ESTABLISHED CHARACTERISTICS AND EXPECTED DIRECTIONS OF VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN SLOVENIA

SARAH LUNAČEK

Abstract: The article aims to present and analyse the current situation of visual anthropology in Slovenia. In the first part the author is discussing ethnographic filming, as it is the most established area of visual anthropology in Slovenia. This is particularly so in terms of documentation by organised visual material and uses of video in museum presentations. The author exposes focus on "our own" culture as their common trait. The second part outlines other dispersed and newer trends. The diachronic perspective on uses of photography is analysed as well as inventive new approaches, and student works are recognised as opening up thematic and methodological spectrum. In the conclusion, on the basis of characteristics and trends, possible future directions of visual anthropology in Slovenia are proposed.

Key words: visual anthropology, ethnographic film, visual research, museum presentations, teaching visual anthropology, Slovenian ethnology.

Introduction

The scope of visual anthropology in its widest sense includes different styles of ethnographic film, the use of film and photography as a methodological tools, and explorations of the visual in culture (Banks – Murphy 1999; Collier – Collier 1986; Pink 2005; Hockings 2003) as well as different forms of applied visual anthropology and methodological innovations (Pink 2005; 2006; 2007). This article aims to present and analyse the current situation of visual anthropology in Slovenia including the diachronic perspective. Since different forms of ethnographic filming are its most established direction, the first task is to consider genres that were developed through

Its history is presented in detail elsewhere (Križnar 1982; 1996). For an overview of the field including bibliography see also thematic issue of Glasnik SED on visual research (Križnar 2003a).

the practice of ethnographic filming together with the work of crucial personalities and institutions that supported them. First I expose the focus on "our own ethnic territory" as the main general trait of most of ethnographic filming and visual research in Slovenia. I then continue by pointing out the innovation, institutionalisation and practices created by Naško Križnar, a crucial personality. In the context of already established institutions, namely museums, another set of innovative practices using ethnographic filming was developed, led again by the work of enthusiastic individuals. In the second part I shall proceed to other rather dispersed innovations and experiments. First the research uses of photography are outlined diachronically. Some new directions are particularly connected with recent accessibility of digital technology. The work of students at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology in Ljubljana, in particular, is recognised as opening the thematic and methodological spectrum. Teaching and public function of visual anthropology is considered, including festivals. At the end I shall outline some possible future directions and propose some potential paths that can be explored further.²

Specific Characteristics

1. Focus on "our own" culture

Slovenian ethnology was conceived and practiced primarily as a discipline dealing with the past of one's own nation. By the end of the 1980s demands to include more anthropological theories as well as studying other cultures and subcultures were openly expressed (Brumen 2001). Visual anthropology introduced new methodologies, but the major part of ethnographic filming was focused on the vanishing domestic peasant culture and practices of its revival. There were some exceptions in filming abroad on ethnographic topics by non ethnologists and in filming of urban culture. The latter was due to Slavko Kremenšek's 1960s arguing for research of urban working class and everyday life. Among Slovene ethnologists, only Boris Kuhar filmed in Africa in the 1960s (Valentinčič Furlan 2003: 269), but not in the scope of ethnographic research.³

The research for this article was in part done by following the visual anthropology scene in Slovenia as well as through informal talks with some of the protagonists. Overview of the literature and films was done systematically. It is sure that in this presentation it was not possible to include all projects, even if they are important. My special thanks go to Naško Križnar, Nadja Valentinčič Furlan, Miha Peče, Sašo Kuharič, Vesna Moličnik, Darja Skrt, Tina Glavič, Rajko Muršič, Damjana Žbontar Furlan and Mihaela Hudelja for generously providing me with information and films.

Kuhar made 20 reportages for the TV documentary series from his travels to Africa. They were found thanks to the engagement of Nadja Valentinčič Furlan and some of them digitalised (Valentinčič Furlan 2003: 269; unpublished inventory made by Valentinčič Furlan; personal communication, screening in Slovene Ethnographic Museum 16.2.2011).

Already early cooperation between ethnologists from the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology,⁴ and filmmakers had a thematic focus on traditional culture. When Niko Kuret established a local committee of CIFE (*Comité international du film ethnographique*) in 1957 its main aim was to institutionalise cooperation between ethnological and film institutions in order to fulfil urgent ethnology agenda in Slovenia (Kuret 1997a). In that way the film *Štehvanje* (a custom from Carinthia) was produced (1959), and before that, in 1956 *Laufarji Carnival in Cerkno (Laufarji v Cerknem*) was filmed and edited according to Kuret instructions. While at the time his views were still in accordance with CIFE, by the 1960, with the breakthrough of Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin in *Chronique d'un été*, modern and urban topics were included, which was not the path Kuret wanted to follow (Križnar 1996: 78, 79).

Because technical facilities were lacking in the domain of ethnologists, most of the films on ethnological topics in 1970s were produced in cooperation with Slovenian TV in the form of a series on storytelling, on regional architecture and on crafts (certain series continued up to the 1990s). The educational series *How do we live* (1978) (*Kako živimo*) was designed for primary school pupils to get them acquainted with traditional ways of life (Križnar 1982: xv–xvii).

In 1983, the Audio Visual Laboratory (AVL) was established by Naško Križnar as a part of the Scientific-Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 1999 on, it became a section of the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology (Križnar 2001: 85). Križnar himself was extremely well acquainted with international ethnographic film production, methodologies and histories, and used them to analyse the history of Slovenian visual research and ethnographic film (e.g. Križnar 1996). The research projects of AVL were focused on "Slovenian ethnic territory" as it was also in accordance with aims of Institute of Slovenian Ethnography. But already in 1982, in the first classification and cataloguing of films interesting for ethnologists, Križnar excluded Kuhar's films with the argument that they didn't present the Slovenian problematic (Križnar 1982: xv).

Compared to Western European countries with colonial legacies and the United States, in Slovenia, as a part of Yugoslavia, ethnographic fieldwork and ethnographic filming were not directed to "exotic others" (see e.g. de Brigard 2003: 13).⁶ Why there were rather few attempts in this direction, despite the non-alignment movement allowing for contacts with non-European nations, is a complex question I will leave for another occasion.

The name of the institute in Slovene is "Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje".

This term was produced in scope of the project on Topography of the Slovenian Ethnic Territory launched in 1976 in order to include in the term regions outside the state borders populated by Slovenian minorities.

Existing research was related to collections of Museum of Non-European Cultures which had its own building between 1964 and 2002. Study programme at the Department of Ethnology included Non-European Ethnology lectured by Prof. Zmago Šmitek.

The reflexive turn concerning ethnographic film making in Slovenia didn't include a rethinking about constructing the Other (or Self). Instead it was based on awareness of particularities of film media. Križnar never believed in the objectivity of film, pointing out the selectivity of filming and editing (Križnar 1996: 93–96). Through the practise of filming and analysing the filming process it became clearer that film documentation can never be really made only *on* folklore. Rather it also necessarily includes the encounter of ethnologist behind the camera and those in front of it (Križnar 2003b: 7, 8), whatever culture or ethnicity they might belong to.

2. Naško Križnar – the role of the AVL and experiments with the documentation form

Naško Križnar has put immense efforts to establish a basic infrastructure for the development of a new sub-discipline in Slovenia. This was mainly achieved through the establishment of the Audio Visual Laboratory (AVL) and conceived of on the basis of the French *Service d'étude, de realisation et de diffusion de documents audiovisuels* of CNRS (Križnar 2001: 87). To these ends, AVL functions as a production and documentation unit, actor in research projects, organiser of international conferences, international film festival and summer school of the visual. Till today the AVL collection has around 700 units of visual recordings (Križnar 2001: 85; internet source 1). Many film documents were made in cooperation with diverse ethnological institutions in Slovenia and also in Croatia and Macedonia. The most recent project is focused on documenting intangible cultural heritage⁷ and the transmission of archives into digital presentational means.

If the term "visual record of culture" is applied in its widest sense, then, according to Križnar the term ethnographic film would be reserved for a specific form of documentary based on ethnographic research, using editing and the potential of the film media in constructing narrative (Križnar 2002b: 90). However, during three decades of work and exploration of different forms of ethnographic filming in cooperation with different ethnologists, the specific and most often used form of documentation at AVL became another form of visual note. It was used primarily in a more documentation oriented sense, in the form of structured and organized visual material (i.e. footage); this means filming a certain working procedure, event or ritual with all its crucial phases and observation of details in an extensive but focused way, cutting out unnecessary material and edit the rest in chronological order.⁸ In further steps, this kind of material can be used for analysis and for production of ethnographic film.

In 2011 Slovene Ethnographic Museum took over the coordination of safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage.

Already Kuret was in favour of the film note that the ethnographer would make by himself on 8 or 16mm in order to get material to be further analysed, but he didn't use it himself (Kuret 1997b).

Allison Jablonko conceptualises visual notes in a slightly different way. For her, the camera is an observational tool, and one very open to any kind of event or interaction. The main purpose of recording is always the later use of recorded material for further detailed observation and analysis of what was going on in front of and behind the camera; therefore editing is avoided (Jablonko 1997: 227).

At *Ethno-video marathon*, transformed in 2007 into *Days of Ethnographic film*, organized visual footage was given a special session where selected parts of materials are shown and commented by researchers. The problem that remains is, in practise this rich visual material is only occasionally used as a basis for written analyses, as visual presentation of the research results or as a basis for production of films to be distributed

Naško Križnar was the most productive actor in ethnographic filmmaking in Slovenia, but here we can only afford a very brief overview of styles developed in his work. After the work in the avant-garde artistic group OHO in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Križnar was keen to experiment (Skrt 1996). It resulted in films that could be classified either as ethnographic or as experimental art films, as for example Presence and Absence of People and Things (1981), where a given location in a town and in a village was recorded at equal intervals and edited for comparison. In Izola Fragments 1979–1984 (Photo 1), renovation works in the coastal city of Izola were presented simultaneously on four screens, showing the city, people commenting on their living conditions, opinions of professionals and renovation work. Galjevica (1977) was done in cooperation with Mojca Ravnik who studied social relations in this working-class urban settlement. The film is a bit cacophonous in style because it starts as a systematic reportage and continues as a rather artistic presentation of special people and the atmosphere. At the same time it is a precious document of the meeting of Križnar's artistic practices and the ethnographic knowledge on the particular topic of his colleague.

A strong visual sensibility remains a general characteristic of Križnar's films that necessarily include aesthetic quality. His films range from very strictly organised documentation films, following IWF (*Institut für Wiessnschaftlichen Film*) rules at the time, where location, working process and interview are presented separately, to combinations of participant observation and *cine-trance* (Rouch 2003 (1974): 90), where working process or ritual is followed with precision and endurance and questions to participants are posed during filming itself by a filmmaker behind the camera. The latter form was realised only after technology permitted camera and sound recording to be done by one person.

Technology at AVL was constantly adjusted from 8 and 16mm to U-matic, VHS, to Hi 8, betacam, DV and digital editing and finally to HDV. The most important was the transition to U-matic editing consoles. This enabled not only documentation and

editing in camera, but also at the editing table. As a result, also recordings could be conceived with editing in mind (Križnar 2001: 93, 94).

Some films were also made for distribution, to mention a few. *Alpine Dairying in Bohinj (Planšarstvo v Bohinju*, 1979) was made for *How do We Live* educational series, were commentary is only added in a special brochure; films for the National Park Triglav are presenting Alpine dairying activities and narratives by inhabitants of the Alpine region separately, for museum use. Films on the Ležaja family on transhumance practices on Velebit were made in cooperation with ethnologist Tomo Vinšćak from Zagreb and present separately moving to summer pastures, Orthodox Christmas celebration and interviews.

The majority of Križnar's films were focused on working procedures; among them the majority were shot in Alpine regions. Among the films on rituals, the majority present different celebrations of Carnival in traditional and revived forms. *Leto Oračev (The Year of Ploughers)* (2006) (Photo 2) is a presentational film offering an overview of Carnivals all over Slovenia; then it focuses on a particular local group organising festivities. In this case, interviews with protagonists are edited into the film.

Filming rituals proved to be useful for further analysis (Postma – Crawford 2006). Križnar leaned on certain recordings to make a written analysis and comparison of Carnival festivities in two different villages (Križnar 1986), but he did not use film to further clarify the meaning of rituals with protagonists. He also used video recordings in order to analyse gestures in folk puppet theatre as a form of nonverbal communication (Križnar 1992). Filming, montage and interaction of film subjects within different filming situations in the films of AVL on working practices were analysed in order to search how video documentation can become a basis for research (Križnar 1994).

As we can see, diverse institutional functions and forms of ethnographic filming and research, with ordered visual material as a leading genre were developed at AVL. What could be better established is the distribution potential of its rich archive.

3. Museum presentations

Boris Kuhar was a pioneer of including films in ethnographic museum presentations. He was an ethnologist with a background of working on TV, and became a director of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in 1962. In 1963, he included five of his films on local crafts in the scope of the opening of the exhibition about South Pohorje. He also practiced screening ethnographic and documentary films of other peoples in the Museum of Non-European cultures (Valentinčič Furlan 2003: 264, 265). Kuhar was early to grasp the usefulness of film to complement ethnographic exhibitions. As Asen Balikci observes in the middle of the 1980s, this hadn't yet become a common practice in museums (Balikci 1985: 21).

⁹ By Naško Križnar, joined later by Sašo Kuharič as technician and Miha Peče as assistant.

In 2000, in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum (SEM), a post for the curator for ethnographic film was finally established. It permitted Nadja Valentinčič Furlan to elaborate the possibilities of audiovisual means of representation complementing objects and texts of the exhibitions. Prior to, she collaborated with curators of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum on film components in several exhibitions, as well as on film projects with other ethnologists (see Filmografija 2003: 30). Her student films were among the few films at the time, that oriented themselves towards urban realities (*Street Sellers of Mladina* 1988, *Student Settlement* 1990 (Photo 3)). Both include significant research and combine interviews with everyday life activities.

In 1998, the Slovene Ethnographic Museum got its own building, and started working on completely new museum presentations. The permanent exhibition was designed in two parts; the first one exploring relations between nature and culture, and the second one, relations between the individual and his/her circles of social relations and identities. In the first part, besides reconstruction and explanation films, small screens are installed all along the exhibition, showing exhibited objects while they are in use or how they are produced. They are edited according to the same principles as organised visual material, only more condensed, taking into account the viewers of the exhibition. It was difficult to find audiovisual materials for non-European part of exhibition¹⁰ (Valentinčič Furlan 2006).

The latest part of the permanent exhibition, entitled Me, We, Them: Images of My World (Photo 4), is based on the concept of the custodian Janja Žagar. It is organised in the form of compartments based on questions about self, family, home community, leaving home, relation to nation, to otherness and wider world, and life experiences and media. The installation is designed as a communication on different levels, inviting visitor to get involved, and this is also the role of its audiovisual elements. Text parts are complemented not only by film, but also by pictures from museum and international archives, ambient sounds and multi-visions. There is not enough room to mention all the audiovisuals used in each section (see Valentinčič Furlan 2009; 2010), however a few of the most relevant for this article follow. Condensed recordings of the lifting of a Maypole represent a common endeavour of a community, for example, and different life stories are presented concerning life experiences and memory. One of the most innovative audiovisual forms is the use of amateur video recordings in the section on family relations. With the permission of the author, they are organised in sections that the visitor can accesses on a touch screen. In order to use the concept of exhibition on a visually more independent level, Valentičič Furlan prepared a portrait of Vesna, a young Slovenian woman, organised according to questions following the concept of exhibition (Photo 5).

Personal archives of travellers are used and TV archives. Also documentary recordings produced by baron Codelli already in 1913 in Togo (see Šmitek 1994) were regained at this occasion.

Visitors are invited to get inspired by questions and make their own video, portraying someone they know. In that way the audience-produced films would became part of the exhibition (Valentinčič Furlan 2010: 227, 228). As the response to this was low, other forms of cooperation were offered to visitors, like preparing their own glass cabinet.

While the concept and form of the exhibition is innovative, the content prepared by different curators is focused mainly on the past and on the nation. Although there are significant efforts to universalise the human experience, including by photographic material from around the world, and to include other places and otherness, in most cases it remains limited to experiences of "the Slovenes" and their eventual leaving home. What one misses are the experiences of Africans and Arabs living in Slovenia, migrant workers from the times of Yugoslavia and now, Roma, and more of urban topics that are also part of life in Slovenia. Other cultures at home and non-European cultures tend to be covered by temporary exhibitions. When preparing a temporary exhibition on homelessness, Nena Židov invited homeless people to co-author the exhibition, including the audiovisual materials (Židov 2012).

Not only in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, but also in certain regional museums, researchers are making video projects, either together with the AVL, or in cooperation with TV or simply by themselves, for purposes of a particular exhibition or for their own research purposes. With the accessibility of technology, the idea to complement exhibition objects and texts with video became more easily and more frequently realised. Sometimes it is used to explain the production and the use of an object. In other cases it is to add additional layers of presented time or activity. For example, on the exhibition *Memories from our Youth* in the Museum of Nova Gorica, the atmosphere of times after Second World War was complemented by inviting visitors to sit on a couch, in the leaving room, from the end of the 1950s where they were able to select and watch one of the documentaries or newsreels from that time (Skrt 2001: 79, 80). In the regional museum of Nova Gorica, Darja Skrt made a couple of films for the museum's use. Goriška pustovanja A.D. 2002 (Carneval in Goriška region A.D. 2002) for example was filmed by local filmmakers and presented on the big screen at the exhibition itself, in order to add to the atmosphere of the exhibited objects. Skrt is one of the few ethnologists who see advantages in cooperating with filmmakers from local TV as a researcher. She argues that she prefers to focus on research subjects and topics, while leaving the technical part of filming to the professionals. She didn't only get involved with theoretical questions of an interdisciplinary approach to using audiovisual media in museum presentations (Skrt 2004), but she was also very active in publishing in regional newspaper and therefore popularising visual anthropology.

At the permanent exhibition entitled *Living in Celje*, at the Museum of Recent History in Celje, before entering into a reconstructed street of craftsmen, a viewer can watch a documentary about last hat maker and about tailors' transmission of the

profession between generations. Those films, from Tanja Roženberger Šega, were also made in cooperation with professional cameraman, and music and commentary are added (Filmografija 2003). In the regional museum of Murska Sobota, Jelka Pšajd is running a project of video documentation of dying-out professions.

We can see complementing museum presentation with audiovisual technologies is diverse and well developed, engaging the sensory experience of the visitor. Sometimes museums, particularly SEM, function also as archives and promoters of ethnographic film also in Slovenia, as Balikci noticed elsewhere (Balikci 1985: 21–23).

Challenges and possibilities

1. Photography: from etic to emic approaches

Already in 1896 Matija Murko pointed out the need to use audio and video means in ethnographic research (Murko 1896: 133–134). He started to practice this by using photography next to a phonograph more than three decades later, between 1930 and 1932, during his research on Balkan epic folk songs (Murko 1951). There he considered that visual data of the landscape and of folk musicians adds crucial information about the context. He made an effort and sent back photographs and sound recordings to the protagonists; therefore he recognised important function of photographs in establishing relationships (Murko 1951: 23). He was one of few ethnologists using photography who would also reflect on this methodology (Križnar 1996: 34–35).

In the late 1940s photographing and collecting of photographs was a well-established practice in team fieldwork of a "rescue anthropology"-nature established at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum by the ethnologist Boris Orel. Those photographs were collected, sometimes used as illustrations but rarely used for analysis (Hudelja 1996: 14; Križnar 1996: 38–43). Much later Barbara Sosič argued for exploiting the information potential of family photographs related to museum collections (Sosič 2001).

At the Department of Ethnology (and Cultural Anthropolgy, as it was included in the name latter) already Vilko Novak was aware of advantages not only of photography but also of drawing in the documentation of material culture. A huge photographic archive was produced between 1956 and 1970, though not always well equipped with data and details (Hudelja – Hazler – Gradišnik 2001). Janez Bogataj used photography intensively for documentation and in books on material culture for wider publics. In 1978 he prepared an exhibition of ethnological photography in Brežice together with Križnar (Bogataj – Križnar 1978). In her urban fieldwork in Galjevica, Mojca Ravnik collected photographs and provided them with information for archive of where, when and what they presented. In addition, she used photographs

from family albums to evoke memories during interviews. Despite the importance of photographs in research process, Ravnik didn't discuss them as methodological tool (Ravnik 1981; Hudelja 2003). Slavko Kremenšek and Mojca Ramšak encouraged students to use family albums as a source of ethnographic research. In 1996, Rajko Muršič edited a special issue of the Bulletin of SEM on photography (Muršič 1996). Photographs were therefore used as a source of information and as a tool for evocation, much in the sense developed by Collier and Collier (1986). In this way photographs were employed also in several student seminar and diploma works.

During their study, Nataša Rogelja and Špela Ledinek went further in exploring uses of photography in fieldwork and representation even before Pink's *Doing Visual Ethnography* (2001) was available to pick up the idea. In order to fully understand the past experiences of women from the Carst region, walking to Trieste to sell eggs, they re-walked the path taken by one of them, Marija. They used photographs from the path to compare their experiences and those of Marija. In their monograph, they included photo-diary combining their photographs and inserts from their diary with comments from interview with Marija (Ledinek – Rogelja 2000: 15–17, 37–81)¹¹ (Photo 6).

In her diploma work, Vesna Moličnik explored visual perception and visual construction of the world among children in kindergarten in her home-town (Moličnik 1998). She proceeds from Sol Worth's (1981) understanding of film and photography as revealing subjective worlds, values and feelings. She creatively involved kids in making, commenting and illustrating photos to get a view on relations among kids, their self-perception and understanding of social space (Moličnik 1998) (Photo 7). At the moment Barbara Turk Niskač is developing her PhD thesis on childhood, using collaborative approach to photography where children are making photographs by themselves.

As we see, photography was used as documentation, evocation and presentational tool and more recently as means for collaboration with research subjects. From spontaneous innovation during research practices the latter became a reflected choice in work of certain students.

2. Some other trends in Slovenian visual anthropology

Križnar pointed out visual technologies are opening new fields of research, himself selecting to focus on amateur video production (Križnar 2002 a). Analysis has shown amateur video makers have diverse approaches to what and how they are filming and who is watching it, not all of them making family video archives. One of them, a teacher, used recordings to research and to communicate memories of school by ex-pupils, another was making films on his fascination with nature, yet another was filming marriages for money compensation. Diverse family archives of films

Ethnographic research was done between 1994 and 1997.

and video were analysed by Miha Peče (Peče 2001). Saša Roškar took a challenge to explore local Cable TVs, through their styles, strategies, producers and consumers (Roškar 2001).

Vesna Moličnik continued her interest in people's self-presentation in photographs. She analysed the possibilities provided by the internet in construction of the image of oneself and in expression of the belonging to groups. She also developed further the principles of bio-documentary (Moličnik 2001a; 2001b; 2003: 8, 9). She used her insights in her participation in the artistic project *Okus po mestu/Taste of a City* (1999), where she invited 12 people to film their view of the city of Ljubljana through a single particularity they wanted to expose. On the exhibition their short videos were complemented by filmed interviews of authors about the recorded material.

As we already saw in case of photography, students at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology in Ljubljana also developed many examples of new approaches and inventive ideas in ethnographic filming. Even before any visual anthropology courses, in 1985, Borut Brumen decided to use 8mm camera to systematically document ambience, objects, visitors and interactions at the flee market and to think about advantages of film for ethnographic research (Brumen 1985). In workshops led by Naško Križnar at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s Nadja Valentinčič started to film. The already mentioned film *Student settlement* (1990) was her diploma work, where film was included as means of research and presentation, later complemented by a written part (Valentinčič 1995). Two films from the workshop were on the marriage barrier (*šranga*). They were based on previous recordings in order to get additional comments on the event, which were then included in the film.

Peter Simonič organised several camera teams in order to get additional eyes to simultaneously document different practices of urban Carnival festivities in the town of Maribor (Simonič 1997). When Vesna Moličnik developed a teaching method to direct students to explore defined research questions by visual means, it resulted in student research films. Next to this students regularly submit an ethnographic video as a supplement with their seminar works and diploma theses, but until recently this was very rarely the core and basis of any of their theses. In the larger scope of visual anthropology several students analysed the visual in culture (women fashion photographs, advertising, mythology of films) as reflecting values and ideologies through photography and film.

Recently students coming from visual fields successfully integrate filming as methodology in their research. Daniela Vavrova studied photography in Slovakia before studying social anthropology in Vienna. At AVL she edited her first film, on christianisation in Ambonwari village in Papua New Guinea. In her next project in Papua she started to develop her use of camera as a tool in interaction, particularly in communicating with a young girl Enet Yapai (Photo 8) and her mother. The film

received a price at the RAI film festival. Vavrova continues her studies with the guidance of David Mac Dougall at James Cook University in Australia. In 2013 Miha Mohorič, coming from film studies, is finishing his MA thesis about street children in Kathmandu, where participant observational filming was the bases of his research.

Democratisation of media provides also for new forms of cooperation. In 2010, Maja Lamberger Khatib finished her PhD thesis on the Arab Association in Slovenia (Lamberger Khatib 2010). Sons and daughters of Arab migrants in Slovenia got interested in presenting narratives of their parents in a film that was produced in scope of the Arab Association and based on the thesis of Lamberger Khatib.

During last two years several students started to argue for engagement in anthropology including use of film and video. They were making a documentation of student and wider social protests. Aljoša Dujmić was running weekly film screenings as integrative part of discussions with guests on the topics concerned with exclusion and social movements.

Generally, as we can see, many of those tendencies are going into direction of collaboration, understanding realities of others and public engagement.

3. Education and festivals

In previous chapter I already outlined some directions in student works. In order to prepare students to explore and practice visual anthropology and ethnographic filming, a combination of lectures and practical training is needed. Prior to the last decade, there were only a few special programmes on Visual Anthropology across Europe, yet now they are becoming more common. In the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Ljubljana, there is no special programme, but there are selective courses available. Practical training started in 1987, while regular lectures in Visual Anthropology were implemented between 1993 and 2003 led by Naško Križnar. After that year, Vesna Moličnik led practical training. With the Bologna reform, lectures and practical training continue on the BA and MA levels, currently led by the author of this article.

Already in 1996, Naško Križnar began organising the Summer School of the Visual in Nova Gorica. Alison Jablonko, Metje Postma, Peter Crawford, Beate Engelbrecht, Barbara Luem and also Asen Balikci were among the guest teachers. Between 2003 and 2009 Križnar gave lectures and practical training at the Faculty of Humanities at the Primorska University in Koper.

The greatest advantage of student work is their creativeness and readiness to experiment. More and more numerous students dedicate their interest to different aspects of methodological, presentational, research and activist possibilities of film and video. They are encouraged to explore the possibilities that visual means are offering. As the department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology has not been able to financially secure a permanent and well equipped studio, but there is basic equipment available that

cannot always cover all needs, students are encouraged to find cameras, computers and develop skills in editing also by themselves. They managed to produce their own videos and some of them have enough ambition and enthusiasm that their works are becoming more widely visible. Manca Filak's film *I will Carry you to the sea side* won a Silver Horse shoe in Asterfest (Strumica, Macedonia) in 2013. In the same year a group of students discussed their engaged visual anthropology work in Perugia.

In 2007 the international festival of ethnographic film *Days of the Ethnographic Film* (DEF), a member of the CAFE, which was preceded by the more locally oriented *Ethno-Video Marathon*, under the organisation of the Slovene Ethnological Society, AVL and the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, was launched. While many international festivals of ethnographic film are more and more open for artistic and documentary genres, the selection committee tried to implement more strict criteria for ethnographic films. In practice it was not always really possible, particularly because Slovenian production seemed too small not to include also certain non-ethnological producers (TV production for example). Presentations of visual footages with the commentary of a researcher as a special session are a particularity of the festival and might be attractive also in international professional circles.

Another effect of the wider spread of digital video are various festivals and workshops of ethnographic and documentary films. In 2007 (till 2010), the *Open Festival of Ethnographic and Documentary Film Vidovin* was launched by the group of students from the University of Ljubljana led by Katja Krajnc. It was conceived in order to open up the regional space by projecting films from abroad and encouraging local production. Luksuz Production from Krško successfully demystifies film media among participants of international workshops, which were specifically oriented to ethnological topics in 2009. Those festivals and workshops have in common an openness to different genres, a worldwide selection of films and an engagement in local environment and political critique. In terms of visual anthropology, it is important to recognise their role in teaching how to use the camera as a pen to comment on the surrounding world and in using documentary films as a communication of problems in society.

Conclusion

While documentary film festivals and workshops are opened for any kind of unheard popular memory (Gabriel 1989) and while on all the festivals, including DEF, international production is richly present, production of ethnographic films in Slovenia in terms of diversity of otherness is opening up but is still limited. In this sense, the initiative at SEM to invite visitors to produce their videos and present them in the museum, and the recent inclusion of video projects and objects made in different arrangements in collaboration with homeless people for the exhibition on homelessness, as well as examples like that of the Arab Society's film, outline some of the possibilities in direction of shared anthropology. Student films exploring

marginalised experiences of otherness at home and everyday life outside Europe importantly open up the spectrum of cultures in focus.

The function of AVL as an institution that produced the greatest number of visual records is becoming important also in terms of the documentation archive and in its digitalization. Naško Križnar is not any more alone in taking care of different aspects of development of visual anthropology. Slovene museums are not only exploring possibilities of audiovisuals at exhibitions, but also establishing their own production units. They are also active in archiving heritage with audiovisual means. The DEF festival is already organised in cooperation with the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum; additional festivals that combine ethnographic and documentary films, as Vidovin was, might develop a productive alternative. In education there were already two departments, in Ljubljana and in Koper, teaching regularly visual anthropology as an optional course.

There are tendencies at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology in Ljubljana to develop, as one of the directions, a public anthropology where visual anthropology has a powerful potential. Ways how to make research results more widely available are still being searched, through looking for possibilities how to establish a special service at the department and by encouraging different ways of cooperation with filmmakers and subjects of research. Also here the initiative of students arguing for, and practicing, engaged anthropology is important.

Generally speaking, public presentations of anthropological topics have a history in cooperation with TV often full of tensions because of different interests. Since there are some examples of successful cooperation in digital video media between an anthropologist and professional filmmaker it should not be given up on.

In teaching, the public component of visual anthropology is important, but it is not the only aspect. At least as important is acquainting students with history and the wide scope of possibilities in visual anthropology, to encourage research of the visual in culture and to further explore research methodologies by visual means. The paths Sarah Pink argues for in terms of interdisciplinarity, anthropology of senses and applied visual anthropology are to be developed also by ethnologists and students based in Slovenia (Pink 2006; 2007). Shared anthropology with the help of visual media can be developed in cooperation through civil society actors and individuals as well as in diversification in research approaches.

I can conclude that a spectrum of visual anthropology is quite wide in Slovenia, particularly in diverse uses of ethnographic filming and other visual research. At this point it remains sensible to look for the most effective and flexible division of work among institutions including cooperation between them. Besides this would be to look at finding ways to better support new initiatives coming from the younger generation so that they can develop their ideas and practises on a longer term.

December 2013

Literature:

Balikci, Asen: 1985 – Ethnographic film and Museums: a History, a Programme. *Museum International* 37 (1): 16–24.

Banks, Marcus – Morphy, Howard: 1999 – *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Bogataj, Janez – Križnar, Naško: 1978 – *Človek skozi objektiv etnologa*. Razstavni katalog. Brežice: Posavski muzej Brežice, Slovensko etnološko društvo.

Brumen, Borut: 1985 – *Film: Boušji trg.* (Unpublished seminar work.) Ljubljana: Department for Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.

Brumen, Borut: 2001 – "Refolucija" slovenske etnologije in kulturne antropologije. *Glasnik SED* 41 (1, 2): 8–17.

Collier, John, jr. – Collier, Malcolm: 1986 (1967) – *Visual Anthropology. Photography as a Research Method.* University of New Mexico press.

de Brigard, Emilie: 2003 (1975) – The History of Ethnographic film. In: Hockings, Paul (ed.): *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter.

Filmografija. 2003 – Glasnik SED 43 (1, 2): 21–32.

Hockings, Paul (ed.): 2003 (1975) – *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hudelja, Mihaela: 1996 – Teoretične (pred)postavke o fotografiji in njena aplikativnost v etnološki vedi. *Glasnik SED* 36: 14–16.

Hudelja, Mihaela: 2003 – Fotografije pri etnoloških raziskavah: primer fototečne zbirke Galjevica. *Glasnik SED* 43 (1, 2): 36–41.

Hudelja, Mihaela – Hazler, Vito – Slavec Gradišnik, Ingrid: 2001 – *Podobe pokrajin 1956–1970. Etnološka fototeka Vilka Novaka.* Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo.

Gabriel, Teshome: 1989 – Third Cinema as a Guardian of Popular Memory: Towards a Third Aestetics. In: Pines, Jim – Willemen, Paul (ed.): *Questions of Third Cinema*. London, BFI Publishing: 53–65.

Jablonko, Alison: 1997 – Gibanje: prostor, čas in komunikacija. Razmislek o raziskovalnem videogradivu. In: Križnar, Naško (ed.): Etnološki film med tradicijo in vizijo. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC: 223–231.

Križnar, Naško: 1982 – *Slovenski etnološki film. Filmografija 1905–1980*. Ljubljana: Slovenski gledališki in filmski muzej.

Križnar, Naško: 1986 – Pustovanje na Vrhu (S. Michele del Carso) in v Ponikvah. *Traditiones* 15: 105–119.

Križnar, Naško: 1992 – Govorica telesa na primeru ljudskih iger na Vinterjevcu pri Litiji. *Traditiones* 21: 17–27.

Križnar, Naško: 1994 – Vizualije kot teksti. *Traditiones* 23: 141–148.

Križnar, Naško: 1996 – *Vizualne raziskave v etnologiji*. Ljubljana: Znanstveno raziskovlani center SAZU.

Križnar, Naško: 2001 – Audiovizualni laboratorij in etnologija. Traditiones 30 (1): 85–119.

Križnar, Naško: 2002a – Vizualni rokopisi. Traditiones 31 (1): 159–191.

Križnar, Naško: 2002b – Etnologija in vizualna antropologija. *Traditiones* 31 (2): 85–93.

Križnar, Naško (ed.): 2003a – Vizualne raziskave. (thematic issue). Glasnik SED 43 (1, 2).

Križnar, Naško: 2003b - Stanje stvari. Glasnik SED 43 (1, 2): 4-14.

Kuret, Niko: 1997a (1957) – Slovenski etnografski film – predlogi in dosežki. In: Križnar, Naško (ed.): *Etnološki film med tradicijo in vizijo*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC: 33–41.

- Kuret, Niko: 1997b (1957) Filmska beležka uporaba filma v etnografskih arhivih. In: Križnar, Naško (ed.): *Etnološki film med tradicijo in vizijo*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC: 41–45.
- Lamberger Khatib, Maja: 2010 Arabski klub v Sloveniji. Prostor redefiniranja družbenih identifikacij. (Unpublished PhD thesis.) Ljubljana: Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.
- Ledinek, Špela Rogelja, Nataša: 2000 *Potepanja po poteh Šavrinke Marije*. Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo.
- Moličnik, Vesna: 1998 *Analiza konstrukcije realnosti s pomočjo vizualne produkcije*. (Unpublished diploma work.) Ljubljana: Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.
- Moličnik, Vesna: 2001a Fotografije na osebnih spletnih straneh kot možen vir antropološkega raziskovanja. *Traditiones* 30 (1): 313–325.
- Moličnik, Vesna: 2001b *Biofotografija v raziskovanju kulture*. (Unpublished MA thesis.) Ljubljana: Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.
- Moličnik, Vesna: 2003 Antropologija in vizualno. Simbolni prostor kulture. *Glasnik SED* 43 (3, 4): 6–12.
- Murko, Matija: 1896 Narodopisna razstva češkoslovanska v Pragi l. 1895. Ljubljana: *Letopis Slovenske matice za leto 1896*: 75–137.
- Murko, Matija: 1951 *Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike I, II.* Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.
- Muršič, Rajko: 1996 Etnologija skozi camero obscuro. Glasnik SED 36 (2-3): 1.
- Peče, Miha: 2001 *Družinske slikovne kronike*. (Unpublished diploma work.) Ljubljana: Oddelek za sociologijo.
- Pink, Sarah: 2005 (2001) Doing Visual Ethnography. Images, Media and Representation in Research. London, Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.
- Pink, Sarah: 2006 *The Future of Visual Anthropology. Engaging the Senses*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Pink, Sarah (ed.): 2007 Visual Interventions. Applied Visual Anthropology. New York, Oxford: Berghah Books.
- Postma, Metje Crawford, Peter: 2006 *Reflecting Visual Ethnography. Using the Camera in Anthropological Research*. Leiden: CNWS Publicationes, Højberg, Intervention Press.
- Ravnik, Mojca: 1981 *Galjevica*. Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga.
- Rouch, Jean: 2003 (1974) The Camera and Man. In: Hockings, Paul (ed.): *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter: 79–99.
- Roškar, Saša: 2001 *Lokalno na televiziji. Informativne vsebine loklane televizije in njeni gledalci.* (Unpublished diploma work.) Ljubljana: Oddelek za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo.
- Simonič, Peter: 1997 Snemanje pustovanja, terenske izkušnje. In: Križnar, Naško (ed.): *Etnološki film med tradicijo in vizijo*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC: 179–185.
- Skrt, Darja: 1996 Po sledovih reizma. Od eksperimenta do znanosti v filmih Naška Križnarja. Nova Gorica: Goriški muzej.
- Skrt, Darja: 2001 Avdiovizulano na etnoloških razstavah. Glasnik SED 41 (1, 2): 78–81.
- Skrt, Darja: 2004 Gibljive slike z razstave: k filmsko-teoretsko osmišljeni rabi avdiovizualnih medijev od dokumantarnega filma do multimonitorske instalacije v muzejih v Sloveniji. Nova Gorica: Goriški muzej.
- Sosič, Barbara: 2001 Družinska fotografija kot eden od virov pri etnoloških raziskavah. *Etnolog* 11: 197–221.
- Šmitek, Zmago: 1994 Afriška leta ljubljanskega barona Codellija. *Etnolog* 4: 187–203.

Valentinčič, Nadja: 1995 – *Oris bivalne kulture v Študentskem naselju v Rožni dolini*. (Unpublished diploma work.) Ljubljana: Oddelek za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo.

Valentinčič Furlan, Nadja: 2003 – Filmski dokumenti dr. Borisa Kuharja. Etnolog 13: 263–273.

Valentinčil Furlan, Nadja, 2006 – *Med naravo in kulturo: stalna razstava, 1. del. Audiovizualije: podatki o avtorjih, producentih, hrambi in vsebini.* Ljubljana: Slovenski etnografski muzej.

Valentinčič Furlan, Nadja: 2009 – Namenskost, dostopnost in komunikativnost kot bistvene specifike etnografskega filma in avdiovizulanega medija v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju. *Glasnik SED* 49 (1/2): 120–122.

Valentinčič Furlan, Nadja: 2010 – Avdiovizualne vsebine v sklopu stalne razstave Jaz, mi in drugi: podobe mojega sveta. *Etnolog* 20 (71): 213–238.

Židov, Nena: 2012 – Od etnologije podeželja do etnologije mest in razstave o brezdomstvu. In: Repič, Jaka – Hudales, Jože (ed.): *Antropološki vidiki načinov življenja v mestih*. Ljubljana: ZZFF: 107–113.

Internet sources:

Filmografija 2001–2005, Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje, http://isn.zrc-sazu.si/index.php?q=sl/node/97 (20.9.2010)

Contact: Sarah Lunaček, Ph.D.; Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; e-mail: sarah lunacek@yahoo.com.

Zavedené charakteristiky a očekávané směřování vizuální antropologie ve Slovinsku

Resumé: Cílem článku je představení a analýza současného stavu vizuální antropologie ve Slovinsku. V první části se autorka věnuje využití filmu v etnografii, což je nejlépe rozvinutá odnož slovinské vizuální antropologie. To platí zejména pro dokumentaci organizovaného vizuálního materiálu a využití videí v muzejních prezentacích. Autorka zdůrazňuje společný rys soustředění na "vlastní" kulturu. Druhá část nastiňuje další, méně rozvinuté a novější trendy. Využití fotografie je představeno v diachronní perspektivě, stejně jako studentské práce, které rozšiřují tematické a metodologické spektrum. Na závěr jsou nastíněny možné budoucí směry vizuální antropologie na základě dosavadních charakteristik a trendů.



Photo 1. Izola – Fragments 1979–1984 (1984) (from digitalised version), Naško Križnar.



Photo 2. Year of Ploughers (2006), Naško Križnar.



Photo 3. Student Settlement (1990), Nadja Valentinčič Furlan.



Photo 4. Exhibition *Me, We and Others: Images of my World*, section on home community, screening film *Setting a Maypole* by Nena Židov. 2009, Nadja Valentinčič Furlan.

V Dolu so ostale samo še tri kmetije. Marija (na sliki) je ostala sama z možem. Otroci so odšli v mesto, domov pridejo samo za praznike. Dobro se spominja Marije Kantonjerke, ki je tedensko prihajala k njej po jajca.
15.7.1995



»Je malo ljudi v Dolu. Mi smo pršli, z jajci so nas čakali. Mi smo jim kej prinesli. Za kakšen predpasnik, ruto za na glavo, kakšne copate ali kaj. Niso imeli denarja, so dali na obroke za jajca. Ko so plačali, so naročili drugo, se ni jedlo jajc. So mogle odnest Šavrinke jajca.«

3.12.1994 (iz intervjuja)

Naprej naju pot vodi skozi Dobrovo, kjer naju pivovar iz Buzeta povabi na kozarec vina. V klet pride vsa vas in zbranim že stotič razlagava, kaj počneva.

15.7.1995

»So bli nekoč tam bolj revni, slabo oblečeni. So kupovali samo sukanec za se krpat. Tega smo največ prodali, sukanca za se krpat.«

3.12.1994 (iz intervjuja)

Photo 6. Photo-diary (from Ledinek, Špela – Rogelja, Nataša: 2000 – Potepanja po poteh Šavrinke Marije. Ljubljana, Slovensko etnološko društvo).

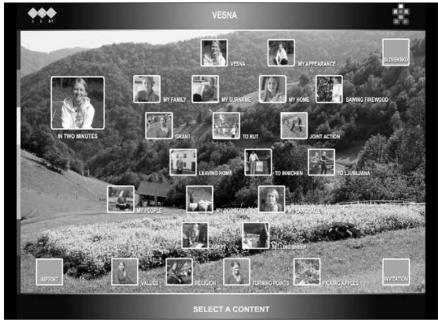


Photo 5. Exhibition *Me, We and Others:* Vesna, touch screen. 2009, Nadja Valentinčič Furlan.



Photo 8. Enet Yapai, 2008, Danieala Vavrova.

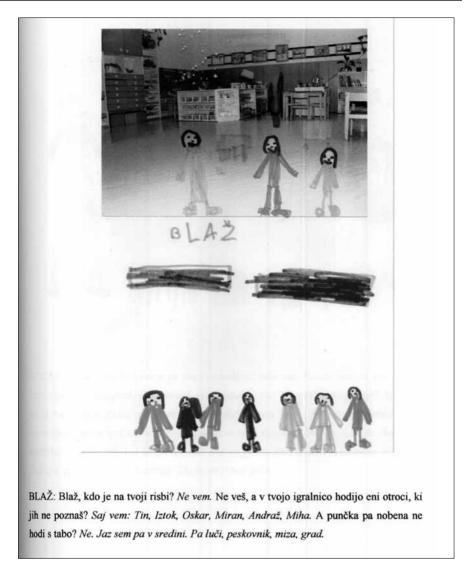


Photo 7. Drawing self and others position on a list of paper with a photo of a room in kindergarden (from Moličnik, Vesna: 1998 – Analiza konstrukcije realnosti s pomočjo vizualne produkcije. (Unpublished diploma work.) Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Universty of Ljubljana).

Authors of all the films have sent me photos themselves. The two scans were also approved by the authors.