

Film and Television in Croatia Today: Production, New Technologies and the Relationship with Visual Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to explain some of the most important recent production and technological changes that have affected the relationship between television and film, especially in Croatia, from the aspect of the development of visual anthropology. In the production segment, special attention was given to the role of Croatian television stations in the production of movies, »splitting« the movies into mini-series, interrupting movies with commercial breaks, and to television movies turned into feature films. This paper tries to perceive and define the structure of methodical processes of visual anthropology (reactive process). The development of photographic and film technology and the events which led to the rapid development of visual culture also point to the inseparable duality of observing visual anthropology within reactive and proactive processes, which are indirectly closely related to the technical aspects of these processes. Defining the technical aspect of visual anthropology as such »service« necessarily interferes with the author's approach in the domain of the script and direction related procedures during pre-production, on the field and during post-production of the movie. The author's approach is important because in dependence on it, the desired spectrum of information »output«, susceptible to subsequent scientific analysis, is achieved. Lastly, another important segment is the »distributive-technological process« because, regardless of the approach to the anthropologically relevant phenomenon which is being dealt with in an audio-visual piece of work, it is essential that the work be presented and viewed adequately.

Key words: television, film, visual anthropology, reactive process, proactive process, author's approach, distributive-technological process

Introduction

This paper tries to describe some of the most important recent changes in production and technology which influenced the relationship between television and film, especially in Croatia, from the aspect of the development of visual anthropology. In the production segment, special attention was given to the role of Croatian television stations in the movie production, »splitting« the movies into mini-series, interrupting movies with commercial breaks, and to television movies turned into feature films.

Also, the analytical process will single out the thematic frame of these movies and series, correlate it with their TV ratings and cinema box-office results and link it with relevant segments of anthropological thought.

Nevertheless, prior to the analysis of the distribution – screening situation in the Republic of Croatia, it is very important to perceive and define the structure of methodical processes of visual anthropology (reactive process).

The development of photographic and film technology and events that, some intentionally – some by accident, led to the rapid development of visual culture also indicate the inherent duality of perceiving visual anthropology within the reactive and proactive processes, which are indirectly closely related to the technical aspects of these processes:

a) Visual anthropology as an investigative and technological »registrar« of events, i.e. hyper-multimedia »ser-

vice« used to analyse the existing, registered, scientific research subjects and research procedures (reactive process)

b) Visual anthropology as an impeller of the phenomenology of visual as primordial, proactive, hyper-multi-media originator of the anthropologically relevant events which then serve to establish relevant anthropological guidelines (proactive process)

c) Visual anthropology as a paradigm of spreading awareness through distribution – screening channels (distributive – technological process).

So, if we are referring to visual anthropology in the domain of its consideration as a »service«, that is, as an investigative and technological »registrar« of events, then we are talking about filming some anthropologically relevant topics, for which we had already had, to a greater or lesser extent, certain scientifically relevant knowledge, and the footage will be used for documentation, i.e. for subsequent analysis. Such a procedure is perfectly legitimate, so that contemporary visual anthropology is based precisely on documentary or, more accurately, ethnographic film as its starting point.

Defining the technical aspect of visual anthropology as such »service« necessarily interferes with the author's approach in the domain of the script and direction related procedures during pre-production, on the field and during post-production of the film (i.e. while the movie is being developed, during the shooting and the subsequent editing of the film). The author's approach is important because in dependence on it a desired spectrum of information »output« susceptible to subsequent scientific analysis is achieved.

Taking into account author's procedures related to screenwriting and direction, methods of visual anthropology in practice can be divided into objective and subjective ones, based on the methods of approach to the collection of audiovisual research data.

Another very important segment is the third part, i.e. the »distributive-technological process« for the simple reason that (regardless of the approach to the anthropologically relevant phenomenon which is being dealt with in an audio-visual piece of work) it is most important that the phenomenon be presented and viewed adequately.

In this context, it is important to be familiar with administrative aspects of the process of audio-visual content creation, i.e. to be familiar with the pre-production phase, and that is the structure of the relevant bodies dealing with audio-visual activities. For, after being the lead partner to Croatian film producers and directors in the production of feature films for decades, following the foundation of the Croatian Audiovisual Centre, Croatian Radio Television (HRT) was turned from the Ministry of Culture's partner into a contributor for payments made to the Croatian Audiovisual Centre, and Croatian producers were left without significant resources. HD cameras that allow cheaper filming in high resolution, compared to the 35 mm tape, as well as digital computer

editing, made that part of the production process cheaper, but all other costs have increased.

Croatian television has long demanded that producers, beside the movie, make a mini-series, sometimes by »splitting« the movie into two parts, but such practice is being abandoned and Croatian films are broadcast as an integral work of art. However, since 2010 commercial breaks during the screening of a movie are allowed.

In the recent history of Croatian cinematography there were a few exceptional films that were created as television movies, and were released in theatres only later. After a long break, a television movie was shown at the 59th Pula Film Festival in 2012.

The technology segment of this paper analyzes the significance of Blu-ray and HDTV, movies and television on demand, and television movie channels.

Blu-ray has dramatically improved the quality of watching movies at home and facilitated the work of smaller art cinemas and film festivals. At the beginning of 2007 Croatian Radio Television launched its HDTV programme HRT HD, but it was shut down in February of 2011.

Max-Tv, Iskon-Tv, Bnet and some other companies offer viewers an online video store, and the Iskon company is the first in Croatia to introduce the possibility for viewers to watch television programmes whenever they want via a service called »TV guide«.

Nevertheless, online video stores (VOD) reported a decline in viewership due to the increasing number of television movie channels, among which TCM and Klasik TV have special cultural value.

Anthropological Paradigm and the Importance of Distributive – Screening Chains

In order for some anthropologically relevant audio-visual content to be shown to a large number of viewers, it must be released in movie theatres or shown on one of the national TV stations. The reason for this is multifaceted, that is, if the distribution chain of an audiovisual content is well-designed and extensive, then (with the inevitable marketing of such content) in a particular segment one can count on higher ratings of that content. Through causal connection, a double level of anthropological relevance of that piece of work is achieved.

The first level is the very narrative – etymological paradigm of the movie per se (that is, the thematic framework, the plot, the social moment the film describes, film metaphors and metonymies, etc.). The second level is, surprisingly, even more important than the previous one because it represents the relevance of that audio-visual piece of work (a feature film, a series, a documentary...) within the »words of mouth« context, i.e. recounting the piece of work and the impressions it provokes outside the locus of representation. So, the second level ponders the effect of the movie achieved through the exchange of opinions between those who had »consumed« it.

The second level includes several algorithms in the information transfer channel:

- Viewer – Nonviewer (a viewer recounts the nonviewer the plot and his or her impressions)
- Viewer – Viewer (a viewer and another viewer compare their impressions of a movie)
- Nonviewer – Nonviewers (nonviewer comments the movie with another nonviewer through someone else's impressions)

So far there have been only few scientifically relevant researches which can prove justifiable the investment into modern screening technology from the technological aspect.

Of course, given that information technology is growing in importance in the screening business as well, moving to new screening techniques, models and formats (3D, HFR...) is a technological inevitability that accompanies the social moment in which we live.

Precisely on that note, today cinematography and television networks are fighting more than ever a technology battle for every viewer. Both sides were given extremely great possibilities by digital technology. At the same time, there are more and more similarities between cinema and television, although in their battle for viewers they mostly try to highlight the differences. The film tape is becoming a thing of the past, and a high-definition picture quality and compromise 16:9 format are increasingly conquering both film and television. Cinema networks even run their own television channels to promote their movies.

Cinematographers have several trump cards. By constructing special IMAX theatres with huge movie screens, ever more perfect sound and perfected 3D image technology, they try to provide viewers with an experience impossible to have at one's own home. The cinema reacted similarly as when first threatened by television, as stated by John Ellis in his book »Visible fictions«¹, by introducing CinemaScope wide format, and soon afterwards the early 3D technology with red and green glasses (which nevertheless soon collapsed). A new image format soon turned television into an inadequate media for screening cinema films. From the technical and artistic point of view, a film shot in CinemaScope was massacred on the television screen. Whether the image was zoomed to the central part while cutting off the rest at the same time, or by leaving the top and the bottom part of the screen black, or by combining the two techniques – the effect was weak.

But the television found a solution to that challenge. The 16:9 format, in which most television sets are being produced today, can recreate a cinema picture far better than the classic 4:3 screen. Also, LCD and plasma technology allow the production of much larger screens than was the case at the time when it depended on the cathode ray tubes. At first, these screens were very expensive and not of a particularly good quality, but they eventually got so much cheaper that television sets with cathode ray tubes were completely eliminated from TV stores. This marked a definitive victory of the 16:9 screen format over the 4:3 format.

Let us just mention in passing that Croatian television viewers today are in an absurd situation of being more technologically advanced than their national broadcasters: while more and more households have a 16:9 television set, HRT and Nova TV still broadcast their signal in 4:3 format and only RTL Hrvatska on 1st January, 2011 adopted the 16:9 format (although with a great deal of improvisation).

In this way local viewers with 16:9 screens, instead of enjoying the benefits of technological progress, mostly watch television by stretching the 4:3 image or by zooming the screen thus cropping the upper and the lower part of the image, while a small number of viewers watch television with the black parts covering the left and the right side of the image. Exceptions are some live transmissions and television shows shot with HD cameras that are broadcast in the 16:9 format that can be zoomed on without distorting the image. This produced an unexpected twist: once a TV screen massacred a cinema film, while today television sets in Croatia massacre numerous originally television programmes. Television on the other hand responded to the cinema by introducing HDTV signal, which manifests its virtues when combined with ever more accessible plasma and LCD television sets with large screens, home theatre projectors, and home Dolby Surround sound system.

Television, as noted by Ellis using the example of Great Britain and other European countries, is showing significantly more resistance to the American domination than the cinema network, which is completely dominated by Hollywood.

However, it should be noted that this refers primarily to the European public television, while private television channels are dominated by American television series. When it comes to their programme, major TV networks such as HBO are able to compete with them by producing TV spectacles (such as »The Pacific« or »Game of Thrones«) which are made following the standards set by Hollywood blockbusters. But such series with near-cinematic expression represent the minority, while the television with its numerous American crime series and sitcoms, whose episodes are relatively short and more and more dynamic, is in fact changing the sensibility of viewers (especially of the young ones) who find a full-length feature film (especially non-American one) more and more difficult to watch in its entirety.

Through its specialized television channels the television gains a particular advantage. In a supplement to his book² written in 1992, ten years after the original, Ellis predicted that the greater possibility to choose from television content would actually weaken the impact of television on society. However, despite the strengthening of the internet, this has not been the case to a large extent, especially not in Croatia where the television remains the main source of public information with the strongest influence on public opinion. Also, watching programmes on demand has not still taken hold and watching the programme as scheduled by the television programme

scheme is a habit, and when it comes to the news of the days and favourite drama series even a sort of a ritual.

However, despite all technological advances and changes, some things related to cinema and television will never change. Watching a cinema movie will always involve going out of the house, in case of which the viewer will usually invite a person for a walk and talk about the movie afterwards (although the positioning of multiplexes in major shopping malls frequently outside the city centre often changes that custom in favour of a car ride and shopping). Also, the cinema will always allow getting into a movie to a greater extent, without distractions, which are common at home. Furthermore, the cinema will always have priority and exclusivity when it comes to movie premieres, while the television will always show something old and already seen. Lastly, the cinema has a theatre-like quality, this being a collective aesthetic experience, which is especially expressed in large auditoriums such as the Pula Arena (which is next to the main square at the Swiss festival in Locarno, the largest open-air festival cinema in the world).

It was precisely thanks to that (and of course the progress in the quality of digital image capturing and image transfer) that the cinema has recently struck another major blow to the television, which not even Ellis had predicted – by taking over something which has been a television trump card from the beginning – live broadcasts of operas and ballets from the world's greatest opera and ballet houses in HD technology (broadcasts from the Metropolitan Opera began in 2006). Although it is possible to see the same operas on specialized television channels such as Mezzo, among opera lovers in Zagreb it has become a matter of prestige to watch broadcasts from the Metropolitan at the Lisinski Concert Hall (which for this occasion turns into the largest movie theatre in Zagreb), to mingle during the break, to comment on the singers, the direction and the orchestra, and above all to feel part of a great artistic event. Following the Lisinski Concert Hall, this practice in Croatia has been adopted by cinema chains CineStar and Cineplexx (in the world the opera transmissions are watched almost exclusively in movie theatres), but with less success with (in such transmissions predominantly) older audience which finds the concert hall a more suitable location, even though cinemas actually provide more comfort and a much better sound quality.

But watching a direct satellite broadcast of an opera in a movie theatre is in many respects more similar to the collective watching of TV on big screen than to the cinema, so it can also be interpreted as a victory of television over cinema (though in this case it is not a television programme that is being broadcast).

In any case, the competition between the cinema and television has brought about numerous improvements in recent years and many more options to choose from, so that viewers can be pleased that such competition continues. Ellis's somewhat cynical forecast that the result of the revolution in the area of television, as in all revolu-

tions, would be much lesser than expected by its participants and observers, luckily, turned out to be untrue.

Participation of Broadcasters in Cinema Movies Production

For decades Croatian television was the lead partner to Croatian producers and directors in the production of feature films, which (as stated by Hrvoje Turković) is a characteristic of a small cinematography³, and there were even suggestions to give over the entire movie production to Croatian television⁴. But today, such partnership is something they can only dream of. What happened in the meantime?

Years long informal partnership between the Ministry of Culture and Croatian Radio Television was formalized on 2nd November, 2005 when the Minister of Culture, Mr. Božo Biškupić, and the Director-General of the Croatian Radio Television, Mr. Mirko Galić, signed an *Agreement on the conditions and criteria for establishing a schedule of feature film production and its funding*, in accordance to which funds were allocated to production companies through the public tender of the Ministry of Culture. On the basis of the tender and proposals of the Council for film and cinematography the Minister of Culture and the Director-General of Croatian Radio Television would reach a final decision on the proposal given by three artistic advisers, one of which was an employee of Croatian Radio Television. A position of a production adviser was also established. This agreement confirmed the previous practice under which the Ministry of Culture provided around four million kuna for feature films, while HRT provided around two million kuna plus the so called intangible benefits (mostly in technical services).

Croatian film directors and producers would nevertheless often express their dissatisfaction with the way decisions about films at the Ministry of Culture were made and sought the establishment of a special institution which would decide on grants in the Croatian cinematography. Already in 2006 a Law on Audio-visual activities⁵ was passed. In 2007 Croatian Audiovisual Centre (HAVC) was founded and the producer, Mr. Albert Kapović, was appointed its first director. Under the mentioned Law HRT was turned from a partner into a contributor which had to pay two per cent of its annual gross revenue accrued from performing audio-visual activities into HAVC's budget. Several years had passed before the payments were actually received, when the HRT's revenues were actually established. However, the start of payments did not bring about significant changes in the financing of films. With the establishment of HAVC, the agreement between the Ministry of Culture and HRT was terminated, and Croatian films lost a two million grant per movie. The money that HRT was paying to HAVC was used for other purposes, and movie financing was reduced. At the same time, HD cameras that allow cheaper filming in high resolution, compared to the 35 mm tape, as well as digital computer editing, made that

part of the production process cheaper, but all other costs had increased.

By getting what they asked for, filmmakers have actually lost a great deal. Today, Croatian television does not give money to producers, and the technical support is also getting scarce.

The only positive thing that came out of this turn of events was that producers were forced to orientate more energetically towards co-productions with production companies in other countries, which encouraged the acceptance of the Republic of Croatia into Eurimages.

For a long time the participation in cinema movies production had been reserved for HRT. However, Nova TV has just joined in. In 2012, one of the most popular domestic TV-series, »Larin izbor« (Lara's choice), was adapted into a movie.

It is a full-length feature film, »Larin izbor: Izgubljeni princ« (Lara's Choice: The Lost Prince) which continues directly the plotline from the first season of the series, introducing also some new characters.

The movie had a theatrical release on 28th June, and very soon it turned out to be a successful experiment. Although few expected the audience to flock into theatres and pay the ticket for something they were used to watching for free, and for something that they would surely watch very soon on television, the movie drew 78,694 people and grossed 1,835,363,00 kuna (244,715,00 euros).

Movie Splitting: From Mini-Series to Commercial Breaks

Croatian television was trying to exploit to the most Croatian feature films in which it invested substantial financial, technical, and even human resources. It therefore required of the producers to, besides making a feature film, make a mini-series, usually consisting of three episodes. Some films, nevertheless, were conceived from the very beginning as true, long series, among which one should mention Antun Vrdoljak's »Duga, mračna noć« (A Long Dark Night) consisting of thirteen episodes. Many directors saw the request to create a three-part series as unnatural splitting of their work of art into three equal parts, and the lengthening of certain episodes often required the inclusion of unnecessary scenes which were cut out for a reason during the editing of the film. The directors were particularly against splitting a feature films into two episodes.

Finally, HRT had given up that practice, asking for a series only in exceptional cases, when it was truly artistically justified, and consisting of more episodes, while Croatian films were mainly broadcast as integral works of art.

However, Croatian film (and the film on HRT in general) was met with another type of attack on its artistic integrity. While commercial broadcasters considered fairly normal to interrupt movies with commercial breaks, and even cut the entire end credits, Croatian television

was prohibited from pursuing such an action since its foundation. With the passing of a new law on HRT in 2010⁶ a provision was adopted (Article 37, Paragraph 6) allowing HRT to interrupt feature films with commercial breaks one time for the duration of a feature film. When directors and film critics saw what was happening on a television screen, it was already too late. Protest letters sent to the Minister of Culture such as the one sent by a film scholar and lecturer on movie theory, Dr. Nikica Gilić, were futile. While reminding them that the film industry is inevitable in cultural life, and that the film is the basic content of all public televisions, largely so because it is ideal for showing on television, and given the changes in the legal regulation of HRT, Mr. Gilić, on behalf of the editorial board of Hrvatski filmski ljetopis (Croatian Film Chronicles, Croatia's most serious film magazine) demanded them to stop the »moviecide, a form of culturecide by which the central broadcaster destroys one of its most important areas of operation«. Mr. Gilić pointed out that movies on public television were being interrupted with commercials as if there were no difference between a film and a football match. He also stated that many movies were shown at times suitable only for those who did not have to or could not sleep at night, and making television programmes on film, it seemed, interested no one in the public television's management.

But the appeals were all to no avail. The new Draft Law on Amendments to the Law on Croatian Radio Television⁷ did not foresee the elimination of the controversial article. This was also noted by the president of the Croatian Society of Film Critics, Mr. Bruno Kragić, who publicly demanded that the Draft Law include the obligation of the public television to preserve the integrity of feature films by airing them in their entirety, without truncation or interruption of any kind and without visual interventions.

Television Movies Adapted into Cinema Films

In the recent history of Croatian cinematography there were a few exceptional films that were created as television movies, and were released in theatres only later. The most-watched among them was »How the War Started on My Island« by Vinko Brešan, based on a script written by his father, a renowned comedy playwright Ivo Brešan. Shot in modest conditions, with a budget of only a million and a half kuna it was a hit movie in theatres that drew record viewership, with 337,000 people⁸ watching it, most since Croatian independence. This Mediterranean comedy which humorously covered a war theme remains unsurpassed to date when it comes to the number of viewers, and after its cinema distribution the movie was repeatedly shown on television with great success. It was an indicator that, after a series of tough and unsuccessful movies burdened with war reality, Croatian film could again be popular. According to the movie histo-

rian, Mr. Nikica Gilić⁹, this movie marked a turning point in the recovery of cinematography.

A highly successful television movie that was released in cinemas was »Oprosti za kung fu« (»Sorry for Kung Fu«) (2004) by Ognjen Sviličić, which had its international premiere in the Forum section at the Berlin International Film Festival. It was a good, brave and mature movie in which the director weaved heavy drama and comic elements into a story of patriarchy and traditionalism of Dalmatian Zagora, extremely skilfully, without a single weak spot, sending at the same time a strong message against racial or any other intolerance.

The funds for transferring a television movie to a 35mm tape were usually provided during the premiere of the film at the Pula Film Festival, which for a long time had lacked in movies necessary to stage a one-week event.

An additional problem was the difference between fees for a television and a cinema film. This was usually resolved in a way that all movie artists and employees who had worked on a movie signed a statement waiving this difference in fees to which they were entitled under the applicable price lists.

The last two television films screened in the Arena at the Pula Film Festival were »Volim te« (I love you) by Dalibor Matanić, a powerful drama that boldly depicts the life of a young man accidentally infected with HIV via a blood transfusion, and »Trešeta« (Tressette: A Story of an Island), by Dražen Žarković, a warm and nostalgic story of a small, dying Dalmatian island. Both films were screened in 2006. after which a long pause ensued. Only in 2012 did Croatian Television appear again, registering its film for the Festival. This time it was »Zabranjeno smijanje« (No Laughing Allowed), an adaption of Miro Gavran's comedy directed by Davor Žmegač. The movie is to be screened in DCP, a new, extremely high definition format (2K), as well as all the other movies in the programme.

Transfer to DCP came suddenly for Pula: while in 2010 all movies were available in a 35mm format, in 2011 all of them were in DCP, so the just recently acquired new 35mm projector was a thing of the past. In 2012, the Ministry of Culture plans to start with digitalization (which includes purchasing a 2K projector and a DCP server) of independent cinema network which is to last two years. In total, 28 movie theatres will be digitalized. Only theatres for which the cities and municipalities committed to finance 30 percent of the money (the necessary funds amount to around 100,000 euro per theatre) were taken into account, only for the Ministry of Culture afterwards ask the local community to participate with 40 percent, which will be difficult to achieve given the already adopted budgets.

Blue-Rays and HDTV Revolution

Blu-ray, a disc the size of a DVD that holds a movie in high definition (1920×1080 pixels) is one of the most im-

portant discoveries in the field of data recording that led the quality of watching movies at home to unprecedented heights, and allowed smaller theatres to cheaply acquire movies of a quality necessary for screening at a cinema.

It is possible to transfer movies from Blu-ray discs (as MPEG4 files) to the hard drive, add subtitles to them and broadcast them using relatively inexpensive equipment (a media players can be obtained for 1500, and an HD projector for 13,000 kuna). The first festival in Croatia which took full advantage of this technology was the Days of European Film, held from 2nd till 9th May, 2012 in Zagreb, Rijeka and Pula.

All films were obtained on Blu-ray discs, subtitled and transferred onto a hard disk (palm-sized) which was first sent to Pula, and then to Rijeka. Barely a few years ago Croatian festivals had to rent 35mm copies, whose transfer from abroad would cost (in both directions) around 800 euro. For the Days of European Film, Blue-ray discs were purchased, whose price was only around 15 euro per film.

Huge savings are realized on subtitling as well. The cost of subtitling one 35mm tape is around 1000 euro, while the subtitles are uploaded on an MPEG4 file without any additional charge. For distributors of small, independent films such option is far cheaper, especially if you know that the price of the new 35mm copies is around 1000 euro apiece. A movie prepared for cinema screening as MPEG4 can be directly transferred to online video stores (VOD platforms) after its cinema release.

The television equivalent of Blu-ray discs is HD television, which in Croatia has not yet taken root, although many television stations around the world broadcast such programs, mostly via satellite. Since HDTV is a television of high resolution and sound quality, in order to obtain a programme of such quality, you need to transmit far more data than for a standard television, so MPEG-4 image compression is also used, and HD broadcasts transmits AC3 sound also, i.e. Dolby Surround multi channel sound programmes.

At the beginning of 2007, Croatian Radio Television launched its HDTV programme HRT HD, which was in an experimental phase and was initially aired from only one transmitter, and during 2008, by expanding the network of transmitters it became available in other major cities. The same year that channel aired sports content for the first time in HD quality, two biggest sporting events that year: the European Football Championships and the Olympic Games in Beijing. But, after the licence for the experimental transmission expired, in February 2011, HRT HD was terminated.

Consequently, it is unlikely that we will soon be able to watch movies in HDTV in our homes, so Blu-ray (which can also be read by, among the younger generation popular device, Sony PlayStation 3) remains the only option to enjoy the top picture quality at home. Let us point out that the difference in picture quality is possible to differentiate only on large screens, and on (increasingly available at lower prices) home projectors.

Only with Blu-ray and HD quality movies, can these large screens be rightfully called home theatres.

Movies and Television on Demand

Max-Tv, Iskon-Tv, B.net and some others companies offer their viewers an online video store, i.e. the possibility to choose out of the comfort of their home a movie which they desire to watch on their television set from the collection of currently available titles.

This service, known in the world as VOD (Video-On-Demand), has after torrents (obtaining movies through online piracy) and television movie channels, put another nail in the coffin of physical video stores, which have for many years, ever since the appearance of VHS and Beta video tapes, been the most popular way to watch movies. The price for watching a movie of 15 kuna is also similar, but the possibility to get the movie without going to the video store, and without having to think about returning the movie (and especially about the hated overdue fines), made VOD very attractive. Their offer includes some popular television series as well, but the emphasis is on feature films, sorted by category. It was only a matter of time before complete television programmes were offered to viewers in a similar way.

Iskon was the first company in Croatia to introduce the revolutionary possibility for viewers to use a service called TV Guide and watch television shows when they wanted, and not when it was being aired.

Iskon automatically records the entire programmes aired by HRT 1, HRT 2, RTL, RTL 2 and HRT Plus for the viewer within the last three days. The advantages for the viewer are enormous – now he has the possibility to make his own television mini-schedule and to watch his favourite television shows regardless of when he returned home. A special advantage is the possibility to rewind shows, and even commercial breaks, which are particularly numerous when watching TV-series on RTL. It is thus expected that advertisers will put pressure on broadcasters to deny viewers the possibility to watch television shows in such a way.

Nova TV's programmes have been available for a long time, but the management decided not to allow such a way of downloading the programme any more. Numerous television shows produced by the very television stations are available on demand and on websites of TV stations, but in a low resolution, which only allows viewing the shows on the computer screen without the possibility to increase it significantly.

Television Movie Channels

Last few months online video stores (VOD) reported a decline in viewership. The reason for this is the increasing number of television movie channels offered by various operators (Max-Tv, Iskon TV, B.net) in their packages with phone and internet services. These programs are also available through cable television. What significant-

ly increased their attractiveness was the introduction of Croatian subtitles for movies (as well as television series on channels such as Fox Life, Fox Crime, etc.).

Among television movie channels available to us, the one to stand out are Cinemax 1 and Cinemax 2, Cinestar TV and Cinestar Action, MGM, Universal Channel, TV 1000 and most expensive HBO and HBO Comedy (which broadcast the premieres of even the most expensive television series). With so many new movies available in the daily offer, the average viewer is unlikely to decide to spend fifteen kuna to watch something from an online video store. However, for more demanding viewers, who have clear desires about the latest movies they missed in the theatres, but do not want to wait for their inclusion in the television programmes, the use of online video stores (VOD) is still a better and more prestigious option, which will always have its circle of users.

Among television movie channels TCM and Klasik TV have special cultural value. TCM (Turner Classic Movies), which is aired only from 8 pm (Cartoon Network broadcasts on the same frequency in the daytime) offers a number of classic American movies in its programme which are unavailable on other channels. Unfortunately, TCM airs movies without Croatian subtitles, which are cost-effective only for more commercial channels. Klasik TV offers a large number of older movies from cinematography of ex-Yugoslavia, but new short movies and documentaries as well. The common flaw of both of these programmes are too numerous repetitions of movies conditioned by a limited film material available to them. The number of film does not increase rapidly enough, but the existing movie base is still impressive. An additional problem of Klasik TV is the poor quality of copies of most films. The colours are faded, the sound is poor, and the image is blurry. The reason is the poor level of movie restoration in our region. But digital technology brings progress here as well: unlike the long, arduous and expensive photochemical restoration, digital restoration costs less and is faster, except in the case of more ambitious high definition restoration, such as the one made by Hrvatski telekom and Hrvatska kinoteka (The Croatian National Film Archive) with movies »Breza« (The Birch Tree) (1967) by Ante Babaja and »Vuk samotnjak« (The Lone Wolf) (1972) by Obrad Gluščević.

Sociocultural Anthropologic Specificities in the Production and Distribution of Movies

The phenomenon of the influence of audiovisual content on the socio-cultural anthropological paradigm is very significant and very measurable. Because, by using the relevant statistical methods, we can get plenty of information about the importance of production in conjunction with distribution activities and their impact on the cultural product itself – the movie. Of course, all this in conjunction with the movie viewer ratings and some other correlative attributes that suggest anthropological specificities of the cinematic medium.

As evident from the tables, based on research conducted by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics¹⁰ (Figure 1, Table 1), it is very interesting to compare several socio-cultural elements which may be reflected upon within the broader anthropological context. Thus, it is very interesting to observe a correlation between the standard of living, i.e. the country's GDP and the number of relevant films produced annually. However, at the forefront of the »most potent« film states is India, for years now, with an extremely developed movie production, which partly belongs to its cultural image. It is clear that countries with a higher degree of economic power (USA, Japan...) as well as those that are experiencing the strongest economic progress (China) invest proportionally more in the cinema, i.e. produce more feature-length films per year. It is interesting to observe the case of Croatia, where in the period from 1992 up until 2012 around 130 feature films were produced, that being the equivalent of an annual film production in Germany. It would also be very interesting to correlate the number of produced films with cinema viewer ratings, as well as with relevant awards at international film festivals. In this way, we could get some very interesting information about the quality level of selecting movie titles done by state bodies who allocate funds for the film.

Film as a promoter of social and cultural values of a society involves several levels of interaction with the viewer. One level is the preservation of the local folklore

and linguisticity as anthropological subdomains (Figure 2). In this context, it is significant that the research on the »linguistic diversity of films« conducted by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (showed that 38 surveyed countries had film production in as much as 44 different languages. This suggests that the film is a very relevant part of the cultural identity. Also, there are numerous cases of distribution – economic language pragmatism, when a film is produced in English or some other language other than the author's mother tongue, with the aim to secure its wider international distribution more easily (without subtitles). In this context, it is especially interesting to point out Nigeria which, according to a study made by the NFC (Nigerian Film Corporation), stated as much as four official »movie« languages in the country, namely: English, Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. The English language had a 44% share, Yoruba 31%, Hausa followed with 24% and Igbo with a 1% share of all feature-length films shot in Nigeria.

In European countries, film production is realized and distributed in general in a national language and, exceptionally, in English, which depends on the composition of the production team and their skill in anticipating the reception and perception of the film by the audience, as well as on their precognition in terms of optimizing the marketing of a movie in its broadest context, during the subsequent distribution (Figure 2).

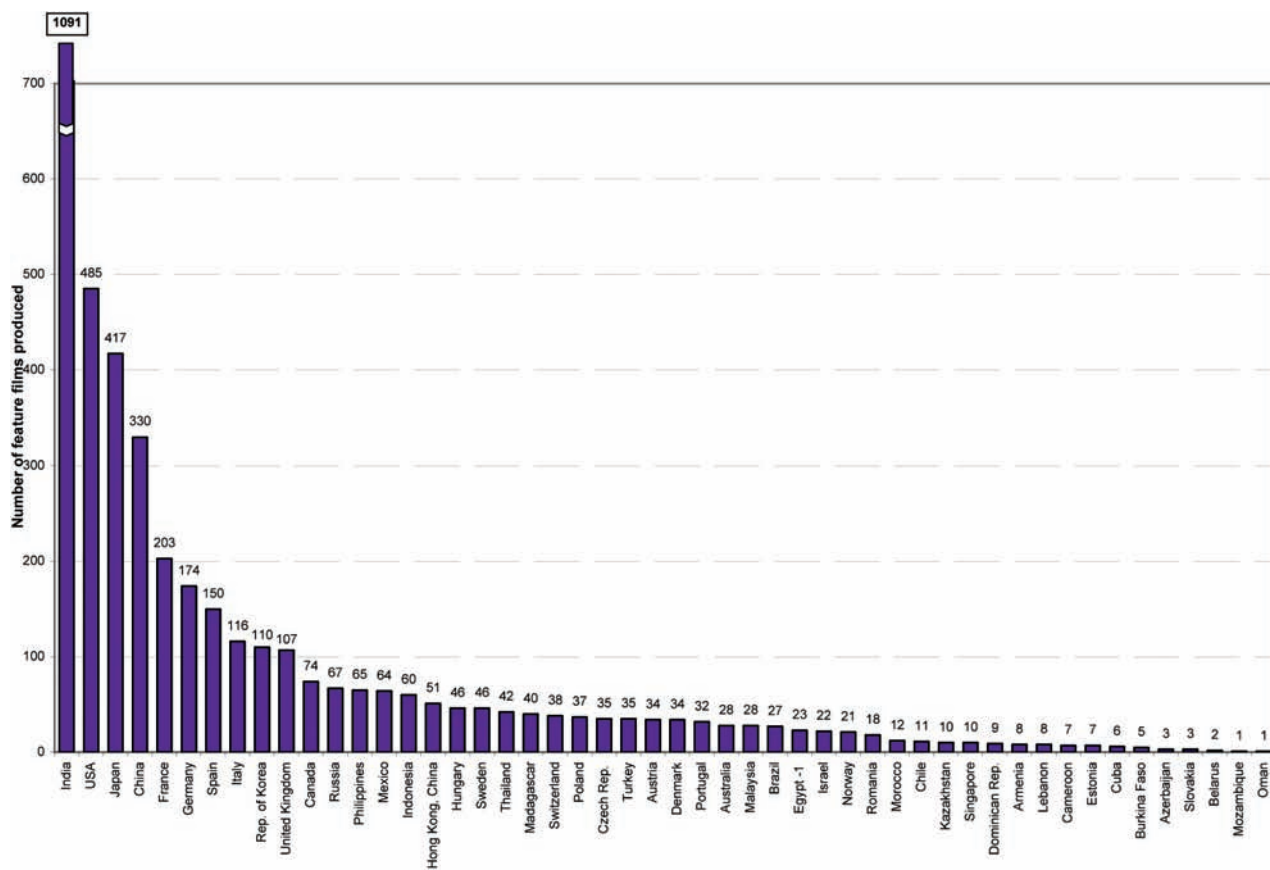


Fig. 1. Number of feature films produced in 2006.

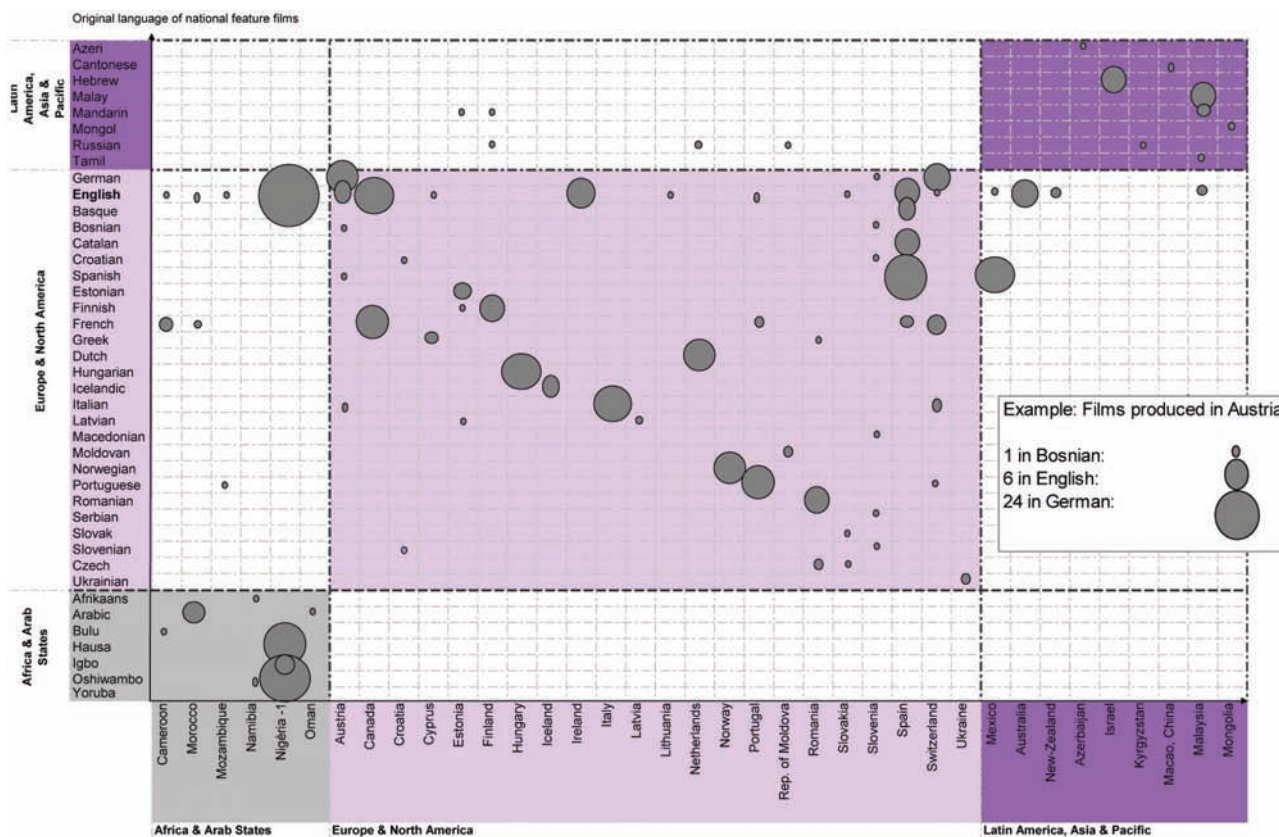


Fig. 2. Number of feature films by language and country in 2006.

Judging from the conceptual – distribution aspect, the development of the television and film media in the Republic of Croatia is undergoing significant changes. These changes are mainly caused by the rapid development of information technology, which dictates new trends and allows a whole range of potentialities as the media content is being consumed by the user. It is at this level that an anthropologically potent, indirect link between technology and human (consumer) occurs. The definition of visual anthropology says that, being a subbranch of socio-cultural anthropology, it deals with preparation, creation and post-production of ethnographic audiovisual expressions, such as film and photography.

Based on this type of registering socio-cultural moment, through a subsequent analysis of audio-visual materials, we encounter extremely valuable information about the life of the subject of scientific interest. The information obtained in this way provides auditory and visual documentation of the moment of its creation in the domain of folklore, rituals, behaviour and beliefs of the subject of observation. However, if the phrase »visual anthropology« is by inversion altered into the »anthropology of the visual«, then in the context of the film industry for example, appears the whole spectrum of social and cultural manifestations (e.g., language, customs, social issues...), which are very interesting and potent in a broad, anthropological sense.

Thus, it is clear that visual anthropology has significantly higher potential than the mere audiovisual registering of ethnological realities, which forms part of its basic definition. Following on that theme, it is also important to reflect on the development of television and film as media transmitter of various audiovisual content.

Given that is very probable that the technological specificity of the television medium and film will have a great influence on the creation of different visual content in the future, it is important in this context to raise awareness of the change of the related anthropological paradigm. In other words, unlike the current thinking about the nature of audiovisual content, as fully technologically independent »entities«, in the future, the level of technological development and its impact on the television and film media (both in production and in the distribution sense), will set new guidelines in shaping its content. In this way, for the first time in the history of audiovisual content, form will start to dictate content. A very similar thing has already happened in the narrow domain of information technology, where hardware resources began to dictate software creations. However, »the idea substratum«, i.e. the importance and the creative – didactic potential of the essential idea of each project will remain the most important factor, as this is a fundamental driver of synergy between software and hardware.

TABLE 1
DATA ON FEATURE FILM PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CINEMAS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

Country or territory	2006						
	Production			Distribution		Infrastructure	
	Number of films produced nationally	% of feature films 100% nationally produced	% of feature films that were co-productions	Number of film distribution companies	% distribution companies nationally-controlled	Number of cinemas	% multiplexes
Europe and North America							
Andorra	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Austria	34 c	68 c	32 c	24 e, -1	38	582 c,m	37 c,n
Belarus	2	100	...	7	100	139	...
Belgium	10 c	40 c	60 c	... e, -1	...	507 c,m	... c,n
Bulgaria	10	40	60	56	98	68	7
Canada	74	72	28	..	...	...	...
Croatia	2	...	100	7	100	87 +/-	1
Cyprus	4	25	75	5	...	10	...
Czech Rep.	35 c	80 c	20 c	17 e, -1	...	701 c,m	... c,n
Denmark	34 +/-,h	100	...	... e, -1	...	385 +/-	... c,n
Estonia	7	43	57	5	80	55	2
Finland	19	84	16	11	55	205	2 a,n
France	203 f	63 f	37 f	108 f, -1	...	5,362 f,m	32 f,n
Germany	174	67	33	89	94	1823	7
Gibraltar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Greece	23 c	78 c	22 c	14 e. -1	...	...	...
Hungary	46 c	80 c	20 c	13	...	216	6
Iceland	6	50	50	4	100	22	...
Ireland	19	37	63	7	43	64	39
Italy	116	78	22	36	...	1,910 c,m	5 c,n
Latvia	2	100	...	4	...	42	2
Lithuania	1	...	100	6	67	48	4
Luxembourg	...	...	...	...	...	24 c,m	42 c,n
Malta	...	...	...	1 e. -1	...	...	...
Moldova	3	100	...	7	100	8	...
Netherlands	21	71	29	14 e. -1	64	163	9 c,n
Norway	21	95	5	16 e. -1	...	235	3 c,n
Poland	37	95	5	28	75	514	7 c,n
Portugal	32	41	59	15	87	141	11 c,n
Romania	18	78	22	17	...	73	3
Russian Fed.	67 a,p	...	...	47 e. -1	...	1,294 +/- c,m	...
Slovakia	3	...	100	11	73	217	1
Slovenia	3	67	33	20	85	57	7
Spain	150	73	27	176 +/-	97	990	18
Sweden	46 c	65 c	35 c	25 e. -1	...	1,171 c,m	...
Switzerland	38	37	63	46 *	91 *	414 *	2*
Turkey	35	89	11	16 e. -1	...	302	8 c,n
Ukraine	7	100	...	13	100	2,740	...
United King.	107 g	47 g	53 g	67 g	...	697 g	...
USA	485 +/-a	...	...	...	...	38,415 c,m	...

Source: UNESCO INSTITUTE FOR STATISTICS, Analysis of the UIS International Survey on Feature Film Statistics, accessed on 13th January 2013, available from: http://www.uis.unesco.org/FactSheets/Documents/Infosheet_No1_cinema_EN.pdf

a – Source: European Audiovisual Observatory (2007). Focus: World Film Market Trends 2007; b – Source: European Audiovisual Observatory (2008). Focus: World Film Market Trends 2008; c – Source: European Audiovisual Observatory (2007,2006). Yearbook 2008: Film and Video, Volume 3; d – Estimate drawn from European Audiovisual Observatory (2007, 2006). Yearbook 2008: Film and Video, Volume 3; e – Source: European Audiovisual Observatory (2007). Film Distribution Companies in Europe; f – Source: Centre national de la cinématographie; g – Source: UK Film Council; h – Only includes films that were 100% nationally produced; i – Only includes companies with majority nationally-controlled; j – Multiplex = Cinema with 8 screens or more; k – Films produced in Nigeria are shot on digital video. This country produced 872 feature films in 2005; l – In Australia, multiplexes are defined as cinemas comprising at least 7 screens; m – Number of screens; n – Percentage (%) of screens in multiplexes; o – Includes only co-productions with majority national financing; p – Only films produced and exhibited nationally; q – Source : www.screendigest.com; ... – Data not available; - Nil (value exactly zero); 0 – Virtually zero (less than half of the last decimal); * – Not applicable; ± – Partial data; +n – Data refers to »n« years after the reference year; -n – Data refers to »n« years before the reference year.

If we analyse the development and the potential of visual anthropology, i.e. the anthropology of the visual, through this type of paradigm, it is clear that there will be some changes here as well, with emphasis on the understanding of anthropological syntagm between: man – perception – reception – the media, which will indirectly have influence on the human development in a holistic sense.

When we talk about the relationship between man and technology, within an anthropological context, we can say that the last two decades have witnessed some

crucial changes in that relationship, the consequence of which will be the reorganization of the current holistic paradigms. Technological innovations directly affect the production and distribution, and therefore the interaction between television and film. In recent years there have occurred significant production and technological changes that have affected the relationship between television and film in the world, including Croatia. The competition between cinema and television in recent years has brought about great improvements and significantly greater possibilities of choice.

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FILMSKA I TELEVIZIJSKA PRODUKCIJA, NOVE TEHNOLOGIJE I POVEZANOST S VIZUALNOM ANTROPOLOGIJOM

SAŽETAK

Ovim radom nastoje se opisati neke najznačajnije recentne produkcijske i tehnološke promjene koje su utjecale na odnos televizije i filma, osobito u Hrvatskoj, gledajući sa aspekta razvoja vizualne antropologije. U produkcijskom segmentu posebna pozornost posvećena je ulozi hrvatskih televizijskih kuća u proizvodnji filmova, »cijepanju« filmova na mini-serije, prekidanju filmova reklamama te televizijskim filmovima koji postaju kino filmovi. U radu se sagledavaju i definiraju strukture metodičkih procesa vizualne antropologije (reaktivni proces). Razvoj fotografske i filmske tehnologije i događaji koji su doveli do rapidnog razvoja vizualne kulture također ukazuju na neodvojivu dualnost sagledavanja vizualne antropologije unutar reaktivnih i proaktivnih procesa, koji su posredno snažno vezani za tehničke aspekte tih procesa. Definiranje tehničkog aspekta vizualne antropologije kao takvog »servisa« nužno zadire i u promišljanje autorovog pristupa u domeni scenarističko – režijskih postupaka u pretprodukciji, na terenu i u postprodukciji filma. Autor-ski pristup je važan jer se u ovisnosti o njemu postiže željeni spektar informacijskog »outputa« podložnog kasnijoj znanstvenoj analizi. Konačno, važan segment je i »distributivno – tehnološki proces« jer je, bez obzira na pristup antropološko relevantnoj pojavnosti koja se obrađuje u audiovizualnom djelu, ključno da djelo bude adekvatno prezentirano i gledano.