

Guidelines for the Structure of Methodological Processes in Visual Anthropology

Original scientific paper

Methodological Processes on Creation of Anthropological Films

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ABSTRACT

Vast majority of visual anthropologists of the 20th century were more focused on general phenomenology of visual anthropology, i.e. the content aspect of their works and their impact on scientific knowledge, leaving behind style of directing and practical principles & processes of creating anthropological film. So far, judging by the available literature, there are no strict guidelines for directorial procedures, nor the precise definition of determining of the methodical processes in production of an anthropological film. Consequently, the goal of this study is to determine the structure and forms of methodical processes as well as to define the advantages and disadvantages of each of them.

By using adequate guidelines, the researcher, i.e. the author of the anthropological film, can optimize the production and post-production processes as soon as in preparation (preproduction) period of working on the film, by the technical choice of the approach to the production (proactive / reactive / subjective / objective ...) and by defining the style of directing. In other words, it ultimately means more relevant scientific research result with less time and resources.

KEYWORDS: visual anthropology, sociocultural anthropology, anthropology, anthropological film, creating film, film directing, style of directing, preproduction, production, postproduction,

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1. Typology of film narrative and visual anthropology

As a sub branch of socio-cultural anthropology, visual anthropology deals with preparation, creation and postproduction of ethnographic audio-visual expressions such as film and photography. This method of capturing the socio-cultural moment is the basis for the subsequent analysis of audio-visual material that provides exceptionally valuable information on the life of the subject of scientific interest. The information obtained in this way auditory and visually documents the respective moments of their creation in the domain of observed subject's folklore, rituals, behaviour and beliefs. In 1920-ties, specifically with the making and the success of the classic documentary film „Nanook of the North” by Robert Flaherty the need arises for the designed visual records of ethnographic particularities. However, subsequent similar attempts at making ethnographic films lacked the necessary precise scientific organization and in addition mostly had a commercial background, which certainly did not have any affirmative impact on neither objectivity, nor scientific and research potential of such projects.

The term „visual anthropology” was introduced by the founder of visual communication Sol Worth¹ in the mid 20th century. Worth has recognised the value of film records in anthropological research and begun to systematically pursue this issue. In the mid 1960-ies Worth teamed up with John Adair and became the originator and executive producer of the project „Through Navajo Eyes“, which studied the Navajo Indians' nonverbal communication and folklore. The project included the making of seven documentaries and in 1972 the research results were also published in the book of the same title (Image 1). The project was at the time supported by the National Science Foundation, indicating the beginning of recognition and systematic pursuit of visual anthropology.

The project consisted of seven short documentaries² directed by seven different directors: „Intrepid Shadows” directed by Al Clah, “The Navajo Silversmith”, directed by Johnny Nelson, “A Navajo Weaver”, directed by Susie Benally, “Old

Antelope Lake”, directed by Mike Anderson, “Second Weaver” directed by Alta Kahn, “The Shallow Well Project”, directed by Johnny Nelson and „The Spirit of the Navajos” directed by Maxine Tsosie and Mary J. Tsosie.

After the year 1964 and the first conference on the making of anthropological films the PIEF (Program in Ethnographic Film) was established. In 1969 PIEF launched the newsletter, which among other topics dealt with the challenges of visual anthropology. The editor of the newsletter was Jay Ruby, who through a series of scientific activities (annual conferences on visual anthropology within the American Anthropology Association, establishment of „National Anthropological Film Centre” at the Smithsonian Institution, etc.) became a leading figure in the field of visual anthropology.

Jay Ruby³ was amongst the first scientists to ambivalently approach the relations of visual communication. In his article: „Is an Ethnographic Film a Filmic Ethnography?” Ruby inquires the up to then current paradigm of visual anthropology as a technical reality recorded in the film medium and indirectly places it to the higher level of scientific potential.

With the development of information technology in early 21st century and the appearance of Internet with its hypermedia and multimedia characteristics – i.e. possibilities of non-linear multimedia viewing of information - visual anthropology entered a new development period.

In order for scientific research community to be ready to optimally use all comparative advantages of the new medium, it is necessary to define the online processes of visual anthropology – that is to say, to design typology, scientific and research guidelines, technical points of reference and process manageability in the visual anthropology of the future.

Unlike the time of classic ethnographic films and expeditions that sometimes lasted for several months, currently there are wireless online systems available to researchers, and from their domicile laboratory they may simultaneously view several localities that they are researching. Fast Internet connections made it possible to

establish video links from locations of interest at a comparatively low cost and with very high level of navigation system manageability. In other words, from his laboratory the researcher may have a full control of the camera system established at the research site and can, as the case may be, perform adequate technical and operative procedures in order to obtain audiovisual records of the best possible technical quality (e.g. panoramic view of objects, zooming of objects, vertical and/or horizontal axial camera displacement, increase of microphone input signal, etc.).

In addition to video presentation, the software additionally processes in real time a vast quantity of relevant data related to the observed subject and such data are momentarily processed and distributed to analytic centres/laboratories. In this way the direct OFA data comparison („On Fly Analysis“) can be conducted, as the observation subjects at different locations simultaneously react to the imposed stimulus. This type of procedure is very useful in the comparative analyses method when researching the real-time subject's reactions.

Audio-visual information obtained in this way is stored directly to high capacity servers, while the researcher may use the video analysis software in several windows on the same screen, getting a simultaneous insight into a number of analysed subjects. In this way the real-time digital processing makes the analytical aspect of the work significantly easier.

This is because with the former method of analysis of recorded material – when the materials were stored in 8mm, 16mm or 35mm film formats and/or video media such as VHS, S-VHS, VHS-C, Umatic, Beta or DV formats – material processing took much longer, as the material was not digitalized. This means that the nonlinear viewing of such material was not available. This again resulted in a time-consuming and often hard-labouring process of analytic portion of the research.

In other words, there was no way for the researcher to non-linearly view the (often very long) videos, but the researcher has no choice but to linearly view them, i.e. to rewind the video tapes (in case of video media) or to view the material at the editing table (in case of non-digitalized film formats). Therefore it can be stated that the use of comparative advantages of information communication technology gradually becomes a standard in analytic research processes of visual anthropology.

When deliberating the filmmaking and photograph taking as the basic activities of visual anthropology, it is important to typologically define the respective genres and sub-genre features of such work (Image 2). So, the basic genre is documentary film, whereas narrative formats may take forms of either „ethnographic film“, „docudrama“, „docufiction“ or „mocumentary“.

In genre terms **ethnographic film** is a documentary that through its basic concept and design shows a reality staged according to the principles of ethnographic methods. That is to say, in an ethnographic film the author's licence is less prominent and the emphasis is on the methodological, ethnographically relevant approach to the subject matter. This is especially manifested in terms of dynamics and the scope of recording processes and field procedures.

Mocumentary is a term coined of the words „mock“ and „documentary“, representing a subtype of documentary that – unlike the ‘docufiction’ format – stages fictitious events in a documentary narrative format. This kind of format is used to show socially relevant events with irony and parody, with either dramatic or comic touch.

Docudrama is a documentary-style genre that features dramatized re-enactments of actual historical events. In this way, cum grano salis, it contributes to broadening of the viewer's understanding of the subject of interest in the docudrama. Minor deviations from actual events are allowed in docudrama as long as it is justified in terms of raising the viewers' interest in the topic.

The most famous docudrama is the radio drama *The War of the Worlds*⁴, by Orson Wells performed on Halloween 1938. Using the suggestive narrative approach the author of the broadcast created a psychosis suggesting to the listeners that an alien invasion was in progress. The basic characteristic of docudrama is the lack of explicit assertion of the author's own point of view on the event featured in docudrama, as it is left to the viewers to form their own judgement.

Docufiction represents a synergy of documentary and fiction. Unlike docudrama, docufiction includes more prominent played scenes and scene sequences and it largely follows the reality of the described event. Docufiction is often filmed on real locations, where the respective event actually happened, and the

credibility of such film narration is supported by the actual protagonists of the original event, who re-interpret such event.

When analysing the history and at the same time deliberating the future of visual anthropology, it is essential to define the basic rules of scientific research that actually position the filmed material into the domain of visual anthropological observation. Otherwise almost any audiovisual material recorded on field could be declared a material of broader significance for visual anthropology, which certainly is not the goal.

Thus, it is necessary to define a „differentia specifica“ that will become a starting point in determining any filmed material to be relevant for the paradigm of visual anthropology. Without such marking, we could hypothetically find an anthropological feature in almost any film, regardless of its genre, as well as in any photograph.

2. Defining the structure of methodological processes in visual anthropology

The history of the development of photographic and film technologies, as well as the events that – whether intentionally or accidentally – lead to a rapid development of visual culture indicate an inseparable duality of perceiving visual anthropology within the context of reactive and proactive processes:

- a) Visual anthropology as exploratory-technological “registrator” of events, i.e. hyper multimedia “service” in the analytics of existing, registered subjects of scientific research and research procedures (**reactive process**)
- b) Visual anthropology as a driving wheel of the phenomenology of the visual as primordial, proactive, hyper multimedia initiator of anthropologically relevant events, from which then the relevant anthropological guidelines are derived (**proactive process**)

2.1 Reactive process of defining the structure of methodological processes in visual anthropology

So when speaking of visual anthropology from the aspect of perceiving it as a “service”, i.e. exploratory-technological “registrator” of events, then we imply recording of anthropologically relevant topics (such as research of tribal rituals in Madagascar), on which we (more or less) previously had certain scientifically relevant knowledge and the recorded material shall be serve as documentation, i.e. for subsequent analysis. Such procedure is entirely legitimate and the modern visual anthropology is in fact based on documentary – specifically: ethnographic - film as its main origin.

Defining the technical aspect of visual anthropology as such “service” inevitably includes the consideration of author’s approach in terms of screenwriting and directing processes in preproduction, on field and in postproduction (i.e. in figuring out of the film, during filming on field and at the subsequent editing). Author’s approach is important as it determines the way of achieving the desired spectre of information output subject to subsequent analysis. In terms of author’s screenwriting and directing processes, the reactive methods of visual anthropology may in the practice be divided into objective and subjective methods, depending on the approach to gathering of audiovisual research data.

2.1.1. Objective methods in visual anthropology as exploratory-technological “registrator” of events, i.e. hyper multimedia “service” in analysing the existing, registered subjects of scientific research and research procedures (reactive process):

a) Object- distant (pseudo objective) research approach

The researcher is registering (filming) rites, rituals and/or other folklore specifics discretely, from maximal distance, influencing them neither directly nor indirectly.

The key feature of objective approach in visual anthropology needs to be the absence of direct or indirect interaction between the researcher and film crew and the subject of filming. In order to be as objective as possible in capturing the ethnographically relevant process we want to film, the crucial thing is not to disturb

the dynamics of the ritual procedure that we want to record and to maximally respect the documentary dimension of the situation.

In terms of the technical details, this means that the researcher and/or the cameraman must ensure a maximal physical distance from the subject, thus not affecting the subject's procedures in the frame. There are a number of advantages to such approach – e.g. the authenticity of the process is preserved, the subject's reactions when performing rituals are natural (as there is no 'foreign body' that would distract the participants in the scene). Additionally, such material becomes closer to the recognized documentary „cinéma vérité “ approach, which endeavours to present the realities accurately and without any additional “l'art pour l'art” (art for art's sake) effects through director's interventions.

There are, however, certain downsides to such approach to visual recording of the reality: inability to optimize the frame composition (as the subject of filming is relatively far, the operator is not able to intervene in terms of removing the unwanted objects in front of the camera, which are blocking the key focus of the action and/or has not the chance to accentuate the frame through visual architectonics by changing object algorithms).

The cameraman is additionally constricted to a very small manoeuvring area (as to keep his/her presence discrete), which then compromises the recording of parts of rituals taking place outside the reach of the camera. This is why the cameraman's preparation and previous knowledge of the dynamics of the process to be filmed is of crucial importance for the project. An additional challenge is often the cameraman's inability to change shooting plans in order to improve the dynamics of the filming process and emphasize what is perceived as essential.

The fact is that it is challenging to combine the shooting plans, as the cameraman is forced to keep his physical movement (both horizontal and vertical) to the minimum, so as to remain unnoticed. Thus the camera position and the shooting plan cannot be changed to accentuate certain portions of shooting process.

b) Method of objectification by Trojan Horse effect

Training and equipping subjects of interest so that they themselves film the rites, rituals and/or other folklore specifics

This objective approach method is rather delicate, although in positive practice it can render highly interesting results. The pioneer and advocate of this method was visual anthropologist and founder of visual communication as branch of science, Sol Worth. In the course of his original project⁵ „Through Navajo Eyes“, in cooperation with the company „Bell and Howell Filmo“, he distributed video cameras to the children of Navajo Indians in Pine Springs (Arizona) and provided them with the basic technical training, to enable them to make films in their community.

The advantage of this method is that the subject is a part of the scene (at the same time being the operator) and thus does not represent a “foreign body”, i.e. does not disturb the continuity of the process. As the newly trained operator is familiar with the dynamics of process procedure, his/her reactions to events to be recorded by camera are faster and more adequate. In addition, by knowing the process that is being filmed, the newly trained operator may give the recording an added value by possibly reacting instinctively at certain moments, recording specific details indirectly in connotation to the ritual (which would definitely not be registered by a professional cameraman who is not a part of such milieu).

In the subsequent analysis of such audiovisual records it is possible to find a number of quality, anthropologically relevant derivations that have suddenly occurred from the original concept of the film, while in holistic terms the research results may be of better quality and more far-reaching. However, there are some disadvantages of such approach - primarily the operator's (lack of) training and fascination by technology. The person who was just trained to operate a camera is likely to suffer the “new toy” syndrome, including the trap of being attracted to content other than the one that was supposed to be recorded.

There is also the issue of quality of recording – due to operator's insufficient training the recordings obtained in such procedure are often barely technically correct because of excessive trembling and noises. Accordingly, in this situation visual anthropologist (the author of such ethnographic film) is not fully in control of the

filming process and is not able to ensure the desired focus of filming process, but is depending on the subject-operator and his/her sense of relevancy of the moment.

Because of the possible occurrence of these objective problems this procedure is recommended in situations when the researcher has a clear indication that the direct involvement of the subject-operator will actually be able to contribute to the value of the material during shooting.

c) Hidden camera method

The “hidden camera” method includes positioning of fixed camera at the location designated for ritual (or other) events, and such camera is neither visible nor accessible to the research subject (a group or an individual).

One of the pioneers and advocates of this method is the English anthropologist, linguist, cyberneticists and semiotician Gregory Bateson¹⁹. In his reflections on visual anthropology, photographs and ethnographic films he made, Bateson joins Margaret Mead²⁰ in advocating the principle of distancing oneself from the object of shooting, because in his opinion the „Observer effects²²“ are detrimental to the quality of ethnographic film, as they affect the level of objectivity and reality of the shooting process and ultimately the quality of the results of the scientific research project.

In this context the clear advantage of the “hidden camera” method is certainly the high level of objectivity, i.e. of documenting the reality. This is because with the hidden camera method there is no disturbance to the flow of the scene (ritual etc.) that is the subject of scientific interest and thus the negative “observer effect” is absent. If technically feasible, it is recommended that several hidden cameras are positioned on key locations/positions, as to obtain a higher postproduction potential of the recorded material. In other words, the event would in this case be filmed from several angles, which would make editing significantly easier and ensure better quality of the end result.

By using this method the credibility of documentary sequence is fully preserved as there is no need to interrupt the dynamics of the process being

recorded and the shooting is continuous (unlike the situation with subjective methods, where the author/operator repeatedly interrupts the shooting, i.e. the ritual process to change lens, shooting angle, plan etc.). Some of the basic shortcomings of this method are insufficient degree of optimisation of shooting process and inability to influence the unforeseen circumstances during shooting. Insufficient degree of optimisation of shooting process implies the fact that once the camera is positioned at a certain site, it stays there until the end of the shooting.

So, the author/cameraman/operator is deprived of “peripheral perception”, i.e. it is not possible that at a given moment (regardless of the dynamics of the filming process that is underway) the camera is moved horizontally or vertically to record a detail that is not explicitly linked to the dynamics of the ritual itself, but implicitly provides very interesting ephemeral indications concerning the event, that may be highly relevant in term of scientific research. Admittedly, thanks to the advancement of digital technology and the respective infrastructure it is rather easy to install the module for remote control of camera movement, but there is a latent risk that if the operator/cameraman often employs panning, the subject of filming would notice the cameras placed at hidden positions, which would result in a broad negative impact on the authenticity of further process.

In addition, with this method we are also facing the inability to react to unforeseen circumstances during shooting. Unlike the situation where the cameraman is deprived of “peripheral perception”, where the problem is that with the hidden camera being fixed the author/cameraman/operator has not the opportunity to contribute an added value by recording ephemeral scenes that influence the positive holism of the filming process, the issue of “unforeseen circumstances” includes all the things that directly disturb the filming process but cannot be prevented.

Note: These include, e.g., flock of birds landing on the branch where the camera is fixed and contaminate it (i.e. shake the branch so that the recording is unusable), or a sudden burst of wind, hail, rain, etc. It is also possible of subjects entering the frame although they were neither planned, nor are they in any way relevant for the film (e.g. swarm of bees in front of the camera, etc.).

2.1.2. Subjective methods in visual anthropology as exploratory-technological “registrator” of events, i.e. hyper multimedia “service” in the analytics of existing, registered subjects of scientific research and research procedures (reactive process).

a) Directed proactive principle

The researcher participates actively in the rites, rituals and/or other specifics of the folklore, while, as a part of the ritual/scene, having an opportunity to be curious with the camera, which contributes to a more proactive approach to the filming and provides more scientifically and exploratory relevant information for the later analysis.

The founder of such an approach is visual anthropologist Jean Rouch (1917. – 2004.), one of the founders of proactive „cinéma vérité“ direction in visual anthropology. Namely, he was the one to take the aesthetics of mid-20th century documentary movement, called „direct cinema“ whose directing credo was: „directly capture reality and represent it truthfully“, and combine it with a proactive socio-anthropological paradigm in which the researcher is part of the scene and thus positively provokes reactions of the subject in the field.

The famous sentence that Jean Rouch always used to mark the first takes of a field shoot was always directed at the film crew: “The camera must interfere and cinematographer has to be a part of shooting event”. With that phrase, which has become a paradigm of his anthropological work, Rouch also defines a scientific methodological approach to visual anthropology.

With regards to the author approach to his ethnographic films, Rouch pioneered a kind of visual anthropology "cyclotron", using a proactive approach to provoke the reactions of a filmed subject in real environment. The advantage of such an approach is a positive compression of the time reality of the subject of author's interest, because the subject's answers to „the provocation“ speed up his relevant reactions (E.g., the author does not have to wait for a member of the tribe to take a tool that hanging on the wall of a hut to find out it's purpose, instead the operator/author would take it and imitate a supposed action, waiting for the „provoked“ tribe member to take it from him and correct him, i.e. demonstrate how the tool should really be used).

Rouch's methodology of the approach to visual anthropology is thus based on the active participation of an author/cameraman/operator in recording the specifics of the observed subject, making him the active part of the process (Figure 3). The films of Jean Rouch have left a significant mark in visual anthropology. His major works include: *Initiation à la danse des possédés* (1949.), *La Chasse à l'hippopotame* (1952.), *Bataille sur le grand fleuve* (1952.), *The Mad Masters*, *Les Maîtres fous*, (1955.), *Moi, un noir* (1957.), *The Human Pyramid (La Pyramide humaine* 1959.), *Chronicle of a Summer (Chronique d'un été*, 1960.), *Rose et Landry* (1962.), *Hunting the Lion with Bow and Arrow (La Chasse au lion à l'arc*, 1967.), *Jaguar* (1967.), *Petit à petit ou Les lettres persanes* 1968 (1969.), *Cocorico! Monsieur Poulet* (1974.), *Babatou, les trois conseils* (1977.), *Dionysos* (1985.), *Enigma* (1986.; co-directors: Alberto Chiantaretto, Marco di Castri, Daniele Pianciola), *Folie ordinaire d'une fille de Cham* (1987.; co-director; Philippe Constantini), *Madame L'Eau* (1992.), *Moi fatigué debout, moi couché* (1997.), *Le Rêve plus fort que la mort* (2002.; co-director: Bernard Surugue).

Through the analysis of the films of Jean Rouch, it is clear that Rouch quite consciously enters the camera in the local tribes' tents, questions and provokes them with his inquiries about their habits regarding their life on the location, thus indirectly receiving a significantly wider horizon of the relevant information on the film subject. However, the delicacy of such an approach has been suggested by the present Jean Rouch's controversial image in the circles of African scientists and authors of ethnographic films, regardless of his undeniable contribution to the visual anthropology. Namely, many people resent his exaggeration to the point of caricature of the characters and situations he recorded in his films, as well as overly imposing the views of his own author ego⁶.

It is interesting that, in most of his films, Rouch uses narrative "ethnofiction" form and through film action tries to reach higher levels of life purpose of his heroes through the anthropological description of his heroes.

Therefore, Rouch uses the subjective method in which the played sequences are interpolated in the socio-cultural anthropological paradigm. The advantages of such a method are numerous. First of all it corresponds with the viewer on two levels, which are in complete synergy. The first level of interaction with the viewer is

documentaristic base of (ethnological) film, which the viewer really expects. The second level is a creation of a played sequence that carries a plot potential, and in its content relying on ethnographic particularity of the situation, thus successfully maintaining the level of viewer's attention while simultaneously serving as a visually-analytical scientific repetitorium.

Such an approach is obvious in the movie „Virdžina“ (1990), directed by Srđan Karanović (Figure 4), that faithfully paints socio-economical anthropological aspects of Dalmatinska Zagora in the past century, in synergy with a fascinating storyline. The feeling of truthful ethno-reality thus created in the viewer raises the credibility of the entire feature film story. This confirms the paraphrase of many authors of the French „New Wave“ (Fr. – »*La Nouvelle Vague*«), suggesting that the best feature films are those that the viewer thinks are documentaries and the best documentaries those that the viewer thinks are feature films.

2.2. Proactive process of defining the structure of methodical processes of visual anthropology

Visual Anthropology which represents the driving force of the phenomenology of the audiovisual as primordial, proactive, hyper-multimedia driver of the anthropologically relevant events from which then anthropological relevant policies are derived (proactive process).

In the previously described subjective and objective reactive processes, visual anthropology is being used and perceived as a scientific research registrar of relevant anthropological manifestations. However, one can expect that the potential of visual anthropology will in the near future incline towards the proactive role in scientific research processes. In other words, it will be a driving force of a number of induced manifestations with a very wide anthropological connotative scope.

A proactive approach implies the routing of use of audiovisual tools and hypermedia characteristics in the service of "triggers" which condition the socio-cultural reactions. So, (audio) visual anthropology in this case deals with consequences of the impact of

the visual on the community, and not, as before, only with visual recording and registering the current state⁷.

Such an approach will in many ways change the current paradigm of looking at visual anthropology, affirming the audiovisual stimulus as the primordial source of social reactions, which will have a significant impact on the research of behaviour of both individuals and the entire community.

3. Conclusion

Visual anthropology has undergone many changes coming to the form under which it is known today. At the end of the second half of the 19th century, considerably earlier than the establishment of anthropology as a scientific discipline as we know it today, the photographic record was a very important part of ethnological research. The pioneer of photo-visual anthropology in this field was Edward S. Curtis, who had photographed Indian princess Angelina, nicknamed „Kickiosomlo“ in 1896, which is believed to be the first documented photography of a native American Indian⁷.

The beginning of the development of documentary-ethnographic film of the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century, was dominated by the initial fascination with the very possibility of „film record of the very moment we live in“, as the scientific contemporaries called it at that time. Since it was a time of enthusiasm and initial momentum of visual expression, no importance has been attached to the genre and sub-genre determinations of film art. Moreover, according to some authors, coherent division into genres began only when the holdings of the recorded film material itself began to structure its audience, making the typological definition of film types necessary.

With the beginning of 20th century came the development of utilitarian documentarism, which might be called a forerunner of contemporary ethnographic

film. There was a growing interest in that time for visually registering the ethnographic particularities, for the purposes of scientific analysis. One of the first documentaries of that type, with an emphasis on ethnographic elements, was filmed in Cambodia under the title: „*Promenades des Éléphants à Phnom Penh*”. The film shows the traditional Cambodian elephant celebration and promenade, which is an integral part of ancient religious rituals.

In 1922, Robert Flaherty makes a cult classic “Nanook of the Nord”, achieving significant success and establishing documentary genre as well as an ethnographic film subgenre⁷.

From the available literature and video recordings of the time it is clear that for the vast majority of documentary film makers of the period recording of ethnographic elements and specifics was not a primary goal, and that the main motive for displaying exotic lands, people, folklore and rituals was usually of a commercial nature. Namely, soon after the discovery of celluloid tape and motion pictures, the film has become an integral part of cultural life of upper classes of society.

The film production at that time was growing exponentially, and after the first wave of enthusiasm, in the first decade of the 20th century, viewers have become fed up with the film "commonplaces" and interest in the film "per se". Therefore the necessity emerged for more luxurious scenes, bigger number of film locations, greater number of cast, richer backdrops, more luxurious scenery, special effects and so on. At the same time, documentary filmmakers have a need to discover new landscapes, unconventional themes, to film outside the city, etc.

Simultaneously, there is a growing awareness of the importance of film production that gradually takes over the lead role in devising and commercial guiding of the films of the time. During the twenties film producers recognize the positive correlation between luxury of the feature film production and economic aspects of film art, i.e. the number of viewers in theatres, and with the arrival of the sound film by the end of the second decade of the 20th century, begins the so-called „Golden Age of Hollywood“. At the same time, film scripts start to increasingly focus on „the life we live“ and the problems of ordinary man struggling with social norms, thus elevating

film art to the level of holistic recognition, which makes it particularly interesting from the aspect of the anthropological paradigm.

The awareness of the importance of the cinema audience, the movie ratings and their economic correlation has over the time taken the authors of both feature films and documentaries to the unexplored areas in search of previously unseen natural scenes, primitive tribes and ancient rituals that would attract the audience to the cinema.

In the later stages of the film industry development one can notice the connection between film technology and film format, which directly affects the development of visual anthropology, which is especially evident in the second half, and mostly at the end of the 20th century. Namely, with the appearance of video technology that slowly but surely pushes out film formats (8mm, 16mm, 35 mm), the entire process of creation of an anthropological film is greatly simplified and therefore faster. Film formats, due to their technical specificity (the delicacy of handling the film tape, film development, making of film copies in labs, telecining of the final product to the video medium in order to display it outside movie theatres) demanded more specific processes, particularly in the area of film production and postproduction, shooting and editing. With the arrival of video technology, the shooting of anthropological films was demystified and became available to a wider audience.

It is interesting that the coryphaei of visual anthropology of the 20th century were more focused on general phenomenology of visual anthropology, i.e. the content aspect of their works and their impact on scientific knowledge. So far, judging by the available literature, there are no strict guidelines for directorial procedures, nor the precise definition of determining of the methodical processes in production of an anthropological film. Consequently, the goal of this study is to determine the structure and forms of methodical processes as well as to define the advantages and disadvantages of each of them (Scheme 1, Appendix 1).

In this way, the researcher, i.e. the author of the anthropological film, can optimize the production and post-production processes as soon as in preparation (preproduction) period of working on the film, by the technical choice of the approach to the production (proactive / reactive / subjective / objective ...) and by defining the

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