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# An Attempt at a Participatory Approach to Exploring Deaf Culture<sup>1</sup> through the Medium of Film: The Making of the Ethnographic Film *Proba / The Rehearsal* as a part of the *Ethnographic Experiments* Workshop by Kinoklub Zagreb and University College London, 2022/2023

*The paper presents an overview and practical experience of attending the workshop “Ethnographic Experiments” organised by Kinoklub Zagreb and University College London, 2022/2023, which, upon completion of the theoretical part, resulted in practical exercises – the making of short ethnographic films, including the film “Proba” / “The Rehearsal”, whose premiere was held in May 2024. The latter attempted to approach the research on Deaf culture as inclusively as possible, i.e. in co-creation with the community. Irrespective of the difficulties encountered, valuable connections and relationships have been developed between the narrators and researchers as a guarantee for the continuation of active co-operation in the future.*

**Keywords:** Deaf culture, ethnographic film, Kinoklub Zagreb, University College London, Ethnographic Museum

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- 1 Following the socio-cultural model of deafness, which “emphasises what deaf people have – superior visual functioning and sign language – and gives them the identity of respected members of a linguistic – cultural minority. The Deaf community is referred to as Deaf culture; Deaf people who accept the Deaf community and sign language as their preferred language are considered culturally deaf. In order to emphasise this and point out the analogy with ethnicity, the word ‘Deaf’ is capitalised” (Bradarić-Jončić 2016: 66).

## INSTEAD OF AN INTRODUCTION

When in October 2022 I received a circular invitation e-mail from the Croatian Ethnological Society to enrol in the *Ethnographic Experiments* workshop organised by Kinoklub Zagreb in co-operation with University College London, my initial thought, which was apparently shared by the initial number of registered colleagues of museologists/ethnologists, older or generationally close to me, but also students of ethnology and cultural anthropology, was that it was an opportunity to acquire theoretical (and later practical) knowledge of visual anthropology. At the time of my studies at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb, in the mid-2000s, it was not among the offered either core or elective courses, although the importance of ethnographic film was emphasised through the continuous use of this medium in the teaching of almost all of them.

According to Milovan Gavazzi, “ethnographic film is *a more recent* label (year of publication 1964, author’s comment), which arose from the need to use a short term to designate a branch (genre) of film, which in a way became clear over a long period of time and required its own label and place, especially within professional or scientific film” (Gavazzi 1964: 57). The fact that in 2024 an ethnographic film, submitted as an ethnographic film and made at the *Ethnographic Experiments* workshop, was programmatically systematised as a documentary at the annual festival *Gledalište* (Auditorium) of Kinoklub Zagreb, would suggest the still present problems of genre classification and recognition, not only among the wider audience, but also within contemporary film production and criticism.

The reader is faced with an attempt to present the genre of ethnographic film from the inside, from the position of an experimental researcher and film novice. It is experiential, affective, field-based and it includes only indications of the theoretical frameworks of visual ethnography that were intended more as guidelines rather than anchors in the open creative process. Aspects of co-creation with the Deaf community are a step towards a new methodological area, almost of a pioneering character and hence potentially useful not only to ethnologists/ cultural anthropologists, or museum educators, but also to a much wider circle of theorists and practitioners oriented towards hearing-impaired people and/or the phenomenon of Deaf culture.

## ABOUT THE ORGANISERS

Kinoklub Zagreb was founded in 1928 as a cinema section of Fotoklub Zagreb, which makes it the oldest club of film amateurs in Southeast Europe. Today, Kinoklub Zagreb acts as a platform for amateur film that supports complete filmmaker’s freedom, and with free access to film knowledge and tools, it enables all interested citizens to become involved in filmmaking. The greatest importance of Kinoklub, as they themselves point out, is precisely in its members and their production drive. In addition to the production and distribution of amateur films, Kinoklub Zagreb organises various film workshops for its members, as well as screenings open to the public. It is also the founder of the *One Take Film Festival* and a member of the international network NISI MASA, which brings together young professionals, students and film enthusiasts from all over Europe (cf. Kinoklub Zagreb [s.a.]).

University College London (UCL), a partner of the *Ethnographic Experiments* workshop (2022/2023), was founded in the centre of London back in 1826, and today it is a leading multidisciplinary university, with more than 16,000 employees and 50,000 students from over 150

countries around the world. They say that they are a diverse community with the freedom and courage to challenge, question and think *differently*. Through a progressive approach to research and teaching, the goals are continuous academic success, pushing boundaries and making an impact on the real problems of the world we live in (cf. University College London [s.a.]).

The workshop leader, Meghanne Barker, PhD, a linguist and visual anthropologist, received her PhD degree in anthropology from the University of Michigan in the USA, with research on children's culture and puppet theatre in Kazakhstan. Before and at the time of the *Ethnographic Experiments* workshop (2022/2023), she was intensively involved in the research of film culture in the former Yugoslavia, and in 2024 she began researching communication in long-distance relationships between people who (both or one of them) belong to the countries of the previously mentioned region by origin and/or residence. Barker teaches at the Institute of Education at University College London, UK (Department of Education, Practice and Society). She had previously taught courses in social theory, media and communication at the same institute and at the University of Chicago in the USA and the London School of Economics in the UK (cf. Kinoklub Zagreb 2022).

## CURRICULUM

According to the organisers' announcements, the film workshop *Ethnographic Experiments* (2022/2023), characterised as *advanced*, was supposed to focus on various types of ethnographic film and encourage participants to make them. The workshop was intended for filmmakers, students of social sciences and art academies, independent authors, artists and scientists. The aim of the workshop was to network associates of different skills and professions and encourage them to work together in creating a film. The first, theoretical part, brought together a noticeable number of museum workers, and the film *Rehearsal* is the result of the work of the most heterogeneous group of seven groups/filmmakers applied and accepted into the later practicum.

The workshop consisted of two parts during which the participants, filmmakers and researchers, watched and analysed films, co-operating with each other and intertwining their technical, artistic and professional knowledge and skills, and jointly creating their own film. In the first part of the workshop, the participants met once a week, which was accompanied by the analysis and viewing of classic and contemporary ethnographic films. The programme is organised in such a way that each of the four blocks presents different topics, with a special focus on the study of experimental tendencies within the ethnographic film form. During the viewing, it was important to find and understand the connection between ethnographic and experimental film, and to be inspired and prepared for future work on the research and realisation of one's own film (cf. Kinoklub Zagreb 2022).

The first part of the workshop was held in two-hour weekend slots during October 2022, in the screening room of Kinoklub Zagreb. The first screening and lecture held on 15<sup>th</sup> October 2022 under the title *Ethnographic Film as an Observation of "Another", Rare or Almost Extinct Culture* introduced the workshop participants to the topic of films that created the concept of the stereotype of ethnographic film. We discussed what their goals were, but also their limitations, and analysed the experimental procedures within the film form itself.

The second workshop was held on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 2022, and it addressed the topic of *ethnofiction*. The boundary between ethnographic film and fiction has always existed. While some filmmakers



Figure 1. The initial indoor filming, photo by: Tina Grgić



Figure 2. Interviews in Croatian Sign Language (HZJ), photo by: Timna Bjažević



Figure 3. The set at the band's rehearsal studio, photo by: Gordana Vilječić

have turned to pure documentary observation, others have confirmed that it is possible to construct a story, but with real people, non-professional actors, natives, who play the role that they normally play in their life (in Croatian referred to as *natruršćici*). Sometimes this includes stories devised by the protagonists themselves, sometimes they are different versions of true stories, and sometimes local legends. The result is an interesting combination of fiction and documentary, which possesses great ethnographic value.

At the third workshop, held on 29<sup>th</sup> October 2022, participants and their mentor addressed the issue of *ethnographic film as a sensory experiment*. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when anthropology was being established as a discipline in the United States, anthropologists such as Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson saw great potential in the use of cinematic means to depict differences between cultures, as opposed to written descriptions of cultural differences. This approach to

visual (and ultimately audiovisual) ethnography has always emphasised the ethnographic value of film in relation to writing. Contemporary anthropologists and filmmakers, especially those coming from the Sensory Ethnography Lab at Harvard University, are now once again focusing on experimental ethnographic film as a multisensory, multimodal approach to ethnography that explicitly rejects language, sometimes rejecting dialogue or distancing itself entirely from human informants.

*Experiments of reflexivity and collaboration* was the title of the fourth workshop session, held on 30<sup>th</sup> October 2022. As in the case of cultural anthropology, visual anthropology has long been the subject of criticism due to its tendency to present other cultures as exotic. One way of dealing with this kind of criticism was to accept the fact that the anthropologist is a stranger who comes to observe someone, and to explicitly show this fact in different moments of reflection within the film. Another option was to establish co-operation between anthropologists and filming participants, in order to jointly decide what the theme of the film would be and how it would be performed. These tendencies can be through an exchange with someone else, for example with ethnofiction (cf. Kinoklub Zagreb 2022). It was the third and fourth workshops that had the greatest impact on the group of filmmakers of the film *The Rehearsal*.

Namely, after the screenings and analyses of films in the first part, the participants of the *Ethnographic Experiments* were divided into groups, depending on their prior knowledge and thematic preferences, if they did not opt for individual work. While the first part of the workshop was open to all those interested, in January 2023 independent filmmakers and teams subsequently applied for the second part of the workshop, with the concept of the future film and the plan for the realisation of filming.

After they had passed, i.e. their concept had been accepted, the second part of the workshop began in February 2023, after a short time break intended for independent research and development of the idea of a future film, with the possibility of parallel participation in introductions to film equipment and editing workshops (February – March 2023). An introduction to film equipment and filming techniques was given by Dražen Žerjav, technical secretary of Kinoklub Zagreb, while the basics of editing were taught by Karla Folnović, film editor. In March 2023, each of the filmmakers or group of filmmakers, with the systematic guidance of a mentor and based on their own research and the concept with which they applied, was supposed to make a short film, and the following month and a half (April and mid-May 2023) were intended for editing work, again with appointments for consultations, joint analysis and discussion of the filmed and edited material, in-person or online. The workshop was free of charge, and all the necessary equipment was provided by Kinoklub Zagreb. The minimum costs of daily filming were reimbursed to the participants – the filmmakers – by the partner University College London.

## THE POLYPHONY OF EXPERIENCE

Participation in the project of co-operation in the realisation of an ethnographic film of an experimental type, i.e. experimentation for the purpose of a study exercise, addressed the issue in several directions. I am leaving a deeper analysis of it for a longer form on another occasion, presenting them below only as a basis for reflection along the lines of possible solutions.

Firstly, the fact of an artificially (accidentally?) created, heterogeneous group of filmmakers needs to be emphasised. Irrespective of their common interests in ethnographic film, two of the

six people (independently and without knowing each other before) expressed a desire to work on a topic related to people with hearing impairments. It is precisely the very low probability of independent focus of such a specific subject of interest within less than twenty participants interested in practical classes that provided an additional motive in the desire for realisation in both proposers, who were joined by others interested in the topic of Deaf culture that had been suggested. The topic was approached in a compromise with an emphasis on music in everyday life (research interests of the proposers – one musicologist and the other ethnologist), at first very ambitiously, with several narrators from different fields of social activity, backgrounds and different ages, but soon, realising the enormity of the task compared with the time frames, shared equipment and numerous personal obligations multiplied by six, the script concentrated on two people, members of the Deaf band “Dlan” from Zagreb.

Against the backdrop of the previously mentioned obligations that constantly prevented the filmmakers co-operating on the film in the realisation of in-person meetings, it is important to emphasise that communication was primarily virtual, both through online meetings on the *Zoom* platform and based on filmed material shared via *Google Drive*, or in writing via joint *Word* documents and the *WhatsApp* mobile application. Even in this form, it was extremely difficult to co-ordinate the deadlines so that they work for everyone, that is, that they allow for the dedication that the work on the task deserved. In addition to the previously mentioned originators, a musicologist as a film editor, sound master and sound designer, and an ethnologist, the author of this article, as the screenwriter of the film, the working group consisted of two other musicologists, one of whom was a graduate from her second consecutive faculty, a student with many years of amateur cinematographer experience, and a high school student with a then-current plan to enrol in the study programmes of Film and Television Directing at the Academy of Dramatic Art. In addition to previous ignorance (with the exception of a few people in the group), which can also be seen as an advantage in work, the harmonisation of school, student and work schedules was certainly the biggest disadvantage of the filmmakers co-operating on the film *Rehearsal*. In the light of general heterogeneity, it is also important to mention the multi-generational aspect (again, both an advantage and a disadvantage), with a 24-year difference between the youngest (director) and the oldest (screenwriter) member of the group.

The second thing that is extremely important to point out was the need to adapt the research approach and research methodology to people with hearing impairments, in connection with the problem of communication with the narrators – the protagonists of the film. The only one within the group of six filmmakers who at the time of filming only handled the basics of Croatian Sign Language was the screenwriter of the film and the author of this text, who translated and thus moderated the conversation between the two groups (hearing researchers and participants with different degrees of hearing impairment – from those hard of hearing to complete deafness), which, without a doubt, also affected the possibilities of focusing on the filming process. In addition, four of the six filmmakers had never had contact with Deaf people until the filming of the film. The only helpful circumstance was the previous acquaintance of the band members and the editor / sound master, based on business co-operation – filming TV reports. It was this fact that helped a lot when deciding on the narrator for the filming, because it was largely the result of the previously gained trust that the rest of the group had yet to gain. The first meeting of six informants and six filmmakers was organised in a café suggested by the band itself, in the Zagreb district of Kruge, while the first next one was on the first day of a total of three days of filming (locations: Zagreb – centre and Sesvete). The previously described



circumstances, which did not allow the filmmakers themselves to meet in person more often (by the way, the first meeting of the filmmakers was organised in the Silent Café in the city centre) hindered an extremely important segment of participatory observation here as well – in an ideal or repeating situation, more casual socialising between the narrators and the researcher before starting work on the film would result in additional mutual trust, relaxation and comfort, and thus facilitate further co-operation.

On the other hand, aware of the unusualness, beauty and value of this uncommon occasion (for both groups), the filmmakers deliberately include the initially filmed scenes in the film because a subsequent review makes it clear that a real encounter of worlds has been filmed, in front of and behind the camera, while a different language form, the Croatian Sign Language, in the standard and in its own variants (e.g. a combination of Croatian and American Sign Language), as well as the unique musical expression of the Deaf Band, enable hearing filmmakers and the audience, to the greatest extent, a completely new and unknown sensory experience. This brings us closer to the content of the third (sensory ethnography) and fourth workshops (elements of the reflexive mode with elements of *making of models*, cf. Bukovčan and Ghattardi Pavlovsky 2023), directly and without hiding/moving away from the researched informants, and we transform a real disadvantage (discomfort and difficulties in communication) into a potential advantage (creating new communication channels and opening up to *feeling*, rather than listening).

Ensuring a safe environment and freedom in self-presentation (*free style* in combination with semi-structured interviews and oral history) and narrator participation in the script (giving the script draft for review before filming, accepting suggestions, situational changes on site, etc.) resulted in naturalness and persuasiveness, but also slowed down the work processes and led to the repetition of steps in post-production. An example is the protagonists' dissatisfaction with a scene that is extremely important and strong in terms of research and cinematography, and it came from a self-selected action in front of the cameras. It is not superfluous to emphasise that the principles of positive psychology and the creation of an inclusive research environment based on self-learning / lifelong learning have been followed, and the professional and personal dilemma of perspectives (whether to treat the informants as a vulnerable group or not?) was questioned only in consultations with the mentors and other colleagues, workshop participants. Again, under ideal circumstances, a more thorough preparation in the area of special pedagogy in terms of the approach to Deaf people and the basics of Croatian Sign Language and research methodology, as well as research ethics, would be desirable for all the members of the working group.

The bittersweet taste of ambiguity, i.e. the desire to say (even) more (in the eternal conflict with *less is more*), is undoubtedly the result of the compromise in visions of the interdisciplinary team of filmmakers (the context of everyday life vs. the musical environment, the classical interview vs. the free dialogue form, academicism vs. musealisation of the topic and amateurism vs. methodology, to name a few), but the amount and variety of filmed material leaves each of the filmmakers free to subsequently develop the basic narrative, which we can certainly consider as one the advantages of this ethnographic exercise, the latter needs to be reiterated again. Through the eyes of the only ethnologist in the working group, it is the unedited material in terms of research that has the greatest value of the work on the described project. If there is interest for an exhibition on the topic of Deaf culture in the Ethnographic Museum in the future, with minor editing interventions, interviews conducted with members of the Deaf community will also function excellently in the museum. Macedonian ethnologist Vladimir Bocev, PhD, emphasises the importance of the museum practice that, in addition to films, importance is given to raw

material, since it contains much more and much more precise information than an edited product, i.e. film (cf. Bocev 2016). Moreover, according to Timothy and Patsy Asch, ethnographers willing to look at film sequences several times will often find information of which they were not aware during the filming. Let us bear in mind that the same process of selection takes place when we look at film images, because we read these “signs” through individual and cultural prejudices (cf. Asch and Asch 2003).

## INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

By the beginning of writing this paper, four films from the *Ethnographic Experiments* workshop (2022/2023) have been completed and publicly screened: *Pudarice* (on a Baranja custom) by Dalija Dozet (5'), *Bread and Ajvar* (roasted red pepper spread) by a group of filmmakers (26'), *Millennial Generation and Going Out* by Lea Galović (17') and *The Rehearsal* by a group of filmmakers (15'30") (cf. Kinoklub Zagreb 2024). The premiere of the films occurred as a part of the annual film festival of the members of Kinoklub Zagreb, the 17<sup>th</sup> *Gledalište* (Auditorium), lasting from the 29<sup>th</sup> May to 1<sup>st</sup> June 2024 at the Kinoteka cinema in Zagreb<sup>2</sup>.

Given the international nature of the workshop, the London presentation of the project was previously held at the Bloomsbury Theatre on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2024. On this occasion, with the participation of the mentor Meghanne Barker, the film editor Karla Folnović and the director Dalija Dozet, inserts were screened, selected from among the mentioned titles and works by Tibor Đurđev and Veronika Gamulin, also workshop participants (cf. University College London 2024).

The atmosphere from the premiere will perhaps be best evoked by the words of the film critic Janko Heidl, who concludes at the end of his review of the previously mentioned film festival made in the annual production of the Kinoklub Zagreb, published on 14<sup>th</sup> June 2024, as follows:

“Let us also mention that in most of the films, not only those mentioned here, the filmmakers did it all by themselves, they were directors, screenwriters, cinematographers, editors and sound designers... and everything else. It can also be noted that in most documentary films, the filmmakers used a lot of means of expression that we usually associate with the experimental genre. Both by using audiovisual material that is not a faithful image of what it is about but goes into abstraction and captures your attention with audiovisual wonders, as well as by exhibition sets that largely rely on associative and lyrical communication through bubbles with ellipsis, and not on clear factuality with an irrevocable informative and documentary point. As in other genres, the range of results extends from the obvious first awkward training sessions on the practice of filmmaking to achievements that leave the impression of mature works by experienced filmmakers, in which cinema club production modesty is hoping to overcome the constraints.” (Heidl 2024)

We recognise ourselves here (I will take the liberty to speak on behalf of the group of filmmakers) both in audiovisual oddities, and in bubbles with ellipsis, but most of all in the first

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2 After the screening of the film *Rehearsal*, on 30<sup>th</sup> May 2024, the screenwriter of the film Gordana Vilječić participated in a Q&A session with the filmmakers, and an overview of the most important events from the 17<sup>th</sup> *Gledalište* of Kinoklub Zagreb were shown in the show titled *KKZ Gledalište 2024 – Chronicle* by the Croatian Radiotelevision on its Third Channel on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2024 at 9: 40 p.m. The editor of the show is Snježana Samac.



awkward training sessions on the practice of filmmaking. As a matter of fact, they are invaluable professional experience for us. For the same reason, the title of our ethnographic experiment is – *Rehearsal*. Of course, it was least of all musical.

Last but not least, I would like to thank the organisers, mentors and filmmakers co-operating on the initiative, for their dedication and co-operation, but above all, I would like to thank the narrators who were willing to share with us some of their intimacy, their struggles and victories, as well as to provide hospitality and show how they feel about music. I would also like to thank all my colleagues from the Ethnographic Museum who continuously supported me and brightened up my premiere with their arrival at the Kinoteka cinema, the former director Goranka Horjan, PhD, museum advisor, for her support in attending the workshop in 2022 and 2023, and the director of the Ethnographic Museum, Zvezdana Antoš, PhD, museum advisor, for her support in the post-production stage (2024) and especially for recognising the importance of providing subtitles in Croatian, and as an added value in English, which were subsequently incorporated into the final of a total of three versions of the film, and without which the Deaf domestic and foreign audience would not have been able to follow it. As she herself says in one of her texts on the topic of ethnographic film, the use of ethnographic films and other forms of multimedia in museums marked the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This refers above all to the role that museums play in the production of ethnographic films, in their presentation and promotion, as well as in documentation (cf. Antoš 2016). We continue with good practice in the case of *Rehearsal*, which will be available on the *YouTube* channel of the Ethnographic Museum from 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2024, on the occasion of marking this year's International Day of Sign Languages in the International Week of Deaf and Hard of Hearing People, while in co-operation with museum education, preparations are underway for new programmes and the continuation of long-term successful co-operation with the Croatian Association of Deafblind Persons "Dodir" and the Deaf community in the premises of the newly opened Storage facilities of the Ethnographic Museum in the new year 2025.<sup>3</sup>

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3 Upon the initiative of the organiser, the Museum Documentation Centre, the film was included in the programme of the MUVI 10: museums – video – film festival, held online on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of December 2024. Gordana Viljetić took part in the roundtable discussion on the first day of the festival.

## *PROBA / THE REHEARSAL (15'30")*

### **Impressum**

**Film director and editing assistant:** Nina Barušić

**Screenwriter and editing assistant:** Gordana Viljetić  
(Ethnographic Museum, Zagreb)

**Cinematographers and editing assistants:** Tina Grgić,  
Timna Bjažević

**Sound master, sound design:** Magda Mas

**Film editing:** Magda Mas

**Sound and script assistant:** Timna Bjažević

**Sound and editing assistant:** Nikola Bašić

**Transcript and translation from/to Croatian Sign**

**Language:** Gordana Viljetić (Ethnographic  
Museum, Zagreb)

**Expert advisor for Croatian Sign Language:** Katarina  
Jurin (Croatian Association of Deafblind  
Persons "Dodir")

**Translation into English:** Gordana Viljetić  
(Ethnographic Museum, Zagreb)

**Reading:** Meghane Barker, PhD (University  
College London)

**Technical support:** Toma Širok

**Subtitles and post-production:** AION d.o.o. for the Ethnographic Museum, Zagreb, 2024

**Executive producer:** Zvezdana Antoš, PhD (Ethnographic Museum, Zagreb)

**Narrators:** Lemary Vuletić, Angel Naumovski, Dražen Maleković, Ivana Relata, Tihana Dugonjić and Robert Vincek (Deaf band “Dlan”)

**Mentors:** Meghanne Barker, PhD (University College London), Karla Folnović

**Production:** Kinoklub Zagreb, 2023

## Synopsis

This short ethnographic film shows the everyday life of culturally Deaf people through the example of a couple who composes, lives and feels the music in their free time, together with the members of their rock band “Dlan”. Lemary and Angel receive us as guests in their Zagreb apartment, and then we accompany them to a rehearsal in the suburbs.

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