompanies power. Therefore, the appeals board creates the needed counter-dependence between power-relations and resistance. In other words, it offers the room in which the filmmakers and studios are able to respond to their subjectification. Corresponding to Foucault’s argument that subjects are not defenselessly exposed to power relations the possibility to appeal a rating allows a sense of negotiation. Although filmmakers and studios are granted a way of appealing the MPAA’s assigned rating, the overall power relations between the institution and the rest of the film industry remain unchanged. But it is exactly this form of resistance that entails the notion of freedom which is described by Foucault. The freedom to critically analyze the regimes of truth and discourses which are formed by the MPAA.

The appeals board differs from the ratings board, as it is constituted by actual members of the film industry. The MPAA does not release specific names but indicates that “the Appeals Board includes not only film making executives, but also representatives of theater owners and home video retailers [...]” (Rating System 13). After the appeals board views the film, the filmmaker and the head of the ratings board present their opinions. Then, the appeals board votes. A two-third majority is needed in order to successfully appeal a rating (Rating System 13). According to *This Film Is Not Rated Yet*, members of the clergy and the MPAA’s attorneys are also present during the screening and the subsequent discussion of the film, although the MPAA does not officially confirm this information. The two priests, one Catholic and one Episcopalian, do not cast a vote, but they supposedly contribute a sense of transparency because although appeal hearings cannot be broadcasted, according to former MPAA president Jack Valenti involving representatives of the clergy comforts the public. All in all, the public is not informed of who actually rates films and attends appeal hearings. Therefore, the appeals board and the ratings board function on a very secretive

and non-transparent level and the movies and filmmakers that try to appeal a rating are placed in the visible space and subjected to the MPAA's disciplinary power.

The MPAA does not only discipline and regulate movie content but the institution also incorporates the field of movie advertising into its system of disciplinary power. Every movie that is subjected to the ratings process is ordered to submit its entire advertising before it is released to the public. "This includes theatrical, home video and online trailers, print ads, radio and TV spots, press kits, billboards, bus shelters, posters and other promotional materials" (MPAA, Rating System 17). These advertising materials are only approved when the MPAA decides that they are appropriate for all ages. The MPAA does accept advertising that is mature or stronger in content, but certain rules apply. For example, TV ads with adult content are only allowed to appear at particular times during the day. Theatrical trailers that the MPAA claims include material which is not appropriate for children are only allowed to be screened before similarly rated films (MPAA, Rating System 17). In contrast to the ratings process, the MPAA does not offer an appeals board for its decisions concerning advertising and key art. Therefore, as a disciplinary institution the MPAA censors posters, billboards, trailer, etc. and forces its regime of truth onto filmmakers and movie studios.

The members of the MPAA are the six major movie studios in the United States. The Big Six are Universal Pictures, Paramount Pictures, Warner Bros. Pictures, 20th Century Fox, Columbia Pictures, and Walt Disney Pictures. According to Kirby Dick's documentary *This Film Is Not Yet Rated*, these corporations control more than 95% of the US film business. Furthermore, these studios are part of bigger business conglomerates. Columbia Pictures is owned by Sony, Walt Disney Pictures by The Walt Disney Company, Paramount Pictures by Viacom, Warner Bros. Pictures by Time Warner, Universal Pictures by Comcast, and 20th Century Fox belongs to News Corp. These media conglomerates control and own more than 90% of all media in the United States.

All members of the MPAA have agreed on using and adhering to the MPAA's ratings system. As a result, every movie that is produced by one of the Big Six studios is ordered to acquire a rating (MPAA, Rating System 5). Since the studios are members and sponsors of the MPAA, its movie classification system is

considered to evoke self-regulation instead of censorship because it operates from within the industry. Furthermore, the MPAA claims that the ratings system is voluntary, thus, it does not bear the legal possibility to censor movie content. But the agreement amongst the biggest studios to rate all movies relativizes the voluntary quality of the ratings system. The MPAA corresponds to criticism of censorship by arguing that “[t]he biggest misconception facing the rating system is that it exists for any other purpose than to inform parents about the content of films”, adding that “[f]ilm ratings do not assess the value or social worth of a movie or censor any aspect of a film” (Rating System 6). In contrast to these statements, the MPAA released a commercial in the 1960s, which introduced the ratings system to the public and explicitly referred to the “Motion Picture Code of Self-Regulation” (ThePublicDomainGuide). It indicates that the MPAA claims to have shifted its official focus away from being an integrated element of the movie industry to a solely neutral informant. Due to the fact that the MPAA produces a disciplinary system of power and enforces power relations, it is not possible to simply occupy an informative position but rather shape, regulate and form those who are subjected to the system.

4.1.1. The MPAA’s Hierarchical Observation

Today, the MPAA concentrates on classifying movie content in ways that provide parents with information to decide whether a movie is appropriate for their children. “The MPAA rating system is the most widely available movie rating system in the United States, it is the only rating that currently appears on DVD/VHS covers, is listed in theaters when movies are released, and appears on all advertising materials for films” (Tickle et al. 757). As Foucault states, discipline as a regulatory technique makes those who are subjected to it visible. Disciplinary institutions need to place subjects in a visible space to classify and regulate them. According to Foucault, permanent observation is not possible. As a consequence, the disciplinary gaze requires a hierarchical surveillance. This hierarchy enforces disciplinary power relations within a network of specified units to support the underlying system of power. Foucault’s theory of hierarchical observation can be applied to describe the MPAA’s function. Due to the fact that

the MPAA is comprised of the biggest movie studios in the United States, its ratings system occupies a monopolistic position within the film industry. Consequently, it creates a visible space because, as already mentioned, all movies produced by MPAA members need to obtain a rating before they are theatrically released. Therefore, all these movies are placed within a visible space and are subjected to a disciplinary surveillance. Subsequently, although the MPAA claims that their ratings system is voluntary, I argue that its operating disciplinary system of power establishes the classificatory system as a regulatory component within the American movie industry. The ratings' position as a necessity is further enforced by the MPAA's collaboration with the NATO (National Association of Theater Owners). The NATO functions as another sponsor to the ratings system and theaters are therefore obliged to enforce the ratings by supervising the age restrictions (MPAA, FAQ). Furthermore, the NATO lobbied with the MPAA to only screen films that have received an official rating. Thus, independent movie studios are required to obtain MPAA ratings as well in order to release their films in theater chains that are part of the NATO (Sandler 75). As a consequence, disciplinary power constructs a visible space, which subjects both MPAA members and independent filmmakers to the MPAA's hierarchical observation. Filmmakers and studios are aware of the omnipresence of the disciplinary gaze. But they are also aware that a movie release presupposes a rating. Therefore, film studios contractually require filmmakers to produce movies that will provide the best rating possible (Leon, *Rated Sex* 73). As a consequence, the disciplinary gaze of the ratings system influences and regulates movie content. Thus, hierarchical observation supports the MPAA's disciplinary system of power to enforce power relations not only between the institution itself and movie studios but also between studios and filmmakers. Individualizing the disciplinary gaze guarantees the ongoing surveillance of subjects within the visible space.

The appeals board, as a tool of the disciplinary system of power, extends the MPAA's visibility because its members are part of the MPAA and the NATO. Therefore, every decision is embedded within the institution's established power relations. Furthermore, according to the MPAA, senior raters routinely review scripts and consult filmmakers to share their knowledge about the rating

guidelines (Rating System 12). Therefore, they individualize the process of surveillance and support the disciplinary gaze within the hierarchical observation.

Following Foucault's theory, the MPAA's hierarchical observation is administered through a network of power relations, which forms a hierarchy of surveillance. Therefore, the MPAA, as a disciplinary institution, does not possess power in the form of property, but uses it as a strategy to enforce disciplinary power relations.

4.2. Ratings as Normalizing Judgment

For Foucault, normalizing judgment occupies a central position within disciplinary systems of power. As discussed in Chapter Two, normalization is exercised over behavior and conduct of individuals on various levels of social life. Non-confirmative behavior is punished by micro-penalties. Simultaneously, normalizing judgment also rewards confirmative conduct with privileges through a system of gratification. The same theory can be applied to the MPAA's ratings system. As already mentioned before, the rating system serves as a key tool in the disciplinary system of power that is employed by the MPAA. Similar to Foucault's genealogical method, an analysis of the ratings system's historic development will provide additional information to allow us to fully understand its censorship function and normalizing qualities.

4.2.1. Historic Development

According to Sandler (2001), since their establishment in 1968, the ratings have been subject to various alterations, although the underlying function has remained unchanged. The main aim of the ratings system is to classify movie content in terms of its appropriateness for children and teenagers. In the beginning, the letters G, M, R, and X indicated whether a film's content was suitable for children or aimed towards adults. In fact, one of the reasons why the MPAA replaced the Production Code with the new ratings system was the rising number of movies that were primarily targeted at an adult audience. Furthermore,

various other factors determined the end of the production code area. Losing its monopoly over movie exhibition, the arrival of foreign films in the US market and the loss of a core audience required the movie industry to restructure its output and audiences. Especially children and young adults emerged as a new target audience that was willing to pay for movie tickets. Due to the fact that the Production Code, serving as a strict moral guideline, was heavily criticized and in order to compete with the changing environment, the MPAA created a new classification system. Subsequently, on the one hand, they were able to satisfy the need for more adult themed entertainment without exposing children to inappropriate content and on the other hand they were able to market films directly at a younger audience (Sandler 69). Today, the established abbreviations G, PG, PG-13, R, and NC-17 follow the same purpose of indicating a level of appropriateness. In terms of censorship, the R and NC-17 (formerly X) rating provide the most controversial cases and overall historic development.

In 1968, when the new classification system was introduced, everyone under the age of eighteen was denied access to movies rated X. During the time of the PCA, Hollywood produced movies that were suitable for everyone. By explicitly formulating age restrictions, audiences for certain movies became, for the very first time, very limited. “The X rating automatically excluded at least 25 percent of Hollywood’s potential audience, reduced a film’s potential earnings, and violated the industry’s commitment to mass entertainment” (Sandler 71). At first, Hollywood capitalized on the allure of the X rating and the newly found freedom that had been absent during the Production Code. Movies for adult audiences promised to be uncensored and spectacular. But soon, movie studios realized that due to the amount of restrictions X-rated productions are confronted with, it was not possible to release a profitable movie beyond the R rating. Therefore, films were edited down in order to avoid X ratings. By editing movie content to conform to CARA’s requirements of R ratings, movie studios were able to address a much larger audience and, thus, increase their overall profit. This form of self-regulation led to an almost complete elimination of X rated productions and, consequently, contributed to the stigmatization of the strictest category.

Another important factor that led to the general avoidance of the X rating was the adult film industry. After introducing the new ratings system, the MPAA did

not protect it as a trademark. Subsequently, pornographers and producers, who tried to bypass the rating fee, seized the X for their own benefit, to promote their own productions and to take advantage of the ratings resonating appeal. Thus, the general public started to link the X to pornography and explicitness, especially in sexual terms (Sandler 71).

Shortly after the rating system became the industry's new tool for censorship and self-regulation, movie studios started to censor their productions to avoid an X rating. It was common practice that for the MPAA to examine scripts and give advice on which parts of the movies needed to be cut or altered in order to receive an R rating. Although the MPAA never confirmed any form of censorship on their part, they installed an unwritten set of rules and guidelines. By reading scripts and recommending edits, the MPAA created a visible space within the movie industry that was used to grade, rank, and classify film content. Content that the MPAA perceived as inappropriate was punished, since disciplinary power tries to correct non-confirmative behavior. The X rating served as the punishment because it greatly affected a movie's liability within the public sphere and restricted the potential audience, reducing the eventual profit. Therefore, the implied normalization was accomplished through self-regulation.

In 1970, two years after the advent of the ratings system, the MPAA raised the age limit of the R rating from sixteen to seventeen. Thereby, they tried to include content that was previously attributed to the X rating, so that filmmakers were urged to completely avoid the X as a possible rating (Sandler 72). On a superficial level, it can be argued that the MPAA opened up its standards and offered more freedom but ultimately it added to the stigmatization of the X rating. Over a short period of time, the MPAA formed a discourse which created a certain knowledge about the X rating. This knowledge implied that the avoidance of the X was gratified, whereas films receiving the highest level of restriction could not compete on a cultural and economic level.

At first, it was mainly the MPAA members, the dominating movie studios, which were affected by the normalization of film content. But already by the early 1970s, "more independent distributors were complying with the system and submitting their products for classification so they could secure bookings in better houses" (Sandler 73). After the limitations by the production code were

abandoned, independent studios and productions enjoyed greater artistic freedom because they were not bound to the movie studio system. Independent films were able to depict topics that were off-limits for the bigger studios but by subjecting to the MPAA ratings system, independent studios imposed the same restrictions on their films that were previously only applied to MPAA members. Thus, the MPAA's normalizing gaze started to extend its influence, establishing the institution's regimes of truth as valid for the entire movie industry.

The X rating established itself as a general symbol for obscene and inappropriate content. "[T]he major studios all but abandoned the X after 1971" (Sandler 74). The public interpreted the movie industry's avoidance of the X as an increasing trend towards more appropriate material. Therefore, the regulation of the other ratings faced less criticism. The stigmatization also enhanced the industry's economic position, because it continued to produce films that were appropriate for all audiences with almost no attached restrictions (Sandler 74-75).

Filmmakers and critics heavily criticized the stigmatization of the X and the resulting censorship and imposed self-regulation. Adult themes and content was rarely represented in movies, due to the omnipresent awareness of punishment. It took the MPAA almost twenty years to react. In 1990, then president of the MPAA Jack Valenti announced that the X rating would be renamed NC-17 in order to dissolve all negative connotations. The NC-17 adopted the restriction previously represented by the X, namely, children under seventeen were banned from watching these films. The solely visible change was the new name. Consequently, after what seemed a new stance on adult themed content and free expression, the NC-17 inherited the stigmatization of the X rating. Even the MPAA itself was aware of the similarities between the two ratings. In its press release, ironically titled *Major Changes for Motion Picture Rating System*, the MPAA states: "The criteria for films rated NC-17 – no children under 17 admitted – will continue to be evaluated as X-rated films have been in the past [...]" (qtd. in Sandler 76). Movie studios refrained from producing adult themed material beyond the R rating because the MPAA did not provide the important and profound reevaluation of the ratings system that was needed to reduce acts of censorship and self-regulation. As a result, the NC-17 rating was and is still today associated with obscene and explicitly sexual content.

In addition to the reluctance of studios to embrace the NC-17 as an option, the NATO (National Association of Theater Owners) and its exhibitors did not update their stance on adult cinema. They simply refused to screen films that were rated NC-17 in their theaters. Since the NATO represents, amongst others, the country's largest theater chains, the economic and cultural impact and significance of the NC-17 remained minimalistic. Furthermore, video retail chains, such as Blockbuster Video or Wal-Mart, issued statements saying that they did not distribute movies that were rated NC-17, partly because they wanted to avoid protests from certain religious and family organizations (Sandler 76). Therefore, the NC-17 remained stigmatized and adult themed cinema constantly faced censorship and self-regulation in order to punishment by the MPAA.

The MPAA has not altered its ratings system since the 1990s. The NC-17 is still attached with negative connotations and is seen as an obstacle to box office success.

DVD rental and theater chains have not changed their policies and refuse to distribute and screen movies beyond the R rating. For the aforementioned reasons, independent movie studios and MPAA members try to circumvent the NC-17 by avoiding explicit topics and depictions and by self-censoring movie content.

4.2.2. Process of Normalization

As already mentioned, Foucault identifies normalization as an important instrument of disciplinary power. In the case of the MPAA, the ratings system occupies the position of the instrument of normalizing judgment. The historic development of the ratings system shows that the individual ratings imply multiple consequences in addition to its regulatory position. Therefore, it is not simply a system of age restrictions but of disciplinary power relations that evoke processes of censorship and self-regulation.

The MPAA assigns each rating with a definition of appropriateness. These definitions determine which content is allowed to be included in a movie. Although the MPAA does not provide an official set of rules and guidelines, filmmakers need to follow these definitions in order to receive the designated

rating. As a result of historic developments, cultural definitions and collective memories added negative connotations to the ratings, especially the R and NC-17.

The MPAA provides the following summary of definitions in their *Classification and Rating Rules*. Movies that are rated G are open for all ages. This rating does not involve any kind of age restriction. Films rated G do not contain scenes of nudity, drug abuse, sex, and strong language that parents would find inappropriate for children. But the MPAA clarifies that these films cannot be strictly categorized as children's movies. Language can cross the line of politeness but only as "common everyday expressions" (Rating Rules 7). The MPAA suggests parental guidance for movies rated PG because they might contain themes that could be unsuitable for children. These films might contain some strong language, some light violence and brief scenes of nudity. The depicted material does not necessarily require parents to react in any ways beyond parental guidance. PG-13 represents an increase in material that might be unsuitable for children under the age of thirteen. Films that are depicting any form of drug use or will automatically require at least a PG-13 rating. The same response applies to scenes which contain "more than brief nudity" but usually, in PG-13 movies nudity "will not be sexually oriented" (7). Violence is only depicted in an unrealistic manner but can exceed depictions in PG movies. The use of stronger language might occur. "[The] single use of one of the harsher sexually-derived words, though only as an expletive, initially requires a PG-13 rating" (7-8). If one of these words is used more than once or once referring to the actual sexual activity, the film automatically receives an R rating. However, the MPAA states that raters depend their ratings decision on the context in which these words are used. The R rating initiates the concept of age restriction. The MPAA requires parents or an adult guardian to accompany children under the age of 17. Films that received an R rating can contain sexual themes, strong language, sexualized nudity, extreme violence, and drug abuse. Furthermore, the MPAA advises parents to be very cautious about these movies and adds "Generally, it is not appropriate for parents to bring their young children with them to R-rated motion pictures" (8). The final rating is the NC-17. Children seventeen or under are not admitted to these films. The MPAA considers NC-17 movies to contain material that is too strong for children 17 and under. Nonetheless, they explicitly indicate

that NC-17 does not automatically refer to pornography or obscene content. The rating should help parents to identify films that include scenes of strong “violence, sex, aberrational behavior, drug abuse or any other element that most parents would consider too strong and therefore off-limits for viewing by their children” (8).

In the MPAA’s system of disciplinary power, the regime of truth is formulated and executed through the ratings system. Discourses such as violence and sexuality are divided into levels of appropriateness. These levels are assigned to certain ratings and therefore, construct various criteria, which need to be observed. Violations of these criteria are punished in the form of a more restrictive rating, as normalizing judgment punishes non-confirmative behavior. Foucault places bodies and individuals as subjects in the center of his micro penalties. In the case of the MPAA, movies occupy the place of bodies and are therefore, subjected to the MPAA’s regime of truth.

In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault presents the fields that he argues are observed by normalizing forces. These fields are time, behavior, speech, body, and sexuality (178). The ratings system judges and classifies the exact same issues. In their decisions which movie qualifies for which rating the MPAA focuses mainly on violence, sex, and language, as these topics are discussed in the definitions of each respective rating. According to their *Classification and Rating Rules*, the MPAA judges acts of violence and sex in terms of their explicitness. Moreover, the MPAA clearly indicates that a more realistic portrayal of sex and violence is considered inappropriate and will affect the eventual rating. A concentration of violent and sexual scenes within movies also results in a more restrictive rating. It has to be mentioned that research indicates that the MPAA punishes, i.e. censors and normalizes, sexual content more frequently and to a greater degree than violence. Leone (2002) analyzed movie sequences that were removed from unrated or NC-17 rated movies in order to obtain an R rating. Indeed, his research shows that compared to violent material, scenes depicting sexual behavior were more often either edited or completely removed. It shows that within its disciplinary system of power, the MPAA focuses its corrective mechanisms particularly on sexual discourses. When it comes to language, certain words are attached with negative connotations. These words are counted by raters

and are not allowed to exceed a numerical limit, which is defined by the MPAA and its violation is automatically subject to punishment. Similar to the MPAA's normalizing focus on sexual topics and depictions, expletives that refer to sexual acts are considered much less appropriate and are therefore, subjected to stricter regulation. Furthermore, behavior such as drug abuse and the so-called aberrational behavior are also taken into account to classify film content. By classifying some behavior as aberrational, the MPAA establishes a categorizing hierarchy of behavior. This hierarchy constructs norms and expectations, which function as an underlying comparative and classifying standard. Film content that departs from this standard is deemed to be non-confirmative. Hence, it is judged as a violation of the normalized standard. This hierarchy implicates processes of self-regulation and censorship. As Foucault states, individuals are aware that certain behavior is resulting in disciplinary punishment. Filmmakers obtain knowledge of potential punishments that are provoked by depictions of certain behavior and topics, leading to an avoidance of these depictions in order to secure a less restrictive rating.

Bodies are frequently problematized in terms of their nudity. In the ratings process, the MPAA differentiates between short scenes of nudity and nudity that is referring to sexual behavior. According to the MPAA, brief nudity requires at least a PG-13 rating whereas nudity in connection with sexuality immediately receives an R rating. Since disciplinary power enforces truths and discourses of what is considered appropriate and inappropriate through normalizing judgment, the MPAA categorizes discourses in the field of sex and sexuality as more problematic and therefore, utilizes the ratings system as a technique for normalization.

Another form of punishment is executed in the form of rating fees. Movie studios and filmmakers have to pay certain amounts of money in order to acquire a rating. According to the MPAA's *Agreement to Submit Motion Picture for Rating*, movies are classified in three different categories. These categories are based on a movie's budget. Movie productions with a higher budget have to pay higher rating fees. These fees range from a minimum of \$2,500 to a maximum of \$25,000. Every time a movie is re-submitted, the studio has to pay \$2,500. Therefore, violating the MPAA's discourse of appropriateness does not solely

result in a restrictive rating but also inflicts a monetary punishment, which enforces the disciplinary quality of the ratings system.

As already mentioned before, the MPAA regulates film advertising very restrictively. The institution establishes a set of discourses, which indicates levels of appropriateness for advertising material. According to the *Advertising Administration Rules*, “final approval of advertising is given only when its final form is deemed acceptable by the Advertising Administration [...]” (2). In order to receive a final approval, filmmakers and studios have to subject to the MPAA’s regime of truth, which in the case of advertising is an explicitly listed set of rules and guidelines. The MPAA also clearly states that violations of these rules are sanctioned. These sanctions include amongst others suspension of the ratings process or revocation of a previously assigned rating (MPAA, Advertising Rules, 14). The strict enforcement of discourses concerned with advertising and the punishment of violations establish disciplinary knowledge amongst studios and filmmakers and foster self-discipline and self-regulation.

For Foucault, normalizing judgment operates on two levels. On the first one punishment is executed. The second level implements gratification to reward good and confirmative conduct. Movies which adhere to the MPAA’s established regime of truth are rewarded with less restrictive ratings. The ratings G, PG, and PG-13 receive hardly any restrictions. Therefore, they do not limit a movie’s access to audiences. Furthermore, the less restrictive ratings, as shown in the historic development, imply greater economic significance for movie studios, compared to the R and NC-17 ratings. Following Foucault’s theory, potential gratification and punishment encourage individuals to subject themselves to processes of self-regulation. As a result, filmmakers and movie studios regulate their choices of discourse and behavior in order to avoid punishment and receive gratification. Hence, the MPAA is normalizing movie content with the employment of a ratings system as a disciplinary tool.

The MPAA’s instrument of normalizing judgment differs slightly from Foucault’s theory in one point. According to Foucault, punishment and gratification are executed in a repetitive regulatory pattern. Due to the fact that the MPAA does not provide a defined set of guidelines, punishments for similar non-confirmative discourses are subject to possible disparities. Jenkins et al. (2005)

argue that the MPAA's classification of violence varies severely within each rating. Their study shows that although R rated films generally include more acts of violence; the ratings system clearly lacks consistency in categorizing levels of violence. Severe violent content was found in PG and PG-13 movies, despite the fact that the MPAA claims to only include "some depictions of violence" that "are not deemed so intense" in PG movies and "depictions of violence" that are "generally not both realistic and extreme or persistent in violence" in PG-13 movies (Rating Rules 7). Furthermore, Tickle et al. (2009) state that they also found "a substantial degree of overlap of sexual content in movies across all rating categories" (764). According to their study, the ratings system also does not provide a general pattern for alcohol and tobacco use throughout the individual ratings. In summary, the MPAA does not provide an unambiguous pattern of punishment and gratification although the institution's normalizing mechanisms provide knowledge of overall tendencies.

4.3. The MPAA's Disciplinary System of Power

Foucault describes examination as a disciplinary instrument that combines hierarchical observation and normalizing judgment, which results in a normalizing gaze. This gaze provides disciplinary institutions with a visible space, which is the essential aspect of disciplinary systems of power. It is in this visible space where individuals are subjected to regimes of truth and knowledge. The MPAA relies on the instrument of examination and its interrelated mechanisms to consolidate its position within the American film industry as a disciplinary institution.

The MPAA established a visible space that subjects all filmmakers and movie studios to the exercise of disciplinary power relations. Due to economic and cultural reasons, a great amount of movie studios in the United States submit their movies to the MPAA in order to receive a rating. Movies without ratings have fewer chances to be screened in theaters, publish advertising, and to generally be profitable. Thus, the majority of movies is subjected to the MPAA's normalizing gaze which allows the MPAA to enforce its regime of truth and discipline the

entire film industry. Consequently, the monopolistic position of the classification system ensures a constant field of visibility that provides constant subjectification of movie studios and filmmakers to the disciplinary power relations.

Furthermore, the MPAA creates visible space, as suggested by Foucault's technique of examination, by documenting various data of individual movies. This data provides information about non-confirmative behavior and is used to classify movies, as raters have to write down notes and observations during the ratings process that are used in the subsequent voting. The advertising administration also collects advertising material to review and classify its content. The collation of data supports the MPAA by highlighting common features and themes that can be identified with individual movies and specific genres.

The MPAA's disciplinary power reaches its full potential by individualizing each of the submitted movies. As a result, every individual movie is embedded in the network of power relations, because movies are rated and classified within their own individuality. The installed disciplinary power relations do not generalize their focus on, for example, specific genres or discourses, but every single movie is turned into an object of knowledge and power relations. Comparable to the concept of the Panopticon, movie studios and filmmakers are aware of the constant surveillance, which results in a process of self-regulation.

Foucault introduces his technologies of the self to analyze how individuals regulate and discipline themselves within power relations. Due to the fact that movie studios and filmmakers recognize the MPAA's position as a disciplinary institution, they are able to problematize its system of power and the resulting effects. The technologies of thought, criticism, and problematization offer filmmakers the possibility to reflect on their position as subjects of the MPAA's disciplinary mechanism of normalization. Hence, they have the choice to critically negotiate their own positions within the system of power. Nevertheless, filmmakers and studios self-regulate and self-censor their choices and depictions in order to avoid punishment mostly in the form of economic damage. The result is a disciplinary system of power that is enforced by the MPAA through the individualization of movies, hierarchical observation, and normalizing judgment.

In the following chapter I will analyze the immediate effects the MPAA's disciplinary system of power has on movie content.

5. Descriptive Shot-by-Shot Analysis

The main goal of my film analysis is to examine the development and extent of censorship and normalization in scenes of sexual violence. In order to provide a historic component, I selected three films that were released in the 1970s and their respective contemporary remakes. Analyzing remakes offers the possibility of a more accurate comparison between the corresponding movies. Due to the fact that each remake is based on the plot of the original film, both versions contain similar scenes of sexual violence, which are equally essential to their overall story. Therefore, it facilitates drawing comparisons in terms of censorship and self-regulation.

The selected films are examples of the horror and revenge genre. In more detail, I will analyze *The Last House On The Left* (1972/2009), *I Spit On Your Grave* (1978/2010), and *Straw Dogs* (1971/2011). I will select scenes and sequences of sexual violence from the unrated version of each film and compare them to the corresponding theatrical, i.e. the rated version. The comparison will indicate to which extent scenes had to be altered and cut in order to receive the R rating. Shot-by-shot analyses of the unrated scenes constitute the base for my analysis. As a next step, I will emphasize, when applicable, the differences between the unrated version and the theatrical version. Furthermore, as part of my final discussion, I will compare the movies from the 1970s with their contemporary counterparts to determine a possible increase or decrease in censorship and regulation.

The shot-by-shot analysis will provide vital information to identify the various degrees of censorship and normalization, which are employed to achieve less restricting ratings.

5.1. *Straw Dogs* 1971 & 2011

In *Straw Dogs*, David and Amy, a married couple, decide to move to the village where Amy grew up. They move into an old farmhouse and David hires Amy's former boyfriend Charlie and his friends Chris, Norman, and Riddaway to

fix the roof. Tension arises between David and the group of men. After Amy finds her cat strangled in the closet she urges David to confront them about it. He refuses, because of lack of evidence. The next day the men invite him on a hunting trip but abandon him in the forest. While David is hunting, Charlie attacks and rapes Amy in their house. Unexpectedly, Norman appears and rapes Amy too. Later one night, at a social event in the village, Amy starts feeling uncomfortable around Charlie and she and David leave early. On their way home they hit Jeremy, a mentally ill local who has accidentally killed the daughter of the town drunk that night. Tom, the girl's father, and Charlie and his friends find out that Jeremy is at the old farmhouse. They rush over and demand to talk to Jeremy. David refuses and the men try to get into the house. Only David and Amy survive the bloody battle. The remake shows hardly any differences to the original plot. The setting is changed from rural England to the countryside of Mississippi. David, instead of working as a mathematician, is a Los Angeles based screenwriter and Amy works as an actress. In the original she is portrayed as a housewife.

Sam Pechinpah, who also co-wrote the screenplay together with David Zelag Goodman, directed the original, released in 1971. Dustin Hoffman stars as David, Susan George as his wife, Del Henney portrays Charlie and Ken Hutchison plays Norman.

Rod Lurie, who also wrote the screenplay, directed the remake, which was released in 2011. James Marsden stars as David, Kate Bosworth as Amy, and Charlie is played by Alexander Skarsgård and Norman by Rhys Corio. The MPAA assigned both versions an R rating.

5.1.1. 1971 – Unrated vs. Rated-R

The selected scene from the movie takes place towards the middle of the film. The villagers invite David to a bird-hunting trip. In the forest, the men abandon David, telling him they would try to flush the animals. Charlie returns to the house. Amy opens the door and lets him into the living room where Charlie attacks and rapes Amy. Unexpectedly, Norman arrives and rapes Amy too.

Charlie just attacked Amy and threw her on the sofa. The scene starts with a close up of Charlie's face from Amy's point of view. Quite music is playing in the background. His hands are reaching down to grab her face. A reverse-angle shot follows that shows Amy's scared face, grabbed by Charlie's hands. The next shot is a full shot of Amy and Charlie lying on the sofa. He is on top, leaning towards her face to kiss her. When he kisses her, Amy is tense, trying to push him away. He stops kissing her and Amy looks up to him. Although she is not offensively resisting, she is repeatedly shaking her head and says "No" (59:29). In an over-the-shoulder shot we see Amy breathing hard. Charlie is pushing her hands down, kissing her again. The camera cuts back to the previous setting. Amy is pushing Charlie away and tries to get up. As he raises his arm and threatens to hit her, the camera cuts to another over-the-shoulder shot, looking down on Amy. A pattern of close ups and over-the-shoulder scenes follows with a short close up of Charlie's face, presenting the situation from Amy's point of view to Charlie ripping her t-shirt open to another short close up of Charlie's face before we see a medium close up of Amy's face and her hands, which are trying to cover up her breasts. She is looking up to Charlie, whose hands pull Amy's arms apart, pushing them onto the sofa. Throughout the entire shot, Amy is looking at Charlie. Then the camera cuts to a frontal medium long shot of the two lying on the sofa. Amy's breasts are exposed. Charlie is still pushing her arms down and leans forward to kiss her. Amy refuses and turns her head towards the camera. As Charlie starts kissing her face, Amy turns back to him and responds to his kisses, even embracing him with her hands. Charlie is moving his head downwards in a medium close up from a side angle. Amy is sobbing and moaning but her verbal responds is: "No, No" (1:00:24). Charlie stops and moves up to kiss her. A cut to a medium long shot accompanies his upward movement. As he is untying her bathrobe, a medium close up in a high angle of Amy's face and crossed arms is inserted. In the next shot, the camera again shows an eye-level medium long shot of the sofa on which Charlie rips off Amy's underwear. As they kiss again, the camera cuts to a medium long shot with a side angle, focusing on Amy as Charlie's face moves out of the frame. After he tosses her slip away, his hands move upwards to take off his shirt. The focus now shifts to Charlie's movement with a medium long shot from the opposite angle. Next, from a high side angle,

Amy's scared face is captured in a medium close up. She is looking up to Charlie. The camera follows her eyes and we see a medium close up of Charlie from Amy's point of view. This shot is followed by a sequence of frequent close up shots of Charlie's face and his pants while he opens them from Amy's point of view and Amy's breasts and face from Charlie's point of view. This sequence of shots is interrupted by medium shots of David on his hunting trip, sitting on a rock with a shotgun in his hand. The scene continuous with the implied penetration shot from a side angle in a medium close up to focus on Amy's reaction. Another medium shot of David is inserted, followed by a medium shot of Charlie and Amy lying on the sofa. When Amy turns her head away from Charlie the R rated version continuous. After another crosscut to David, a close up of Amy's face from a side angle appears. Charlie is lowering his head, kissing her. The scene continuous with two medium close shots of Charlie and Amy, switching from a side angle to an eye-level shot before the camera shortly tilts up to solely focus on Charlie. The upward movement is followed by two close ups of Amy's face in a high side angle. As Amy is turning her head to the side the scene cuts briefly to the fireplace. The camera is panning up to Charlie's face but immediately cuts back to Amy's face in a close up. She is looking up to Charlie and a tear is dripping down her face. But in the next shot, a medium close up of Charlie in a straight-on angle, her hands are caressing his chest and touching his face. The scene cuts back to a close up of Amy's face from a high side angle, which changes to an eye-level shot in a side angle that captures another tear running down Amy's face. Amy is slowly shaking her head, saying "Easy" (1:02:18). Then she is lifting her body up to kiss Charlie, the camera is following her. She grabs his face and the camera is panning down as she is guiding him back to the sofa to kiss him. The scene crosscuts to a medium shot of David and his gun but jumps right back to the previous shot arrangement. The camera is panning up to follow Charlie's movement. The camera focuses on Charlie for a moment before crosscutting to a long shot of David in a field. The scene cuts back to a close up of Amy's face shot from Charlie's point of view. Additionally, the camera is slightly moving up and down to mirror his perspective. Amy is moving around, moaning. A short crosscut to David appears before Charlie apologizes, "Sorry, sorry" (1:02:58) in a medium close shot. Amy repeatedly replies, "Hold me" (1:03:03).

The scene cuts back to the parallel action. After David successfully shoots a bird, a high angle medium close shot of Charlie lying on top of Amy, kissing each other, is presented. A big close up of Charlie's face as he is looking up, introduces a new element to the scene. The next cut shows a close up of a double-barreled gun from Charlie's point of view. The camera is tilting up to a medium close up of Norman's face. An alternating sequence of big close ups of Charlie's face and medium shots of Norman pointing his shotgun at Charlie follows. Norman indicates with his gun that he wants Charlie move away from Amy, but Charlie shakes his head. Norman moves closer and the scene cuts to a high side angle medium close up of Charlie's back and the camera is slightly zooming out to show Charlie on top of Amy. A medium shot of Norman shows him undressing before a close up of Amy's face appears. She is now on the sofa, lying on her stomach. In a medium shot, Norman opens his pants. A short cut back to Amy indicates that she is not aware of Norman's presence. Norman is leaning down on the sofa and continuous to open his pants. The scene continues with a close up of Amy's face. As she sees Norman, she tries to get up but Charlie is holding her down. The camera is following her movement. After a big close up of Charlie's face looking down on Amy and side angle close up of his back and his hand pushing down Amy, medium close ups of Norman from a low angle indicate the implied penetration. These shots are interrupted by close ups of Amy's face as she looks back and is repeatedly screaming "No" (1:05.15). A cross cut to a medium shot of David precedes a short medium shot of Charlie holding down Amy and Norman penetrating her. Another sequence of close ups of Amy's face in pain and Charlie's finger caressing her cheek follows before a big close up sets the focus on Charlie who is first looking down at Amy, then his eyes move over to Norman. The camera is slightly following his movement. The next shots are again a close up of Amy's face and a crosscut to David who is about to leave the woods. Another close up of Charlie's back is added to show that he is still holding her down. As he moves his head up to look at Norman, the camera follows Charlie's movement in a close up. The next cut shows Norman in a medium close up from a low angle, still penetrating Amy. Yet another cut focuses on Amy's face in pain and as Norman stops, a medium close up of him getting up is added. In a big close up Charlie is looking up to Norman. In a reverse angle shot Norman is seen

picking up his gun. Charlie looks down at Amy and the scene cuts to a medium close up of Amy's back in a side angle. Charlie's hands let go of Amy and he is getting up. The scene ends with Charlie looking down on Amy followed by a big close up of Amy's face.

The two rape scenes were heavily censored and cut down in order to obtain an R-rating. Only a few shots were removed from the first scene and the overall sequence of shots remained intact. The implied penetration in the beginning was avoided by cutting out the medium close ups of Amy's face (Figure 1-2) as well as two following medium close ups of Amy, which were cut in order to reduce the length of the rape (Figure 3-4). The second rape scene was heavier censored than the first scene. The original sequence of shots was completely eliminated and replaced by a different order. From the moment when Norman opens his pants in a close up (Figure 5) till the end of the scene, the R rated version has been altered. The implied penetration is completely cut out, as well as all the medium close ups and close ups of Amy and Charlie. The new order begins with the same close up of Norman's pants but is followed by a newly arranged series of close ups of Amy and Charlie (Figure 5-15). Therefore, in order to avoid lengthy rape scenes, the R rated version only contains reduced depictions and by eliminating close ups of Amy's face in pain the scene's strength and the intensity decreased.

5.1.2. 2011 – Rated-R

The main difference between the 2011 remake and the original is that the movie studio did not release an unrated cut. The theatrical version is identical to the one that is available on DVD. As a consequence, a comparison between the R-rated version and an unrated counterpart is not possible. Nonetheless, the non-existence of an unrated version of the remake's sexual violent scene shows that the MPAA's disciplinary system of power fosters self-regulation and normalization. In the 2011 version, the scene is set up in the exact same way. The men lurk David away from the house and Charlie attacks Amy in the living room.

The scene begins with a medium long shot of Charlie and Amy on the sofa. Charlie is on top of her. She is trying to push him away and urges him to "Stop it!" (1:00:49). A series of matched cuts narrate Charlie's attempt to rip off Amy's

underwear. First the scene cuts to a medium shot of Amy lying on the sofa and Charlie's hands, which are moving down the side of her body. The camera is panning along as Charlie removes her underwear and Amy is trying to cover herself. A close up of her feet is shown as Charlie completely pulls off her slip. This shot is followed by a short medium close up of Charlie from a side angle. The scene cuts back to Amy's face in a close up, quickly panning down to her hand with which she is trying to cover herself. The camera immediately pans back to Amy's face and the next shot is a medium close up of Charlie from a low side angle, leaning towards Amy, pushing her down with his hands. Amy is looking up to him; his hand is touching her cheek. A close up of Charlie from a low angle is followed a reverse-angle shot of Amy. Charlie is seen taking his shirt off in a medium shot and is still looking down on Amy. A crosscut takes the scene to David who is wandering around in the forest. Following a close up of his gun, the scene continuous with a medium close up of Charlie's face and chest form a low angle. The sound effects imply that he is opening his belt. A close up of Amy's face shows her looking up to Charlie. She has tears in her eyes. Charlie continues to open his pants. Through close up of his hands and stomach he is implicitly shown opening the buttons of his jeans. The camera is peding up to his face and cuts back to a close up of Amy's face from a side angle. She starts yelling and tries to push Charlie away. He is leaning forward, grabs her hands and moves closer to kiss her. The moment before the kiss, the scene cuts to a medium long shot of the two on the sofa. A matched cut to a close up from a side angle draws the attention to their faces as he kisses her. An over-the-shoulder shot shows Amy's face with her eyes closed and Charlie who leans in to give her another kiss. For a brief moment the scene cuts to David in the forest in a medium shot filmed from behind. Back in the house, another short medium long shot of Charlie lying on top of Amy. Cut back to the parallel action, a frontal medium shot of David is followed by another medium shot from behind. A big close up in the form of an over-the-shoulder shot focuses on Amy's face and is followed by a close up of Charlie's hand grabbing Amy's thigh. The scene crosscuts to a close up of David's shoes as he is walking through the forest and a close up of his gun from a side angle before another short medium long shot of the sofa and Charlie and Amy. Cut back to David, in a medium shot the camera is positioned behind David

and is panning around him till a deer appears on the screen. The scene cuts back to a medium close up of Charlie from a side angle as he asks Amy "Did you miss me baby?" (1:01:63). In response, a close up of Amy's almost motionless face from a high angle appears. She does not say anything before another jump cut to David as he is aiming his gun. The following cut uses the previous setting and as Charlie leans in to kiss Amy, the scene cuts to a side angle close up of the kiss with Charlie occupying most of the space. David appears again in close ups of his face as he is aiming the gun, in between appears a close up of the deer. As David hesitates to shoot, the scene briefly cuts to a big close up of Amy and Charlie from a side angle. Amy tries to kiss Charlie but struggles and turns away. He is still on top of her. Another close up of David aiming his gun is inserted and a cut to a medium close up shows David from behind and the deer in the background. The scene cuts back to Amy and Charlie as a sequence of close ups initiates the end of the rape. Amy's is shown touching Charlie's chest, followed by a quick close up of Charlie from a side angle. A close up of Amy and another close up of Charlie kissing Amy precede a crosscut to David in a close up, shooting the deer. The camera position changes again and the deer falls to the ground. Cut back to a close up of Charlie from a side angle as he is moaning heavily. A close up from an over-the-shoulder angle focuses on Amy's face. Her eyes are closed. Jump cut to David dropping the gun and back to Charlie. He is leaning towards Amy. The camera follows his movement. He is looking at Amy. A close up of Amy's face shows her extreme discomfort. Her eyes are still closed. The scene continues with successive close ups of Amy's and Charlie's face. He wants her to look at him. The sequence is interrupted by a close up of David. Amy's face is shown in a close up again. She is looking away from Charlie. A panning shot of framed photos of a girl is inserted imitating Amy's point of view before a jump cut to a record player indicates a new turn in action. A hand is seen lowering the needle. Music starts playing. A reaction shot of Amy in the form of close up of from a low angle is followed by a medium close up of Charlie as he is turning in the direction of the noise. The camera imitates his movement and cuts back to the record player. A medium shot of the sofa from a side angle precedes a sequence of close ups which depict Amy's struggle to get Charlie off her. In the final close up of Charlie, Norman appears blurry in the background. As Charlie lets go of Amy,

Norman quickly moves in, grabs her feet, flips her over and implicitly throws her over the back of the sofa. Amy is screaming. A close up of the record player is inserted before a close up of Amy's face from a side angle show her screaming. The scene cuts to a frontal medium shot Charlie who is standing up and looking at the second rape. The camera follows his movements as he is sitting down and is slowly tracking in on a close up of his face. A bird's eye shot of David cuts to the parallel action. He is approaching the dead deer. After a cut to a low angle close up of David's face and the deer's antlers, a brief close up of Norman and Amy cuts back to the second rape. Another sequence of close ups is used to jump back and forth between the second rape and the parallel action, although more content is shown of David. A close up of David's face is followed by a close up of his hand, touching the deer. Next is a close up of Norman's hand touching Amy's back and the sequence concludes with another close up of David's hand and the camera is panning up to his face. The scene proceeds with a close up of Amy from a side angle. She is crying. Norman lets go of her and the camera pans over to a medium shot of Charlie. He is getting up and puts on his shirt. The camera follows his movement and pans back to Amy and pans down as she is sobbingly sitting down on the floor. The camera focuses Amy as the two men are leaving the house.

The rape scene of the remake is considerably less explicit, compared to the unrated original and shows significant similarities to R rated version of the original film. Both versions avoid a lengthy depiction of the actual rape in order to reduce controversial content. This can be interpreted as a gradual process of self-regulation, which is imposed by the disciplinary power of the ratings system. Whereas in the 1970s, the original rape scenes did not avoid explicit shots and sequences, which the MPAA later censored, the remake did not include controversial content but filmed the scene in a way to avoid punishment in the form of censorship.

5.2. I Spit On Your Grave 1978 & 2010

I Spit On Your Grave is a rape and revenge horror film, originally released in 1978. The story follows Jennifer, a short story writer from New York, who rents a cabin in the countryside to find inspiration for her novel. A group of men, Johnny, Stanley, Andy, and Matthew, notice her and lurk around her cabin. One day they attack and gang rape her in the woods and in her house. Afterwards, Johnny sends Matthew back to the house to kill her in order to avoid any witnesses. Matthew is not able to do it but tells the gang that she is dead. Jennifer recovers from the assault and in the second part of the movie she hunts down each of the men to torture and kill them. The remake follows the basic original storyline. Jennifer is still a writer but another character is added to the plot. Sheriff Storch is involved with the gang and also rapes Jennifer. The ways in which Jennifer seeks revenge in the later part of the film also differ from the original.

Meir Zarchi, who also wrote the screenplay, directed the 1971 original. Camille Keaton stars as Jennifer. Eron Taber, Richard Pace, Anthony Nichols, and Gunter Kleemann portray Johnny, Matthew, Stanley, and Andy respectively.

Steven R. Monroe directed the remake, which was released in 2009, and Stuart Morse wrote the screenplay. Sarah Butler stars as Jennifer. Jeff Branson, Chad Lindberg, Daniel Franzese, Rodney Eastman, and Andrew Howard portray Johnny, Matthew, Stanley, Andy, and Sheriff Storch respectively.

5.2.1. 1978 – Unrated vs. Rated-R

The original version of *I Spit On Your Grave* depicts three sexual violent scenes occurring at three different locations. These scenes are vital to the later development of the plot.

The gang has just assaulted Jennifer, ripped her clothes off and is holding her down to the ground. Johnny is about to rape her and takes off his clothes in a long shot. The scene cuts to a close up of Jennifer's face from a high angle. She urges them to stop but a cut back to the previous setting shows Johnny further undressing. It continues with an alternating sequence of two medium close ups of Jennifer and two medium long shots of Johnny and the gang. The last long shot

depicts Johnny keeling before Jennifer and is followed by a medium close up of Johnny from a low angle, as he is about to penetrate Jennifer. The scene switches to a medium close shot of Jennifer and Johnny on top of her from a side angle. Another sequence of reverse angle shots, consisting of five medium close ups, is intersected, alternating between Johnny's face and Jennifer's face, depicting their facial reactions. In contrast to Johnny's shots, which are filmed from a low angle, Jennifer is depicted from above in order to show the different hierarchical positions of the characters in this scene. After Johnny's final shot, a type of over-the-shoulder shot captures the situation from a side angle. It shows Johnny's backside and Jennifer lying on the ground. Andy shortly appears in a medium close shot holding down Amy's arms. A medium close up of Johnny's face restores the focus on him before the camera again shows Jennifer's reaction. The scene cuts back to lengthy medium close shot from a side angle that shows Johnny penetrating Jennifer. Two more medium close ups of Johnny and Amy are intersected before the scene cuts to Matthew in a medium close shot. An additional medium close shot of Jennifer lying below Johnny is followed by two medium close shots of Andy and Matthew respectively before the scene to the preceding shot of Jennifer and Johnny. Johnny's orgasm is captured in a close up before he is lowering down on Jennifer in yet another medium close shot from a side angle. The camera stays in this position for a couple of seconds before it cuts to a long shot of Johnny lying on top of Jennifer. Matthew is getting up, looking down on Johnny. The camera is tilting up to follow his movement in a medium shot. Johnny is still on top of Jennifer, depicted in the same type of shot that was previously used for this position. A long shot shows Johnny as he attempts to let go of Jennifer. The moment he lifts his body, the scene cuts to a close up of him from a low angle. The scene ends with a medium close shot of Jennifer from a side angle. She is trying to get up. The camera is following her movement.

In the R-rated version, the scene of the first rape contains a significant amount of changes. Several shots have been replaced or completely cut while other shots are used repeatedly to balance the cuts. The reverse angle shots of Jennifer and Johnny at the beginning of the scene have been entirely removed from the theatrical version (Figure 16-20). After the first medium close shot of Matthew the rated version continues with seven alternating shots between Andy and

Matthew (Figure 21-22). The next shot in the new sequence is a medium close shot of Jennifer and Johnny (Figure 23) which is followed by two close ups (Figure 24-25) before shots of Andy and Matthew are repeated again (Figure 21-22).

The second rape scene takes place shortly after the first. In between these two scenes, Jennifer is wandering through the woods, trying to find a way out. The men catch up with her and this time Andy is raping her. In a long shot, the men are carrying Jennifer towards a rock. The camera is panning along. Andy shouts to Matthew, who is hiding in the bushes, to come closer. A medium close shot of Matthew, as he walks towards them, is followed by a medium long shot of the men trying to push Jennifer down on the rock. Matthew is entering the frame on the left side. Matthew looks down on Jennifer in a medium close shot and as the scene cuts to another medium long shot he grabs one of her arms. Andy jumps off the rock and a medium close up of Johnny is inserted. Andy positions himself behind Jennifer, takes off his suspenders and pulls his pants down in a lengthy medium long shot. A medium close up of Matthew is followed a medium close up of Jennifer before the scene cuts back to the medium long shot which shows Andy starting to penetrate Jennifer who is screaming out loud. Andy raises his hand and the moment he is about to hit her, a fast cut to a medium close up of his arm is followed by a medium close up of Jennifer's face as he hits her. The scene cuts to a medium close up of Johnny from a straight-on angle. He is looking straight ahead. When he looks down on Jennifer, the camera shows her terrified face in medium close up also from a straight-on angle. A cut back to Johnny introduces a series of medium close ups of him, Matthew, and Andy before a medium long shot depicts the rape from the distance. The next three shots are again medium close ups of Johnny, Andy, and Matthew respectively, before a cut to a medium long shot changes the position of the camera and depicts the rape from behind. For a brief moment, Johnny's face is seen from a side angle. The next two shots focus on Andy and Jennifer in medium close ups before a first medium close up of Stanley includes him again in the scene. As the rape continues, more medium close ups are used. A medium long shot of the scene from a straight-on angle changes into a medium close up of Andy and back to a medium long shot. After

Andy finishes raping Jennifer, he lets go of her and moves backwards, breathing hard. The camera captures his back in a medium close up from a side angle as he is catching for breath. Johnny smiles in a medium close up. The camera is tilting down as he sits back on the ground. Matthew briefly appears, as well as Jennifer who is lying on the rock. Both are shot in medium close ups. After another series of medium close ups of Andy, Johnny, and Matthew the scene cuts to a medium long shot from behind. The lengthy shot shows the men leaving Jennifer behind. After pulling up his pants, Andy is the last one to leave the frame. Jennifer is still lying on the rock.

The second rape scene was more censored and regulated than the previous scene. The entire sequence has been changed with several shots being completely removed. All close ups of Jennifer do not appear in the theatrical version, as well as all the medium long shots that depict the rape from the distance. Therefore, the focus is entirely on the men, especially Andy, executed by inserting a rotating series of medium close ups of Andy, Matthew, and Johnny, which constitutes the entire scene (Figure 27-29). Jennifer's suffering is not depicted to reduce the scene's brutality and violence. By leaving out the close ups of her face, the audience does not have to explicitly watch the effects of the rape.

The final rape scene occurs at Jennifer's house. She is trying to call the police but the men interfere and throw her on the floor. This time Matthew is the first one to rape her. The scene begins with a medium shot of Jennifer, lying on the floor. In the next shot, a medium close up of Matthew from a side angle, the other men are cheering him on. Johnny can be seen in the background with a bottle of alcohol. A full shot shows Matthew as he starts to unbutton his shirt. Jennifer is still motionless. Andy is drinking in the background and hands over the bottle to Stanley. Andy is smilingly leaning on the stair railing in a medium close up. The following point-of-view shot shows Matthew from behind, taking off his shirt. The scene cuts back to the full shot setting and Matthew starts to open his belt. A medium shot of Jennifer is inserted before Matthew is shot from side angle in a medium shot. The scene continues with another full shot in which Matthew is taking off his shoes. In a cut back to the previous setting, Matthew takes off his pants and his underwear. A medium close up of Johnny's face proceeds yet

another point-of-view shot that shows Matthew in a medium shot, as he is throwing away his underwear. The same two types of shots are used again. Matthew turning around and taking off his hat follows Andy's smiling face. A full shot shows all three men and Jennifer. Matthew is turning around and the scene cuts to a medium shot of him going down to Jennifer. The camera is tilting down to follow his movement. A big close up of Matthew's face shot from a low side angle is followed by a medium close up of Andy who is laughing and cheering him on. This sequence of shots continues till a cut to another full shot appears. Matthew is lying on top of Jennifer. Andy is moving across the screen and in the next shot, a medium shot of Stanley, Andy can be seen in the background, sitting down on the sofa. Another big close up of Matthew and a medium close up of Andy precede a cut to a full shot in which Stanley, who is shown from behind, puts one of his feet on Matthew's buttocks and rhythmically pushes it down. A cut to a medium shot of Stanley from a side angle switches the camera position. He is moving back to where he was sitting before and the camera is panning to the left. The next shot is a big close up of Matthew before the scene cuts to a full shot. Matthew is still on top of Jennifer. Stanley leans over to Jennifer and in the next shot he is pouring alcohol in her face. Due to the alcohol Jennifer gains consciousness again and looks into Matthew's eyes. A big close up from a side angle shows Matthew's face. In the next cut, he lets go of Jennifer and starts dressing himself in a full shot. After Matthew's attempt to rape Jennifer a few scenes show Andy as he is reading pages of Jennifer's script out loud before ripping them apart. Then Stanley moves over to Jennifer and attacks her. A medium shot of Jennifer on the floor shot from a side angle. The alcohol bottle and Stanley's hand are also in the frame. Jennifer tries to cover herself. She looks up to Stanley and says, "Please I am hurt" (45:42). A close up of Stanley appears from a low angle and is followed by a full shot of him kneeling over Jennifer. He removes her hand and the scene cuts to the previous setting. After a close up of Stanley's face, another medium shot shows Stanley as he rapes Jennifer with the bottle. He moves closer to Jennifer's face and after another close up of his face, he pulls down his pants in a medium shot from a side angle and forces her to perform oral sex. A close up of Stanley precedes a full shot that shows him kneeling over Jennifer's face. After a medium close up of Johnny, telling him to stop it, close up of Stanley shows him

hitting Jennifer in the face. The scene cuts to a full shot which shows Stanley letting go off Jennifer. As he is getting up, the camera is also moving up. He then kicks Jennifer. A close up of Jennifer's body shows him kicking her. A final close up of Stanley's face from a low angle is followed by a medium shot of the men forcing Stanley away from Jennifer after he kicked her again. The scene ends with a full shot of the men leaving and Jennifer lying on the floor.

This scene was also edited down to contribute to the R rating. A sequence of shots of Matthew was removed (Figure 30-34) but Stanley's assault received most attention of the censors. His attack with the alcohol bottle (Figure 35-42) and the subsequent shots in which he hits Jennifer and forces her to perform oral sex (Figure 43-48) were entirely removed. These shots were censored in order to reduce the scenes high level of violence and brutality, which reaches its peak when Stanley begins to assault Jennifer. Another obvious reason why so many shots were censored and left out is to limit the length of the rape scene.

5.2.2. 2010 – Unrated

The MPAA rated the 2010 remake NC-17 and demanded a great amount of edits to grant an R rating. The filmmakers rejected the rating and decided to release the film unrated. Therefore, this film presents the unusual case of a production that resisted the MPAA's disciplinary system of power. By comparing the contemporary *I Spit On Your Grave* with its original version and the other movies I want to analyze in how far the deinstitutionalization of the MPPA's normalizing judgment effects filmmakers approach to (sexual) violent scenes.

All in all, the film depicts two sexual violent scenes at two different locations. Right before the first rape scene, the gang has attacked Jennifer in her house but she managed to escape into the woods where she encounters Sheriff Storch. He takes her back to the cabin to see if the men are still around but it turns out that he is part of the gang. They attack Jennifer and throw her to the floor and Matthew starts to rape her. The scene starts with a full shot that shows Johnny pushing Jennifer down to the floor. A close up of the floor changes perspective and Jennifer enters the frame from the right. Andy grabs one of her arms and it cuts to a medium shot from a side angle that shows Jennifer struggling against Andy's

grip. As her head moves in his direction, a close up of Andy's face appears with Stanley in the background. He is filming everything on a handheld camera. The next shot shows the point-of-view of his camera and imitates its quality. Andy is on the left side of the screen, holding a baseball bat. Jennifer turns over and tries to escape but Andy grabs her and a medium close up shows him from a side angle. He is looking down on Jennifer and the scene follows his eyes by inserting a close up of Jennifer's struggling body from a side angle and Andy's hand, holding her down. A medium close shot of Matthew and Johnny is followed by a medium close up of Jennifer from their point-of-view. The scene cuts back to the previous setting and Johnny goes off screen to take off Matthew's pants. Storch and Andy are holding down Jennifer in a medium close shot. A shot of Stanley precedes a shot through the point-of-view of his camera that shows Matthew covering himself up from a side angle. The camera moves up to his face and quickly cuts to medium shot that shows Matthew and Johnny in the background looking down on Jennifer. Matthew's face appears in a close up. He is still looking down on her. Storch appears in a medium close up, looking up to Matthew. A shot of Jennifer from a side angle shows her lying on her back and the men are holding her down. A quick shot of Andy's face in a side close up is followed by a medium close up of Jennifer's lower body as Johnny is pulling off her underwear. In the process they flip her over and the scene cuts to Stanley's hand held camera filming the situation from a high angle. After a medium close up of his face from a side angle, Johnny takes off Jennifer's underwear in a medium close up from the same angle. Two medium close ups of Storch and Andy, both looking up to Matthew, are followed by another medium close up of Jennifer's body. She is still struggling against the men and Storch, in a medium close up, looks up to Matthew and urges him to start. In a medium close up Matthew is looking down on Jennifer. At first he is hesitating but as he moves towards her he leaves the screen and the scene cuts to a medium close up of him on top of Jennifer. She is screaming and the camera cuts to a close of her face. Storch's hands are holding her down. The camera stays in the same angle but moves up to Matthew's face. A shot of Stanley's camera changes the angle and shows Matthew from behind on top of Jennifer. After a medium close shot of Stanley, holding his camera, the scene continues with a series of medium close

ups of Storch and Andy, Jennifer's face from a side angle and Matthew before another shot of Stanley's camera shows Matthew's lower body. The men are cheering Matthew on. The scene cuts to a medium shot of Jennifer, moves back to a medium shot of Matthew and after a type of over-the-shoulder shot of Jennifer, Storch's phone starts ringing and he yells to Stanley to take his place. Stanley gets up in a match cut and puts down his camera. While he puts it on a chair, a close up of Matthew's lower body shot by the handheld camera is seen. Storch tells the men to keep Jennifer quiet. In an over-the-shoulder shot from above Andy is covering Jennifer mouth with his hand. A close up of Matthew's face is inserted before Storch, who is leaning over Jennifer, is getting up in a medium shot. In the following shots Storch is looking at his cellphone and it is shown that his daughter is calling him. Storch walks into the living room to talk to her and the camera focuses on him while Jennifer is still screaming in the background. With a close up of Matthew's face from a low angle, the scene focuses on the rape again. An over-the-shoulder shot of Jennifer shows that Andy is still covering her mouth. Storch is seen coming back in a medium close shot. He asks Matthew if he is done yet. The men turn towards Storch in medium close ups and after another over-the-shoulder shot of Jennifer from a high angle she is able to pull her arms away from Stanley. She starts hitting Matthew, seen from an over-the-shoulder shot. A reverse angle shot shows Jennifer's hands as she hits Matthew in the face. A close up of Storch's face is followed by a peding shot of Jennifer's hands up to Matthew who is trying to pull her hands down. Another sequence of over-the-shoulder shot and reverse angle depicts Jennifer hitting Matthew, till in a medium shot of Jennifer on the floor from a straight on angle Matthew is grabbing her throat. The scene cuts to a medium close up of Matthew's face from a low side angle. A series of medium close ups and reverse angle shots culminates in Matthew's orgasm. He lets go of Jennifer and holds on to Johnny in a medium shot.

After the first rape scene, Jennifer crawls to the door and leaves the cabin. Outside, the men catch up with her and continue torturing her. Andy is repeatedly drowning her in a puddle of water. Storch is looks down on Jennifer in a medium close hot. A cut to a medium close up of Jennifer and Andy from a straight-on angle precedes a medium close shot of Storch's lower body as he is taking off his

gun holster and throws it next to Jennifer. Stanley has placed his handheld camera next to the puddle of water and it shows the gun holster falling down in a close up from a side angle with Jennifer in the background. Storch opens his pants and moves over to Jennifer in a medium close shot. Jennifer pleads them to stop and a medium close up shows Andy holding her head. The next cut switches to Jennifer's point-of-view as she is looking straight ahead. The screen is blurry. In another medium close up Storch is kneeling behind Jennifer. Andy is leaving the frame. Johnny appears in a close up from a side angle before the scene cuts back to the previous setting. Storch is lying on top of Jennifer and starts raping her. As he continues raping her, a cut to a close up of Jennifer's face from a side angle shows her screaming. The camera position changes again to a medium close up of Jennifer from a straight-on angle. The next shot shows again Jennifer perspective. She is looking at Stanley's camera. A medium close up of Matthew is followed by a close up of Jennifer from a side angle. A shot of the handheld camera is inserted focusing on Storch's gun holster before a cut to two medium close ups of Johnny, Stanley, Andy, and Matthew respectively. They are all watching Storch raping Jennifer. Next, the scene cuts to another medium close up of Jennifer from a straight-on angle. Storch is still lying on top of her. A point-of-view shot again shows Jennifer's perspective as she is looking at Matthew. The scene cuts back to the previous setting and another close up of the gun holster follows this time through Jennifer's eyes. The two scenes repeat each other before a medium close shot from a side angle shows Jennifer trying to grab the gun. After another point-of-view shot of the gun holster and a medium close shot of Jennifer who is trying to reach it, Johnny's foot appears and steps on her hand. His face is seen in a medium close up from a low angle and in another close up of the gun he is kicking it away. The camera is panning to the right, as he is moving around Jennifer in a medium close up. He stops right in front of her. His legs are shown in a medium close up of Jennifer. In a medium close up he looks down on Jennifer. The reverse shot shows her looking up to Johnny in a medium close up. A point-of-view shot of Jennifer shows Johnny's face. The camera is tilting down and he is opening his pants. After another medium close up of Jennifer a jump cut to a black screen is inserted. After a couple of seconds, Jennifer's face appears in

a big close up from a side angle. A point-of-view shot shows Johnny pulling his pants up and walking away ends the scene.

The unrated remake shows similarities to the unrated original in its level of explicitness and violence and indicated that the ratings process is in fact connected to the normalization of movie content, because censorship of certain shots and sequences only occur in rated versions. By releasing this movie unrated, the filmmakers circumvent the MPAA and its classificatory system and are able to neglect normalized content.

5.3. Last House On The Left 1972 & 2009

In *Last House On The Left* the story begins with Mari and her parents John and Estelle spending time at their country house at a lake. Mari and her friend Phyllis are on their way to a concert to celebrate Mari's birthday, when they approach Junior to buy some marijuana. He leads them to his apartment where his father Krug, his father's girlfriend Sadie, and his uncle Weasel attack the girls. They take Mari and Phyllis to the woods to torture them but Mari realizes that they are close to her parent's home. Phyllis tries to escape but is stabbed to death. Krug then rapes Mari and as she walks into the lake he shoots her in the back. A thunderstorm raises and the gang seeks refuge at John and Estelle's house. During the night the parents find Mari outside the house and realize that it was the gang who left her for dead. They decide to take revenge and kill one after the other. The remake contains some changes to the original plot although the overall storyline remains the same. Some of the characters were renamed. Phyllis is changed to Paige, Estelle to Emma, Junior to Justin and, Weasel is called Francis. Mari and Paige encounter Justin at the store Paige is working and the gang abducts them in a motel room. Mari is portrayed as a swim athlete and after the rape she uses her talent to escape but is also shot in the back. The ways in which parents seek revenge also differ from the original version. Justin's character is killed in the 1971 version but survives and helps the parents to overcome his father. In the end he accompanies them to the hospital.

Wes Craven wrote and directed the original film. Sandra Cassel stars as Mari, Cynthia Carr and Gaylord St. James portray her parents. Phyllis is portrayed by Lucy Grantham and David A. Hess, Fred Lincoln, Jeramie Rain, and Marc Sheffler play Krug, Weasel, Sadie, and Junior respectively.

Dennis Illiadis directed the remake and Carl Ellsworth and Adam Alleca wrote the screenplay. Sara Paxton stars as Mari, Monica Potter as her mother and Tony Goldwyn as her father. Paige is portrayed by Martha Maclsaac. Garret Dillahunt, Aaron Paul, Riki Lindhome, and Spencer Treat Clark portray Krug, Francis, Sadie and Justin respectively.

5.3.1. 1972 – Unrated

Although an R-rated version of the original *Last House On The Left* exists, the rape scene has not been cut differently but other parts of the film have been altered. Compared to the other films, the rape scene is considerably shorter in the original, which can be one of the reasons why it has not been censored.

Sadie, Weasel, and Krug have just killed Phyllis and cut off her arm, which they show Mari as proof of her friend's death. Krug leans over Mari and starts carving his name into her chest while Weasel is holding her down in a medium close shot from a side angle. From a low angle, Sadie, Weasel, and Krug are shown in a medium close up. They are looking down on Mari. Krug starts to pull off Mari's pants in a close up of her lower body. His hands are shown opening her belt. Mari is screaming. Throughout the procedure, the camera stays in the same position. When Krug pulls off her pants, the scene cuts to a close up of Junior who is watching them from the side. Krug is now lying on top of Mari, which is revealed in a cut to a close up of Krug grabbing Mari's hand from a straight-on angle. Mari tries to resist him but Krug grabs her again and continues to rape her. The camera cuts to a close up of Krug's face placed on Mari's cheek and stays in this position for the rest of the scene. When Krug is done, he is lifting his body and leaves the screen. The scene ends with Mari's face from a straight-on angle.

5.3.2. 2009 – Unrated vs. Rated-R

The remake emphasizes the rape scene more than the original version. Due to the fact that the scene is longer and the sexual violence is depicted more explicitly the R-rated version contains a number of cuts and edits.

The gang has brought Paige and Mari into the forest to torture them. After they stabbed Paige, Kurt turns to Mari, pushes her to the ground, and starts to undress the girl. The scene starts with a medium shot of Mari from a side angle. She is lying on the ground and Krug is sitting on her back. He is removing her shirt and the next cut shows him tearing off her bra. The camera changes to a frontal position. Justin is sitting in the background, watching his father. Then the focus is set on Mari's lower body in a medium shot. Krug's legs and hands are also in the shot. He is pulling down Mari's pants. Mari is screaming and crying, trying to defend herself. Sadie helps Krug to take the pants off. She is kneeling behind Mari's legs to pull her pants further down. First in a medium shot from a side angle and then in a close up of her hands, pulling the pants down. The action continues in a frontal camera position. Sadie completely pulls off Mari's pants, throws them away and leaves the screen on all fours. The camera slightly tilts up and focuses on Justin, who is trying to look away. Francis approaches him and the camera cuts to a medium close up of his face from a low angle. A medium close up of Sadie from a side angle precedes a close up of Mari's underwear. Krug is about to pull it off and a cut to a lengthy medium shot of Mari shows her exposed lower body. She is trying to pull her underwear back up but does not succeed. The camera pans left to her face, quickly pans back to her lower body and back to her face again. A medium shot of Krug and Sadie shows the implied penetration. Mari screams out loud. A medium shot from a side angle shows her body, followed by a close up of her face also shot from a side angle. A medium shot of Krug shows him raping Mari from a low side angle. His buttocks is exposed. The camera slightly tracks out before a medium close up shifts the focus back on Mari's face. After another medium shot of her lower body the camera slightly pans to the left to shot Mari from a side angle. A close up of Justin is inserted, followed by a close up of Mari from a side angle. The scene cuts back to Justin in a medium shot. Francis forces him to look at Mari. A close up of him from a low angle

precedes another close up of Mari. She is pleading Krug to stop. For a brief moment a medium close shot of Sadie is inserted. After a close up of Krug's hand grabbing onto Mari's back, Mari is seen in a medium close up. As she is moving her head, the camera follows her eyes with a point-of-view shot of Paige, lying on the ground. After another medium close up of Mari, an extreme long shot shows the rape from a distance. The scene cuts back to a close up of Mari's necklace. A medium close up of Krug indicates that he has seen it and in a series of medium close ups he rips it off and throws it away. After the camera shows where he threw the necklace, another medium shot of Krug from a side angle sets the focus back on the rape. The scene cuts from a medium close up of Mari to a medium close up of Justin. The camera peds down to reveal that he is holding her necklace. The camera pans from a close up of Mari's face to a close up of Krug's hand before a cut shows a frontal close up of Mari. The next shot shows her hand digging into the ground. The scene cuts back to a medium close up of Mari. Krug places his hand on her cheek and the camera slightly moves left and right. The camera changes position and films the rape from a side angle before cutting back to medium close up of Mari. After a brief close up of her elbow, the camera focuses on Justin in the background. The final cut of the scene is a medium close up of Mari as she is trying to get up. The camera is following her movement.

In order to receive an R rating the original version had to be altered. Throughout the scene various shots were shortened and the most explicit depictions have been removed. The series of shots that shows Krug on top of Mari and his exposed buttocks has been completely cut out of the rated version (Figure 49-52), because the MPAA approaches nudity with heavier restrictions. Furthermore, towards the end of the scene, a series of similar shots has been completely removed (Figure 56-59) which again shows Krug's buttocks and close ups of the rape. Another difference of the theatrical version is the earlier use of the extreme long shot (Figure 55) which is inserted instead of close ups of Justin and Mari (Figure 53-54). Similar to all the other R rated versions, in order to reduce the scenes level of brutality and intensity, shots that show the rape from a closer distance were reduced, completely eliminated or replaced by shots that showed the rape from far away. Furthermore, the overall length of the scene was reduced and Krug's nudity was especially censored.

5.4. Discussion

My analysis shows that the scenes of the unrated versions, when a corresponding R rated version exists, have been subjected to numerous cuts and edits in order to fulfill the requirement of the R rating. Hence, the MPAA demanded censorship and self-regulation to be applied for the theatrical versions.

In the case of *Straw Dogs* it is interesting to see that filmmakers did not release an unrated version. Unfortunately, it is not applicable if the studio and the director applied changes to the film after submitting it to the MPAA. Therefore, it is uncertain whether or not the theatrical version was censored. But the shot-by-shot analysis shows that the filmmakers avoided explicit scenes and nudity since they are aware of the consequences. The scene carries a sense of normalization, which allowed the MPAA to assign an R rating to the film. Compared to the original version of 1971 it is clear that the director tried to approach the scene from a moderate angle. The contemporary version resembles more the censored version of the original since both versions do not explicitly show the second rape. Therefore, it can be assumed that filmmakers of the remake used the experience from the original and normalized their scene in order to avoid punishment and a restrictive rating. The original version was heavily censored by the MPAA. The film was released in 1971, only shortly after the initiation of the ratings system. As the historic development of the ratings showed, the X rating was already heavily stigmatized in 1971 and filmmakers censored their material to receive the R rating. *Straw Dogs* is a good example for a movie that was subjected to the disciplinary system of power, because the knowledge of consequences inherited by the X rating caused the filmmakers to cut down this one scene in particular.

The original version of *I Spit On Your Grave* behaved in the exact same way. The three rape scenes were extensively edited and cut so that the movie could be released with an R rating. Especially, the extremely violent parts of the third scene were eliminated. As a counterpart, the remake was released unrated. On the DVD the director remarked that the MPAA demanded numerous cuts in order to receive an R rating but they opted for an unrated release. Since the ratings system is in fact voluntary, independent productions are not obliged to accept assigned ratings. Therefore, the remake circumvented the MPAA's disciplinary system of power

and the associated self-regulation. A comparison between the unrated *I Spit On Your Grave* of 2009 and the unrated remake of *Last House On The Left* shows similarities in the depiction of sexual violence. In both films the sexual violent scene occupy a vital space within the narrative and also deploy similar scenes. But the R rated version of *Last House On The Left* indicates that the MPAA does not approve the movies' intended depiction of sexual violence. In *Last House On The Left*, a number of scenes had to be completely removed and others had to be shortened in order to avoid an NC-17. Therefore, the R rated version exemplifies the MPAA's contemporary approach towards depictions of sexual violence.

Due to the fact that the stigmatization of the X rating was already a prominent problem in the 1970s, all of the original movies were subjected to disciplinary measures and self-regulation. As a consequence, the level of censorship does not indicate a significant difference between scenes of sexual violence of the 70s and their contemporary counterparts. Since the beginning of the ratings system rape scenes seem to entail regulatory measures caused by the MPAA's disciplinary system of power. During the Production Code era the depiction of rape was on the list of forbidden subjects, i.e. depictions dealing with rape were prohibited. Therefore, classificatory boards and institutions seemed to have always approached sexual violence from a very restrictive angle that does not leave much space for interpretation.

6. Conclusion

This thesis' main focus was to create a connection between Michel Foucault's analytics of power relations and the MPAA's disciplinary position within the American movie industry.

The first chapter provided an insight into the historic development of film censorship and regulatory measures in the United States. Throughout its history, the film industry was confronted with criticisms questioning its moral values. The fear of governmental interference and subsequent federal censorship laws established a desire for self-regulation within the industry. The Production Code constituted a set of rules and guidelines, which should secure movie productions from negative outside influences. Consequently, the so-called system of self-regulation morphed into a system of disciplinary power that employed censorship from within its ranks and fostered a sense of normalization among filmmakers and movie studios.

The MPAA introduced their ratings system, as a means to guide parents and indicate which movie content was appropriate for children. Shortly after their initiation, the individual ratings established their own truths and connotations, which ultimately led to the stigmatization of the X and subsequently, the NC-17 rating. The NC-17 today is synonymous with economic loss since theater chains, which work closely together with the MPAA, refuse to screen films bearing this rating. Additionally, the largest DVD distribution companies also refuse to stock these movies. Although the MPAA rejects all claims of censorship, employing a rating that prohibits movies to reach an audience is a clear form of censorship. Thus, I argue that the MPAA is using a disciplinary system of power as a strategy to censor films and foster self-discipline by employing certain regulatory techniques and instruments.

I introduced Michel Foucault's basic and underlying concepts on and thoughts of power relations, knowledge and discipline. Michel Foucault argues that power relations are omnipresent and instead of functioning as property of a dominating class or individual, these power relations are used as strategy, because power is always intentional but non-subjective. For Foucault the most important form of

power is the disciplinary power. Disciplinary power is employing mechanisms such as normalizing judgment and hierarchical observation to classify, normalize and discipline individuals.

Hierarchical observation supports systems of disciplinary power with the mechanism of surveillance. Those who are subjected the system of power need to be placed within a visible space in order to regulate and classify subjects and enforce power relations. Foucault divides this mechanism of surveillance into smaller units, which constitute a hierarchical form. This hierarchy creates a visible space which comprises all individuals subjected to power relations.

The MPAA created a visible space which subjects movie studios and filmmakers to the institution's disciplinary system of power. Thus, the film industry is placed within a field of regulatory measures, which is observed by the normalizing gaze, which punishes non-confirmative behavior, i.e. violations of the MPAA's regime of truth.

Additionally, normalizing judgment is the second important instrument of disciplinary power, which essentially punishes non-confirmative behavior. The punishment is executed on various different aspects of the social body. Foucault added a second level to the instrument of normalization. Discipline is also implemented through the aid of gratification. Hence, non-confirmative behavior receives punishment and good conduct is rewarded.

The MPAA employs its ratings as a technique of normalizing judgment. Movie content that does not confirm with the MPAA's regime of truth is punished with a harsher rating, whereas films that acknowledge this regime of truth receive gratification in terms of a better rating. The MPAA focuses on a variety of fields that are subjected to its normalizing judgment. These fields are time, behavior, speech, body, and sexuality. For each the MPAA created certain rules and regulations, which filmmakers and studios have to adhere in order to avoid punishment. Furthermore, the more restricting ratings R and NC-17 are associated with negative connotations through historic developments and cultural definitions and are therefore, an essential component in the film industry's self-regulation.

The third instrument of disciplinary power is examination. This instrument links hierarchical observation and normalizing judgment to create a normalizing gaze. The normalizing gaze combines the visibility, created by hierarchical

observation and the system of punishment and gratification, employed by normalizing judgment, to subject individuals to judgment, classification, and regulation within a visible space. Furthermore, documentation of individuals constitutes an important mechanism of examination. Written data supports the analysis of the social body and highlights individual features and characteristics. The visible space and the documentation support the system of disciplinary power by individualizing each subject that is entangled within the system's power relations. These mechanisms are employed by disciplinary institutions in order to enforce power relations and establish regimes of truth.

The MPAA individualizes every movie that is submitted to the ratings board and as a consequence, every individual movie is engaged within the disciplinary power relations. The result is a disciplinary institution, which enforces power relations by employing the Foucauldian instruments and techniques of individualization, hierarchical observation, and normalizing judgment.

The film analysis shows that the MPAA is clearly censoring movie content under the parameter of self-regulation. The comparison between the originals and the corresponding remakes indicates that the effects of censorship do not significantly vary and therefore, undermine the assumption that the MPAA rating board censored less movie content in its earlier years. But the analysis discovered that considerable amount of censorship and enforced self-regulation has always been a part of the MPAA's disciplinary system of power.

Since the beginning, the American film industry has developed such a substantial fear of government interference that it created a disciplinary institution, which takes the scissors in its own hands. The MPAA's rating system needs to fundamentally reform in order to again reflect the changing times in which movies are produced.

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7.1. Films

- I Spit On Your Grave*. Produced by Meir Zarchi, Joseph Zbeda; directed by Meir Zarchi; screenplay by Meir Zarchi. Cast: Camille Keaton (*Jennifer*), Eron Tabor (*Johnny*), Richard Pace (*Matthew*), Anthony Nichols (*Stanley*), Gunther Kleemann (*Andy*). Cinemagic Pictures, 1978.
- I Spit On Your Grave*. Produced by Lisa Hansen, Paul Hertzberg, Meir Zarchi; directed by Steven R. Monroe; screenplay by Stuart Morse, based on *I Spit On Your Grave* by Meir Zarchi. Cast: Sarah Butler (*Jennifer*), Jeff Branson (*Johnny*), Chad Lindberg (*Matthew*), Daniel Franzese (*Stanley*), Rodney Eastman (*Andy*), Andrew Howard (*Sheriff Storch*). Cinemagic Pictures, 2010.
- Straw Dogs*. Produced by Daniel Melnick; directed by Sam Peckinpah; screenplay by Sam Peckinpah, David Zelag Goodman, based on *The Siege of Trencher’s Farm* by Gordon Williams. Cast: Dustin Hoffman (*David*), Susan George (*Amy*), Del Henney (*Charlie*), Ken Hutchison (*Norman*). Cinerama Releasing Corporation, 1971.

Straw Dogs. Produced by Rod Lurie, Marc Frydman; directed by Rod Lurie; screenplay by Rod Lurie, based on *Straw Dogs* by Sam Pechinpah, David Zelag Goodman, *The Siege of Trencher's Farm* by Gordon Williams. Cast: James Marsden (*David*), Kate Bosworth (*Amy*), Alexander Skarsgard (*Charlie*), Rhys Coiro (*Norman*). Cinerama Releasing Corporation, 1971.

The Last House On The Left. Produced by Sean S. Cunningham; directed by Wes Craven; screenplay by Wes Craven. Cast: Sandra Cassel (*Mari*), Lucy Grantham (*Phyllis*), David A. Hess (*Krug*), Fred Lincoln (*Weasel*), Jeramie Rain (*Sadie*), Marc Sheffler (*Junior*), Cynthia Carr (*Estelle*), Gaylord St. James (*John*). Hallmark Releasing Corp., 1972.

The Last House On The Left. Produced by Wes Craven, Sean S. Cunningham, Marianne Maddalena; directed by Dennis Illiadis; screenplay by Adam Alleca, Carl Ellsworth, based on *The Last House On The Left* by Wes Craven. Cast: Sarah Paxton (*Mari*), Martha McIsaac (*Paige*), Garret Dillahunt (*Krug*), Aaron Paul (*Francis*), Riki Lindhome (*Sadie*), Spencer Treat Clark (*Justin*), Monica Potter (*Emma*), Tony Goldwyn (*John*). Rogue Pictures, 2009.

This Film Is Not Yet Rated. Produced by Eddie Schmidt; directed by Kirby Dick; written by Kirby Dick, Eddie Schmidt, Matt Patterson. IFC Films, 2006.

7.2. Electronic Sources

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8. German Abstract

Meine Diplomarbeit beschäftigt sich mit den Zensur- und (Selbst-) Regulierungspraktiken der MPAA (Motion Picture Association of America), deren Entwicklung in einem ersten Schritt im Rahmen eines historischen Überblicks nachgezeichnet wird um sie dann, im Rahmen einer Filmanalyse vor dem Hintergrund einer Foucault'schen Machtkonzeption mit diskurstheoretischen Mitteln zu untersuchen.

Im Kontext einer historischen Darstellung über die Entwicklung von Zensur im US-amerikanischen Kino, wird klar, dass dieses seit seiner Entstehung mit Kritik im Hinblick auf Moral- und Wertvorstellungen konfrontiert war. Die daraus resultierende Angst vor staatlichen Interventionen und Zensur führte zu selbstregulierenden und selbstzensierenden Maßnahmen innerhalb der Filmindustrie. Der so entstandene Production Code legte Regeln und Richtlinien fest, welche die Filmproduktion von den gefürchteten Einflüssen von außen bewahren sollte und entwickelte sich auf diesem Wege zu einem Machtinstrument, welches Filme von nun an von innen zensierte, und unter Filmschaffenden und Filmstudios zunehmende Normalisierung fand. Das Ratingsystem der MPAA wurde ursprünglich als Richtlinie für Eltern geschaffen und diente der Kennzeichnung der Kindgerechtigkeit filmischer Inhalte. Nach und nach jedoch wurden die Ratings der MPAA mit moralischen Bewertungen belegt, welche zu einer Stigmatisierung des X-Ratings, und später des NC-17-Ratings führten. Heute zieht letzteres fast zwangsläufig ökonomische Nachteile mit sich, da sowohl Kinos als auch DVD-Verleiher sich weigern, mit NC-17 bewertete Werke zu zeigen oder diese in ihrem Sortiment zu vertreiben. Während die MPAA jeden Vorwurf der Zensur zurückweist, kann ihre Ratingpraxis, welche es bestimmte Filme und filmischen Inhalten beinahe unmöglich macht, Verbreitung zu finden, jedoch nur solcherart klassifiziert werden. In diesem Sinne argumentiert die vorliegende Arbeit, dass die MPAA ein System der Disziplinarmacht als Strategie zur Filmzensur anwendet, in welchem das Mittel Selbstzensur als regulatorisches Instrumentarium seine Anwendung findet.

Zur weiteren Diskussion der genannten Zensurpraxis über das Moment der Selbstdisziplinierung finden Michel Foucault's Ausführungen zu Macht, Wissen

und Disziplin ihre Anwendung. Foucault konzipiert Macht als allgegenwärtig und nicht als Eigenschaft einer herrschenden Klasse oder einzelner herrschender Individuen. Dieses so konzipierte Machtnetzwerk wirkt hierbei gleichzeitig intentional und nicht-subjektiv. Macht ist auch in einem Foucault'schen Sinne vor allem als Disziplinarmacht zu verstehen, welche nicht von außen auf Individuen wirkt, sondern auch und vor allem von innen ihre Subjektivität strukturiert. Aus diesem Grund eignet sich Foucault'sche Theorie im besonderen Maße zu einer Analyse der vorgestellten Institution MPAA und ihrer Regulierungspraktiken.

Disziplinarmacht wirkt in der Form normierender und normalisierender Werturteile, und Hierarchisierungen, welche dazu dient, Individuen zu klassifizieren, sie in ein Normennetzwerk einzuordnen und zu disziplinieren. Normen werden hierbei zu entscheidenden Strukturgebern sowohl auf gesellschaftlicher als auch auf individueller Ebene. Während nicht normkonformes Verhalten bestraft wird, wird konformes Verhalten belohnt. Die daraus resultierenden Machtpraktiken äußern sich in Praktiken der Selbstregulierung bzw. -disziplinierung. Diese Form der Selbstzensur über ein etabliertes Netzwerk an Normen und Moralvorstellungen, welche Orientierung über richtiges und falsches Verhalten gibt, trifft, wie oben bereits ausgeführt, auch auf die Filmindustrie und ihre Praxis der Selbstzensur über die MPAA zu.

In einem nächsten Schritt werden Foucault's Artikulationen auf eine filmische Analyse angewendet. Im Rahmen einer vergleichenden Diskursanalyse von drei ausgewählten Filmen, welche in den 1970ern produziert und in den 2000ern neu verfilmt wurden - *I Spit On Your Grave* (1978 und 2010), *The Last House On The Left* (1972 und 2009), und *Straw Dogs* (1971 und 2001) – soll festgestellt werden, welcher Inhalt zensiert wurde. Hierzu werden sowohl die zensierten (durch die MPAA bewerteten und veröffentlichten) als auch die unzensierten Versionen untersucht. Eine vergleichende Analyse gibt hierbei Aufschluss über Natur und Intensität der vorgenommenen Zensurmaßnahmen. Außerdem ermöglicht sie nachzuzeichnen, wie sich die Zensurpraxis der MPAA im Laufe der Zeit (1970er – 00er) gewandelt hat. Nachdem sich andere Untersuchungen (Jenkins 2005, Leone 2006 und Tickle 2009) bereits mit Darstellungen von Gewalt und sexuellen Inhalten, sowie deren Zensur in Filmen auseinandergesetzt haben, analysiert diese Arbeit Szenen, welche sexuelle Gewalt darstellen. Aus jedem

Werk wird hierzu eine Szene gewählt und in einer Shot-by-Shot-Analyse untersucht.

Die Filmanalyse zeigt deutlich, dass die MPAA Filme auf dem Wege einer Selbstregulierung und -disziplinierung auf Basis disziplinierendem und normativen Wissen zensiert. Der Vergleich zwischen Originalen und Remakes weist zudem darauf hin, dass die MPAA heute restriktiver gegen Darstellungen sexueller Gewalt vorgeht als in den 1970ern. Trotz der graduellen Zunahme an Zensur, lässt sich feststellen, dass diese über den Weg der Selbstregulierung von Anfang an ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der MPAA und ihrer zensorischen Arbeit waren.

9. Curriculum Vitae

Bildung

1995 – 1998: Volksschule Enns

1999 – 2006: Gymnasium Enns

Seit Oktober: 2007 Studium der Anglistik und Amerikanistik

Weitere Aktivitäten

November 2006 - Mai 2007: Wehrdienst

Summer 2007: Besuch einer Sprachschule in San Francisco

Summer 2008: Besuch einer Sprachschule in Miami

Summer 2009: Summer Sessions an der UCLA

Sprachen

Deutsch (Muttersprache)

Englisch (Fließend)

Französisch (Grundkenntnisse)

10. Appendix

Straw Dogs 1971



Figure 1



Figure 2

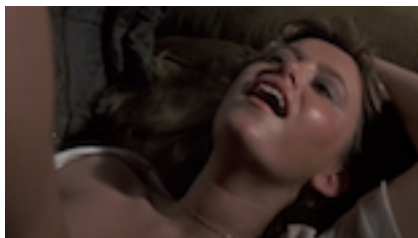


Figure 3



Figure 4

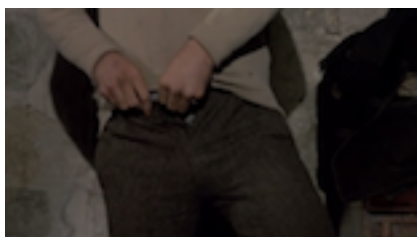


Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15

I Spit On Your Grave 1978



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24

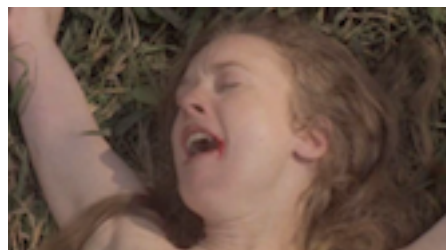


Figure 25



Figure 26

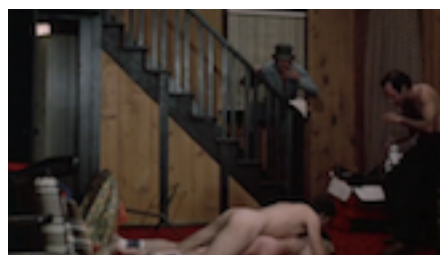


Figure 31



Figure 27

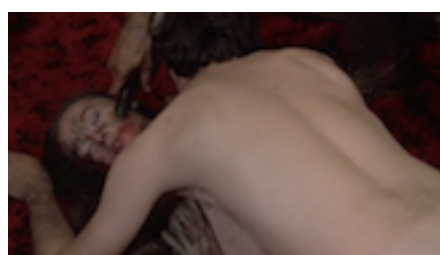


Figure 32



Figure 28

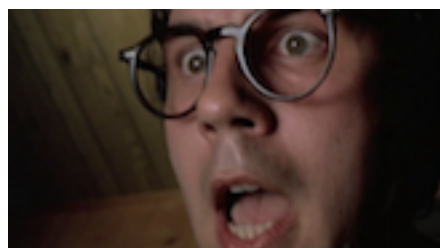


Figure 33

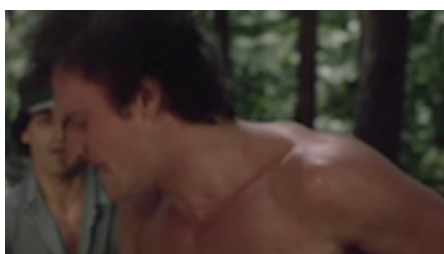


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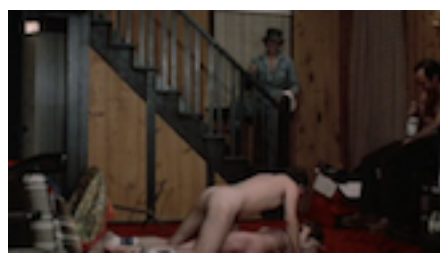


Figure 34

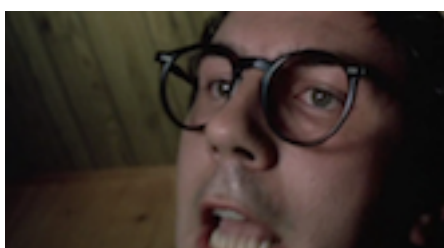


Figure 30



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 41

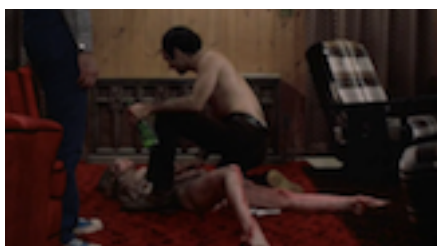


Figure 37



Figure 42



Figure 38



Figure 43



Figure 39

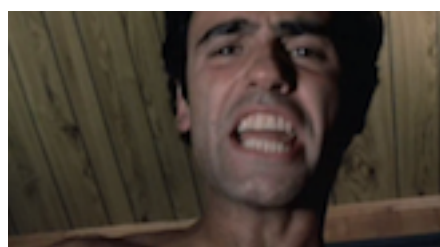


Figure 44



Figure 40

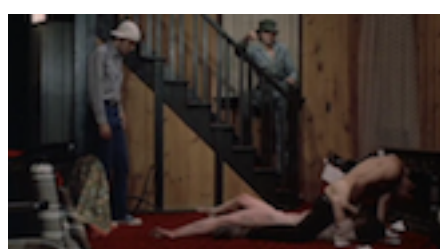


Figure 45



Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48

The Last House On The Left 2009

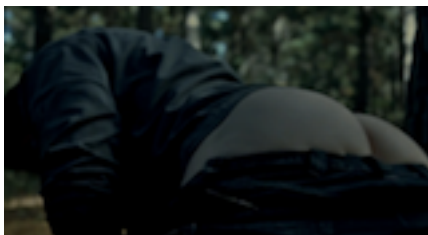


Figure 49



Figure 51



Figure 50



Figure 52



Figure 53

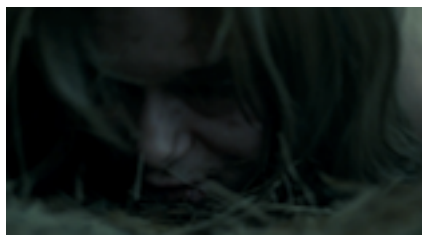


Figure 59



Figure 54

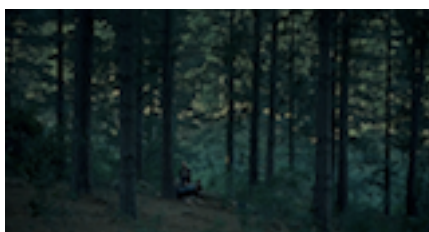


Figure 55



Figure 56

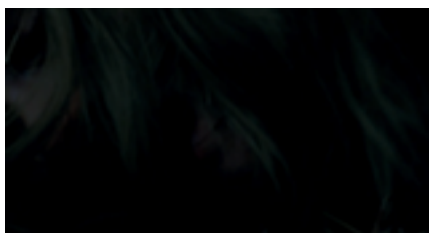


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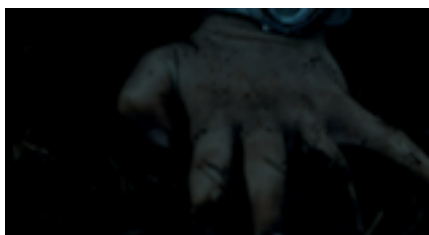


Figure 58