

# Audiovisual Translation of Documentary Feature: Case Study of "She's Beautiful When She's Angry"

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Kulej, Maja

Master's thesis / Diplomski rad

2020

Degree Grantor / Ustanova koja je dodijelila akademski / stručni stupanj: **Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences / Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku, Filozofski fakultet**

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:142:641385>

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Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-09-13**



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Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku

Filozofski fakultet Osijek

Diplomski studij engleskog jezika i književnosti, prevoditeljski smjer,  
i povijesti

Maja Kulej

**Audiovizualni prijevod dokumentarnog filma: studija slučaja  
"She's Beautiful When She's Angry"**

Diplomski rad

Mentor: doc. dr. sc. Goran Schmidt

Osijek, 2020.

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Znanstveno područje humanističke znanosti, polje filologija,  
znanstvena grana anglistika

Mentor: doc. dr. sc. Goran Schmidt

Osijek, 2020.

J. J. Strossmayer University of Osijek  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
MA Programme in English Translation and Interpreting Studies and History

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Master's Thesis

Scientific discipline Humanities, field of Philology, branch of English Studies

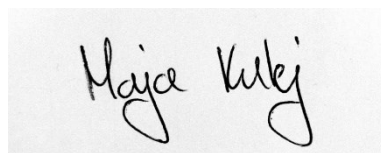
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Osijek, 2020

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U Osijeku, 15. rujna 2020.



0130277846

ime i prezime studenta, JMBAG

## SUMMARY

This thesis focuses on subtitling as a method of audiovisual translation in regard to documentary as a mode of cinema. The audiovisual translation has increasingly been getting more attention. While scholars are at last doing more research in the AVT field of Translation Studies, there has also never been a greater demand for audiovisual content, and therefore, its translation. Subtitling is the most prominent method of audiovisual translation, but like the rest of the methods, it has its pros and cons. There are various characteristics and constraints of subtitling to be considered and respected. Moreover, the type of audiovisual program that is being subtitled has an effect on both of those elements of subtitling. Documentary is a specific cinema mode with distinct traits and elements to be considered while subtitling. A case study presented in this thesis is based on the translation and subtitling process of a feature-length documentary film *She's Beautiful When She's Angry*, which deals with the rise of the women's liberation movement in the second half of the sixties. It is an interview-based documentary, which calls for specific considerations during the decision-making process in translation and subtitling. The aim of this thesis is to explore if it is possible to render all crucial information presented in a documentary while simultaneously retaining the participants' individual expression in presenting that information. Does the individuality of participants and their passion for a particular matter have to be sacrificed in order to correctly and adequately subtitle a documentary?

Keywords: translation, AVT, subtitling, documentary, case study

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Audiovisual content is overwhelmingly present and available in the modern-day world. Yet, when we talk about Translation Studies, the branch of audiovisual translation has often been overlooked among scholars. The AVT is an umbrella term for all translation methods of any form of audiovisual products, such as movies, television, radio, or Internet content. Subtitling is one of the most recognizable and accessible methods of audiovisual translation. Its specificity lies in the fact that it does not entail only a transfer from one language to another but also a shift from oral to written language. Another area that has rarely been addressed is documentary translation. Documentary, as an audiovisual product, involves unique elements and characteristics to be considered during the translation process, particularly subtitling. In this thesis, I will focus on all aspects that make documentary subtitling a unique practice within AVT and present a case study that will hopefully provide insight into the challenges and obstacles of documentary translation. The case study will be based on my own experience of translating and subtitling a feature-length documentary film *She's Beautiful When She's Angry*, released in 2014 and directed by Mary Doe. I translated the entirety of the film and then adapted my translation to final subtitles, which I spotted and stylized in a subtitling software *Subtitle Workshop*. The purpose of subtitling a film concerning both history and social issues was to determine if it is achievable to adequately convey all the relevant factual information, as well as depictions of participants' individuality and expression, all in spite of the limitations imposed by the medium and the subtitling procedure.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter will be an introduction to the audiovisual translation in general, from the term itself to the AVT classification and history of the AVT methods. The second chapter will focus specifically on subtitling as an interlingual method of audiovisual translation: its various categories, characteristics of the subtitling process and people involved in it, and all different considerations, constraints, and characteristics. The third chapter will present a documentary as a mode of cinema, its history, and the current status of documentary subtitling. Furthermore, the common elements of documentary will be considered, as well as their impact on the subtitling process. The fourth chapter will introduce a case study of a documentary film *She's Beautiful When She's Angry*, based on my personal process of translating and subtitling the source text. It will include the analysis of various factors encountered during subtitling and provide examples of text reduction strategies used in the process.

## 2. AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

### 2.1 THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM

The term Audiovisual translation (AVT) is just one of a few umbrella terms that refer to the intralingual and interlingual transfer of the verbal segments contained in audiovisual projects and products (Chiaro, 2009: 141). Some of the others include “multimedia translation,” “screen translation,” and “multimodal translation.” As the name suggests, audiovisual content is created with an intention to be both heard and seen, simultaneously. The content and its AVT are mostly transmitted and accessed through some electronic device. The most popular audiovisual projects that could at some point require AVT are feature films, television shows and programs, theatrical plays, musicals and operas, Internet content and websites, and video games (Chiaro, 2009: 141).

As of late, more effort and time have been devoted to the study of audiovisual translation. Translation Studies scholars have been neglecting it for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but as the demand and the market for the audiovisual content are increasing, so does the academics' interest in the AVT studies. AVT is swiftly becoming one of the most dynamic and vibrant fields of Translation Studies (Cintas, Remael, 2007). Due to the relatively recent but remarkable surge of interest in Translation Studies, the AVT is encountering expansion and unification as an academic discipline, resulting in an influx of research and works published concerning audiovisual translation (Cintas, 2008: 1).

The reason why the AVT branch of translation studies has rarely been the center of academic research was the nature of the discipline, i.e., all of the temporal and spatial limitations that the medium imposed made the AVT seem as not a translation proper. The usage of the two codes, sound and image, required the synchronicity of these new parameters. Hence, the experts encountered the question of finding an ideal generic term that would encompass all possible audiovisual manifestations (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 9-11). At one point, it was even discussed whether AVT could and should have the label of translation, as “*translation between media is impossible*” (Oksefjell-Ebeling 2012: 103). Catford had suggested that the transfer from the spoken to the written form of a text cannot be called translation, but rather adaptation, hence that was the term most of the academics were inclined to use going forwards (Cintas, Remael, 2007). These kinds of written translations were often described as “constrained” and “subordinate,” but

that depiction soon began receiving criticism, and the need for the more general and appropriate term started to arise.

Today, however, the term translation is much more flexible and broader. Therefore, the term's connections with modern mediums, such as computer, television, or even cinema, are much more associative and stronger. Sanderson claims that technology and audiovisual translation go hand in hand; in other words, developments and advancements in the former will inevitably have effects on the latter (Sanderson, 2005: 24). Academic texts started including the term audiovisual translation extensively more (along with synonymous expressions "screen translation," "film translation," and "cinema translation"), while also researching and including its semiotic dimension, i.e., incorporating various translation practices used in the audiovisual media (Cintas, Remael, 2007).

The terms "film translation" and "cinema translation," however, despite being more accurate than "adaptation," could be seen as restrictive. That is because general AVT activity often includes other types of content and programs, such as cartoons, sitcoms, TV shows, and documentaries. The term "screen translation," on the other hand, is more inclusive and perceived as a better alternative because it refers to all content that is distributed and consumed on a screen. Nonetheless, the term AVT is still considered the standard referent, as it did gain ground in recent years and is the all-encompassing, accepted general term (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 12).

## **2.2 AVT DEFINITION**

The authors Cintas and Remael describe the audiovisual translation as "*the translation of products in which the verbal dimension is supplemented by elements in other media*" (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 13). They suggest three different possibilities. In the first one, the message is conveyed entirely and exclusively through sound (e.g., radio programs and songs). The second one includes only the visual transfer of information (e.g., newspaper advertisements and comics). Finally, the last option is when both auditory and visual means are used to distribute the message (e.g., movies, documentaries, et cetera). That makes AVT considerably different from other kinds of translation, especially literary translation.

### **2.2.1 Differences between AVT and other written translations**

There are some specific characteristics of the audiovisual translation that make methods like subtitling and dubbing significantly different from a translation of a literary text.

In the case of translating a book, the source language is completely replaced with the target language, i.e., the literary text is transferred from one language to another. Translation of a film, on the other hand, goes through a more complex process. First of all, the message of a film is transmitted through various components, such as image, acting, sound, and language, rather than just through a written text. When dubbing a film, only the visual elements stay intact, while the auditory component is entirely replaced with a translation. However, when a film gets subtitled, both original visual and auditory components are intact; the actual translation is added to the original product.

Several elements differentiate the subtitling process from literary translation. The primary obstacle for a subtitle translator is a reduced scope. There are various ways that a literary translator could include additional explanations while translating a book. For example, they could use footnotes or even include an explanation directly in a text. It is impossible to carry out these practices while translating a film or a documentary. Subtitle translators often find themselves having to reduce or even omit certain information, while still trying to stay true to the message of a spoken text.

Furthermore, as far as translations of specialized texts are concerned, there are also some disparities. Most importantly, specialized translators have to respect the content of the original text strictly and should aim to produce a clear and comprehensible translation. The reason lies in strict relation to reality, so the translator cannot follow their personal interpretation while translating, as they are dealing with specific and informative content. Specialized translators should be knowledgeable about the specific terminology required for a particular translation while also considering the target audience. Contrary, the AVT translators have neither a temporal nor a spatial scope to be equally specific and particular in their translations of audiovisual content. However, most of that content (and the audience consuming it) is much broader and does not deal with such specialized topics as most of the specialized texts.

## **2.3 AVT CLASSIFICATION**

The standard classification of the audiovisual translation is based on whether the source and the target language remain the same or if there is a transfer from one language to another. Those categories are called the intralingual and interlingual audiovisual translation.

### **2.3.1 Intralingual audiovisual translation**

The intralingual translation indicates a shift from oral to written language while keeping the source and the target language the same. The same author usually produces this kind of written transcription. They would paraphrase their original text in order to explain or clarify it with different words. This kind of translation allows for the translated text to be generated at the practically same time as the original text, and it is usually significantly shorter than the interlingual translations. There are four types of intralingual translation.

The type that is most common, therefore rapidly developing, is the SDH, i.e., Subtitles for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing. As the name suggests, this kind of translation is directed to and prepared specifically for deaf people and people with hearing problems, making audiovisual content more accessible to that target group (Cintas, 2007: 14). Moreover, it can be used as a didactic tool for people with poor knowledge of a specific language used in a program (e.g., immigrants) (Cintas, 2007: 15). In most of the European countries, these subtitles can be accessed via teletext or by using the appropriate switch on the remote control. Most of the time, the subtitles on the screen will appear in different colors, depicting different persons speaking, and sometimes, the subtitles will even give out various paralinguistic information that cannot be read solely from the soundtrack of the program. For example, those could include sarcastic undertones in verbal statements or even auditory signals, such as knocking or human noises (Baker and Saldanha, 2009: 15). There are efforts and even legislations that are encouraging European television network providers and channels to enhance the percentage of broadcasts that include the SDH. One of the successful examples is the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), which accomplished to have their complete repertoire subtitled with the SDH (Cintas, Ramael, 2006: 5). Many European countries have much room for further progress.

The next type of intralingual translation is the audio description of the visual elements in an audiovisual product. That includes movies, TV shows and advertisements, and documentaries,

but it could also be used for audiovisual experiences such as museums, art galleries, dance and live events, city tours, et cetera. This kind of translation can be described as an additional narrative to the original dialogue, which describes and adds additional information about what is happening on screen, stage, or location. It can include depictions of an on-going action, the facial expressions, and wardrobe of characters or participants, the surroundings, and scenery. It is a helpful tool for blind people to appreciate the plot of the story or the phenomena (Cintas, Ramael, 2006: 6).

The third type of intralingual translation is called live or real-time subtitling. It is also known as re-speaking. These subtitles often require technical support, as they are usually implemented in live broadcasts, such as sporting events or TV news. That is accomplished with a unique type of keyboard on which it is possible to press two or more keys simultaneously and type syllables instead of single letters. Another helpful technological facet is voice recognition software; after a trained narrating interpreter repeats the words uttered in a broadcast, the software transfers that utterance into written lines (Cintas, Ramael, 2006: 7).

The last category of intralingual audiovisual translation is subtitling for the opera and the cinema, usually referred to as karaoke subtitles. They are used during musical performances, operas, and musicals, and consist of the translated or transcribed lyrics projected onto the screen or above the stage, generally using a subtitling machine (Cintas, Ramael, 2006: 9). The theatre subtitling process follows the same principles as screen subtitling, the only difference being in the speed of the subtitles. Theatre subtitles have to be a bit slower, as the audience's eyes have to cross the greater distance from the action on the stage to the display that is above the stage (Cintas, Ramael, 2006: 10).

### **2.3.2 Interlingual audiovisual translation**

Interlingual translation can be described as a replacement of the elements of the source language with the elements of the target language. This category is classified into two branches - voice-overs and subtitling.

Karamitroglou defined the first type of interlingual audiovisual translation, the voice-over, as *“the term used to refer to the audiovisual language transfer methods of dubbing, narration and free commentary collectively”* and that it *“describes the attempt to cover (partly or entirely) the spoken source text of original audiovisual production by a new spoken target”* (Karamitroglou,

2000: 5). Dubbing is also referred to as lip-sync dubbing because it completely encompasses the spoken source text with the target text, and it matches the lip movements of the original screen protagonists. On the other hand, voice-overs, in general, do not have to be restricted and completely faithful to the lip movements of the source matter, nor have a direct, literal translation. They should be recognized as a free interpretation of the original. That can also be noticed by the introduction of some additional elements to the source text, e.g., press comments or information (Karamitroglou, 2000: 5).

Subtitling is the other type of interlingual audiovisual translation. Karamitroglou wrote, “*Subtitling can be defined as the translation of the spoken (or written) source text of an audiovisual product into the written target text, which is added onto the images of the original product, usually at the bottom of the screen*” (Karamitroglou, 2000: 5). It should be mentioned that subtitling can be both intralingual and interlingual, but for the sake of distinction, this thesis will talk about subtitling specifically as an interlingual kind of translation. Furthermore, subtitling can be “open” and “closed,” the former entailing that the target text is a part of the screen and the audiovisual product, and the latter meaning that the subtitles are stored in a different format, e.g., teletext, and not a part of the original content.

## **2.4 HISTORY OF INTERLINGUAL AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION**

Ever since silent films arrived on the big screens, there has been a need for conveying and transmitting the action and dialogue between the characters to the viewers. The solution appeared in the form of “intertitles” – the predecessors of subtitles. Those were short paragraphs of text printed on a paper and placed in between each of the movie scenes. The first descriptive intertitles appeared in eighteen minutes-long Edwin Porter’s rendition of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in 1903. Besides being innovative in several other ways, its use of intertitles paved the way for what would become subtitles in the future. The text between visual sequences would describe what is going on in place of dialogue. Intertitles were among the most innovative moving picture technologies since the first films in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century France. However, the translation of that kind of subtitles was relatively simple. After removing the original text, the translated text would be re-filmed and inserted into the film. The alternative option was a translator who would translate the original



intertitles simultaneously to the audience. After the United States gained superiority within the film industry, demand for translated intertitles arose in a lot of other industrialized countries.

In 1909, the very first subtitles appeared when M.N. Topp invented a “*device for the rapid showing of titles for moving pictures other than those on the strip*” (Ivarsson, 2004: 1). Subtitles were projected to the screen below the intertitles with a gadget similar to a slide projector.

By the 1920s, the “talkies” gained momentum and popularity. Those were films that allowed sound and, therefore, dialogue, so the need for subtitles and dubbing concurrently increased. It was necessary to find a solution on how to circulate films despite language barriers and make them accessible to all movie-goers, no matter what language they spoke. Therefore, the question of translating on-screen dialogues became a significant concern for both North American and European film directors (Chiaro, 2009: 141). At first, a method called “multilingual filming” was implemented; the film would be shot multiple times in different languages, but this technique soon had to be abandoned (Ivarsson, 2004: 1).

#### **2.4.1 History of subtitling**

The sound films or, as already mentioned, the “talkies” came around in 1927. Finally, the viewers could hear the dialogue between the actors. That eradicated the need for intertitles, so they were no longer included in movies. Furthermore, the moviemakers decided to replace them with subtitles that were to be inserted directly onto the moving picture. That option was much cheaper than dubbing, so it became a standard in European countries. Ivarsson informs us that the Paris opening of *The Jazz Singer* was the first showing of a sound film with subtitles, on January 26, 1929. The movie was previously released in the United States in October of 1927. After the French subtitles, Italy was the next one to subtitle the same movie. The next recorded showing of a subtitled film was the opening of *The Singing Fool* in Copenhagen, with Danish subtitles (Ivarsson, 2004: 2).

The 1930s brought around films in color, so the subtitles displayed on the screen at the same time as the moving picture were finally patented. Filmmakers would stamp subtitles directly onto film strips, which sometimes made them difficult to read. Nevertheless, those were the stepping stone for the modern digitalized subtitles in the future.

Slowly, the experts were coming up with innovative new techniques in order to improve the quality of the finished product. One of the first approaches was called the optical method. It was the attempt to copy the photographed titles directly on the original film copy. However, that original negative was mostly not available, so they often had to duplicate the whole film to get a new film negative. That affected the quality of the visual and the audio; in other words, it resulted in a “*consequent loss of focus and a substantial increase in the noise level*” (Ivarsson, 2004: 3).

The method of stamping subtitles mentioned earlier was achieved through the mechanical and thermal process, which also did not provide efficient results. Leif Eriksen was the first to try stamping titles directly on the images of the film strip in 1930. He would first damp the emulsion layer in order to soften it, then continue to typeset the titles and print them on paper. After, Eriksen would photograph them in order to create small letterpress type plates for each of the subtitles. Five years later, O. Turchányi continued Eriksen’s work and attempted to heat those plates so he could melt away the emulsion on the film strip and avoid the Eriksen’s softening process. Unfortunately, both of the mentioned processes resulted in poorly defined letters that were strenuous to read (Ivarsson, 2004: 3)

R. Hruska patented the chemical process in 1932. He developed another technique to impress the titles straight on the moving picture, which was to apply a thin coat of either wax or paraffin to the emulsion part of the film negative. A printing press was used to heat the printing plates to nearly a hundred degrees’ temperature and pressed them against the paraffin coating at the bottom of the frame, which matched the position of the beginning of a subtitle line. The paraffin under the letters would melt and expose the emulsion. The process was repeated for all film frames that were supposed to have subtitles, matching the time of the spoken sequence. When the printing process was finished, the negative was immersed in a bleach bath, which would dissolve the exposed emulsion and leave only the transparent film negative. The finishing steps were to wash away the etching fluid and the paraffin off of it. The result would be clear and readable white letters on the screen. Later, the counter was used to simplify the whole process. The device would feed the plates forward, count the film frames on a roll and correctly place the subtitles, and ensure they were the correct length. Many countries still use this method today (Ivarsson, 2004: 4).

Presumably, the most efficient advancement in this field was the laser subtitling. This technique eliminated the need for typesetting and plates. It involves a computer that controls a

laser beam, which produces a subtitle of two lines in less than a second. Even though the laser method is one of the cheapest, the drawback of it is the requirement of high-level equipment (Ivarsson, 2004: 5).

The appearance of television changed the subtitling process significantly. It soon started to be apparent that the cinema prints are not compatible with new technology, causing various issues. Considering that the TV screen has a much narrower contrast range than the cinema one, it was no surprise that the subtitles crafted for big screens were practically indecipherable on a TV. Furthermore, TV watchers have significantly less time to read subtitles on a TV screen than on a cinema screen. The first subtitled film broadcast on television was the German feature-length movie *Der Student von Prag*; the BBC broadcast it in 1931 (Ivarsson, 2004: 5).

The process of subtitle production consisted of multiple people. First of all, a technician with no knowledge of the source language would do the spotting. In other words, he marked the “in-times” and “out-times” of each spoken part of a film into a dialogue list, and then these marks were converted to a specific number of characters. The second person involved was a translator whose job was to fit their translation within previously established and limited space. Very often, they would not have the chance to watch the film they were translating. Next, another technician would type the subtitles onto the plates (later on, those will be computer disks), and from those subtitles would be transmitted to the film. The result would frequently contain many mistakes and errors. However, since the 1980s, the entire practice has been changing for the better. Thanks to advances in computer technology and accessible subtitling programs, translators have been able to do all the work and control the process of timing, translation, and revision. Consequently, the likelihood of mistakes and faults decreased significantly (Ivarsson, 2004: 7).

#### **2.4.2 History of dubbing**

Even though this method of interlingual audiovisual translation first appeared in the United States, since it has mainly been used in Europe. Dubbing of movies in Europe begun in the late 1930s, and its history and methods of usage vary from country to country.

In general, the quality of dubbed films was not good, as only one person was used to dub all the characters and, usually, those were the translators themselves. Later on, post-synchronization was introduced, but the quality of the finished product did not drastically improve;

the text was poorly synchronized, the dialogues did not sound natural, the acting was not good, and the entire film did not sound good acoustically.

The next introduction in the field was live dubbing, which meant the same actors who starred in the motion picture were used as dubbing actors. The issue with this method was that since the dubbing was broadcast live, the actors could not correct themselves, so the translation was often full of errors. The circumstances of the recording were not ideal either. Actors had only one chair and one pair of earphones available, so they had to take turns, which resulted in audio that also included sounds of moving chairs, coughing, walking, et cetera. Therefore, the quality of these films was terrible as well.

Significant improvement was noticed when they started using the method of loop dubbing in 1964. The movie would be split into several loops, and all the actors would dub the film until the director was satisfied with the result. The downside of this technique was that it was very time-consuming.

The 1990s introduced the unilinear dubbing, which involved only one actor dubbing their character from the beginning to the end of the film, as many times as the film director deemed needed. Another advantage was that if the mistake was made, it was possible to repeat only that part. This method of dubbing was both faster and cheaper than all the previous ones, and it produced a better quality product. Nowadays, it is the method preferred by the majority of dubbing studios (Gilbert et al., 2009: 22).

## **2.5 INTERLINGUAL AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION TODAY**

There is no official or complete overview of the extent and the impact of AVT practices in Europe today. Nevertheless, there is a significant differentiation of the preferences in the European countries that could be observed and analyzed – the preference between subtitling or dubbing. For example, countries like the United Kingdom, Benelux and Scandinavian countries, Croatia, Greece, and Portugal are mainly “subtitling nations,” while other big and mostly central European countries like Spain, Germany, Italy, and France are considered “dubbing nations.” There are also countries like Hungary or Slovakia that use both of the methods – subtitling for cinema screens and dubbing for television.

Most common reasons that some of the countries prefer dubbing instead of subtitles are the profitable nature of generally expensive production of dubbing (considering the proportion of their market), as well as the political and social reasons. Nations such as Italy and Germany started using dubbing in the 1930s because they wanted to promote and protect their national languages, but control the broadcast content at the same time. As a contrast to that kind of reasoning, a preference for subtitling in, for example, northern European countries was a reflection of their open outlook towards different cultures and languages. Of course, the financial reasons were also a factor for smaller nations to choose subtitling, considering that subtitling cost from ten to twenty times less than dubbing (Koolstra et al., 2002: 324).

There are a few exceptions to these practices. Even though countries with a smaller number of inhabitants usually opt for subtitling, there are political entities such as Wales and Catalonia, which use dubbing as a way of promoting their minority language. Furthermore, even the countries that generally choose to subtitle, prefer to dub children's movies and programs. A new tendency arose in English-speaking countries; they started to subtitle incoming foreign films to make them more accessible to English-speaking audiences (Koolstra et al., 2002: 325).

### **2.5.1 Pros and cons of interlingual methods**

Two mentioned interlingual methods of audiovisual translation are the most widespread methods used all over the world. Both have advantages as well as disadvantages. However, neither of them should be proclaimed as the better or the worse. Naturally, both the translators and the viewers are familiarized and therefore accustomed to the method used in their country.

One can argue that subtitling is a better option because it is more natural and realistic as it does not change the original actors' voices. Nevertheless, dubbing could be seen as a tool that makes it easier to follow the plot because the viewer does not have to read the subtitles at the same time. These are, for sure, the most common arguments, but there are significantly more elements to take into account while deciding whether to subtitle or dub. These include different information processing, the relation with images, and the learning effects of subtitling and dubbing.

#### a) Information processing

Neither subtitling nor dubbing method is capable of translating the source text literally. Therefore, it arises the problem of the correct transfer of information which needs to be conveyed.

When we talk about subtitling, there is an obvious requirement for condensation when space and time limits imposed by the medium are taken into account. The translators have to make a difficult decision when deciding what to omit from the original text and how to do it. They have to find an appropriate balance between being concise and delivering an equivalent informational meaning as the original material (Koolstra et al., 2002: 327). As far as the dubbing is concerned, there are usually problems connected to the speech duration. Different languages can produce different lengths of utterances when conveying the same semantical content (Koolstra et al., 2002: 328).

When talking about the subtitles produced for those with difficulty hearing, we are referring to the subtitles that are in the same source language as the original spoken text. Those subtitles can also involve cases of redundancy between what has been said and what the viewer can read. However, that can also be the case with the “regular” subtitles if the viewer has any experience with the original foreign language.

Nowadays, many people have an excellent knowledge of foreign languages thanks to linguistic affinity, language learning at schools, or simply experience and exposure (Koolstra et al., 2002: 329). The problem of redundancy does not happen with the method of dubbing, as the original spoken text is completely removed from the visual product. On the other hand, this, unfortunately, leaves the translation vulnerable to manipulation and censorship (Koolstra et al., 2002: 330). Still, dubbing is very adaptable, which makes the translator’s job more manageable and less stressful. For example, the audience cannot notice a complete replacement of an untranslatable joke in a dubbed film, while if the same thing occurred in a subtitled film, the viewers could notice and be aware of the inevitable changes (Koolstra et al., 2002: 331).

The subtitles’ position on the screen reduces the surface of the moving picture, while it also takes away the viewers’ eyes and attention from the center of the screen. However, it was proven (Gielen, 2008) that the person who regularly watches subtitled programs and films adopts an unconscious skill that makes their eye be primarily focused on the area just above the subtitle line. That way, they do not miss much of the screen action, nor they have any trouble reading the subtitles (Koolstra et al., 2002: 331). On the other hand, dubbing is undoubtedly easier to follow. So much so that the audience often combines the TV watching with another activity. With an assumption that most of the viewers will not have sufficient knowledge of a foreign language on the screen, it is rational to conclude that the same level of multitasking is not possible while

consuming a subtitled content (Koolstra et al., 2002: 332). An occasion in which subtitled programs are more convenient to follow than the dubbed ones is when there is much noise around the viewer. In this case, they can simply read the subtitles and not lose any crucial information, while the loss of information in the same situation with a dubbed program is inevitable (Koolstra et al., 2002: 332).

As far as mental effort is concerned, subtitled content requires more concentration from the viewer than dubbed content. The viewer is simultaneously paying attention to both the visual story happening on the screen and subtitles. On the contrary, listening to the spoken text in a native language does not take any additional effort; therefore, it is less demanding mentally (Koolstra et al., 2002: 332).

Finally, regarding the efficiency in information processing, it is more effective to read the subtitles because reading is generally faster than listening. One research (Mangnus et al., 1994) showed that adults recalled the same amount and precision of information from both subtitled and dubbed programs. Furthermore, it was proved that children had more difficulty with the subtitled content, as to be expected (Koolstra et al., 2002: 333).

#### b) Images and subtitling

One of the arguments in favor of subtitling is that the subtitled programs are perceived to be more realistic because the original sound is not removed, as it is the case with dubbed programs. The most obvious reason is that the famous actors' voices are known worldwide, so that takes away from the realism of the audiovisual product (Koolstra et al., 2002: 335). On the contrary, dubbed materials could be seen as more familiar because the viewers can identify more easily with their mother language (Koolstra et al., 2002: 336).

Some of the film producers criticize the subtitling method of AVT because it affects their work and the presentation of aesthetically pleasing images they produced in the making of a movie as the subtitles overlap the moving picture (Koolstra et al., 2002: 336). Another subtitling disadvantage is that it affects the artistic unity of picture and sound, and it causes the viewer's attention to split, which is never the case with dubbed content (Koolstra et al., 2002: 337).

On the other hand, it is sometimes harder to produce the translation for the dubbed content due to the lip synchronicity. Dubbed, translated sentences should begin at the same time when the

actors start speaking and end when they stop. It should also be compatible with the lip movement. Those requirements cause either translation shortening or prolonging. Furthermore, they affect the vocabulary choices, as well as the tempo of utterance. Dubbing nations such as Italy or Germany take the precision of those elements seriously and with great importance. However, Germany tries to stay more faithful to the lip synchronicity, while Italy is paying more attention to the translation of the source text (Koolstra et al., 2002: 338).

As previously mentioned, the translating for subtitling programs also has obstacles, considering time and space limits imposed by the audiovisual material. Translators have to constrain their translation into a two-line subtitle, which often means that the translation is not optimal (Koolstra et al., 2002: 338).

c) Learning effects

Even though the primary source of knowledge a viewer is supposed to gain through watching audiovisual content is information provided in that content, there are a lot more skills that are not closely related to the content of a movie or a TV program but are possible to acquire. For example, watching subtitled content implies reading the subtitles. Being exposed to subtitled programs from a very young age could significantly help and improve children's reading skills. On the other hand, watching, and more importantly, listening to dubbed content can help viewers acquire new vocabulary in their native language. Rice and Woodsmall's study proved that children aged three to five learn two to five new words after watching television for just 15 minutes. (Koolstra et al., 2002: 341).

Even while watching subtitled programs, there is an opportunity to gain new vocabulary and knowledge of a foreign language, as the original sound is intact. A viewer is listening to a foreign language while simultaneously reading a translation in their native language. Consequently, and unconsciously, their brain is forming connections and familiarizing itself with another language. One in every three Dutch adolescents is confident that their knowledge of a foreign language benefits from watching subtitled content. Furthermore, the majority of them are convinced that watching TV or listening to the radio benefits them more than learning a language at school (Koolstra et al., 2002: 342).



A series of studies were conducted on Belgian students, which proved that they had learned words and their meanings after watching only a 15-minutes long, subtitled cartoon in a foreign language. It is important to mention that the studies included not only the most common and familiar languages like English or German but also less well-known languages, such as Hungarian and Chinese. Surprisingly, words in both types of languages were learned equally well (Koolstra et al., 2002: 342). There was also a Dutch study involving children in which the children aged 10 and 12 watched a documentary about animals in three different versions. One contained English spoken text and Dutch subtitles; one was in Dutch without subtitles; the last one was in English without subtitles. Even though they learned the most significant number of new words while watching the first version of a documentary, they also managed to understand some words after watching the third version (Koolstra et al., 2002: 342).

Based on these two studies, it can be concluded that both adults and children are capable of learning foreign words from subtitled content, even with only a short time of watching it. It can be added that watching foreign-language content with subtitles also improves the pronunciation of a foreign language (Koolstra et al., 2002: 342).

As it was already emphasized, there is no way to say which of these two methods of interlingual AVT is better or worse. Every country, based on their criteria, should have the right to decide on the type of translation method for each foreign audiovisual product they choose to broadcast.

### **3. SUBTITLING**

As already mentioned, the audiovisual translation can be classified into several categories. For the purpose of this thesis, further emphasis will be put on the subtitling method and subtitling practice.

It is common knowledge that in today's world, technology plays a significant role in the majority of people's lives. Screens are all around us, which makes it hard to avoid them; from homes, workplaces, public transport, et cetera. Cintas and Remael wrote that subtitling's value is

visible exactly in its crucial importance in our daily lives (Cintas, Remael, 2007: 5). We can run into subtitles on any screen that surrounds us, from TV sets, cinemas, to computer screens, even mobile phones. The reasons for watching those screens are also numerous; we might want to expand or improve our professional or academic situation, obtain necessary information we need in our daily lives, or simply enjoy the entertaining content. With the technology advancements, and considering that ever since the 1930s, the image has commonly been followed by the word, which has consequently needed to be translated, it is no surprise that subtitling has been “*one of the most thriving areas within the wider discipline of Translation Studies*” (Cintas, Remael, 2007: 8).

### 3.1 CLASSIFICATION OF SUBTITLES

There are many regards by which subtitling differs from other kinds of translation. Most importantly, subtitling does not only imply a transfer of text from a source language to a target language, but it also requires a shift from oral language to written language. Specifically, it involves a shift from one semiotic system to another, and that is why Gottlieb refers to subtitling as “*diagonal translation*” (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 78).

Subtitles can be divided into two types, and those will determine how much available time there is for their preparation. There are pre-prepared subtitles and live (real-time) subtitles. The former is made after the audiovisual content has already been shot, so there is enough time for the translator to do a quality translation. On the other hand, the latter is being made at the same time as the audiovisual program is taking place. That is a relatively new practice, used in live interviews, political statements, breaking news, et cetera. In that case, the translator has to produce a suitable translation even though they have limited time to do so (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 79).

Those two types of subtitles are additionally divided, both in two categories. Pre-prepared subtitles can be categorized according to the text density of content in question. The first, most commonly used type is the subtitling in complete sentences. The second type is the reduced variety, and it is used when there is no need to translate all of the information that has been transmitted in audio, because the viewers of the content can retrieve some of it from other content elements, such

as image, gesture or music. Live subtitles can be categorized into human-made subtitles and machine-translated subtitles (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 80).

Another possible and technical categorization of subtitles is open and closed subtitles. Open subtitles are burnt onto the image so they cannot be turned off or “removed.” On the contrary, with closed subtitles, the viewers can decide for themselves whether they want to use them or not (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 80).

Nowadays, there are two methods of projecting subtitles on the image that are being used. Those are the laser subtitling method and the electronic subtitling method. Regarding laser subtitles, they are imprinted on the film image, which makes them an indivisible part of the copy and, therefore, not possible to remove. Furthermore, the incredible precision of this method provides viewers with an excellent letter definition, allowing them to enjoy the content more. As far as electronic subtitles are concerned, they are not engraved on the film image but superimposed on the screen. This method allows the subtitles to be projected on any location of the screen, in any language or color, and without damaging the original film copy (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 82).

More often than not, there are multiple subtitled versions for the same movie. The reason is that subtitles can be distinguished depending on the medium used for the distribution of the audiovisual content. For example, there can be a version used for the cinema, the one for the DVD version of a movie, and one for the TV broadcast. The medium significantly affects the way subtitles are being produced. For instance, it is the accepted norm that it is easier for the audience to read the subtitles from the cinema screen than from small TV screens. Therefore, cinema may use up to a maximum of 40-41 characters in one subtitle line (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 84).

### **3.2 SUBTITLING PROCESS**

The beginning of the subtitling process is usually when a client (e.g., a distribution company or a TV station) gets in contact with a subtitling company and offers them a commission. After discussing general details, the first important step is for the subtitling company to watch the film to make sure that the copy is not damaged, conclude a dialogue list, and see if there is anything else that needs to be translated (e.g., songs, banners, et cetera). If the dialogue list is missing, it needs to be transcribed from the soundtrack. In some cases, the translator will only get access to the scenes that involve dialogue, with the rest of the film copy in black (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 90).

Spotting is the next step, and it is also known as timing and cueing. It is a decision-making process of determining the precise moments when the subtitle lines should appear on the screen (“in-time”) and when should they disappear from the screen (“out-time”). This job is usually carried out by technicians who may not have proper knowledge of the source language.

Then, a copy of the film and the dialogue are forwarded to the translator. However, sometimes the translator has to translate the dialogue without the screen version of the film or a transcript copy. The possible reasons are that a client is either afraid that illegal copies of the film will be produced, or there are tight deadlines. These situations, of course, make the translator’s job more difficult. It is crucial for the quality of a translation that the translator watches the film in its entirety before translating it. There are a few steps a translator should take while watching the content and before translating it. During the first viewing, the translators:

1. take notes of words, and expressions that could be ambiguous without enough context;
2. take notes of gender and number of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives that are not marked in English;
3. decide on the formality of the pronouns, depending on the context;
4. determine whether deictics (e.g., this/these) have screen referents, as it is sometimes unnecessary to translate them;
5. identify exclamations with no fixed meaning that may be understood only in some contexts.

The third step is the actual translation; in other words, when the translator starts translating the text from the source to the target language. The finished translation is then sent to the client, nowadays, mostly through the means of the e-mail (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 98). Since it is not the translator’s job to make the actual subtitles, but rather the translation of the dialogue, that same translation then has to undergo an adaptation process. Because of the limitations imposed by the medium, the adaptor has to adjust the translation to be the appropriate subtitle length. Furthermore, a revision and proofreading of the subtitles need to be executed, preferably by some other person than the translator, although that is not always the case. Spelling mistakes are easier to spot on the screen, so it is a priority for all mistakes to be corrected.

Before finally embedding the subtitles on the film, a simulation of the subtitled film is presented to the client. On the client’s request, changes can still be made. However, when the finished work is approved, the process of laser engraving begins. The laser subtitling method is

typically used for the cinema subtitles, while the method of electronic subtitling is used for events such as film festivals, as it is the cheaper method. After laser engraving the subtitles on the celluloid, the finished product is sent back to the client to screen it in the cinema or broadcast it on television (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 100).

### **3.3 SUBTITLING PROFESSIONALS**

There were three kinds of subtitling professionals mentioned in the previous passage. All three have a different but equally important role in the subtitling process.

1. The spotter is responsible for establishing the in-times and out-times of the subtitles. They usually do not have to be familiar with the source language but are experienced with shot changes and film business in general.
2. The translator is in charge of translating the source text of the film to the target language. They have to have an excellent knowledge of both the source and the target languages, as well as be the experts in the field of subtitling semiotics.
3. The adaptor is an expert in subtitling translation. They have to modify the translation so it fits the subtitling lines. That entails looking for synonyms and reshaping syntactical structures, without sacrificing the meaning of the original text. They sometimes do not know the source language.

With all that said, this classification does not mirror the real situation in the subtitling world. First of all, rarely are the spotter or the adaptor required to have adequate knowledge of the original language of the audiovisual material they are working with, which can significantly affect the quality of the final product. There are now fewer adaptors, as translators are often taking their place. Many professionals can manage both the translation and the adaptation, hence making themselves more versatile and productive, and consequently ensuring themselves different job positions. Nevertheless, some companies still see the distinction between the spotter, the translator, and the adaptor as relevant as in the past (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 103).

### 3.4 TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF SUBTITLING

#### a) Dialogue list and style guide

A dialogue list is a central document in the process of subtitling, and it makes the translator's work much more manageable. Even though they are the crucial element in the production of high-quality subtitles, unfortunately, dialogue lists are not common in the profession. It is one thing for students attending subtitling courses to work directly from the film soundtrack so they could improve their skills, but entirely another if a professional translator in a subtitling agency is not provided a dialogue list. It implies much more time required to finish a translation, as well as other obstacles (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 120).

Furthermore, subtitling companies often provide style guides, so everybody involved in the subtitling process could be informed about the specific parameters that should be implemented (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 120).

#### b) Spatial dimension and the maximum number of lines

There is a general rule that subtitles are limited to two lines. However, SDH frequently utilizes three or even four lines, while bilingual subtitling sometimes also has four-line subtitles (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 124).

The reason for standard subtitle positioning, which is horizontal and at the bottom of the screen, is that less screen action is happening at that section of the screen. Regarding one-line subtitles, some companies prefer using the top line while others prefer the second, bottom line. However, today's standard practice is to use the second line to keep the film image clean.

In some cases, subtitles can be moved from the screen bottom to some other position. Most often, that happens when the background towards the bottom of the screen is too light, something important is happening, or some relevant information is positioned there (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 125).

#### c) Number of characters per line

The maximum number of characters per line can vary depending on the guidelines or the type of software a specific subtitling company is using. Generally speaking, a one-line TV subtitle commonly consists of 37 characters. That number includes blank spaces and punctuation symbols.

However, the clients have the right to ask for a specific number of characters per line. That could be as little as 33 to 35 characters, or go up to 39 to 41 characters per line. Film festival screenings are the only events that allow a maximum of 43 characters per line. Cinema screenings and DVD content usually allow a maximum of 40 characters per subtitle line. Adaptors are usually informed about the specific number by their clients, after which the subtitling program takes care of counting (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 126).

As far as the minimum number of characters per line is concerned, there is usually no fixed number, although there are rarely subtitle lines with less than five characters. Regardless of the number of characters, every subtitle should remain on the screen for at least one second (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 127).

d) One-line and two-line subtitles

The general guideline is that there is no reason to use two lines if a subtitle is short enough to fit into one line. It is easier for the viewer's eyes to glance over one-liners than for them to run from one line to another. However, if we consider the correlation between the number of subtitle lines and the average viewer's reading time, we might want to rethink that guideline. This will be discussed further on in the thesis (3.5.4).

Furthermore, the subtitles should always be positioned at the same height on the screen, regardless of them consisting of one or two lines. If the subtitle is a two-liner, it is preferred to keep the top line shorter. However, that is not a strict rule, since it is not always even possible to implement it (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 130).

### **3.5 TEMPORAL DIMENSION OF SUBTITLING**

a) Spotting and subtitle duration

The process of spotting should ensure that there is temporal synchronicity of the subtitles with the utterances in the audiovisual program. In other words, a subtitle should appear when a person on the screen starts speaking, and it should disappear when they stop speaking. The precise cues are defined in hours, minutes, seconds, and frames.

Some studies show that if a subtitle remains on screen for longer than the time needed for viewers to read it, there is a tendency they will re-read it. Since that is not preferable, the recommended maximum exposure time for a two-liner to stay on screen is 6 seconds. Hence, when spotting a very long dialogue, it is better to split it up than to make one very long subtitle. A translator should use strategies to decide if there are any pauses or points where it would make coherent sense to split the text. If that is not possible, the original information should be effectively reduced. On the contrary, if there are a few very short one-line subtitles, it is recommended to put them together in a two-liner to avoid flashing subtitles (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 134-135).

b) Temporal synchronicity and multiple voices

Bad and incorrect timing of subtitles can be very annoying for the audience; thus, we can presuppose that temporal synchronicity has a lot of impact over the perceived quality of the subtitled program. If the subtitles appear too early or too late, they can detract the viewers from enjoying the program, as well as confuse them. Accurate timing is imperative as it strengthens the internal cohesion of the translated content, and it helps the audience to identify the right speakers of uttered statements.

However, there are some occasions when somewhat asynchronous subtitles cannot be avoided. It usually happens when the original dialogue is semantically dense, and it is difficult to summarize it or cut out some information. In these cases, it is allowed for subtitles to appear a few frames before the dialogue starts, as well as to remain on the screen for a fraction of a second after the utterance is over.

Regarding multiple speaking voices at one time, the subtitlers have to do their best at not confusing the viewer even further, as it could be difficult for the audience to distinguish who is saying what. There should be markers at the beginning of subtitle lines indicating different speakers, for example, in a case of people arguing on the screen and yelling over each other (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 136)

c) Scene changes and delay time

It is a general rule that the subtitle should disappear just before the scene cut occurs. In other words, it should not be on the screen longer than the scene itself. It is proven that if that happens and the subtitle stays on the screen for longer, a human eye recognizes it as a new subtitle,



and the viewer starts to re-read it. Be that as it may, nowadays, it is hard not to break this rule, especially while subtitling action movies. One of the strategies to avoid this issue is spotting more one-liners that remain on the screen very shortly, sometimes even for less than a second (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 137).

For a human brain to realize there has been a change in written text on the screen, there has to be a certain delay time between the subtitles. The adaptors of subtitles should aim for at least a few frames in between different subtitles so that the audience can register the change and absorb the new information (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 137).

d) One or two lines?

The studies on the reading speeds showed that it takes less time for a viewer to read a long subtitle than a short one. The reason is that they spend less time reading each singular word. Brondel claims, *“Average latency (0,35 sec) in perception seems to make two-line subtitles possibly less demanding of the viewer than, e.g., two successive one-liners, which require two onsets. Consequently, the overall “reading speed” in two-liner seems to offer the viewer more reading comfort”* (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 138).

According to this theory, the preferred option is to stick to a two-line subtitle whenever possible. Furthermore, a lengthy one-liner could be more difficult to interpret than two shorter subtitle lines. Of course, the subtitle adaptor has an important role in deciding and choosing the appropriate types of subtitles throughout the subtitled program (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 138).

e) Reading time and the 6-second rule

As already emphasized, a subtitle should stay on the screen long enough for the audience to read the written content comfortably. The subtitling professionals should keep in mind that the viewers not only have to read the subtitles but also be able to watch and absorb the visual content. They should take into account the audience’s reading time, i.e., their age and cultural background, as it could be frustrating for viewers to witness subtitles disappear before they had the chance to read them or to have a feeling they are spending more mental energy reading rather than watching the program.

According to the six-second rule, it takes an average reader six seconds to read a two-line subtitle without difficulties (Cintas, Rемаel, 2006: 140). The TV subtitles remain on the screen longer than those in the cinemas or on DVDs. The reason for that is a much broader audience that is watching television, as an average cinema-goer is usually perceived as more educated than a general TV watcher.

### **3.6 SEMIOTICS OF SUBTITLING**

Movies, as well as the majority of audiovisual content, have great semiotic complexity, which is represented in various cooperating sign systems that create a coherent story. One of the objectives of subtitles is to become a fluent part of that semiotic system. They are supposed to rely on and interact with the audiovisual program's different channels, of which the two of the most fundamental ones are the visual and the acoustic channels.

Before sound films, the cinema was, in a way, seen as a universal visual language that everybody could understand. However, in today's world, it is very prominent how images are not always universal and all-inclusive. Translators must take into account more than just the spoken language of an audiovisual program that is being subtitled, i.e., visually rendered information is just as important. Despite the globalization of cinematic traditions and the Eurocentric perspective about the universality of visuals, different cultures do not always share visual, oral, and linguistic traditions. Therefore, the problematic instances when a linguistic sign refers metaphorically to an iconographic sign that the source and the target audience do not share should not be a surprise for the subtitlers.

Delabastita recognizes four categories of communication channels:

1. Visual presentation – verbal signs (e.g., street names, newspaper headlines, et cetera)
2. Visual presentation – non-verbal signs (program's photography)
3. Acoustic presentation – verbal signs (e.g., dialogue or song lyrics)
4. Acoustic presentation – non-verbal signs (e.g., background noises or instrumental music)

#### **3.6.1 Subtitling and images**

While subtitling, the professionals must consider the interaction between words and images, as there are two possible occurrences. On the one hand, a process called “anchoring”

happens when the verbal channel further defines visual information. On the other hand, words and images can communicate approximately the same information, which is known as “redundancy” (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 146).

“Semiotic cohesion” is a term introduced by Chaume. He argues that cohesion in an audiovisual translation operates on a semiotic, and not only on a semantic or lexicogrammatical level. Some visual information the viewers see on the screen can be introduced in a gap in the subtitled dialogue. For example, in a written translation, a noun may be replaced with a pronoun. That is also possible in an audiovisual translation, but without the visual support, some of the similar exchanges might not make sense. That is why there should be perfect synchronicity between screen narration and written subtitles. However, different kinds of AVT content call for different levels of synchronicity (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 147).

### **3.6.2 Multimodality of language**

The movie dialogues are most commonly comprised of face-to-face communication. That makes the language used multimodal, i.e., the speech signals are invariably followed by visual information on the face, as well as in hand and body gestures. For that reason, the interaction between speech and gesture is known as the multimodality of language. Luckman suggests that the full meaning of dialogue can mainly be found in linguistic codes and language options, but he adds that these codes are certainly complemented with body gestures and facial expressions (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 148).

The field of AVT undoubtedly requires a lot more research in this area, as analysis and implementation of, e.g., even a simple nod, can be challenging for the subtitling professionals (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 148).

### **3.6.3 Opinions of subtitling**

The most significant difference between other kinds of written translations and subtitling is that the translated subtitled text is presented to the audience at the same time as the original utterances. That makes the subtitles susceptible to public criticism and, therefore, to negative opinions about their quality and accuracy. The viewers can simultaneously compare the source and the target texts; thus, the reception of the two messages is immediate, and it invokes the

“gossiping effect” or “feedback effect.” The audience is prompted to notice errors or erasures and possibly comment on them (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 149).

This “coexistence” of the original and the translated text has significant repercussions on a subtitled program. An example of a common strategy used to avoid “the feedback effect” is to keep the terms which have strong phonetic and morphological similarities in both languages (e.g., “*Hey, you’re being paranoid.*” – “*Ne budi paranoičan.*” instead of “*Ne pretjeruj,*”). If the translator uses the second option, the viewers might conclude that the translator missed the specific word they clearly heard on the soundtrack (in this case: “paranoid”) and did not go with, in their opinion, the most logical option.

Any person with the slightest knowledge of the source language can scrutinize and criticize the subtitling professional’s work. The audience might feel cheated if specific phrases were translated differently from what they think it would be appropriate or best. Furthermore, as the general public might not be familiar with imposed space and time limits of subtitling, they could critique an instance when a long utterance on the screen is only given a seemingly short subtitle (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 150).

There is an expression used by the experts - “half-way translation.” It alludes to the subtitles that deliver source phrases almost entirely literally. It is a widespread belief in the DVD industry that the more literal translation is, the more appreciated by the general viewer it will be. That is why the DVD subtitles are more often closer to the source language than TV or cinema subtitles.

The prominent weak point of the subtitling world, in general, is a lack of space for explanatory notes (e.g., footnotes). Media limitations prohibit the translator to further explain some intricate play on words, for example. Nevertheless, new developments are happening regarding this problem, such as the incorporation of translator’s notes on the screen (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 151-153).

#### **3.6.4 From speech to writing**

Another distinction of the subtitling process lies in its precondition to reproduce spoken language in the written form. That can undoubtedly affect the shape of the subtitles.

Screen speech can be scripted or spontaneous. Unscripted, spontaneous dialogues in TV programs, such as talk shows or documentaries, can present several challenges. Subtitling style can vary depending on the content genre; however, there are some basic and universal subtitling guidelines – grammar and lexis tend to be simplified, while intonation is maintained to some extent. Although not all elements of speech are lost, it would be hard to deliver them in their entirety because that would result in lengthy and most probably illegible subtitles.

Documentaries present a unique challenge considering the amount of information that must be conveyed. Unscripted speech can also require much clarification and rewriting due to possible uttered hesitations or repetitions. For example, in unscripted interviews, the person speaking could have limited knowledge of the language or use specialized vocabulary. Moreover, the subtitlers have to consider the target audience and decide on the form accordingly (Cintas, Remael, 2006: 155-157).

#### **4. SUBTITLING OF DOCUMENTARIES**

Documentary translation is an area that has rarely been discussed within the AVT field of study. An exploration of the particular characteristics of this mode of cinema will provide insight into the challenges of documentary translation and help in perceiving it as a distinct practice within the audiovisual translation. In this thesis, the focus will be specifically on the subtitling of documentaries, as opposed to the other AVT method used in documentary translation – the voice-over.

Documentary studies tend to neglect the subtitling as a method while discussing foreign films, while AVT research often overlooks the documentary form in discussing subtitling.

According to York, three main points concerning documentary that affect subtitling are:

1. The idea of authorship
2. The integration of image, sound, and text
3. The presence of impromptu speech (2006: 1).

The two most common methods used in the documentary translation are, as mentioned, subtitling and voice-over. The matter of translation is evident in both of these methods; with

subtitling, the original sound is intact, while in voice-over, the original voices remain audible, but their volume is lowered. The focus of this thesis, as already mentioned, will be on subtitling. Subtitling allows the examination of occurring double shift – not only the transfer from the source to the target language, as in all interlingual translation methods, but also the shift from speech to writing.

#### 4.1 CURRENT RESEARCH STATUS

Only a couple of authors wrote articles specifically about documentary translation, and some of them spoke of neglect of that type of translation within AVT research. Franco, for example, calls to attention that only 21 of 1241 entries in the 1997 edition of Gambier's *Language Transfer and Audiovisual Communication: A Bibliography* refer to non-fiction movies (York, 2006: 5). The disregard of documentary translation within AVT research is reflected in terminology as well. Feature-length fiction films are regularly referred to as “films” or “movies,” while the rest of cinema modes, such as documentary or animated films, are commonly given descriptive adjectives. For instance, as a preposition of further research of subtitling, Cintas suggests a “*comparison between the subtitling of films and the subtitling of other audiovisual genres such as documentaries or TV series*” (2004). He even implies that “*films*” are considered superior to other audiovisual programs. Interestingly, the primary meaning of the word “film” is dark plastic-like material that can record images as photographs or as a moving picture, but it came to be used metonymically to refer to fiction movies. However, documentaries have also been shot on films, they can also be feature-length, and can be displayed theatrically. It is evident that more research has to be done, specific to not only the nature of AVT but taking into account the characteristics of a documentary that makes it a unique mode of cinema.

On the other hand, documentary studies, but also film studies in general, have regularly overlooked subtitling as an essential element of audiovisual content. Nornes phrased it like this, “*There is no question that English-language criticism about foreign cinema has taken the mediation of subtitles entirely for granted. (...) This absence speaks doubly of the dominance of the image and the utter suppression of the subtitler’s central role in enabling a film’s border crossing*” (1999: 20).

## 4.2 HISTORY AND DEFINITION OF DOCUMENTARY

There are four main modes of cinema, and documentary is one of them. The rest are fiction, experimental film, and animated film. The First Lumiere brothers' films in 1895 were starting ground for cinema, and they were, in fact, non-fiction motion pictures. Those early "actualities" differed significantly from what we consider movies today. They were the length of a film reel (one minute), shot with a static camera from a fixed position, and had no color or sound. However, they formed a concept of non-fiction filmmaking "*a direct, nonnarrative record of actual people doing actual things*" (Barsam, 1992: 28).

Non-fiction filmmaking is a broader term than documentary, as it covers other forms, such as the newsreels, travel and ethnographic films, industrial and educational films, war propaganda, the home movies, and archival footage (York, 2006: 8). All of them present "real-life" events; the main distinguishing element of documentary form is that documentary goes past reporting to incorporate the notion of authorship. The documentary director interprets and presents information and occurrences from a specific perspective; "*Documentary, therefore, occupies a complex zone of representation in which the art of observing, responding, and listening must be combined with the art of shaping, interpreting, or arguing*" (Nichols, 1995).

British filmmaker John Grierson is considered to be a coiner of the term "documentary" (1926), even though the same term had already been in circulation for a couple of decades in France to describe travelogues. Grierson described documentary as "*the creative treatment of actuality,*" which he believed should be dramatic in the same measure as it is instructional. He believed documentaries should have a social purpose since they had the potential to shape public opinion. The concept of a documentary being a vehicle for social change and a method of informing ordinary people of possible issues of concern has remained strong to the current day (York, 2006: 9).

Grierson impacted many researchers who went on to characterize documentary as dealing with social analysis or argument; the documentary is "*the very opposite of escapist entertainment*" (Rabiger, 1992: 5). Nonetheless, that is a very much limiting definition. Not only does it disregard the observational approaches to documentary filmmaking (the late 1950s and 60s) known as "direct cinema," but it also overlooks the trend of the personal or autobiographical documentaries, in which the filmmaker makes themselves the subject of their work (York, 2006: 11).

### 4.3 DOCUMENTARY ELEMENTS

Every cinema mode has its production methods and construction elements. The same way as fiction is created with the help of actors and scripts, or animated films use frame-by-frame techniques, documentary also depends on specific strategies. Documentary does not have a regular script or screenplay which would frame the premise of shooting or present the plot, characters, and setting. If there is any, a documentary script will probably resemble a research report, including the director's notes, intentions, and participants' descriptions. Furthermore, documentary does not use professional nor amateur actors, but participants (subjects) who play themselves. The crews are usually small, and there are no sets; shooting is done on location without many alterations, although interviews can occasionally be shot in studios (York, 2006: 14).

There is a limited number of elements that construct a documentary. Regarding images, they encompass action footage (people, landscapes, objects, et cetera), existing library or archival footage and still photos, people talking to each other, whether acknowledging the presence of the camera or not, and interviews with the interviewer being either present or behind the scene. Sound elements include narration (by a professional narrator, the director, or a participant), voice-over sound (an audio-only interview or an off-camera voice), synchronous sounds recorded during shooting, sound effects, and music (Rabiger, 1992: 277-278).

Narration, as a distinct form of cinematic writing, is mostly specific to documentary. It is an element added to the soundtrack that generally usually serves to emphasize and explain what is happening in the image, also known as commentary. The prevalent method of narration, used since the 1930s, has been what is commonly known as the "voice of God." This unseen, usually male voice is addressing the audience from a place of authority, conveying information, and presenting an argument. This kind of narration is still commonly used in TV news reports and some documentary genres, e.g., wildlife films. A critique of that kind of authoritative narrator is that it forces a passivity rather than engaging the audience. Furthermore, some filmmakers feel that the narration is only the aid of an unimaginative or inexperienced director (York, 2006: 15-16). On the other hand, narration can be used in various ways; for example, it can be used as a concise storytelling tool or present an ambiguous counterpoint to the visuals (Bruzzi, 2000: 57).

There are two different narration forms – the third-person ("extradiegetic") narration uses the anonymous voice that comes from outside of the plot; and the first-person ("intradiegetic")



narration, which is that of one of the people on the screen (MacDougall, 1998: 101-102). A lot of “point-of-view” documentaries avoid narration altogether and are built entirely on interviews and direct recordings of participants.

In those documentaries, the argument or story is entirely built through the voices of participants themselves, not depending on the filmmaker’s contribution. One of the most notable elements of the documentary form is interviewing. The filmmaker gets access to a person’s thoughts and feelings and then shapes them through the editing process to fit the storyline. It is important to mention that the final interview segments seen in the films, whether formal or informal, have been edited and condensed, probably from hours of material. The interviewer’s questions are most often edited out, and the participants’ answers have been shortened (York, 2006: 17).

#### **4.4 NOTIONS OF AUTHORSHIP**

An unprecedented event happened in France when a teacher who participated in a 2002 feature-length documentary film filed a lawsuit against the producers for infringement of his intellectual property rights. *Film Etre et avoir (To Be and To Have)*, which unexpectedly became one of the most successful documentaries in French history, centered around a single-class school in rural France taught by a dedicated teacher, Mr. Lopez. His lawyers argued that his lessons were an original intellectual creation. Therefore, he should be compensated for their use, as well as for the use of his voice and image, and get the status of “co-author of the audiovisual work.” The court ruled that because Mr. Lopez agreed to be filmed, he had given consent for his image to be used; hence he should not receive any payment (York, 2006: 19). This case made it clear - despite how central to the film’s argument or success the subjects of the documentary are, they are not the “co-authors,” nor should they be paid. Participants are always acknowledged and thanked in a film’s end credits, but rarely there has been a case when they were given shared director credits (York, 2006: 20).

Therefore, in most documentaries, the subject’s voice is filtered through the filmmaker’s channel. They, as well as the editors, decide which parts of the interview they will use to best suit the film’s storyline, and that determines whether the participants will end up in the film. Even if

there is some ambiguity in a participant's impromptu speech, filmmakers can decide which interpretation they favor, without contacting the speaker for clarification purposes. Even though directors generally treat their subjects with respect and rarely they intend to manipulate or distort the subject's words, the translators are aware that there are always shades of meaning and decisions to be made in the translating process. Furthermore, the filmmakers, unlike participants, can ask to revise the subtitle list and request changes, and therefore have even more influence over the interpretation of a participant's words. (York, 2006: 21-22).

#### **4.4.1 The source text in documentary**

The filmmaker is the one who has the final say on interpretation of the participant's words, as it is highly improbable that the participant would ever be asked for any clarification. When it comes to translating and subtitling the source text of a documentary, the main issue is determining the author. Is it the filmmaker, who structured the film according to a specific argument or storyline, or the participant, whose actual words have to be translated? It is the translator's job to attempt to interpret, as translation is an act of interpretation, what did the author of the source text "mean" from a spectrum of different meanings. York believes that, from a translator's point of view, the participant should be seen as the author of the source text, and the filmmaker as the author of the cinematographic work (2006: 23).

When it comes to fiction, it is apparent that the authors of the source text are the scriptwriters and directors, not the actors. Hatim and Mason presented the notion of text producer and text receiver, which refers to how speakers adjust their speech for different audiences. The notion distinguishes four types of listeners: "addressees," who are directly addressed and have the most effect on text producer's style; "auditors," who are known to the speaker but not directly addressed; "overhearers;" and "eavesdroppers." In fiction movies, characters speak to each other as addressees, but the dialogue is intended to be heard and comprehended by the audience members, who are auditors. For the reason that these mass auditors have the actual influence on the style of a script and dialogue, *"typically, subtitlers make it their overriding priority to establish coherence for their receivers, i.e., the mass auditors, by ensuring easy readability and connectivity; their second priority would be the addressee-design of the fictional characters on screen"* (Hatim, Mason, 1997: 84).

Hatim and Mason visualize the fiction dialogue through this schema (1997: 83):

Text producer 1 – scriptwriter

Text producer 2 – character A on screen

Text receiver 1 – character B on screen

Text receiver 2 – cinema audience

York suggests the following modification for the unscripted documentary speech (2006: 24-25):

Text producer 1 – participant

Text producer 2 – film director

Text receiver 1 – another participant or off-screen interviewer

Text receiver 2 – cinema audience

Participant’s speech in documentaries is unscripted; therefore, the primary addressees are other participants or the interviewer, and it generally does not take into account the cinema audience. Therefore, the documentary subtitlers might make their “*overriding priority*” to respect the participant’s intended meaning.

Because filmmakers have authority over the participants’ words, there is a possibility that in the editing process, the living person who was a part of shooting and was interviewed is reduced to a two-dimensional representation of that person, which only serves to the film’s point – a “character.” That character takes away from the individual’s complexity, emphasizing only those aspects of the person that contribute to the film’s storyline, and typecasting an individual into their social role. The subtitlers are involved in the process when the film is completed, so they get to know only the “character,” i.e., the constructed representation of a participant. York believes that, even though it could be pretty simple to translate the “character’s” words, the subtitler should have a responsibility to the “participant.” Subtitler’s decisions have the power to counteract the reduced typecast and restore their individuality, even emphasize personal identity. York calls that a “*participant-centered*” approach to subtitling (2006: 25-26).

In a case of opposing position between the filmmaker’s and the participant’s communicative intents, i.e., when a participant has a different standpoint than the film’s original argument, the general tendency is for subtitlers to uncritically recognize the filmmaker’s

interpretation and create a translation that supports the filmmaker's position. On the other hand, in the participant-centered approach, the translator should try to overlook the filter of the filmmaker's interpretation while translating the participant's words (York, 2006: 32-33). York believes that kind of approach is most respectful of everyone involved in the film, as well as the audience. It leaves viewers open to an array of reactions, which corresponds to the idea that *"the translator's task should be to preserve, as far as possible, the range of possible responses; in other words, not to reduce the dynamic role of the reader"* (Hatim, Mason, 1990: 11).

#### 4.5 IMAGE-TEXT INTERACTION

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, when talking about subtitling, many authors often instantly mention the notion that the subtitling process is restricted by constraints, i.e., existing translation constraints combined with specific constraints on subtitles. Gottlieb specifies that subtitling is bound by both formal, i.e., "quantitative constraints" (time/space limitations), and textual, i.e., "qualitative constraints" (relation between text and visuals) (1992: 164-165).

Not all of the constraints necessarily call for text reduction or compression. However, various authors often associate and merge constraints with reduction. Nornes talk about a *"violent reduction"* and quite belligerently states that subtitlers are *"corrupt,"* as well as that *"they conspire to hide their repeated acts of violence through codified rules and a tradition of suppression"* (1999: 18). Gottlieb is less polemical when he remarks that subtitling generally does condense dialogue; one reason being that it *"crosses over"* from speech to writing, and another reason is technical and perceptual constraints (2004: 87). Even though it seems that subtitling inevitably entails reduction, York emphasizes that is not always the case, with examples of stylized movies with not much dialogue, and fiction action films that require little to no omission. She also notes that different subtitlers can have different subtitling styles and choose to condense dialogue more or less than others. Moreover, some languages could require less compression depending on how long or short the target text in that language is. Furthermore, it has to be taken into account that the differences between fiction dialogue and the impromptu speech of documentary can also influence the need for subtitle condensation or omission (York, 2006: 39).

It is clear that before making absolute statements about subtitling reduction, more research needs to be done. There are significant discrepancies between some suggested amounts of

reduction in subtitling, which are generally provided without any source or legitimate research; some authors suggest that subtitling implies up to 70 percent of reduction from original texts, while most of them agree on the generality of about 20-40 percent (York, 2006: 39-40).

It appears that the need for reduction in subtitling varies according to factors like language and mode of cinema, but it has also varied through AVT history. Today there is less text compression and omission than before, thanks to a changing conception of the purpose of subtitles. York believes reduction should be considered to be “*a convention of subtitling,*” rather than an inherent characteristic of the process (2006: 41). There is a possibility even less reduction necessary in the future; several Belgian studies of reading speed suggest that viewers can read subtitles quicker than it was believed (Gottlieb, 1992: 165), while studies of the reading behavior of viewers by de Linde and Kay show that “*reading times tended to follow the pace of discourse; quicker subtitle rates induced quicker reading, and vice versa*” (York, 2006: 41).

#### **4.5.1 Constrained translation**

One of the dimensions of space and time limitations imposed by the medium is the fact that subtitles are read, not heard. The viewer must mentally absorb two different visual information – on-screen action and written text, which creates tension between dynamic and static information (York, 2006: 42). On the one hand, this could be a frequent challenge in fiction films; for example, there might be some crucial information presented in the image that would make the subtitler consider condensing the dialogue to free up the viewer’s eye to follow that visual information. On the other hand, if we consider documentary, static information (dialogue) is generally more essential to the storyline than dynamic information. Interviews are great examples of scenes in which “*the storyline is not being built up dynamically but statically*” (Titfordrese, 1982: 114).

Subsequently, there is minimal tension between the subtitles and other visuals, i.e., the viewer has enough time to read the subtitles without any risk of missing the action. What that means for the subtitlers is that they are not confronted with the same spatial and temporal limitations as in content characterized by dynamic information (York, 2006: 52). They can use the maximum number of characters per line without having to worry about other elements, and, in that way, also transfer as much (coherent and cohesive) information as possible, as documentary is the cinema mode that regularly has a lot more condensed dialogue and more speech in general.

### **4.5.2 The verbal-visual channel**

Considering that the concept of constrained translation, like most of the theoretical work on subtitling, is based on fiction films, subtitles are frequently seen as an additional, extraneous component of the audiovisual content, superimposed on the image of the finished product. York proposes that text, as the verbal-visual communicative channel, has always been a notable element present in films, especially documentaries (2006: 45). When talking about specific characteristics of documentary as a cinema mode, it is important to recognize that text is a part of not only the foreign-language version of documentaries (as subtitles) but also of the original.

The types of texts that are most commonly present in the original of both fiction and documentary are opening and closing credits, as well as appearances of any kind of signs, letters, et cetera. However, documentary commonly uses specific kinds of texts that are not typically found in fiction. Prominent examples are the titles identifying the participants, computer graphics (e.g., charts, maps), and captions that serve as disclaimers or give context or updated information (York, 2006: 46). Those captions can be still or rolling. Some other relevant kinds of text found in documentary films are also newspaper headlines, advertisements, posters and banners, leaflets, book covers, et cetera.

Text is undoubtedly a dominant component of film as a mode of cinema, and it is one of the two visual channels. Moreover, the original version of documentary can often present various forms of text, only one of which is subtitles. York believes this is the reason why there is no need for extensive reduction of subtitles, despite subtitling being constrained by the image-text interaction, and by that confronting the general tendency of perceiving subtitles as an intrusion on the picture and therefore maximally reducing them, even when there are available time and space. York suggests to stop viewing subtitles as the extraneous adjuncts that are supposed to be used sparingly, specifically referring to documentaries in which verbal-visual signs are frequent and numerous, but to view them as an essential communicative element (York, 2006: 47-48).

## **4.6 IMPROMPTU SPEECH IN DOCUMENTARY**

Fictional dialogue, although it is modeled on natural speech, is still a carefully prepared imitation and impersonation that has various functions. Some of those functions are creating the

fictional world, carrying the plot ahead through “verbal events,” and exposing the characters’ personalities, through both the spoken words themselves and the way those words are uttered (e.g., accents or verbal tics). Some parts of fictional dialogue represent small talk or everyday conversational exchanges; however, “*the actual hesitations, repetitions, digressions, grunts, interruptions, and mutterings of everyday speech have either been pruned away or, if not, deliberately included*” (Kozloff, 2000: 18).

Cinema is primarily considered to be a visual medium. That is reflected even in a simple use of language, as “viewers watch” movies. Even scriptwriting manuals commonly promote the rule that “*dialogue should be kept to a minimum*” (Kozloff, 2000: 28). However, it would be unrealistic to ask documentary participants to speak sparingly. Moreover, moments of hesitation and breaks in utterances in fiction could break the narrative flow, but not offer real purpose; while the same moments in documentary emphasize the spontaneity and genuineness and familiarize the viewer with the participant’s personality.

Bakhtin defines speech genres as kinds of utterances that have the same thematic content, style, and compositional structure (1986: 60), and insists there is the fundamental distinction between primary (simple) and secondary (complex) speech genres. Primary speech genres take form in “*unmediated speech communion*,” while fiction film dialogue would be considered a secondary speech genre, along with novels or scientific research. Bakhtin notes that when the primary genre enters into the secondary one, it gets adjusted and “*lose their immediate relation to actual reality and to the real utterances of others*” (Bakhtin, 1986: 62).

The translator should take into account those differences between scripted dialogues found in fiction movies and the spontaneous speech found in documentaries and particular TV programs. Moreover, Translation Studies should guide its scholars and their research to make a distinction between the process of subtitling (or dubbing) fiction movies and, on the other hand, documentary type programs containing spontaneous speech. Unfortunately, that is a rare practice (York, 2004: 61). For example, Frederic Chaume in his study examines “*discourse markers indispensable to the logical composition of ordinary conversation or written discourse*,” specifically “*the particles now, oh, you know, (you) see, look, and I mean, particles which clearly help in the production of coherent conversation and, especially, make clear the speaker’s intentions and show what the speaker intends to do with words*” (2004: 844). In his research, he does acknowledge multiple

audiovisual text types, “*films, documentaries or cartoons*” (2004: 844). However, Chaume chose to examine Spanish translations of Quentin Tarantino’s *Pulp Fiction* (1994), ignoring the fact that those are translations of scripted dialogue, rather than of natural conversational speech. It should be evident that discourse markers in fiction films play different roles than they do in everyday conversations, and that “*linguists who use film dialogue as accurate case studies of everyday conversation are operating on mistaken assumptions*” (Kozloff, 2000: 19).

#### 4.6.1 Spoken and written language

Documentary film is characterized by “spontaneous speech” or “impromptu speech.” However, narrations found in documentary films have more in common with scripted speech than with other forms of spoken language in documentary, which most often are impromptu. That is why, in this thesis, the term “documentary speech” primarily entails those other forms, such as interviews, rather than narration.

Scholars who observed spontaneous spoken language concluded that it is constructed in spurts or “idea units” that last for about two seconds and are bounded by pauses. That fragmented character of speech is what distinguishes it from the integrated nature of written language (Chafe, 1982: 37). However, Chafe and Danielewicz came to a different conclusion after they compared the style of languages in four samples (conversations, academic lectures, letters, and academic papers), and realized that even though some of the differences between the styles of language arise from the fact of them being either spoken or written, “*more often, there were additional factors of language use which interacted with the spoken-written distinction*” (Chafe, Danielewicz, 1987: 86). One of the examples is that “*speakers tend to operate with a narrower range of lexical choices than writers*” for the reason that they decide on their words a moment before uttering them, without being able to edit them (1987: 88).

Since impromptu speech originates from a thinking activity in the mind of a speaker, it is easier to deliver it in the target language. As Danica Seleskovitch notes, “*Impromptu speech is readily understood and translated, while prepared speeches make greater demands on the interpreter and prove less amenable to successful rendering*” (Seleskovitch, 1982: 241).

Concerning translation, there is one main difference between scripted dialogue and impromptu speech. Whereas scripted dialogue is primarily written, then performed, hence spoken,



and lastly written again as subtitles, impromptu speech only shifts from spoken to written. Even though all subtitling forms technically transfer speech into writing, the subtitling of documentary presents a specific challenge of transforming the speech not initially envisioned as writing into written form. As a solution to this situation, York suggests pushing the subtitles closer to speech. In other words, the subtitler should try to incorporate the characteristics of impromptu language into its written adaptation. That kind of subtitling approach would take into consideration the specific characteristic of the documentary mode of cinema (York, 2004: 65-66).

A shift towards standardization is recognized as one of the tendencies, even norms, in the subtitling process, as it is an inevitable consequence of transferring speech into written form. Linguistic characteristics of speech are often neutralized in subtitles. Gambier explains it as the presence of “*a certain sanctity attached to written discourse in our culture*” (1994: 280). In addition to that, subtitles generally have an organizing role, e.g., they transform a chaotic conversation of multiple people interrupting each other into a series of coherent phrases that neatly follow each other in subtitle lines. However, in documentary, the standardization bias could diminish the viewer’s perception of the participant’s personality and way of expression (York, 68-69). The impromptu speech present in documentary indicates not only what the participants say, but also the way they say it. Some types of information delivered by participants may not have much semantic meaning; however, it could still play a role in, for example, interpersonal meaning, if we talk about interpersonal forms of address, which tend to be omitted from cinema subtitling. York believes that if that information is available to the audience of the original version of a documentary, it should also stay available to the audience of the subtitled version (2006: 72).

Hatim and Mason recognize the difference between “use-related” variation in language (the registers used in different situations) and “user-related” variation (social and geographical dialects, idiolect) (1997: 97-110). Idiolect is an individual’s unique way of using language (e.g., word choices, pronunciation, overused structures), which, when systematically repeated and used with a particular purpose, “*becomes a noteworthy object of the translator’s attention*” (Hatim, Mason, 1997: 103). As features of idiolect further highlight participant’s individuality, York promotes to preserve them while subtitling documentary (2006: 76).

Similarly, Assis Rosa distinguishes between “referential” function and “expressive and phatic” functions of language. She notes that subtitles primarily consider the former while ignoring

the latter; that they emphasize content rather than interpersonal involvement (2001: 216). The expressive function reflects the participant's state of mind and their opinion of the uttered content. The phatic function involves establishing and maintaining social contact while expressing general sociability. By minimizing these functions in subtitles, along with interpersonal involvement, the focus remains on the information content. What this means for watchers of the subtitled documentary is that they might get less emotionally attached to the subject matter than those who watch the original. Therefore, they will miss out on both the filmmaker's and participant's intentions (York, 2006: 76).

#### **4.7 DOCUMENTARY TERMINOLOGY**

Audiovisual non-fictional products cover a wide variety of subjects that can involve different specialization levels. When considering genre characteristics, the documentary subjects are often recognized as one of the main challenges while translating, as documentaries deal with a wide range of topics. Translators are forced to do research and embark on terminological quests in different specialized fields. Although translators are generally not specialized in those fields, they have to utilize their time to gather all the necessary information about any particular area to understand the documentary film in question and to be able to translate it. Documentary topics can range from technology, medicine, finance to social issues, history, wildlife, and more. The level of specialization in documentaries depends on its intention and its target audience. However, they always contain terminological units and specific terms that could pose problems to translators (e.g., scientific nomenclature in wildlife documentaries) (Matamala, 2009: 4).

“Terms” are defined as multidimensional lexical units that obtain specialized meaning according to discourse conditions (Matamala, 2009: 5). The translator should be able to understand all meanings related to each unit and render them in the target language. When translating documentaries and similar programs, that will acquire specific terminological searches. The first approach is to extract the maximum amount of information from the documentary film itself, paying attention to the context in connection to terminological units. Also, the visual clues can be beneficial, primarily when the speaker uses a generic term, but the translator must use a more specific and technical term. The second step in terminological search should be consulting with different specialized reference work, terminological databases, Internet resources, and even

contacting specialists. When the translator is confident in their understanding of the term, they must decide on an acceptable equivalent, as there are always possible variations. On the contrary, some terms might not even exist in some minority languages, especially concerning new, English-dominated fields. Documentary translators are sometimes forced to create new terminology, as they are constrained with tight deadlines and not have time to consult with specialists or find some other solution (Matamala, 2009: 5).

#### **4.7.1 Working constraints**

Although working against the clock is a general characteristic of the majority of translation types and within all genres, it is specifically relevant for documentary translation. The reason is that documentary translation often requires more time because of the extent of research it demands regarding the specialized terminology it usually involves. Therefore, deadlines can be considered as another of the documentary translation main constraints (Matamala, 2009: 2).

Another possible obstacle during the translation process is the availability of a postproduction script, as well as the quality of the transcription when it is available. Although many scholars agree that the script is essential in the translation process, often the translators do not have access to it. That situation is extremely challenging, considering the abundance of terminological units and proper nouns. Moreover, even if a transcript is available, that does not guarantee that it is correct (Matamala, 2009: 3). Translators should always use them as a reference point, along with watching the documentary film itself and doing additional research through different sources, such as the Internet.

## **5. CASE STUDY: SUBTITLING OF THE DOCUMENTARY “SHE’S BEAUTIFUL WHEN SHE’S ANGRY”**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The following case study is based on the experience I gained during my MA Studies, specifically while I was attending a course Translating the Language of the Media.

The first problem I encountered was finding an audiovisual product that has not yet been subtitled into Croatian. After eliminating fiction films and TV shows, as they are often already subtitled, a documentary seemed like the right solution. Not only because not many of them are translated into Croatian, but also taking into account that my other major is History. That meant I could use my preexisting knowledge, depending on the documentary subject I chose. I decided on the feature-length documentary *She's Beautiful When She's Angry*, released in 2014 and directed by Mary Doe. The film deals with the earliest period of American second-wave feminism from the mid-sixties until 1971. The story is presented by the actual women who were a part of the women's liberation movement at that time. The purpose of subtitling a historical documentary concerning social issues was to establish if it is possible to convey all the relevant and specific information to the viewers despite space and time constraints imposed by the medium, while not sacrificing the portrayal of personal feelings and individuality of the participants. After watching the film, the second obstacle was acquiring a transcript of the original soundtrack. I obtained it from an Internet website that provides movie scripts and then proceeded to examine and edit it so I can utilize it for translation. The next step was the translation from English into Croatian. Once the translation was completed, I chose *Subtitle Workshop* as a subtitling software to create the subtitles, as I had already been familiarized with it and find it easy to use. The process of creating subtitles, besides spotting, involved adapting my written translation to subtitle form. Some modifications had to be made; I had to decide what to reformulate, condense, or omit, while still keeping in mind the original meaning of the source text. The entire Croatian subtitles are available in Appendix.

## 5.2 FILM SYNOPSIS

The filming process of the documentary *She's Beautiful When She's Angry* lasted for 15 years before it was finally completed, and the film was released in 2014. This 92-minutes long film tells a gripping story of the beginnings and evolution of the second wave of feminism. It depicts the events since the release of Betty Friedan's book *Feminine Mystique*, which sparked the entire movement, until the big women's march on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of women's right to vote. What makes this film unique is that it is not told from the perspective of the most recognizable faces of the movement, but from the real main actors, the women who were involved with the women's liberation movement since the beginning and played some crucial roles in significant

changes and accomplishments happening in that period. Furthermore, the film does not shy away from different and often contradictory perspectives of the participants considering important issues. It includes the process of organizing both the most prominent groups, such as NOW, and the more radical ones, e.g., Black Sisters United and Lavender Menace.

One of the characteristics of the film is that it has no narrative framework; it is entirely composed of interviews with around 30 participants and the archival footage. The documentary does not strictly follow the chronological order of events; it is divided thematically, and it focuses on key moments that defined the women's struggle for liberation. Some of the main issues that are covered are: job discrimination, objectification, segregation, poetry, lesbianism, sexuality, rape culture, abortion, childcare, contraception, et cetera.

The importance of the documentary *She's Beautiful When She's Angry* lies in its relevance; most of the central issues portrayed are still ongoing and relevant in today's world.

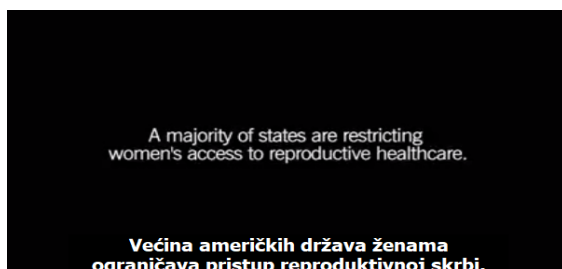
### **5.3 TECHNICAL DECISIONS**

After deciding on *Subtitle Workshop* as a subtitling software, I had to establish a maximum number of characters per one subtitle line. Since the film in question is a documentary, which is most likely to be showcased at film festivals and screened on big screens, I decided to use a maximum of 40 characters per line, which is a standard for cinema screenings. Another reason, of course, is the abundance of dialogue; therefore, a couple of extra characters per line available can be of significant value. This number of characters per line allowed me not to be forced to omit much information; for the most part, I only had to focus on the sentence structuring and phrasing them the right way so they would fit the limit.

Throughout the spotting process, one of the main challenges was delay time in between different subtitles. Since the participants' utterances are rather intense and fast-paced, it was sometimes difficult to squeeze in those couple of frames without losing the synchronicity of sound and image. I never used less than six frames (0,200 sec) for pauses, except during two specific scenes where I allowed delay time to be only four frames. One of those scenes involved fast-paced spoken poetry, and the other was a heated argument with multiple people talking over each other.

I decided to follow a guideline of 6 seconds as maximum duration of a single subtitle. Although there were challenging instances, I had more problems with a minimum duration of subtitles, again because of the fast tempo of speech. Although Cintas and Remael suggest for subtitles to be at the screen for at least 1 second (2006: 127), I generally tried not to go under 2 seconds, as most of the subtitle lines were rather lengthy. Once more, there are some exceptions where it was not possible to leave a subtitle on for longer than 1 second, but those were generally subtitles that consist of only few words, were a part of an extremely fast-paced sequence of speech, or of a shot with some kind textual image visible for a short amount of time.

Regarding the style of subtitles, I took into consideration the fact that, besides the original soundtrack of the film that was composed of the interviewed women and the archival audiovisual footage, there are multiple additional text forms present in the film. One of those was still captions on a black background that appeared a couple of times throughout the movie to provide general information about the film's subject. I decided to use bold subtitles for those captions to emphasize the information being provided, as well as to make a distinction from the spoken text. For the same reason, I choose to display all the subtitles that referred to banner text, newspaper headlines, book covers, et cetera, in uppercase letters as this is also a convention in Croatian subtitling. In this case, the uppercase letters should emphasize that these subtitles are not part of the uttered speech, mainly because they sometimes suddenly appeared in between two spoken utterances. Another distinction I wanted to make with stylizing the subtitles is between the two most prevalent parts of the documentary, the interview and the archival footage of people giving speeches, news reports, people talking on TV programs or the streets, demonstrating and singing, et cetera. For the latter, I used italics subtitles, as well as for the spoken poetry sections and the lyrics of the background songs whenever they were relevant to the plot (e.g., after public demonstrations were mentioned, Janis Joplin's song started playing, with lyrics: "*You're out on the streets looking good*"). The following are the examples of stylized subtitles, in the order in which they were previously listed, excluding a spoken poetry example.





The rest of the case study will consist of thematically divided chapters, based on the recurring subject matter and issues I encountered while translating the source text of the documentary. The strategies used for the subtitling different elements of the film *She's Beautiful When She's Angry* will be analyzed and exemplified.

#### 5.4 TEXT REDUCTION STRATEGIES

There are various strategies for dealing with subtitling challenges. They are classified into two levels, the macro-strategies and micro-strategies. While macro-strategies define the overall structure of the translation, the micro-strategies tackle the individual translation challenges on a word and sentence levels (Schjoldages, 2008: 89). In terms of documentary mode, it was already established that the primary focus is the form and content of the source text, rather than target text effects, so that would make the documentary subtitlers use source-text oriented macro-strategy. Concerning the micro-strategy level, there are various options to be considered and adopted. Gottlieb (1992: 76) formulated ten detailed subtitling strategies (as seen in the image). Some of those will be discussed and exemplified further on.

Types of strategy	Character of translation
1) Extension	Expanded expression, adequate rendering (culture-specific references)
2) Paraphrase	Altered expression, adequate content (non-visualized language-specific items)
3) Transfer	Full expression, adequate rendering (slow, unmarked speech)
4) Imitation	Identical expression, equivalent rendering (proper nouns, international greetings etc.)
5) Transcription	Non standard expression, adequate rendering (D; intended speech defects)
6) Dislocation	Differing expression, adjusted content (musical or visualized language-specific item)
7) Condensation	Condensed expression, concise rendering (mid-tempo speech with some redundancy)
8) Decimation	Abridged expression, reduced content (fast speech, low redundancy speech)
9) Deletion	Omitted expression, no verbal content (fast speech with high redundancy)
10) Resignation	Deviant expression, distorted content (incomprehensible or 'untranslatable' speech)

## 5.5 IMPROMPTU SPEECH

As I am focusing on the interview as a key element of the documentary, it is critical to reiterate its specificity as a spontaneous genre of speech found mostly in documentaries, and generally not in fiction. The interviews conducted in *She's Beautiful When She's Angry* are informal, and the interviewer cannot be seen or heard. The participants are presenting more than factual information about historical events; they are painting a picture for the viewers, expressing their personal experiences and interpretations of events they have been a part of. The purpose is to evoke a response in viewers and to take the documentary beyond the domain of mere reporting. This could be understood as one of the reasons why Diaz Cintas and Remael (2007) suggest the shortening strategies should not be viewed as guidelines but as suggestions that will help in reducing text without losing much information. Furthermore, that is the base of the participant-centered approach, advocated by York (2016), in instances of spontaneous speech-based dialogue; to be faithful to the participant's interpretation and presentation of information.

I aimed to bring subtitles as close as possible to the impromptu speech of participants, of course, only in scenes where I believed that strategy would provide better transfer of the message the participants were trying to convey. Since participants used a rather simple language, I did not find it challenging to include the characteristic of impromptu language into the written translation. In the following examples, I will focus on the particles of speech participants used most often. The most common example was a particle "*you know,*" which, for the most part, I omitted (*deletion*), as it did not contribute to the content or participant's expression. However, in the following two examples, I decided to *transfer* it entirely because of the sense of familiarity it expressed.

29

We had a sense of momentum.

Imale smo osjećaj zamaha.

You know, that was the sense of momentum that came from the '60s

Znate, zamah iz 60-ih.

72

You know, there was no Internet.

Znate, tada nije bilo interneta.

There was mimeograph and stamps. That's what we had.

Imale smo samo šapirograf i marke.



In both of these examples, the participants talk about something that is universally known, and by using the particle “*you know*,” they are reminding the listener about it. The fact that there was no Internet in the 60s is not new information, but it is mentioned to serve broader context about communication at that time. At the same time, both of the second lines of these subtitles are also good examples of *condensation* strategy when text is shortened without actually omitting any information. As we can see, reduction strategies can overlap and are not always straightforward solutions.

Another strategy I often used while translating impromptu speech was *paraphrasing*. Some participants used expressions that could not be translated literally but conveyed their reactions to certain events. The examples include turning direct speech into indirect (*retelling*).

155

We were like all looking  
at each other, like, what?

Mi smo se pogledavale  
i pitale se što se događa.

361

And all these women responded so incredibly.  
It was like, "Yeah! Yeah!"

I sve su nevjerojatno reagirale.  
Sve su to potvrdile.

The last strategy I would like to mention considering this aspect of impromptu speech is *imitation*, used to express the feeling of revelation, i.e., Aha! effect.

145

Aha! This is like a shared thing.  
It's just not me feeling insecure.

„Aha! To je zajednička stvar,  
a ne samo moja osobna nesigurnost.“

Another characteristic of impromptu speech in documentaries is that it is abundant, extremely condensed, and often fast-paced. During subtitling process, this aspect was a bit more challenging, as I often had to reformulate longer and complex utterances (*paraphrase*) in order for them to respect subtitling guidelines. Moreover, in scenes with fast-speech patterns, it was sometimes inevitable to use *decimation* strategy and omit certain parts of speech. On the other hand, some participants uttered their sentences at a slower pace, so I had even more space and time to *transfer* all the information completely and accurately.

174

And one day I saw a little 3-by-5 card  
in the student union,  
and it said a women's group was forming.

Jednog dana sam ugledala  
brošuru o osnivanju ženske udruge.

In the example above, I omitted both the information about the card's size, as well as the location of its finding. Considering the space and time constraints of that specific shot, I decided that those two pieces of information were not contextually meaningful enough to interrupt the limitations.

176

When I first heard about the women's  
liberation movement,  
I had two little kids under five.

Kada sam prvi put čula za ženski pokret,  
imala sam dvoje vrlo male djece.

Immediately following is a similar example. To respect the maximum number of characters per line, I had to erase the information about children's age. The solution was to *paraphrase* it. Hence, the subtitle still conveys the intended meaning, which was to emphasize that the participant was overly busy taking care of two young children. Furthermore, the first line of the subtitle involves the example of *condensation* of the term “*women's liberation movement*” to only “*women's movement*,” which occurred numerous times in my subtitling process, as it is the term around which the documentary is built.

Next, I would like to give an example of the extremely difficult speech utterance and my final solution for it, as it was probably the most challenging example of a complex, impromptu speech in this documentary. I had troubles both translating, and synchronizing and spotting it, “*Part of the reaction of first new left women, and then it spread to other women, to male-dominated authority, was not only to view structure as bad but leaders as bad.*”

929

Reakcija žena Nove ljevice,  
a zatim i ostalih,

930

na dominaciju muškog autoriteta,  
bila je to što su počele

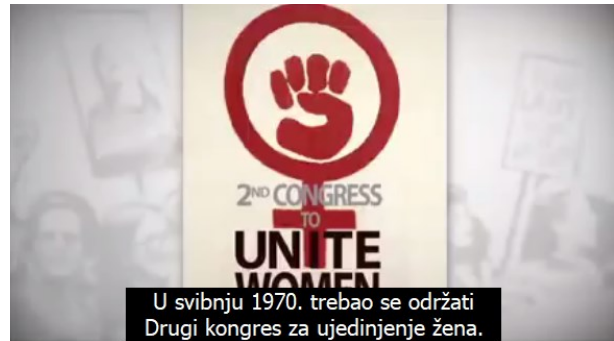
931

negativno gledati ne samo  
na ustrojstvo, već i na vođe.

## 5.6 ADDITIONAL TEXT ON SCREEN

Another essential structural component of the documentary *She's Beautiful When She's Angry*, besides the auditory ones (interview and archival recordings), are the visuals that consist of various forms of additional text. Some of those are already mentioned still captions and the titles identifying participants or locations, but also banners and posters with slogans, newspaper headlines appearing over the original image, illustrations, covers of various publications, et cetera.

Although it would be preferable to translate and subtitle all of them, as they are undoubtedly presented with some intention, the abundance of constant dialogue, unfortunately, prevented me from doing that (*deletion*), mostly referring to banners and headlines. Most of them appear simultaneously with dialogue, which has the priority role of carrying out the film's message. Even when there was spatial room to insert them, their flashing nature, in addition to the amounts of text presented, would result in incomprehensible subtitles. I was not able to produce additional, simultaneous subtitles, e.g., on top of the screen, but even if I was, that could be too much text on the screen for the viewer's eyes to process. However, most of them do not necessarily provide any new information or are crucial for following the dialogue; they are an extra commentary on whatever the participant is talking about at that moment (as seen in the image). Still, I did aim to subtitle all additional text wherever and whenever it was possible.



Generally, slogans and headlines used simple language; thus, their translation was not challenging. However, regarding titles of books, publications, poetry, et cetera, I ignored the general rule of not translating titles that are not published in a target language (*imitation*), because, in the context of the documentary, their names contain relevant information. For example, one participant tells an anecdote about why she named her press *Shameless Hussy*. Without translation, the source audience would not be able to understand the participant's intention.

407

I called the press *Shameless Hussy*

Nazvala sam ju *Besramnica*

because my mother used that term

jer je moja majka

408

for women

tako zvala žene

she didn't approve of,

koje nije odobravalala.

409

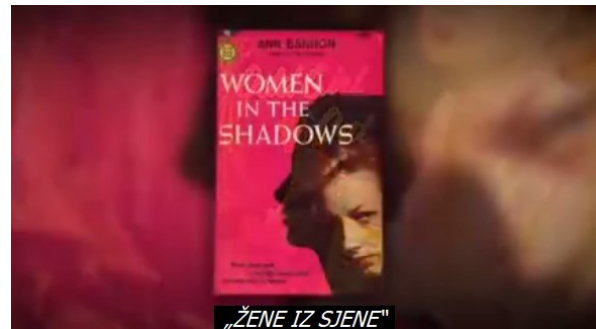
and no one approved

A nitko nije odobravao

of what I was doing.

ono što sam ja radila.

Some other examples are *Feminine Mystique* (*Ženska mistika*), a book that likely ignited the entire women's liberation movement, *Our bodies, ourselves* (*Naša tijela, mi*), a revolutionary book on women's health, *The woman-identified woman* (*Žena identificirana ženom*), the first lesbian feminist position paper, the newspapers *It Ain't Me, Babe* (*To nisam ja, dušo*), et cetera.



## 5.7 TERMINOLOGY

Throughout the documentary, there are various examples of specific usage of language, whether that was in the form of specific idioms, culture-bound terms, or wordplay. In the following sections, I will provide examples of the subtitles for each of those kinds of expressions.

### 5.7.1 Idioms

Idioms are recognized as strings of words combined in a specific lexical and semantic unit. Considering that the participants are an older generation of women, they used a couple of peculiar and not so common idioms in their speech, which required a bit of research on my part. The following example is a variation of a known idiom “*to be carved/set in stone*,” which is a biblical reference and implies that something is permanent or unable to be changed. However, “*handed*

*down from Moses*” alludes to something being a tradition, or occurring because it is meant to occur. I used the Croatian phrase “*Božja riječ*” which is not the equivalent, but it promotes the same idea, and it also has religious connotation (*paraphrasing - reformulation*).

105

You had to say, this wasn't just handed down from Moses.

Morali ste reći da to nije božja riječ.

This was discrimination

To je diskriminacija.

Another noteworthy example was geographically unique, as the participant herself explains it, “*Well, nobody knew... Excuse the Southern expression. They didn't know whether to shit, run or go blind. They did not know what to do.*”

586

Nitko nije imao pojma što bi sa sobom.

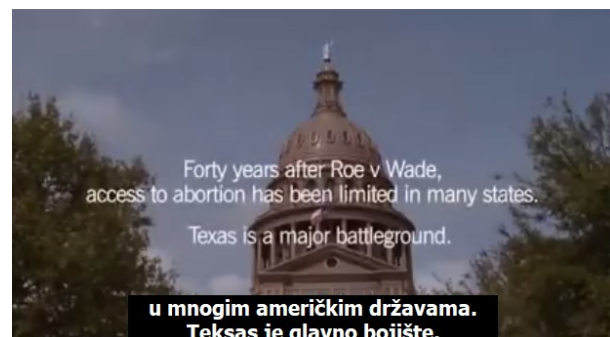
587

Nisu znali što napraviti.

Here, I had to use the strategies of *deletion* and *paraphrasing*, as there was not enough time to convey the entire humorous message, and to my knowledge, there is not an equivalent or similar phrase in the Croatian language. To compensate, I used a less formal language in the coinage of this particular subtitle.

### 5.7.2 Culture-specific terms

To be able to translate anything, especially a form such as a historical documentary, a translator must have good background knowledge of the culture and history of a particular nation and their language. In this documentary, those terms are predominantly historical or political, which is to be expected considering the documentary topic.



The subtitles above provide two examples of culture-bound terms. The first one is “*Roe v Wade*,” which refers to a landmark decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1973 to revoke a Texas statute banning abortion, therefore legalizing abortion across the United States. Taking that into consideration, I chose to completely replace the phrase “*Roe v Wade*” with the end result of the referenced event. Furthermore, I added the adjective “*američke*” to the word “*states*” to further indicate what it refers to (*expansion*).

Another cultural reference is presented in the following example.

966

And we got word of hearings	Čule smo za saslušanje koje se trebalo
on the Hill about the birth control pill.	održati u Kongresu u vezi kontracepcije.

Here, the phrase “*on the Hill*” refers to Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., the location where Congress meets. It is safe to assume most of the foreign viewers would not be familiar with that phrase and would not understand its literal translation, so the solution is once again *paraphrasing* and using the actual term “*Kongres*.”

### 5.7.3 Wordplay

Wordplay, or a pun, is usually a humorous verbalization that has two interpretations. It can be formulated in a single word or a string of words, and it is purposely ambiguous. Wordplay generally requires background knowledge to be understood. There are several occurrences of wordplay in *She’s Beautiful When She’s Angry* film. One example is in the scene of archival footage where women are shouting out objectifying remarks to men, i.e., “catcalling.”

318

Keep your best leg forward, sweetie!	Pokaži noge u najboljem svjetlu, dušo!
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The speaker took the structure of the idiom “*put your best foot forward*,” meaning “to make great effort to do something,” and replaced the word “foot” with “leg.” The intention behind the pun is to mock the way men talk to women on the streets. The speaker is simultaneously encouraging men to make an effort and to show their legs, as one of the body parts usually used to sexualize women. I used a similar Croatian phrase and rewrote it in the same fashion (*transfer*).

The only unsuccessful translation (*resignation*) of the documentary source text comes in the form of wordplay. Towards the end of the film, there is a group of women reciting their version of a known prayer, and they end it with an interesting expression.

1022

In the name of the mother, the daughter  
and the holy granddaughter,

U ime majke, kćeri i svete unuke,

"a-women."

Amen!

As seen from the example, after rephrasing the entire prayer with female nouns instead of males, they use the phrase "*a-woman*" as a play on the word "*Amen*," replacing "men" with "women." I could not come up with a solution for this translation that would accurately portray the intended meaning, so instead, I decided to use the word "*Amen*" as a regular ending of any prayer.

The last example of wordplay is the slogan used for the women's strike of 1970.

1041

"Don't iron while the strike is hot"  
was the slogan.

„Ne glačajte dok traje štrajk!”  
nam je bio slogan.

The well-known saying "*Strike while the iron is hot*" is reorganized to form an amusing slogan, referring to the fact women usually do the housework, including ironing clothes, and that they should not be doing it during the women's strike but instead they should take part in it. The Croatian equivalent of the same saying exists, but it does not offer itself to a similar reinterpretation. So while the Croatian translation is semantically accurate (*paraphrase*), it does not retain the original play on words.

## 5.8 FILM TITLE

The title "*She's Beautiful When She's Angry*," I believe, intends to emphasize the contrast between "positive" and "negative" as a device to produce a strong impact and intrigue a potential viewer. Since the title of the film is pretty straightforward, and it does not include any wordplay or references, it was not challenging to translate it in Croatian. "*Lijepa kad je ljuta*" does not include feminine pronouns, as they are redundant in Croatian, and could make the title resemble a sentence more than a memorable phrase I aimed for. It also involves alliteration, which gives it a more flowy sound. It may not have the same strong impact of the original, but I found the word

“bijesna” (furious, mad) too aggressive, as I interpret the original title’s intention as a presentation of the continuous feeling of female anger that leads to taking action, rather than an impulsive reaction of rage at one point in time.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This thesis gives an overview of audiovisual translation, subtitling as a method of audiovisual translation, and the characteristics of documentary as a cinema mode and the way they affect the subtitling process. Subtitling, in contrast to conventional translation forms, is constrained by various restrictions imposed by subtitling procedures and devices, such as temporal and spatial limitations. In order to respect those restrictions, subtitling professionals follow different strategies in an attempt to convey the meaning of audiovisual content to target audiences, hence constructing a channel between culture and technology in the form of translation. The exploration of documentary elements provided insight into specific challenges of documentary translation and subtitling, as well as the base for the case study presented in the last chapter of the thesis. The two distinguishing characteristics that have an impact on subtitling are the use of interviews as a structural element and the frequent presence of text in the visual channel. The interviewing method in documentaries has a more meaningful role than just being the provider of facts and reports; it should serve as a device to bring personal and intricate truths to light and elicit a reaction from the viewers. The approach that puts focus on the participant as the perceived author of the source text might result in a greater amount of subtitles, as it involves less reduction and omission. However, it also allows the retention of crucial information, as well as of participants’ personalities and intentions, expressed through spontaneous speech.

To conclude, there is not a universal solution or a way to go about subtitling, especially the subtitling of documentaries. The purpose of subtitles is to deliver a message that involves all the essential elements needed for the audience to understand the original dialogue without taking away from the action. The static nature of the documentary genre allows for less strict subtitling restrictions and, therefore, more interpersonal meaning can be included in rendering the participants’ messages. It is ultimately the subtitler’s decision on what strategies they will use depending on what meaning they want to translate to the target audience, taking into consideration the type of audiovisual product and content they are subtitling.



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## 8. APPENDIX

**Većina američkih država ženama  
ograničava pristup reproduktivnoj skrbi.**

**POŠTUJTE ŽENSKA PRAVA!**

**KAD BI MUŠKARAC MOGAO ZATRUDNJETI,  
PILULE BI BILE DOSTUPNE U AUTOMATIMA**

*Pitanje ženske zdravstvene skrbi  
bacaka se naokolo kao lopta.*

*Za nas je ta rasprava odavno gotova.*

*A to je imati pravo izbora.*

*Trebale bi biti ljute.*

*Jeste li ljute?*

**Žene su stekle pravo na kontrolu nad  
svojim tijelima prije više od 40 godina.**

Nije moguće umiroviti se  
od ženskih problema.

Bitno je i dalje obraćati pažnju jer  
netko će vas uvijek pokušati nasamariti.

I to je ono što se upravo događa.

*Ne igrajte se s Teksašankama.*

*Ne igrajte se s njima.*

**Tisuće žena borilo se  
za ta prava kada je  
izbio novi ženski pokret  
između 1966. i 1971.**

**Bilo je i vrijeme.**

*Spasi me*

*Netko nek me spasi*

Ljudima je teško razumjeti kako je bilo  
prije feminističkog pokreta.

Vjenčanje je bilo velika stvar.  
Brak je bio uspjeh.

Nisi mogla imati  
težnje za karijerom.

Nisi mogla odlučiti  
da ne želiš roditi.

Čak ni najljepša žena  
nikada nije bila sretna kako izgleda.

Mogla si izgledati kao Miss Amerike,  
i dalje bi sumnjala u svoj izgled.

Da ne govorimo o  
kontracepciji i pobačaju.

Opći užas i strah od trudnoće  
nadvili su se nad svime.

Ako bi bile silovane,  
ljudi vam ne bi vjerovali.

Ako bi bile zlostavljane,  
ne bi vam vjerovali.

Feministkinje su prve prozvale  
te probleme i pokrenule raspravu.

Imale smo osjećaj zamaha.  
Znate, zamah iz 60-ih.

Sva ta energija koju su žene  
godinama potiskivale u sebi  
jednostavno je eksplodirala.

*Hoćeš li spasiti  
Spasiti me?*

*Da, dečko  
Spasi me*

**LIJEPA KAD JE LJUTA**

**GRADSKI SASTANAK, 1971.**

*Tema večerašnje rasprave jest  
dijalog o ženskom oslobođenju.*

*Gospodine Mailer.*

*Upoznajmo se s ovim pitanjcem  
i prepoznamo kako je žensko oslobođenje  
najvažnije pitanje s kojim se suočavamo.  
A krenut ćemo od srži problema.*

*Dozvolite mi da prvo predstavim  
gospođu Jacqueline Ceballos,  
predsjednicu njujorške podružnice  
Nacionalne organizacije za žene, NOW-a.*

*Gospođo Ceballos.*

*Ja predstavljam veliku grupu  
žena srednje klase  
koje mogu imati  
sve pogodnosti lagodnog života.*

*Zapravo, i imala sam ih.  
Ali, odrekla sam ih se.*

*Umjesto toga, posvetila sam vrijeme  
borbi za ravnopravnost žena.*

*Jednostavno sam imala osjećaj...  
Nešto nije u redu, nešto ne valja.*

*A onda sam od prijatelja  
dobila *Žensku mistiku*.*

*Knjigu od Betty Friedan.*

*Dan danas bi se mogla rasplakati.  
Jednostavno me pogodilo.*

*To je bilo to. Apsolutno.  
Pročitala sam je te iste večeri.*

*I shvatila sam da nije kriv on,  
niti sam kriva ja. Krivo je društvo.*

**NAJKONTROVERZNIJI BESTSELER GODINE**

*Knjiga definira žene isključivo u smislu  
njezine povezanosti s muškarcem.*

*Kao muški seksualni objekt,  
kao suprugu, majku, domaćicu.*

*Nikada u ljudskom smislu,  
kao pojedinca, ljudsko biće.*

Kada je Betty Friedan  
izdala *Žensku mistiku*,

svi su brujali o ženama i  
zanemarivanju njihovih talenata.

Svaki put kada bi nam rekli:  
„žao nam je, ali ne zapošljavamo žene“,  
pomislile smo da je šteta što ne postoji  
organizacija za borbu protiv toga.

Kad je NOW osnovan 1966.,

Betty Frieden me je pitala  
želim li se baviti odnosima s javnošću.

Pristala sam.

Znale smo da stvaramo povijest.

Nismo nimalo sumnjale da je  
to povijesni trenutak.

Znale smo da svijetu treba  
građanska organizacija za ženska prava.

To je jedan od razloga zašto je  
NOW buknuo tako brzo i snažno.

Jer je već odavno bio potreban.

*Gradonačelnik se danas upoznao  
sa ženskim pokretom kao nikada prije.*

Čim sam čula za NOW,  
pridružila sam se.

Postala sam predsjednica  
podružnice u Chicagu.

*I protiv žena ove nacije,  
a mi namjeravamo reagirati.*

U nekim od prvih pisama koje smo primile  
pisalo je: „Gdje ste? Ne mogu vas naći“.

Znate, tada nije bilo interneta.  
Imale smo samo šapirograf i marke.

Ovo su zahtjevi za članstvom.

Evo jednog ženskog...  
Tipično za žene koje su se pridruživale.

„Regrutiram samu sebe!“  
S velikim uskličnikom.

Da vidimo...

Cijeli život skupljam bedževe.  
Ovo mi je jedan od najdražih.

„Drske žene, ujedinite se“

Itekako jesmo, zar ne?

## **JEDNAKI POSLOVI I MOGUĆNOSTI OBRAZOVANJA**

Najveća motivacija pri osnivanju NOW-a  
bila je diskriminacija u zapošljavanju.

## **ŽENE + PISAĆI STROJEVI NISU NERAZDVOJNI**

*Svi znamo da su žene nedovoljno plaćene,  
a preopterećene poslom*

*te da nemaju prilike  
za ikakvim napredovanjem.*

*Mi učimo žene kako se boriti  
protiv diskriminacije u svojim tvrtkama.*

*Kako tužiti svoje tvrtke.*

Oglasi su bili ili muški ili ženski  
a svi dobri poslovi bili su za muškarce.



**TRAŽI SE MUŠKARAC:  
IZVRŠNI DIREKTOR**

**TRAŽI SE ŽENA:  
UREDSKI ASISTENT**

**TRAŽI SE NAJZGODNIJA TAJNICA NA SVIJETU  
ZA NAJŠARMANTNIJEG ŠEFA NA SVIJETU**

Jedan oglas je glasio:

„Upravo si dobila diplomu?  
Želiš li biti tajnica zgodnog direktora?

Možda mu postaneš i žena.“

Kunem vam se!

*Muški šovinizam stjerajmo u kut!  
Muški šovinizam stjerajmo u kut!*

*Što želimo? Jednaka prava!  
Kada ih želimo? Sada!*

Sjećam se prosvjednika  
ispred zgrade *New York Timesa*.

Muškarac bi imao transparent s tekstom:  
„Dobio sam posao preko *New York Timesa*“,

a na ženinom bi pisalo:  
„Ja nisam“.

*Dobro jutro  
i puno vam hvala.*

Sjećam se kada sam kao predsjednica  
podružnice išla na televizijske emisije.

Ljudi su zbilja znali pitati  
trebaju li žene biti jednako plaćene.

„Mislite li da bi žene  
trebale biti jednako plaćene?“

Ljudi bi stvarno to izgovorili.

Morali ste reći da to nije božja riječ.  
To je diskriminacija.

## POSLOVI I PRAVDA SADA

*Koja je poruka vašeg marša?*

*Postoje stotine žena koje žele mir,  
a želimo taj mir sada.*

Saznala sam za ono što se nazivalo  
mlađom granom pokreta.

Ja sam tada bila 30...

No, uglavnom...

Predstavljali su se  
kao žensko oslobođenje.

Došli su iz antiratnog i studentskog  
pokreta te pokreta za građanska prava.

U pokretu za građanska prava na Jugu,  
najvažnija je bila uloga organizatora.

Vi ste nalazili s ljudima i pomagali im  
pronaći hrabrosti da se suprotstave.

Da shvate da njihov glas i želja  
za promjenom daju pokretu snagu.

*Prevladat ćemo.*

Radila sam u Alabami.  
Išla sam od vrata do vrata,  
agitirala i poticala ljude  
da se registriraju za izbore.

Sve te žene koje su radile  
u pokretu za građanska prava...

Bila je to impresivna grupa žena.

Vidjela sam drugačiju sliku onoga  
što znači biti žena. Drugačiji model.

*Shvaćamo da sa svakim korakom naprijed,*

*svim naporom i iskrenom molitvom,*

*da ćemo prevladati.*

*Da!*  
*-Tako je!*

Iako to tada nisam shvaćala,  
postajala sam feministkinjom.

A osjećaj da u grupi imate moć  
postići ono što smatrate da je potrebno,  
a što ne biste mogli sami...

Mislim da je to ono  
što sam tražila cijeli život.

Svi pokreti društvenih promjena  
koji su se događali u to vrijeme  
doveli su do ženskog pokreta.

Potakli su žensku svijest o potrebi  
da žena djeluje na ravnopravnoj osnovi.

Bila sam dio pokreta  
za građanska prava.

Bila sam važan dio antiratnog pokreta  
dok sam studirala na Berkeleyu.

Žene Nove ljevice počele su govoriti  
o tome kako se osjećamo.

Žene su bile vrlo diskriminirane.

Muška imena bila su na svemu,  
oni su bili glasnogovornici.

Mi smo navikle lizati kovertе.  
Radile smo prljave, stvarne poslove.

Često smo mi odrađivale  
pravi posao organiziranja.

Držala sam govor na sastanku  
Studenata za demokratsko društvo.

Bila sam predsjednica, a jedan od momaka  
iz grupe doviknuo je: „Sjedni i ušuti“.

Počele smo razgovarati o našoj ulozi  
kao žena unutar SDS-a.

Zašto nismo bile na  
rukovodećim pozicijama?

To nam je u svima  
probudilo osjećaj pripadnosti.

„Aha! To je zajednička stvar,  
a ne samo moja osobna nesigurnost.“

Odlučile smo da ćemo se na antiratnom  
prosvjedu protiv izbora Nixona

prvi puta okupiti kao žene  
i obznaniti da imamo pokret.

I Marilyn Webb dolazi na pozornicu,  
pred gomilu muškaraca Nove ljevice

i pokušava govoriti.

Čim sam počela govoriti,  
rulja je poludjela.

Muškarci su počeli zviždati  
i vikati stvari poput:

„Makni je s pozornice  
i pojebi je“.

Ljudi su dovikivali:  
„Pojebi je u mračnoj uličici!“

Bilo je to suludo.

Mi smo se pogledavale  
i pitale se što se događa.

Nisam očekivala da će se muškarci  
iz pokreta tako ponašati.

Bila sam u šoku.

Ljudi su organizirali crnce  
i majke na socijalnoj pomoći.

A mi smo organizirale žene,  
i očekivale smo da će nas gledati  
kao još jednu granu pokreta.

Ali nismo bile poštovane.

*Revolucija je stigla  
Dolje sa svinjama!*

*Crno je lijepo  
Oslobodite Hueya!*

Crnački oslobodilački pokret  
bio je u prvom planu,

i pola večeri proveli smo  
govoreći o rasnoj slobodi.

Da bi muškarci iznenada počeli  
govoriti ženama gdje im je mjesto.

*Ako ne želite probleme...*

To je bila kontradikcija  
koju više nismo bile voljne trpjeti.

1968. osnovale smo  
Odbor za oslobođenje crnačkih žena

koji je trebao preuzeti  
neka od tih pitanja.

Mnogo žena je smatralo  
da se trebamo odvojiti

i usredotočiti se  
na vlastitu borbu za oslobođenje.

Studirala sam na Berkeleyu.

Jednog dana sam ugledala  
brošuru o osnivanju ženske udruge.

Takve grupe za podizanje svijesti  
spontano su se osnivale diljem države.

Kada sam prvi put čula za ženski pokret,  
imala sam dvoje vrlo male djece.

Imala sam osjećaj da je  
moja veza sa svijetom gotova.

Tijekom jedne od tih kriza,  
čula sam da neke mlade žene razgovaraju

o sastancima na koje idu  
i o ženskoj emancipaciji,

te su mi dale  
adresu sastanka.

Otišla sam, a žene tamo  
pričale su o svojim životima  
na meni nezamisliv način.

*Morate biti posebno uvježbane  
da biste bili domaćica.*

*Kada se udate, postoji  
čitav novi set pravila.*

*I dalje moramo izgledati i ponašati se  
na određen način, ali i mnogo više...*

Išle smo u krug i postavile si  
vrlo jednostavno pitanje:

„Kako bi ti život bio drugačiji  
da si rođena kao dječak?“

*Zašto mislite da bi to što ste žena  
moglo ograničiti vas i vaše mogućnosti?*

Izazivale smo koncepte muževnosti.

Izazivale smo koncepte ženstvenosti.

Razgovarale smo o rasi.

O tome kako mlade crkinje  
koriste kreme

kako bi si posvijetlile kožu.

Odjednom je sve  
bilo pod upitnikom.

Žene su obavljale  
obiteljske i kućanske poslove,

a muškarci su zarađivali  
i dobivali svu pažnju svijeta.

Zašto je to bilo tako?

*Nismo ni svjesne svega dok ne sjednemo  
i ne usporedimo se s drugim ženama.*

I čule smo jedna drugu.  
Čule smo se i sve više dijelile.

Mogli ste to osjetiti.  
Moglo se rezati nožem, kako kažu.

Soba je bila naelektrizirana  
sa svime što se dijelilo.

Rekla sam kako sam  
imala tri pobačaja.

I da je posljednji bio prošle godine.

Počela sam plakati jer sam  
shvatila da nisam sama.

Da je ono što sam smatrala  
osobnom sramotom

zapravo dio  
čitavog većeg iskustva.

Velika spoznaja ženskog pokreta  
bila je da je osobno političko.

Problemi koji se događaju samo vama  
vjerojatno jesu vaša krivica.

Ali ako se isto događa i drugim ljudima,  
to je društveni, a ne osobni problem.

Jednom kad prestaneš kriviti sebe,  
kao da ti je netko skinuo teret s leđa.

A oko tebe su žene koje su  
spremne izaći na ulice i nešto poduzeti.

*Ti si vani na ulici  
I izgledaš dobro*

Mi u Washingtonu smo imale stav:  
„Ako postoji prosvjed, putovat ćemo“.

Prosvjedovale smo  
u dvoranama Kongresa.

Prosvjedovale smo  
izvan Kongresa.

Postojala je skupina zvana Međunarodna  
ženska teroristička zavjera iz pakla

– WITCH (Vještica).

Bio je to naš ogranak.

Nosile smo sklopive vještičje šešire  
i plašteve u svojim torbama.

Oblačile smo se poput  
vještica i bacale kletve.

Željele smo testirati kanon bijelih  
muškaraca na Sveučilištu u Chicagu.

Dio kletve je išao ovako:

„Znanje je moć pomoću koje kontrolirate  
naš um, naš duh, naša tijela, našu dušu.

- CIRIBU!“

*Svjedočite početku pokreta za žene  
kao ljudskih bića s jednakim pravima.*

*Namjeravamo se školovati i imati  
dječju skrb kako bi se mogle školovati.*

*Želimo da Sveučilište omogući kolegije  
koji će nas učiti o našoj povijesti.*

Bila sam na odjelu za povijest,  
a nisam imala pojma o ženskoj povijesti.

Shvatile smo da ne znamo mnogo  
o ženskoj literaturi i umjetnosti.



Imale smo diplome,  
a nismo znale ništa o ženama.

Grupa nas odlučila je  
nazvati novinare.

Uzele smo naše diplome,  
doktorate i magisterije,  
i javno ih spalile.

Bilo je to vrlo teško jer smo bile  
ponosne na te diplome.

Osjećala sam se nasamareno,  
kao da sam cijelog života bila varana.

*O, evo nje  
Miss Amerike*

Izbor za Miss Amerike  
činio se kao savršena prilika  
za ukazati na to kako se na žene  
gleda kao seksualne objekte,  
suđene samo na temelju izgleda.

Za muškarce takvi  
standardi nisu postojali.

Također smo shvatile koliko su  
ti standardi ljepote bili rasistički.

Odlučile smo da više nećemo to trpjeti.

„Sve žene su lijepe“  
To je bio jedan od naših slogana.

„Sve žene su lijepe“

Imale smo „kantu slobode“.

Dečki su palili  
svoje vojne knjižice.

Mi bismo spaljivale grudnjake  
i ostale instrumente ženskog mučenja.

*Dosta steznika, dosta boli.  
Dosta uvlačenja sala uzalud.*

Iako sam bila u NOW-u,  
uvijek sam surađivala s radikalima.

Ako će prosvjedovati na izboru  
za Miss Amerike, bit ću tamo.

*Žene, koristite svoj mozak,  
a ne svoja tijela!*

Bilo je ludo. Što da vam kažem?  
Bilo je to vrlo uzbudljivo.

Nešto što NOW  
nikada ne bi napravio.

Radikali su činili nečuvene stvari.

Neki od nas su mislili  
da će biti ismijani.

I bili su.

Ali privukli su medijsku pažnju  
i, naravno, imali rezultate.

Ali najbolji dio bio je kada su se  
spremali okruniti Miss Amerike,  
a žene koje su se ušuljale na balkon  
prostrle su ogromni transparent

na kojem je pisalo  
„Oslobođenje žena“.

I svijet je prvi put vidio te riječi  
na nacionalnoj razini.

Bio je to veliki uspjeh.

## **DOBRODOŠLI NA STOČNI SAJAM MISS AMERIKE**

*Feministkinje koje su ovdje večeras  
misle da žena ne pripada u kući, zar ne?*

*Kao feministkinje, ono u što mi  
vjerujemo je vrlo jednostavno.*

*A to je socijalna, ekonomska i  
politička jednakost spolova.*

*Jer odnos spolova je  
zapravo politički odnos.*

*Mi žene jesmo i kroz povijest smo  
uvijek bile potlačena skupina.*

Ako postignete nešto značajno kao što je  
promjena odnosa među spolovima,

sve je ugroženo,  
svaki mogući koncept.

A mnogima se to ne sviđa.

Pogotovo muškarcima.  
To im predstavlja veliku prijetnju.

*Ženski pokret je zapravo  
grupa beznačajnih ljudi*

*koji rade u svrhu vlastitih interesa*

*i podižu si ego drskim izjavama  
i pojavljivanjem u medijima.*

*Preosjetljive ste.*

*Zašto ste tako osjetljive?*

*Ne volimo biti tako osjetljive.*

*To nije ugodno.*

*Ne želimo se uvijek hvatati za sve.*

*Radije bismo da ne to ne postoji.*

*Ali sve dok ljudi budu neosjetljivi  
prema našem položaju,*

*nastavit ćemo ih ispravljati, jer nema  
drugog načina za promjenu svijesti.*

*S obzirom na svoj obrazovni status,  
žene mogu zaraditi*

*60% onoga što zarade  
jednako obrazovani muškarci.*

*To znači da žena s fakultetskim  
obrazovanjem, prvostupnica,  
zarađuje isto što i muškarac  
s tri razreda srednje škole.*

*To je ekonomska diskriminacija  
i izrabljivanje.*

Žene, kao i muškarci, stalno su mi  
ponavljali kako sam u krivu.

„Žene nisu potlačene.  
Ili zašto je to uopće bitno?“

„Koga briga?  
Imate dovoljno utjecaja.“

Radile smo protiv  
kulturnih normi, protiv institucija.

*Što mislite o ženskom oslobođenju?*

*Ženino mjesto je više kod kuće,  
nego da se trudi previše napredovati.*

*Znam da cure iz ureda  
razmišljaju kao i ja.*

*Dobro nam je ovako kako jest.  
Nema tu ništa loše.*

*Potpuno sam protiv. Nisam ni sigurna  
od čega se pokušavaju osloboditi.*

Mnoge su žene tvrdile kako  
vole kuhati, obavljati kućanske poslove  
i udovoljavati muževima.

Ali raspravljala bih s nekom ženom  
koja bi bila izrazito protiv pokreta,

a onda bih šest mjeseci kasnije  
naišla na nju na prosvjedu.

*Moć!*

*Moć ženama*

*To je ženska snaga*

*To je ženska snaga*

*Ženski pokret za oslobođenje doveo je  
u pitanje društveni status quo.*

*Još uvijek živimo u muškom svijetu.*

Počela sam primati informacije od ljudi  
iz pokreta koje sam poznavala.

Kako sam ih primala, tako sam mogla  
otići tamo i snimiti što se događa.

*Uzburkale su Wall Street izložbom  
u kojoj su uloge bile zamijenjene.*

*O, baš su lijepi, svi oni. Ajme!  
Ti muškarci, ti seksualni objekti.*

U novinama su objavili  
da na Wall Streetu radi žena  
koja je bila vrlo obdarena.

Muškarci bi je čekali ispred  
željezničke stanice na Wall Streetu.

### **WALL STREET BIKOVI I MEDVJEDI POSTALI VUKOVI ZBOG ŽENE**

Štipali bi je,  
imitirali zvukove sisanja.

I pomislila sam kako je  
to prilično odvratno.

*Opa, vidi ti te noge na njemu!*

Organizirala sam nešto što sam nazvala  
Prvi nacionalni dan odmjeravanja.

*Te hlače baš istaknu najbolje dijelove.*

*Hej, kako ti se sviđa onaj tamo šešir?  
-O, kakvog li klobuka!*

Sva ta pametna događanja značajno  
su pomogla ženskom pokretu.

*Pokaži noge u najboljem svjetlu, dušo!*

Takve stvari nisu bile u mom stilu.

Ali uvijek bi me razveselile  
i pomislila bih „samo tako naprijed“.

*Pogledajte tu dugu kosu!*

*-O, pa to je hipi s Wall Streeta.*

*Ajme, tako sam napaljena.*

*Želimo ukazati na to kakav je osjećaj  
kad nam zvižde i seksualno omalovažavaju*

*svaki put kada hodamo ulicom.*

*Ne želimo više biti seksualni objekti.*

*Je li gotovo s ljubavlju?*

*Ili sa seksom?*

*Ako se muškarci ne promijene,  
moglo bi biti, i to vrlo brzo.*

Za razliku od NOW-a,  
mi nismo željele samo komad kolača.

Mi smo željele promijeniti taj kolač.

Pričale smo o promjeni načina  
na koji muškarci i žene komuniciraju.

*A što je s brakom?*

*-Brak je neplaćeni rad.*

*Njime svaki muškarac dobije  
besplatnog kućnog roba.*

*Potrebna je velika društvena revolucija  
kako bi žene uistinu bile slobodne.*

Počele smo drugačije  
gledati na svijet.

Činilo nam se da su muška nadmoć i  
muški šovinizam posvuda.

I bili su.

*Što kažete u vezi žalbi  
Nacionalne organizacije za žene?*

*Da biste postali član Press kluba,  
morate imati 21 godinu i biti muško.*

*Odlazite ili ćemo uključiti policiju.  
Bit ćete uhićeni.*

*Zato, molim vas, odlazite.*

*Nemam namjeru skidati ni mijenjati znak.  
Ako dobijete sudski nalog, u redu.*

*Dakle, nemate namjeru mijenjati  
svoju segregacijsku politiku? –Ne.*

*Je li to točno, gospodine?*

*Vani stoji jasan znak.  
Ajde, idemo.*

*Diskriminirate li na temelju spola?*

*Hajde. Van odavde.  
Hajde, maco.*

*Više je puta na svojim predavanjima  
promicao ideju da žene*

*ne mogu biti dobre odvjetnice,  
da su previše osjećajne i osvetoljubive.*

Bile smo ljute.

Možda nas je bijes gurao naprijed  
i činio nas neustrašivima.

### **POBUNJENE ŽENE**

U Washingtonu smo imale  
vrlo aktivan ženski pokret.

Svakog bismo se dana  
nalazile radi nečega.

**ŽENSKI POKRET:  
JEDINI AKTIVNI RADIKALI U GRADU**

Imale smo organizacijsku strukturu  
s mnogo različitih skupina.

Nismo željele da to bude hijerarhijski,  
pa smo se nazvale Čarobni prekrivač.

Washington je bio pun žena  
radničke klase koje su zarađivale  
dio plaće što su smatrale da zaslužuju.  
Nisu mogle uzdržavati svoju djecu.

Razgovarale smo sa ženama koje su radile  
u državnim službama i administraciji.

Razgovarali smo i  
s medicinskim sestrama.

I sve su nevjerojatno reagirale.  
Sve su to potvrdile.

Ubrzo, na sastanke u New Yorku  
ne bi dolazila samo šaćica žena,  
već je dolazilo i po 50, 80,  
nekad i do 100 žena.

S jedne strane ulice okupila bi se  
radikalna skupina Crvene čarape,  
a na drugoj bi bio sastanak WITCH-a.

Održavale su se i konferencije.

Ljudi bi vozili dan i noć  
kako bi sudjelovali.

Kada sam stigla u Sandy Springs,  
grupa žena pričala je

o tome kako ćemo s ovim pokretom  
srušiti mušku nadmoć.



Odmah smo se vratile u Gainesville  
i pokrenule grupu za žensko oslobođenje.

Iz drugih gradova bi nam slali dokumente  
o stajalištu, a mi smo ih čitale.

Na svakom sastanku vidjele bismo  
te letke koji su se širili državom.

"Zašto žene nisu prikladno plaćene?  
Zašto im nije omogućena dječja skrb?"

I oni su pomogli u podizanju svijesti.

Svi su nam ti spisi bili dragocjeni  
jer su bili avangarda.

**KATE MILLET**  
**„SEKSUALNA POLITIKA“ 1968**

*„Velik je broj žena koje se bude  
iz dugog sna koji je poznat kao suradnja*

*vlastitog ugnjetavanja  
i samoponižavanja.*

*One se okupljaju kako bi započele novi,  
masovni pokret u Americi i svijetu*

*te uspostavile istinsku ravnopravnost,*

*slomile stari sistem seksualne politike  
i zamijenile ga čovječnijim svijetom*

*za oba spola, kao i prekinule sistem  
ugnjjetavanja, i muškaraca, i žena!“*

Imale smo mnogo toga za reći.

*„Kao odgovor na pitanje muškarca,  
Što mogu učiniti za žensko oslobođenje?*

*Nosite haljinu.*

*Nosite haljinu koju ste sami napravili  
ili kupili u trgovini odjeće.*

*Nosite haljinu, a ispod haljine nosite  
elastiku oko bokova i ispod bradavica.*

*Nosite haljinu, a ispod haljine  
nosite higijenski uložak.*

*Nosite haljinu i cipele s potpeticom.*

*Nosite haljinu s elastikom i higijenskim  
uloškom ispod i cipele s potpeticom  
i prošćite avenijom Telegraph“*

Poezija je bila važan dio kulturnog  
života u području zaljeva San Francisca.

Na Zapadnoj obali, navikle smo  
na skečeve, glazbu i poeziju  
gledati kao na dio pokreta.

Imali smo prekrasan  
presedan *Beat* pokreta.

Ponekad bi se na čitanju poezije  
pojavilo i do tisuću ljudi.

Bilo je to fantastično iskustvo,  
kako biti dio publike, tako i čitati.

*Alta će čitati prva.*

*„Nikada nisam vidjela  
muškarca u negližeu.*

*Dvaput sam obukla  
one jebozovne haljine.*

*Znate na koje mislim... Jedan pogled  
i on gasi nogometnu utakmicu.*

*Ali nikad to ne učine.*

*Toliko sam bila fokusirana da budem  
profinjena i mirišljava da nisam mogla*

*skakati, nisam se mogla vrpeljiti,  
nisam se mogla znojiti, ni vrištati.*

*I dobro znate da nisam mogla ni svršiti“*

Počela sam pisati poeziju  
te odlučila pokrenuti izdavačku kuću.

Nazvala sam ju *Besramnica*  
jer je moja majka

tako zvala žene  
koje nije odobravalala.

A nitko nije odobravao  
ono što sam ja radila.

1969., kada sam pokrenula  
izdavačku kuću,

samo je šest posto knjiga u Americi  
imalo ženskog autora.

Ovo je jedna poznata pjesnikinja  
koju sam objavila, Ntozake Shange.

*„Ovo je za obojene djevojke koje su  
razmišljale o samoubojstvu /*

*Kada je duga dovoljna“* postala je  
velika stvar na Broadwayu.

A mi smo postali poznati zbog nje  
i zbog George Sand.

George Sand bila je neobjavljena  
u Americi oko 80 godina.

Jedna od prvih pjesnikinja koju sam  
objavila bila je Susan Griffin.

*„Ovo je pjesma za ženu koja pere suđe.  
Ovo je pjesma za ženu koja pere suđe.*

*Mora se ponavljati.*

*Mora se ponavljati iznova i iznova.*

*Jer žena koja pere suđe,  
jer žena koja pere suđe*

*ima problema sa sluhom,  
ima problema sa sluhom“*

Sue, Ruth Rosen i ja smo  
sve bile u ženskoj udruzi.

Shvatile smo da je izdavanje novina  
ključno za ono što radimo.

Vidjevši prvo izdanje novina *To nisam ja, dušo*  
i odmah sam ih nazvala i rekla:

„Bok. Ja sam umjetnica  
i željela bih raditi s vama“.

Bilo je to vrlo uzbudljivo.

Tako da sam upala u drugi broj  
prvih ženskih novina u državi.

Ovdje sam nacrtala ženski pokret  
kao Frankensteinovu nevjestu.

Možete vidjeti kako su različite  
vrste hipija prestravljene.

Lik iz mirovnog pokreta, hipi lik i  
lik iz crnačkog pokreta stvarno se boje

ove žene koja se pojavila.  
I ona pokazuje znak moći.

Bilo je to vrlo novo i uzbudljivo.

I ljudi su nas čitali.  
Stvarno su nas čitali.

## **SESTRO: DOBRODOŠLA SI U OVOJ KUĆI**

*Ne izlazi na ulicu, djevojčice  
I ne izlazi u grad*

*Ne znaš koga ćeš sresti, djevojčice  
Svuda su okolo loši muškarci*

Stalno smo bile podvrgnute  
dvosmislenim porukama.

Seks više nije bio tabu tema,  
ali ako bi zatrudnjele,

to bi bio naš problem.

Čak i dok je pobačaj bio ilegalan,  
smatralo se da ga žene srednje klase

uvijek imaju mogućnosti obaviti.

To uopće nije bila istina.

*Svake godine, tisuće  
Amerikanki hospitalizirano je  
zbog komplikacija uslijed pobačaja.*

*5000 tih žena umre.*

Moja srednjoškolska prijateljica je,  
nakon što je otišla na fakultet,

imala ilegalan pobačaj i umrla.

U roku od par mjeseci nakon  
odlaska na fakultet, bila je mrtva.

Ljudi su pokušavali  
sami uraditi pobačaje.

Moja prijateljica uzela je pilule  
i pobacila u tušu studentskog doma,

nadajući se da će jaki mlaz vode  
prigušiti njezine krikove.

Neke žene su uspjele naći  
liječnika za pobačaje.

Neke su morale imati  
dijete koje nisu željele.

Sva su ta iskustva bila univerzalna.

Pobačaj je postao važno,  
ujedinjujuće pitanje pokreta.

*Besplatan pobačaj na zahtjev!  
Sestrinstvo je moćno!*

*Žene imaju temeljno pravo na kontrolu  
vlastitog tijela i vlastitog života.*

*Tako je!*

*Naša tijela, naši životi!  
Naše pravo odlučivanja!*

*Još od sufražetske borbe za pravo glasa,*

*nije bilo kritičnijeg pitanja  
za žene od pobačaja.*

*Odvojite crkvu i državu!*

Oko 1970., otišla sam na skup  
o pravu na pobačaj u San Franciscu.

Bilo je to more bjelkinja.  
Vrlo malo žena drugih rasa.

Netko je uzeo megafon  
i zatražio da se Afroamerikanke

okupe kod jednog drveta.

Odlučile smo osnovati grupu  
naziva Ujedinjene crne sestre.

Bilo mi je drago da je netko  
okupio Afroamerikanke i rekao:

„Mi bi mogle razgovarati o drugačijim  
temama od onih što se čuju s pozornice“

I zaista jesmo.

Pozvana sam u Harlem  
da održim govor

na događaju vezanom za pobačaj.

Zapamtite, u crnačkom je pokretu  
veliki argument da je pobačaj genocid.

Žene bi trebale rađati  
djecu za revoluciju.

Sjećam se da su mi koljena doslovno  
klecala dok sam se penjala na pozornicu.

Jer tamo je bila hrpa nacionalista  
i bila sam stvarno uplašena.

Fokusirala sam se na smrt crnkinja  
kao posljedicu ilegalnih pobačaja,

i da bismo trebale imati pravo  
izabrati kada želimo imati djecu.

Uspjela sam preživjeti  
nekoliko napada.

I kada sam izlazila...  
Dogodilo se to dva puta...

Jedna žena mi je šapnula:  
„Hvala Bogu da ste nešto rekli.

Hvala Bogu da se suprotstavljate.“

A kada sam se približavala vratima,  
druga mi je rekla: „Samo tako naprijed“.

**„JADNA CRNA ŽENA“  
THE MOUNT VERNON GRUPA**

*„Draga braćo, jadne crne žene same  
odlučuju hoće li imati dijete ili ne.*

*Ratoborna crna braća traže od crnih žena  
da ne piju kontracepciju jer je to oblik  
genocida što bijelci vrše nad crncima.  
Pa, vrlo vjerojatno.*

*Ali crne žene u SAD-u moraju se boriti  
protiv vlastitog iskustva ugnjetavanja.*

*Previše beba sprječava nas  
da ih učimo istini, da ih uzdržavamo,  
da zaustavimo ispiranje mozgov,  
kao što vi volite reći,*

*i da se borimo protiv crnih muškaraca  
koji nas i dalje koriste i izrabljuju“*

**CRNKINJE I BORBA ZA OSLOBODENJE**

Bjelkinjama je bilo teško zamisliti  
što se događalo u crnačkim zajednicama.

## ŠTO CRNA ŽENA MISLI O ŽENSKOM POKRETU

Te su razlike mogle biti izražene  
u međusobnim razgovorima.

Ali ako se razlike u iskustvu i  
perspektivi niti ne prepoznaju,

a glas pojedinca se koristi kao glas  
cijele skupine, onda postoji problem.

### CRNO JE LIJEPO A TAKO JE LIJEPO BITI CRN

To je bilo vrijeme kad se crkinje nisu  
poistovjećivale sa ženskim pokretom.

*Gospođo Norton, zašto ste Vi,  
crna žena, uključeni u ženski pokret?*

*Sudjelujem u borbi za ženska prava jer  
vjerujem da smo u nepovoljnom položaju.*

*Crne žene jednako kao i bijele.  
Zapravo, crne žene daleko više.*

*Žene koje su provele svoje živote  
radeći u kuhinjama drugih žena  
imaju drugačiji hendikep*

*od žena koje su na druge načine  
bile tlačene na temelju svog spola.*

Mučile smo se s idejom

kako integrirati  
rasu, klasu i rod.

Iz tog smo razloga imale rezerve  
prema pojmu „feminizam“.

Jer nam se činilo  
da se feminizam bavi

samo sa ženskim aspektom našeg bića.

**200 CRNKINJA „VODE DIJALOG“**



*Važno je zapamtiti da su crkinje  
organizirale vlastite udruge,  
vlastitu verziju oslobođenja crnih žena.*

Ujedinjene crne sestre bila je  
grupa za podizanje svijesti  
i grupa u kojoj sam čula prve rasprave  
o seksualnoj orijentaciji.

Bila je to prva grupa u kojoj sam bila,  
a u kojoj je bilo lezbijki.

Bilo je to vrlo poučno iskustvo.

**„CURA KOJA NE PRIPADA“**

**„ŽENE IZ SJENE“**

*Možda će neki od vas ovdje  
u budućnosti biti homoseksualci.*

*Ovdje je mnogo djece,  
i možda će neke cure postati lezbijke.*

*Ne znamo.*

*Oni mogu biti bilo gdje.*

*To mogu biti suci, odvjetnici.*

*Moramo znati.*

*Sve ćemo ih uhititi.*

Na fakultetu nikome nisam  
rekla da sam lezbijka.

Nikada nikome nisam rekla.

Kad sam upisala fakultet Barnard,  
jedna od prvih priča koju sam čula

jest da su se dvije žene  
ljubile u studentskoj sobi,

i da ih je tip s Columbije vidio  
dalekozorom te da su bile izbačene.

Poruka te priče je svakako bila

da na Barnardu ne možete  
otvoreno biti lezbijkom.

60-e su bile takve  
za mnoge od nas...

Odrastale smo u tišini,  
izolaciji i sramu.

Zato nam je podizanje  
svijesti bilo privlačno.

Jer je bilo toliko toga  
o čemu nismo mogle govoriti.

Ženski pokret skovao je moto:  
„Osobno je političko“.

Ali ako ste kao lezbijka htjeli  
razgovarati o lezbijskim vezama  
umjesto onim heteroseksualnim,  
Pokret nije želio čuti za to.

I tu moram puno zasluga  
dati Riti Mae Brown.

Ako nešto nećeš reći Riti,  
to je da umukne.

Znala sam da nisam  
ništa lošija od njih.

I da me to s kime spavam ne definira.

Bila sam članica NOW-a.

I kako smo se razvijali,  
tako sam ih prozvala u vezi klase,  
u vezi rase  
i konačno, u vezi lezbijstva.

Rekla sam da im tretiraju lezbijke  
kao što muškarci tretiraju njih.

Moj Bože, pomislili biste da sam  
otvorila Pandorinu kutiju.

Mnogo je žena bilo *gay*,  
ali nisu pričale o tome.

Pričalo se kako su sastanci NOW-a  
najpopularnije mjesto *gay* okupljanja.

Tako da je Betty Friedan paničarila.

Govorila je da nije pravo vrijeme za to  
te da će doći do podjele u pokretu.

Muškarci nas ionako tako zovu.

Svaka žena koja se zauzme  
za sebe naziva se lezbom.

Betty je to zvala ružičastom prijetnjom  
koju si ne možemo priuštiti.

Sama činjenica da nas se počelo slušati  
i pristojno tretirati bio je napredak.

A onda da se odjednom  
pojavi *gay* pitanje?

Betty je bila vrlo zabrinuta  
da će nas to uništiti.

Ali nije bila jedina.  
Mnogo nas je bilo zabrinuto.

I ja sam bila zabrinuta.

Smatrale smo da je bilo prerano.

Nisu me mogli brže izbaciti.  
Bila sam izbačena iz organizacije.

Znala sam da moramo razgovarati  
o tome što se događa lezbijkama.

Zašto nas naši vlastiti ljudi odbacuju?

Dio lezbijki iz Crvenih čarapa

I dio iz *Gay* oslobodilačke fronte  
počeo se sastajati.

I tako smo odlučile napisati lezbijski  
feministički manifest, prvi takve vrste.

Svaka je pokušala napisati jedan dio.

Sve smo spojile i tako je nastala  
*Žena identificirana ženom.*

U suštini poručuje da trebamo  
dijeliti svoju energiju s drugim ženama.

Nisam ni sigurna tko je smislio  
tako divnu uvodnu rečenicu.

„Lezbijka je bijes svih žena  
stlačen do točke eksplozije.“

### **JA SAM VAŠ NAJGORI STRAH JA SAM VAŠA NAJBOLJA FANTAZIJA**

U svibnju 1970. trebao se održati  
drugi kongres za ujedinjenje žena.

Ali u planu nije bio niti jedan panel  
na temu homofobije ili lezbijstva.

Odlučile smo da krećemo u akciju.

Bile smo prozvane  
Ružičastom prijetnjom.

Stigle smo na kongres  
izgledajući kao dio rulje.

Iza zastora imale smo prijatelja  
koji je znao upravljati svjetlima.

Svjetla su se ugasila.

A kada su se ugasila, mi smo,  
poput Supermana, skinule košulje  
i otkrile „Ružičasta napast“ majice.  
Publika je bila okružena lezbijkama.

Ja sam bila u publici.

Skinula sam košulju ispod koje sam imala  
svoju „Ružičasta napast“ majicu.

Rekla sam: „Dosta mi je biti  
skrivena u ovom pokretu“.

Nitko nije imao pojma  
što bi sa sobom.

Nisu znali što napraviti.

Na kraju smo  
preuzele pozornicu  
i zahtijevale da se lezbijska pitanja  
stave na dnevni red.

To su i napravili.

To je stvarno probudilo ljude.  
Kao da su shvatili: „Da, u pravu ste“.

Bilo je jako zabavno.

Kada je feministički pokret započeo,  
za mene je to bio vrlo erotski trenutak.

Prvi put sam  
vidjela mogućnost  
percipirati sebe  
kao uistinu lijepu.

Uvijek sam bila štreberica.

Smatrala sam da ne mogu u isto vrijeme  
biti kakva jesam i privlačna momcima.

Ideja da odijevanje po vlastitoj želji  
i puštanje kose da pada kako želi

može biti privlačno  
je bila vrlo uzbudljiva ideja.

Radikalne feministkinje su prve tvrdile  
da bi ženske emocionalne i seksualne

potrebe trebale biti  
jednako važne kao i muške.

Kada smo počele  
razgovarati o seksu,  
ispostavilo se da je vrlo mali broj nas  
ikada doživjelo orgazam.

I ne samo to,  
nego smo ih i glumile.

Nisam sigurna kako smo ih  
uopće znale odglumiti.

Jer ako ga nikada nismo doživjele,  
kako smo ga mogle znati odglumiti.

### **MIT O VAGINALNOM ORGAZMU**

Bilo je to nezadovoljstvo generacije  
mladih žena koje su bile spolno aktivne

više nego ijedna generacija ranije,  
ali nisu doživljavale užitek.

Kada smo krenule,  
nismo se zaustavljale sve dok

od svojih partnera nismo mogle  
zahtijevati dostatno seksualno iskustvo.

Ono što je razlikovalo ženski pokret  
od građanske skupine srednje dobi,

bilo je zanimanje za seksualnost  
i osobno oslobođenje.

Cijela priča oko seksualnosti  
za mene je bila pomalo zastrašujuća.

Čak i na konferencijama NOW-a, žene bi  
nosile spekulume i proučavale si vagine.

Ja nisam bila za takvo što.

To nisam bila ja.

Nisam to radila.

**1969., skupina žena isfrustrirana  
neznanjem o vlastitim tijelima,**

**počela se okupljati  
i vršiti istraživanja.**

Ovo je prva fotografija skupine.  
Ovo su Wendy, Paula, Esther, Joan,  
ja Vilunya, Jane, Norma, Pamela,  
Ruth, Miriam i Judy.

Izgledamo nemoguće mlado.

*Zašto se zajebavati  
sa ženskim hormonalnim sustavom*

*koji je vrlo kompliciran  
i nužan za razmnožavanje?*

*Kada je mnogo logičnije  
izumiti pilulu za muškarca*

*čiji hormonalni sustav  
nije tako kompliciran.*

Ljudi su bili vrlo strastveni  
po pitanju kontracepcije.

Bilo je to loše doba,  
posebno u Massachusettsu

gdje je kontracepcija bila ilegalna.

Dojmi me se što su sve imale iskustvo  
s liječnikom koje su željeli podijeliti.

Neka su se ticala dobivanja informacija,  
a neka su bila omalovažavajuća.

Imale smo osjećaj da nam se govori:  
„O, ne zamaraj lijepu glavicu time“.

Takav im je bio i stav.

Kada sam rodila kćer, bilo je 4 ujutro,  
a liječnik je došao par sati kasnije

i rekao: „I, kako vam se sviđa  
posao koji sam obavio?“

A ja si mislim...

-Upravo to.

Napravile smo popis tema  
o kojima smo željele više znati.

Samo bi se dvadesetogodišnjaci usudili  
popisati sve od rođenja do smrti.

„U redu, moramo znati o anatomiji.  
Moramo znati o kontracepciji.

Moramo znati o trudnoći,  
postporođajnoj depresiji, prehrani.

Moramo znati o tjelovježbi.  
Moramo znati o menopauzi, smrti.“

Znate, cijeli paket.

Otišla sam k liječniku.  
Imala sam abnormalan nalaz Papa testa.

Kada sam došla kući,  
pisala sam o tome.

Postojao je stalan protok između onoga  
što ste živjeli, onoga što ste naučili  
i onoga što prosljeđujete dalje.

Kada smo bile spremne,  
odlučile smo organizirati tečaj.

Htjele smo podijeliti  
sve te informacije.

Prvi tečaj bio je na temu  
samozadovoljavanja.

Nitko do tada na MIT-u  
nije izgovorio tu riječ naglas,

U sobi je zavladao muk.

Sjećam se te visoke, prekrasne žene  
kako ustaje i piše o samozadovoljavanju.

Svi su ostali paf.



Imala je crtež vagine  
sa svim anatomskim dijelovima.

I počela je govoriti o tome  
kako izgledaju naše genitalije.

Nikad o tome nisam čula ni razmišljala,  
tako da je to bilo vrlo zanimljivo.

Sjećam se da su nakon tog predavanja  
svi htjeli imati sve informacije.

Pitali su za papire koje smo koristile.  
-Svi su htjeli kopije svih tema tečaja.

Tada smo odlučile da ćemo  
pretvoriti to u knjigu.

Svaka je uzela temu  
koja je se najviše ticala

i počele smo učiti više o tome  
kako bismo imali što veće poglavlje.

## **NAŠA TIJELA, MI TEČAJ OD ŽENA, ZA ŽENE**

### **ŽENE, UJEDINITE SE**

Prva, novinska verzija prodana je  
u 240 tisuća primjeraka.

Odjednom smo imale knjigu  
koja je bila bestseler.

To je bilo nešto što  
nitko nije očekivao.

Znale smo da novac koji  
zaradimo dolazi od žena

jer ženama  
je ta knjiga bila potrebna.

Tako da smo sav novac uložile  
u pitanja vezana za žensko zdravlje.

Pisale smo poglavlja na temelju osobnih iskustava iz pisama koja smo primale.

Svaka anegdota bi postala materijal za knjigu.

Znale smo reći da smo živi laboratorij.

Da nitko ne zna toliko o ženskim životima.

## **GOVOR TIJELA KOJI SE NE MOŽE IGNORIRATI**

Rekla sam da ćemo prodati milijun primjeraka, a ljudi su mi se smijali.

Znala sam da nisu u pravu jer svaka žena ima tijelo.

Nije važno koja ste klasa ili rasa. Sve imamo istu anatomiju.

**„ČUDESNE GODINE“**

*Čovječe!*

*-Pokušaj ne sliniti po tome, u redu?*

*Ako Kim sazna da je kod mene, ubit će me.*

**ŽENSKO OSLOBOĐENJE  
kao osnova društvene revolucije**

**„SIROTA BJELKINJA“**

Moja pozadinska priča bila je drugačija od mnogih ljudi, pogotovo lijevo orijentiranih.

Moji roditelji bili su napoličari iz Oklahome i bili smo vrlo siromašni.

Sve negativno što mi se ikada dogodilo imalo je veze s klasom.

Kada bi me omalovažavali, čak i kada su muškarci bili mizogini,

bio je to zbog klase.

Nisam to internalizirala jer je to  
bio način kako postupaju sa ženama.

Tek kada sam upisala UCLA

sam shvatila koliko je  
toga bilo protiv žene.

Imala sam mladog profesora.

Prvoga dana kada smo se susreli,  
rekao mi je:

„Ako te ne mogu pojebati,  
pojebat ću te“.

Tako da sam se ispisala.  
Odustala sam od diplomskog studija.

Spalila sam si sve mostove, da.

I tada sam odlučila  
započeti žensku revoluciju.

**„ŽENSKO OSLOBOĐENJE“**

*„Ja sam revolucionarka.  
Ja sam feministkinja.*

*Ne mogu biti oslobođena  
sve dok sve žene nisu oslobođene.*

*A to znači imati moć i kontrolu  
na političkoj, ekonomskoj razini.*

*Nemajući ništa,  
neću pristati na mrvice.“*

*Buntovnica, buntovnica*

Osnovale smo skupinu  
naziva Ćelija 16.

Imale smo moto da ćemo zauvijek  
i u potpunosti promijeniti svijet.

Nismo ga nimalo ublažile.

U Bostonu je tog ljeta  
bilo mnogo ubojstava  
i naslovi u novinama bili su  
„Još ubijenih djevojaka“.

### **UDOVICA ZATUČENA NA SMRT**

Započele smo ulične ophodnje  
pokraj tvornica niz rijeku.

Uvijek bi bilo vrlo mračno  
kada bi žene završavale s poslom

te su neprestano bile  
pljačkane, napadnute i silovane.

### **MIRNO SUSJEDSTVO NIKAD VIŠE ISTO**

Prvi put kada se nešto dogodilo,  
neki momci su vikali za nama:  
„Hrpa lezbi!“

Jebi se!

Otišla sam tamo i udarila ga.

Abby ga je blokirala.

Tip je pobjegao.

Bio je to najuplašeniji muškarac  
u Bostonu te noći.

To nas je uvjerilo da nam  
samoobrana mora postati prioritet.

Počele smo okupljati žene  
za isključivo ženski tečaj.

Brzo smo prerasle  
u grupu od oko 100 ljudi.

Svima nam je bio važan  
osjećaj da posjedujemo ulice.

## **ŽENE, UJEDINIMO SE POVRATIMO SI NOĆ**

Jedne večeri za vrijeme okupljanja grupe  
njujorških radikalnih feministkinja,

Diane Crothers je došla  
s novinama iz San Francisca i rekla:  
„Sve moramo pročitati ovaj članak“.

Bila je to priča o ženi iz okruga Marin  
koja je silovana dok je autostopirala.

Pročitale smo članak,  
i kako smo počele razgovarati  
tako smo otkrile da je i jedna od nas,  
Sarah, također bila silovana.

Policija ju je pitala:  
„Tko bi tebe htio silovati?“

Mojoj prijateljici su prijetili  
nožem kad je bila silovana.

Otišla sam s njom  
u studentsku zdravstvenu službu,  
a tamo su joj održali predavanje  
o njezinoj promiskuitetnosti.

### **ZAKON SILOVANJA: „JER DAME LAŽU“**

U sudnici je bilo vrlo uobičajeno  
staviti krivnju za silovanje na ženu.

Na silovanje se gledalo kao na zločin  
koji se dogodio jer je muškarac imao  
snažne seksualne nagone koje nije mogao  
zadovoljiti na drugi način.

*Ne!*

### **SILOVANJE: SVEAMERIČKI ZLOČIN**

Tek je feministički pokret naglasio  
da silovanje nije zločin iz strasti.

To je zločin kojim se izražava  
potreba za dominacijom.

Ljudi nisu navikli gledati na silovanje  
kao na politički zločin nad ženama.

To je bio naš slogan.  
Silovanje - politički zločin nad ženama.

### **ZAUSTAVIMO SILOVANJE**

*Pa, tata, nisam više tvoj kompa  
Neću ti više slagati krevet*

*Tata, nisam više tvoj kompa  
Bolje da nabaviš psa*

*Back Street Girl, Under My Thumb  
Počni gledati odakle dolaziš*

*Čikaška rock grupa za žensko oslobođenje  
bila je iznimno popularna.*

*I, tata, nemoj mi prodavati ta sranja  
Dosta je bilo igrice*

U to vrijeme, „morao si imati muda  
da bi bio rock glazbenik“.

Pa, pogodite što?  
Ne!

Žene su bile pametne i čvrste,  
a ta grupa bila je sjajan primjer toga,  
ponajviše jer su bile tako glasne.

*Idi do ugla  
Sredi se*

*Ne prekidaj to što mi radiš  
Izludjet ćeš me*

Chicago je bio žarište  
feminističkog organiziranja.

Bilo je tamo mnogo ljudi  
koji su radili mnogo stvari.

Među nama nije bilo komunikacije  
niti strukture koja bi nas okupila.

U isto vrijeme, bilo je mnogo novih  
ljudi koje je zanimao ženski pokret,  
mnogo žena koje su se javljale.

Tako da smo odlučile osnovati  
Čikašku uniju za žensko oslobođenje  
kao sredstvo da se sve povežemo.

Postojao je  
Čikaški ženski grafički kolektiv  
te Akcijski odbor za dječju skrb.  
Osnovale smo Ured za govornike,  
kao i Oslobodilačku školu za žene.

Imale bismo orijentacijske  
sate otvorenog tipa

i pripremile bismo 30 stolica,  
a došlo bi preko 100 žena.

Nismo znale tko su te žene.  
Nismo znale kako su saznale za nas.

Ali dolazilo ih je sve više i više.

Organizirale su tečajeve  
o svemu što bi žena trebala znati.

Popravak automobila, ženska povijest,  
činjenice o ženskim životima.

Zašto imati takvu školu? Jer se u  
pravim školama takve stvari ne uče.

Ja sam predavala o ženskoj  
seksualnosti, kontracepciji i pobačaju.

Pobačaj je u to vrijeme bio vrlo  
važno pitanje za obje skupine.

NOW je vodio pravne poslove,  
a Ženska unija se bavila neposrednim  
društveno korisnim radom.

Prijatelj mi je 1964. rekao da mu je  
sestra trudna i gotovo suicidalna.

„Mogu li učiniti nešto u vezi toga?“

Preko niza veza,  
bila sam upućena liječniku.

Pitala sam ga hoće li izvršiti pobačaj.  
Rekao je da hoće.

Nekoliko tjedana kasnije netko je drugi  
nazvao i također tražio pobačaj.

Vijest se proširila.

U tom sam trenutku odlučila  
uspostaviti neku vrstu sustava.

Živjela sam u studentskom domu  
pa sam rekla ljudima da traže Jane.

U prvoj minuti razgovora mogla sam  
pretpostaviti u vezi čega zovu.

Nastala bi stanka,  
osjetilo bi se oklijevanje, napetost.

Mnogi su bili uplašeni.

Jer razgovarati o pobačaju  
u to vrijeme

bilo je kao planirati ubojstvo.

*Jane* je bila osnovana u Chicagu  
kao služba koja omogućava pobačaj

u vrijeme kada je  
pobačaj bio ilegalan.



Zvale bi nas žene koje su  
trebale uslugu pobačaja.

Imati *Jane* na raspolaganju,  
bez da su se morale obratiti mafiji,

ženama je bilo  
kao dar s neba.

Primale bi pozive te bi  
održavale savjetovanja.

Potom bi se žene rotirale po  
kućama gdje bi se postupak obavljao.

Služba se svakodnevno prebacivala  
iz jedne u drugu kuću,

što je bilo  
uistinu izvanredno.

Pridružila sam se službi za pobačaj  
jer sam znala da su žene ponekad očajne

i da su bile spremne ozlijediti se  
kako bi prekinule trudnoću.

Kad sam počela s tim radom,  
dolazilo bi nam desetak žena tjedno.

Nakon šest mjeseci, taj broj  
se povećao na najmanje 100 žena.

Konačno, jedan izvrstan  
liječnik za pobačaje

naučio nas je kako izvoditi  
pobačaje vješto i pažljivo.

Zatim bi mi podučavale jedna drugu.

Sve smo stalno bile svjesne  
da je to što radimo ilegalno,

i da možemo  
završiti u zatvoru.

Bilo smo spremne spakirati se i pobjeći  
niz stražnji ulaz u svakom trenutku.

Ali shvaćale smo koliko je posao koji  
obavljamo važan, koristan i potreban.

**Kolektiv *Jane* pomogao je u  
izvođenju preko 11 tisuća pobačaja  
između 1967. i 1973.,  
dok je pobačaj bio ilegalan.**

*Kakav je odnos pokreta prema majčinstvu  
i majčinskoj naklonosti prema djeci?*

*Riječ je o pravu imati djecu ako želite  
i ne imati djecu ako ne želite.*

*A ako želite raditi dok su vam djeca  
u vrtiću, da možete i to.*

Postojao je mit kako u ženskom pokretu  
kako mrzimo muškarce, brak, djecu.

To nije istina.

Pričale smo o dječjoj skrbi kao glavnom  
preduvjetu za žensko oslobođenje.

Jedna od najranijih borbi  
bila je ona za dječju skrb.

Dio je izjave o svrsi NOW-a.

Bile smo svjesne da žene  
ne mogu raditi niti biti promaknute

sve dok društvo  
ne prepozna svoju obvezu

da nam mora pomoći  
brinuti se o našoj djeci.

Sjećam se da bi na neke od ranijih  
prosvjeda žene povele svoju djecu.

Ljudi bi rekli kako ne mogu  
razgovarati s nama dok dojimo.

Mi bismo im odgovorile kako bi rado  
odvele djecu u vrtiće kada bi postojali.

Feministkinje su optužene da žele  
da žena napusti kući i ostavi djecu.

### **ŽENE ZAHTIJEVAJU VRTIĆE**

*Izjavljujemo da kad govorimo o 24-satnoj  
dječjoj skrbi, da ju zahtijevamo sada!*

*24-satni dječji vrtići danas, sada,  
s početkom ove školske godine!*

Nakon mnogo rada,  
s feministkinjama na čelu,

bili smo vrlo blizu da imamo  
pravi sustav dječje skrbi.

1971. su, na sveopće iznenađenje,  
ženski pokret, Kongres i Senat

proveli su sveobuhvatni akt  
o dječjoj skrbi.

Mnogo povjesničara se ne sjeća tog dana,  
a kamoli ostatak društva.

***„Plan bi pružio dnevnu skrb, prehranu  
te medicinsku i socijalnu pomoć.“***

A predsjednik Nixon ga je zabranio.

Rekao je kako ne želimo pretvoriti  
naše žene u sovjetske žene.

„Želimo da se naše žene  
brinu o vlastitoj djeci.“

Bio je to tragičan trenutak u povijesti.

I od tada plaćamo za to.

Jedna je stvar da žene plate cijenu.

Druga je stvar da ju  
plaćaju generacije djece.

Iskreno, ne mogu se sjetiti niti jednog pitanja na koje su feministkinje ukazale,

a da je bilo važnije od pitanja obrazovne dječje skrbi.

*Crnkinje i žene na socijalnoj pomoći često su prisilno sterilizirane.*

*Znalo se to dogoditi.*

*Ista bolnica koja sterilizira crnkinje*

*neće to dozvoliti  
bjelkinji srednje klase.*

*Ako ona kaže da ne želi više djece,  
kažu joj da je luda.*

*Da mora imati medicinski razlog.  
Da mora biti bolesna.*

*Da nešto s njom ne valja.  
-To su dvije krajnosti iste dimenzije.*

*I dalje se radi o pitanju  
kontrole nad vlastitim tijelom,*

*bilo da je to pravo imati djecu  
ili pravo ne imati ju.*

*U Portoriku je preko  
trećine žena sterilizirano.*

*To znači da više od jedne trećine žena  
nikada neće moći držati dijete u rukama.*

Portorikanke su bile korištene  
kao pokusni kunići,

kao sredstvo za kontrolu stanovništva.

Kada je program sterilizacije  
doveden u New York,

aktivno smo se organizirale,  
podižući svijest o toj situaciji.

## STOP PRISILNOJ STERILIZACIJI

Stranka mladih gospodara  
bila je posvećena

problemima koji su utjecali  
na Portorikance u SAD-u.

Prvi smo počeli artikulirati  
ideju reproduktivne pravde.

Jednako je važno da  
naše žene mogu imati djecu

odgojiti tu djecu bez da gladuju,  
imati pristup vrtićima

i kontracepciji,  
te pravo na siguran pobačaj.

Tip feminizma koji smo razvijali u  
Mladim gospodarima temeljio se

na čvrstoj odluci  
da se ne razdvajamo

i da bitku s našom braćom  
vodimo iznutra.

Program su napisali muškarci.

Jedna od točaka bavila se  
revolucionarnim mačizmom.

Kakav oksimoron.  
Nismo to mogle dozvoliti.

Osnovale smo žensko vijeće i postavile  
zahtjeve muškarcima u organizaciji.

Na kraju je zaključeno:

„Želimo ravnopravnost žena.

Dolje s mačizmom i muškim šovinizmom“.

Bilo je važno da kraj te  
izjave ne stoje samo žene.

Muškarci bi trebali govoriti:

„Hej, brate. Imaš stvarno mačo stav.  
Moraš se srediti“.

To se i dogodilo.

*Što ženski pokret znači za Vas?*

*Mislim da imaju mnogo dobrih argumenata.*

*Iznimno dobrih argumenata.*

*Zakoni o pobačaju su smiješni.*

*Činjenica da nisu jednako plaćene...*

*To je smiješno.*

*Ne mislite da žele vaš posao?*

*- Ne, mislim da ne.*

*Mislim da ne mogu raditi moj posao.*

*Mislim da je cijela stvar  
o nenošenju grudnjaka smiješna.*

*Nisam siguran što mislim o vrtićima.*

*Mislim da cure prolaze bolje nego dečki.*

*Sve im je plaćeno i sve ostalo.*

*Ne vidim baš zašto se bune.*

*Muškarci su ih tretirali kao dame  
sve dok su se ponašale kao dame.*

*Bojim se da gubimo tu ženstvenost.*

### **OSLOBOĐENA DAMA**

**„ŠTO ŽENA ŽELI? DRAGI BOŽE!  
ŠTO ONA ŽELI“ – FREUD**

**(OSLOBOĐENA) ŽENA GODINE  
DALEKO SI DOGURALA, MALA**

Već smo bile toliko ljute

da čak ni nije bilo pretjerano  
pitati se zašto spavamo s muškarcima.

Ne spavamo li s neprijateljem?

Bilo je mnogo žena vrlo otvorenih  
ideji da bi trebale biti gay.

Furije su stigle  
u Washington DC.

Furije su bile ženski kolektiv,  
a većina ih je bila gay.

Bože moj, kako je to bilo dobro.

Drago mi je da sam  
sudjelovala u tome, stvarno.

Ali znate, sve te žene u jednoj kući.  
Bilo je to kao koncert PMS-a.

Razgovarale smo o tome što znači  
biti lezbijkom, kako bi trebale živjeti  
te kako bi trebale odmaknuti svu svoju  
energiju od muškaraca. Sve takve stvari.

Možemo li živjeti na ovakav način  
i dokazati kako je to moguće.

Mislim da nam je to na mnogo načina  
i uspjelo, ali s druge strane nije.

Postalo je previše ideološki.  
Za što sam i ja bila kriva.

Sjećam se da sam bila trudna  
i sjedila u uredu Pokreta  
kada su Furije javno priopćile  
kako su i muška djeca neprijatelji

i da ih žene ne smiju  
dovoditi u Ured.

Ostala sam zatečena. Bilo je to i prije  
nego li sam imala vlastito dijete.

To nije bilo u redu.

U ženskom pokretu bilo je opasno  
govoriti jedna drugoj što učiniti.

Počnete si međusobno  
govoriti kako razmišljati.

Počnete vršiti pritisak na druge ljude:  
„Trebaš ga ostaviti“.

A bilo je žena kojima je kasnije  
bilo žao što su to učinile.

Stvarale smo nove koncepte i bilo je  
vrlo zanimljivo biti na tom rubu.

Otkrivala smo što znači stvoriti pokret  
koji bi mogao pomoći u promjeni  
percepcije žene u čitavom svijetu  
i koji dovodi u pitanje patrijarhat.

Nemate mnogo pomoći  
niti uputa o tome kako postupiti.

Učile smo u hodu. Nije bilo lako  
i nismo to uvijek radile kako treba.

Reakcija žena Nove ljevice,  
a zatim i ostalih,

na dominaciju muškog autoriteta,  
bila je to što su počele

negativno gledati ne samo  
na ustrojstvo, već i na vođe.

Žene su pokušavale  
izbjeći hijerarhijsko

te ustanoviti  
kolektivno vodstvo.

Na određeni način,  
bila je to utopijska ideja.

Ali uvijek je bilo ljudi koje se slušalo  
više nego druge, moglo bi se reći.

Ja sam bila jedna od tih.



Oduševljenje žena  
što su našle pokret

koji im pomaže  
da pronađu vlastiti glas,  
istovremeno je bilo vezano  
i za nadmetanje za vodstvo.

To je za mnoge od nas bila  
jedina prilika da budemo vođe

te da budemo prepoznate  
i da se naše ideje čuju.

*Temeljni koncept seksističke misli jest  
da muškarci obavljaju važne poslove...*

Baviti se onim stvarima koje su obično  
bile viđene kao muške aktivnosti,

kao što je biti intervjuiran, biti u  
medijima, držati govore i predavanja...

Ženu bi se za to osuđivalo.

Jedini ljudi koje sam vidjela u  
rukovodećim ulogama bili su muškarci.

Da budem fer, možda i jesam  
oponašala muški stil vodstva.

Tako da su me izbacili  
iz Čarobnog prekrivača.

Bilo je poražavajuće čuti sve te ljude  
koje sam organizirala da kažu: „Izlazi“.

Ljudi su čitali o meni,  
tako da sam bila kvazi slavna osoba.

U Čeliji 16 su mi rekli da ih tlačim.

Najnevjerojatnija stvar koju mi je  
itko ikada rekao bila je:

„Osjećam se potlačeno samom  
činjenicom što postojiš“.

U redu.

Želiš da prestanem postojati?

Gledajte, ja sam napustila  
ženski pokret tri puta.

1969., 1979. i 1989. godine.

Ženski pokret izazvao je  
društvenu revoluciju u ovoj državi.

I koliko je god bilo bolno sudjelovati  
u njoj, to se moralo učiniti.

**Do 1970., feministkinje su se  
suprotstavile svim oblicima vlasti,**

**uključujući Kongres.**

Svi su pili kontracepcijske pilule.

Tada su one sadržavale  
ogromnu količinu estrogena.

Nitko nas nije informirao  
o mogućim nuspojavama.

Meni je kosa počela ispadati.

Čule smo za saslušanje koje se trebalo  
održati u Kongresu u vezi kontracepcije.

Pozvani da svjedoče bili su samo  
liječnici i farmaceutski direktori.

Svi od reda muškarci.

Niti jedan pacijent,  
niti jedna žena. Ništa.

*Susreo sam žene s tromboflebitisom,  
one s nuspojavama debljanja, mučnine,*

*iritabilnih crijeva, rakom dojke  
i stanjima nalik reumatoidnom artritisu.*

Ozbiljne nuspojave. Krvni ugrušci,  
srčani i moždani udari.

Znali su za to kada su nam dali pilule,  
kada su ih dijelili poput bombona.

*Želim znati za koliko  
nuspojava moramo čuti*

*prije nego što netko poduzme  
nešto u vezi tih pilula.*

*Nećemo više tiho sjediti.*

*Ubijate nas radi  
vaše koristi i zarade.*

*Molim dame da sjednu...*  
*-Uzimanje pilula remeti nam živote.*

*Mi provodimo...*

*Nemojte misliti da su saslušanja  
važnija od naših života!*

*Molim da svi napustite prostoriju.  
Novinari i svi ostali.*

*Odličan način za vođenje...*

Prekidale smo im saslušanja,  
a oni su pokušavali pregovarati

jer bismo demonstrirale svaki  
put kada bi ih ponovno sazvali.

*Da, kritiziramo to što nema žena  
koje svjedoče niti žena u vijeću.*

*Dosta nam je da muškarci  
kontroliraju naše živote i tijela.*

Jedan od naših glavnih uvjeta

bio je da žene moraju  
dobiti pristup informacijama.

Uspjele smo dobiti prve upute o lijeku  
koje sadrže informirani pristanak.

Ženski pokret je bacio DC na koljena.

*Ravnatelj FBI-a, J. Edgar Hoover naišao  
je na novu i, po njegovom mišljenju,*

*potencijalno opasnu skupinu...  
Ženski oslobodilački pokret.*

*Hoover je poslao  
sljedeću uputu, citiram:*

*„Apsolutno je neophodno da provedemo  
temeljitu istragu nad ženskim pokretom  
kako bi utvrdili svaku moguću prijetnju  
koju on predstavlja sigurnosti SAD-a“.*

*Kraj citata.*

J. Edgar Hoover rekao je  
da žene ne mogu biti agenti.

Tako da je FBI unajmio  
žene kao doušnice.

Te doušnice sudjelovale bi u grupama za  
podizanje svijesti te pisale agentima:

„Znate, one samo pričaju o tome kako  
njihovi muškarci ne vode brigu o djeci,  
ne peru posuđe i ostavljaju nered.  
Očekuju od nas da sve učinimo.

Nema potrebe da više  
sudjelujemo na tim sastancima“.

Oni bi to prosljedili Hooveru,  
koji bi na odgovorio: „Nastavite nadzor.

Te žene predstavljaju  
prijetnju nacionalnoj sigurnosti“.

Ironija je da žene uglavnom nisu  
radile ništa opasno ili nasilno.

Jedina opasna stvar je  
to što nismo šutjele.

Jer je govoriti i širiti istinu  
vrlo revolucionarno.

*Nalazimo se u vrlo licemjernoj situaciji  
što se tiče obrazovanja žena.*

*Pretvaramo se da  
postoji mnogo prilika.*

*„Zato, cure, marljivo učite  
i napredujte“.*

*Te prilike zapravo ne postoje  
i samo nas se zavarava.*

*Rasizam i antifeminizam dvije su  
glavne tradicije ove države.*

*Više ne prihvaćam mišljenje društva  
kako je moja skupina drugorazredna.*

*Ako se žene trebaju udati,  
žene trebaju primati mirovine.*

*Sve su žene lezbijke, osim onih  
koje to ne znaju, naravno.*

*Jesu lezbijke, ali to još ne znaju.  
Ja sam žena, a samim tim i lezbijka.*

*Razgovaramo različitim tonovima.  
Ne slažemo se sve.*

*Imamo pravo definirati vlastite razlike.*

*Htio bih postaviti  
pitanje Germaine Greer.*

*Ja stvarno ne znam što to žene traže.  
Pretpostavimo da im to želim dati.*

*Možete se opustiti jer što god one  
tražile, dušo, to sigurno nisi ti.*

*U ime majke, kćeri i svete unuke,  
Amen!*

*Žene će se pobrinuti da se promijene  
suludi pravci ove države.*

*Da zaustavimo ratove i vojne programe,*

*i pokrenemo financiranje  
zdravstva, stanovanja i dječje skrbi.*

*Pobrinut ćemo se i da to nije samo  
oslobođenje žena, već i muškaraca.*

*Bilo mi je vrlo zanimljivo  
pratiti porast publiciteta*

*koji je pratio ženski pokret  
u posljednja dva, tri mjeseca.*

*1966. nismo mogle privući ničiju pažnju,  
a da to nisu bile šale na naš račun.*

*Svi su na to gledali  
kao na ogromnu šalu.*

*Mislim da se ljudi više ne smiju.  
Prepoznaju ozbiljnost situacije.*

*Na Nacionalnoj konvenciji NOW-a 1970.,  
Betty Friedan je održala govor.*

*I na naše iznenađenje,  
najavila je štrajk žena*

*26. kolovoza 1970.,  
na 50. godišnjicu ženskog prava glasa.*

*Kada izađemo na ulice u Bostonu,  
i u New Yorku, i u Chicago, i u Atlanti,*

*i na Floridi, i u Kaliforniji...*

*Svi su bili u šoku i pitali se  
što sada trebamo napraviti.*

*Friedan je prenijela medijima da će  
50 tisuća žena marširati New Yorkom.*

*Svakog tjedna imale smo  
reklamu u *Village Voice*-u.*

Mlađe žene su navrle u NOW  
dok smo mi planirale marš i štrajk.

„Ne glačajte dok traje štrajk!“  
nam je bio slogan.

Stavili smo to na plakate  
te ih proširili po čitavom gradu.

Pitala sam kako ćemo  
okupiti 50 tisuća žena za marš.

Pat je rekla da ćemo  
zauzeti Kip slobode.

Pitala sam kako ćemo to izvesti.

Portorikanci su to napravili  
prošle godine i sad su u zatvoru.

Nabavile su dva ogromna  
transparenta dugačka 12 metara.

Skrivale su ih u trapericama.  
Hodale su kao da su osakaćene.

Stigle smo na otok.  
Skupina je bila spremna na protest.

*Van iz kuće i u svijet!*  
*Van iz kuće i u svijet!*

Penjala sam se tim vijugavim stubama.

Na najvišoj, gdje smo postavljale  
„Žene svijeta ujedinite se“ transparent,

sjećam se samo  
da je vjetar bio užasno jak.

Ubrzo zatim, svi su nas primijetili.

Već su se pojavili i helikopteri.

Gradonačelnik Lindsay je nazvao i rekao:  
„Pustite žene. Ostavite ih na miru“.

*Slava, slava aleluja.*

Bila je to senzacija!  
Vijest je obišla svijet.

Časopis *Time* nas je objavio,  
kao i Talijani, Francuzi.

Bilo je nevjerojatno.

Možete li zamisliti?  
„Žene svijeta, ujedinite se.“

Sav taj publicitet je pomogao.

*Slava, aleluja  
Vrijeme je oslobođenja*

*Sutra, 50 godina nakon  
što smo im dali pravo glasa,*

*žene će štrajkati  
radi svojih zahtjeva za oslobođenjem.*

*Srećom, ženski pokret u Cedar Rapidsu  
prilično je uspavan.*

*Kada bih znala zašto štrajkaju,  
možda bih znala odgovoriti.*

*Ne, ne vjerujem da hoću.  
Mislim da to uopće nije potrebno.*

*Ne mislim previše o tome.  
Ženi je mjesto u kući.*

*Muškarci, zapamtite.*

*Ako sutra dođete na posao,  
a vaša tajnica odbije srediti spise,*

*a kada dođete kući, vaša žena  
odbija kuhati, nemojte kriviti njih.*

*Zapamtite, vi ste im dali  
pravo glasa prije 50 godina.*

*Ja sam Mike Scott, muški šovinist,  
za TV 9, Eyewitness News.*



Mediji su mislili da smo lude.  
To je na neki način išlo u našu korist.

*Sun Times* objavio je naslov dan ranije:  
„Hoće li žene štrajkati?“

Na dan marša, hodala sam  
prema Petoj aveniji,  
prestravljena da ću zateći  
samo 3000 ljudi.

I nikada neću zaboraviti...

Rulji se nije vidjelo kraja.

Kada ste pogledali sve te žene,  
bilo ih je dokle vam pogled seže.

*Sloboda sada!*  
*Sloboda sada!*

*Sestrinstvo je moćno! Pridružite se sad!*  
*Sestrinstvo je moćno! Pridružite se sad!*

*Pridružite se našim redovima!*  
*Sve žene, pridružite se našim redovima!*

Ljudi su nas bodrili.

Izašli su na prozore i balkone,  
pozdravljali nas i mahali zastavama.

Tada sam bila  
prepoznatljiva u New Yorku  
pa sam stavila afrički turban na glavu,  
obukla afričku nošnju i rekla:

„Vidite, ja sam u ženskom pokretu.  
Što nije u redu s vama?“

*Sloboda!*

*Nešto nije u redu kada privlačna  
djevojka može više zaraditi*

*kao Playboy zečica ili djevojka  
s naslovnice nego kao išta drugo.*

Nikada nisam bila šokiranija  
nego kada sam se popela na pozornicu

toga dana i vidjela  
trg ispunjen ljudima.

Osjećati potporu svih tih tisuća ljudi,  
bio je to uzbudljiv osjećaj.

*Nismo čule za ozbiljne programe  
posvećene problemima koji se tiču žena.*

*Problemi, a ne recepti.  
Vrtići, a ne čokoladni kolači.*

*Želim slobodu da nemam muža.*

*Želim društvo u kojem se muškarci  
i žene ne natječu, već surađuju.*

*U kojem žene uzdržavaju svoju djecu,  
a muškarci ju pomažu odgajati.*

**1920. POKRET ZA ŽENSKO PRAVO GLASA  
1970. ŽENSKI OSLOBODILAČKI POKRET**

*Smatram da je i u interesu  
muškaraca da se priključe ženama*

*u izgradnji društva  
koje brine za sve ljude.*

*Jednaka plaća za jednak rad!  
Kada to želimo? Sada!*

*Ono što bih danas voljela je da  
i muškarci i žene ovako dignu prste.*

*Sada znamo da imamo moć  
da se ujedinito, da radimo zajedno,  
da napravimo potrebne promjene.*

*I da imamo vašu pažnju  
i naslove u medijima.*

*Niste nas vi stvorili. Mi smo vas  
natjerale da nas shvatite ozbiljno.*

Osjećale smo da smo pobijedile.  
Osjećale smo da mijenjamo svijet.

Sada smo pravi pokret.

Vjerojatno nije bilo slučajno  
što u naše vrijeme nismo znale ništa

o borbi za pravo glasa i koliko je  
vremena za to bilo potrebno. 50 godina.

Jedna sam od rijetkih koje mogu reći  
da im je majka bila sufražetkinja.

Vrlo sam ponosna na to.

Bila je strastvena oko prava glasa i  
oduševljena kada su ga ostvarile.

Obožavala sam ići s njom na glasovanje  
kada sam bila tek pet godina.

Kada bi povukli tu zavjesu,  
mogli ste vidjeti samo stopala.

To mi je bilo vrlo mistično,  
još uvijek je.

Zaključila sam kako su kontracepcija  
i pravo glasa glavni osloboditelji žena.

Živimo u državi koja ne priznaje  
niti jedan svoj radikalni pokret.

U SAD-u ne vole priznati  
da do promjene dolazi

jer radikali prisile na nju.

Prikrivanje povijesti o tome  
kako dolazi do promjena

pomaže u smanjivanju aktivizma.

Ljudi ne vjeruju da običan čovjek  
može postići veliku društvenu promjenu.

Vrhovni sud je taj koji je legalizirao  
pobačaj, a ne neka obična žena.

Ali to su one koje su  
omogućile pravo na pobačaj,  
obična studentica, obična majka,  
tako što su se okupile i prosvjedovale.

*„NAŠA TIJELA, MI“*

#### **SIMPOZIJ 40. OBLJETNICE**

*Ovo je deveto izdanje  
knjige „Naša tijela, mi“.*

*Izašlo je prije dva tjedna.*

*Jako smo sretne.*

*To je naša beba.*

Nevjerojatno je pomisliti  
kako postojimo već 40 godina.

Osobno mi je posebno nevjerojatno  
što smo postigle na globalnoj razini.

*„Naša tijela, mi“ je dala  
svakoj skupini progresivnih žena*

*tekst koji su mogle prilagoditi  
svome kulturnom kontekstu.*

*Čudesni projekti pokrenuti su  
po čitavom svijetu,*

*a sve to traje još od 70-ih.*

*Mama Asiah iz Tanzanije.*

Na našu 40. obljetnicu došle su  
žene iz Izraela, Nepala, Turske,

Armenije, Nigerije, Tanzanije.

Sve one imaju  
nevjerojatne priče za ispričati.

*U Indiji sam radila na  
bengalskoj verziji knjige.*

*Mlade djevojke nisu čule za nju,  
ali radovale su što im to dolazi.*

*Sve su rekle kako će ih takva knjiga  
odvesti na sasvim drugačije mjesto.*

*Zato vam svima hvala što ste nam  
vratili naša tijela i pravo na zdravlje.*

*Hvala vam od srca.*

Ženski pokret postigao je velike stvari.

Jedna od njih je  
Pokret za žensko zdravlje.

Imenovale smo seksualno uznemiravanje.

Imenovale smo nasilje u obitelji,  
nasilje nad ženama.

A zatim smo ga učinile ilegalnim.

Svaki se aspekt života promijenio.

Obitelji su različite.

Moja kćer vodi potpuno drugačiji  
život zbog ženskog pokreta.

Oboje se brinu o djeci.

Oboje zarađuju. Oboje rade.

Definitivno još uvijek postoji  
seksizam na radnom mjestu.

Ali postojale su čitave struke  
koje su ženama bile nedostupne.

A tome je došao kraj.

Mislim da se nećemo vratiti na to.

## **FEMINIZAM: KONAČNA REVOLUCIJA**

Mislim da je najznačajnija stvar koju  
je feminizam učinio za mene

osjećaj da sam sposobna  
biti istinski slobodna.

Prije ženskog pokreta,  
imala sam svoj rad.

Znala sam da neću živjeti  
tradicionalni ženski život.

Vjerovala sam da vjerojatno  
neću imati djecu.

Na kraju sam imala svoju kćer.

Da nije bilo feminizma,  
mislim da to ne bih mogla.

Čim sam završila fakultet,  
u studenom 2006.,

majka mi je preminula.

Primila sam mnogo pisama i *e-mailova*

njezinih prijateljica i kolegica,

svih feministkinja koje su osnovale  
ženski oslobodilački pokret.

I počela sam shvaćati da, iako sam se  
povezivala s pojmom feminizma,

nisam znala što on znači  
za mene i našu generaciju.

Seksizam koji mi doživljavamo  
malo je podmukliji.

Teže ga je prozvati i reći:  
„Gle. To je seksizam.“

Ali znam mnogo mladih  
feministkinja koje rasturaju.

Vode blogove, izlaze na  
ulice, organiziraju se.

*Što učiniti kad ste pod napadom?*

*Ustanite, uzvratite!*

*Što učiniti kad ste pod napadom?*

*Ustanite, uzvratite!*

*Problem su silovatelji i  
trebamo se suočiti s tim problemom.*

*I dopustite da napomenem.  
Naša odjeća nije problem.*

Postoji novi pokret Kurvinski hod  
koji je pokorio već 70 gradova.

Pokrenula ga je mlada žena koja je čula  
policajca kako priča o silovanoj ženi:

„Pa, tražila je to.

Bila je odjevena poput kurve.“

*Vjerovali ili ne, ljudi su napadnuti  
bez obzira na to što nose.*

*Neki su silovani ljudi nosili burke.*

*NYPD, silovanje je krivično djelo!*

Pokrenule smo revoluciju o kojoj se  
još uvijek raspravlja u našem društvu.

### **IZBOR!**

Još uvijek raspravljamo oko pitanja  
koja su žene postavile prije 40 godina.

Pitanja poput  
pobačaja i dječje skrbi.

Još uvijek nemamo  
pristup dječjoj skrbi.

Što se tiče reproduktivnog zdravlja i  
pravde, napravili smo korak unatrag.

**40 godina nakon legalizacije pobačaja,  
pristup pobačaju ograničen je**

**u mnogim američkim državama.**

**Teksas je glavno bojište.**

*Ne crkva, ne država!*

*Žene odlučuju o svojoj sudbini!*

*Molim vas za mir u sudnici  
kako bi članovi mogli glasovati.*

*Ne crkva, ne država!*

Gorka lekcija je da nijedna  
pobjeda nije trajna.

Sva su naša prava takva.

Vrijede sve dok ih  
uspješno održavamo.

*Ova borba nije gotova.*

Ozbiljno sam razočarana trenutnom  
situacijom, ali istovremeno sam ljuta.

A jedna od stvari koje sam naučila  
prije mnogo desetljeća...

Kada smo tako ljute  
zbog nečega tako lošeg,

poduzmemo mjere protiv toga.

Želim da ljudi znaju  
da ako se organiziraju,

da mogu napraviti  
stvarno značajnu promjenu.

*Tako da sve žene mogu biti slobodne!*

Ne možete me uvjeriti da se svijet  
ne može promijeniti. Doživjela sam to.

*Sloboda!*

Ali to je pokretna meta.

Sloboda je nešto  
što je iza horizonta,

i ne možete prestati  
ploviti prema njoj

samo zato što je  
ne možete dostići.



Jednostavno morate nastaviti,

a svaka generacija  
ima priliku otići još dalje.

*Crne smo i ponosne!*

*Mi smo feministkinje! Bit ćemo glasne!*

*Pokažite mi kako izgleda feministkinja!*

*-Ovako izgleda feministkinja!*

*Ovako izgleda feministkinja!*

*Pokažite mi kako izgleda feministkinja!*

*-Ovako izgleda feministkinja!*

*Ovako izgleda feministkinja!*

*-Ovako izgleda feministkinja!*

**LIJEPA KAD JE LJUTA**