UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI

FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Matija Tonejc

Elementi ideologije v naraciji dokumentarnega filma

Mitologije prehoda in slovenski dokumentarni film

Diplomsko delo

Ljubljana, 2002

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI

FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Matija Tonejc

doc. dr. Mitja Velikonja
doc. dr. Breda Luthar

Elementi ideologije v naraciji dokumentarnega filma

Mitologije prehoda in slovenski dokumentarni film

Elements of ideology in the documentary narrative

Mythologies of transition and Slovene documentary
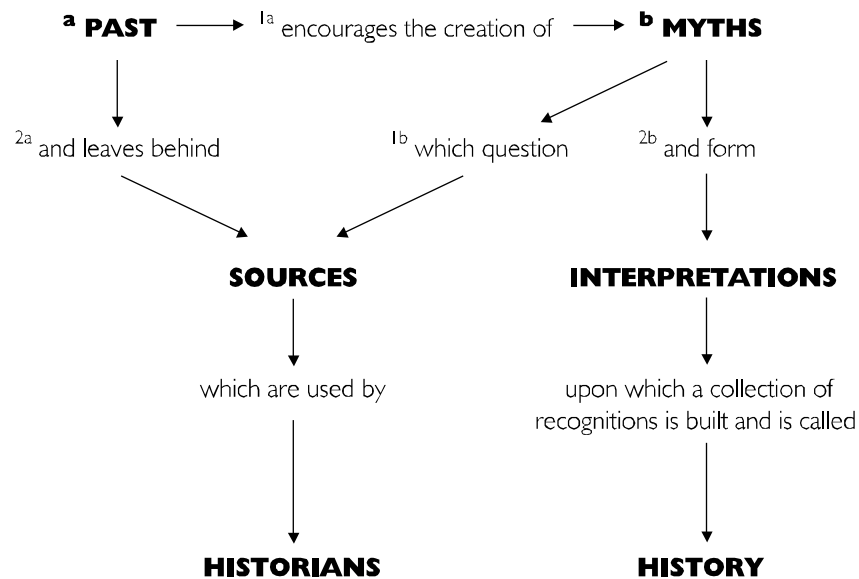
Diplomsko delo

Ljubljana, 2002

Kazalo

Preface

When examining material for this work I ran across a very interesting scheme in notes from History of journalism lectures, which explains how it is that myth is a fundamental element not only of our past, but also of our today's life. It looked like this:

Diagram i: Past, Myths and History

As we can see, the source of Myths is obviously past (although explaining myth away as 'merely' historical is critically entitled Euhemerism after Euhemerus of Messene who wrote the Sacred Document (Coupe, 1997:103-4)), but Myths also considerably alter the 'stories' or collection of recognitions as the diagram tells us. If we move a step forward in explaining the diagram, we should draw another arrow: from historians to history – it is them who write it:

Diagram ii: The 'magical' triangle
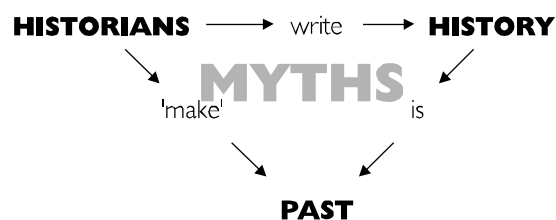
Myth at first seems to be excluded from this scheme but it is rather put in background as it is influencing all of the elements in the triangle. Interpretations, formed by myths, are just one side of the story, depending on the person, who uses them, which is why the importance of the process of (re)creating and understanding myth is crucial to understanding our history.

Veyne (1998: 91-104) explores how the Greeks could not live without their tales, although they criticised them in details, the only dispute was whether mythology is completely true or true just in certain facts. Which sources were then the ones that cluttered the tales with false facts? Veyne suggests that we can clean myth of all false facts and so transform it into pure history by eliminating every single element, which does not have (or for which we can not find) a corresponding event in our time. Reduction is done in two steps: eliminating of physically improbable and historically impossible. For example: how was it possible that someone became god back then, when we now that this is not possible today.

Living in the times of hegemony of science and glorification of reason, we are convinced that myths no more govern our lives as they did in the centuries before, better yet, we are resorting to the greatest myth of the modern age – the myth of mythlessness. It was during the Enlightenment when systematic attempt was made to explain away mythology. (Coupe, 1997: 9-13)

It is the same question driving this work – are we aware of all the myths present in our lives? Reading Barthes's Mythologies makes one think they surround us and everything can be myth.[*] Mythology can be understood as a palimpsest, rewritten every time someone needs to make a change. The reinterpretation of main myths of the nation is the most evident in time of historical transition where every effort is made to maintain identity with the common fight for better times that will come after the transition. Meletinski (in Velikonja, 1996: 70) stresses that the most important notion is that of collective: mythological consciousness is – especially in the transitional period – organicistic.

---

[*] Coupe (1997: 157) sees Barthes's effort as another "variation of demythologization, propounding its own myth of mythlessness."

1. Statement of purpose

The purpose of the diploma is to do a textual analysis of a documentary film dealing with the transitional period (Slovenia's fight for independence in 1991) in order to identify and analyse political mythologies of transition that are represented as a higher truth in narration of the documentary film. The importance of the research lies in determining, how some of the transitional myths that arise when there is an obvious turning point in the nation's political mythology become the higher truth in journalistic, especially documentary production. The hypothesis is the problem with the documentary genre that it tells us the truth (in meta narrative – it happened like this) instead of doubting in it (narration of the classical journalistic work) and thus looses the critical distance that it should have when dealing with important historical events or issues. With theories of myth and ideology I will try to determine why there is such a turning point in political mythologies in times of transition and how this affects the truth (ideology being the writer on the palimpsest of myth).

The textual analysis together with theoretical foundations of ideology and myth will show if the hypothesis is correct and the result will be a typology of typical narration elements that are influenced by the newly arisen mythologies of transition, supported by the changed ideology. The historical aspect of theoretical part of myth will help the reader realize the historical value of myth and how it has changed (if it has changed at all) over the course of history. Analysis of the term ideology will serve to present some of the relevant background and a basis to determine if myth is really in its service.

Textual analysis consists of the following analysing levels:

- narration analysis (what is the truth, what happened);
- visual analysis (what can we see, what do the images tell us);
- editing analysis (which shots are used, how is it put together – types of cuts and their connotation);
- overview (what did the authors try to tell us).

All the elements of analysis will help us to determine the role of the mythologies of transitions bound with ideology in the narration of the documentary film.

2. Exploring the theory

Two main terms have to be explained before analysing the documentary about Slovenia's fight for independence: documentary and myth. The former is necessary to understand how documentaries are produced, what are the reasons and what approaches documentary-makers use to tell the story. Three main sources have been used to explore documentary: Rabiger's *Directing the Documentary* (Focal press handbook for production of documentaries), Kilborn and Izod's *Introduction to Television Documentary* and Renov's *Theorizing documentary*.

The latter is needed to adequately explain the mythologies of transition – not as history or fabricated stories, but as a system, an ever-present structure that surrounds us. The third part of this chapter combines myth with ideology and explaining today's necessity for myths in form of mythopoeia – tendency to "create or recreate certain narratives which human beings take to be crucial to their understanding of their world" (Coupe, 1997: 4). Main focus is on the mythologies of transition, arising when there is an obvious turning point in the history of the nation. Three main works have been used to theorize myth: Coupe's *Myth*, Lincoln's *Theorizing Myth* and Velikonja's *Masade Duha* (*Masadas of the Mind*).

2. 1. Documentary film

> ... the label documentary 'documentary' is now attached to a much wider range of audio-visual material that when it began to be used in the pre-war era. 'Documentary' can nowadays just as easily be applied to a thirty-minute piece of investigative reportage on television as it can to a full-length feature film ... (Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 13)

> The documentary is creative treatment of actuality.
> (Grierson[1] in Rabiger, 1998: 3)

> The primary function of documentary is to allow the citizen to become meaningfully involved in the general social process. (Grierson in Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 6)

Apart from daily, weekly and monthly journalism work – let us call them short-term journalism – documentary production is a lengthy process involving much more planning than usual journalistic work. To begin with content – the sole topic has to be so interesting, that one is willing to invest a lot of work and money into a project of filming a documentary. Because of the detailed preparation and lengthy production, a certain myth encompasses documentaries – they tell the truth. We can argue that the audience perceives them much more trustworthy that the usual TV reports, most probably because of the way the story is told (narration of documentary is discussed in chapter 2. 1. 2.).

Before exploring the theoretical background let us define the documentary film as we use it: documentary film is every non-fiction film/TV production without acted reconstruction of historical scenes.[2] One might argue that acted scenes can be used for more accurate reconstruction of events, especially when lacking video footage, but the notion of the documentary, as we use it, supposes that all the footage used is historical (i.e. was shot when the event took place), except for the interviews. We might argue how this limits the maker of the documentary: is it better to use available footage and make the most out of it or shoot your own and explain the story the way he feels it should be told? In this respect, our understanding of documentary film is historical documentary.

---

[1] Grierson is the founding father of documentary film – he coined the term *documentary* while reviewing Flaherty's documentary Moana in 1926. (Rabiger, 1998: 16)
[2] By historical scene we mean an event that took place some time ago and is impossible to film it again – i.e. signing of the important Treaty, historical meeting of two presidents ...

2. 1. 1. A short historical review of documentary production

Tracing the roots of documentary, we must consider the invention of photography (from beginnings in 1839 to mass usage in 1888 when George Eastman issued his first Kodak instant camera). Up to that point in history, humankind memory was verbal and written with some pictorial representation. Photography brought a new kind of medium, which presupposed authenticity in its reproduction of real life. This is still an ongoing debate whether the documentary really reproduces real life, because in order to film, the documentarist has to intervene. Advances in photography lead to the advances in film technology and consequently enabled the motion picture to be shot. But documentary production as we know it today did not emerge with the invention of motion picture. Lumière brothers' short silent movies (shot from December 1895 on) could be regarded as a sort of non-fiction production, similar to expository documentary, but they were not shot with this intention in mind. Early filmmakers used novels for treatment of subjects they were filming (i.e. for treatment of war filmmakers could read Tolstoj's War and peace). Non-fiction filming approaches to World War I were not regarded as sources of true information. Persuasive factual reporting came from government reports, specialised journals or newspapers, which all set context to the silent footage shot on the field and so influenced the historians to form their own interpretations of the events. The same footage supported radically different representations and film pointed out that truth is rather relative than absolute. (Rabiger, 1998: 14-16)

In 1920s filmmakers in Britain, Germany, Soviet Union and USA begun with seriuos experiments in documentary production. The production was expended to educational and scientific inscriptions of that time. Because of technological drawbacks, all the events had to be restaged. The most discernible documentarist of that era is arguably Robert Flaherty, whose *Nanook of the North* produced in 1922 is an exemplary etnographic record of an Eskimo family. It was Flaherty's documentary *Moana* (1926), which lead Grierson to 'invent' the term documentary, but latter documentary *Man of Aran* (1934) turned most documentarists against Flaherty because of his proneness to creating lyrical archetypes instead of observing the true, politically determined conditions of his subjects.[3] After the 1920s documentary achieved

---

[3] Flaherty's relationship with the Eskimos and composed an ideal family out of the whole Eskimo population studied and refused to film the house of the absentee landlord, who was responsible for the Eskimos' misery. (Rabiger, 1998: 17-8)

greater recognition And Grierson (in Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 19) though of it as a tool for providing cultural and educational enlightenment. His Russian colleague Vertov (ibid.) saw documentary as an instrument of consciousness-raising and aid to critical reflections about society. (Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 16-9)

Technological advancements in film technology alone (discussed in detail in the next chapter 2. 1. 2.) could not have lead to such development of the documentary production if there would not be television. Television was the most important influence in the second half of the twentieth century. But with greater access to the viewers, documentary had to accept the rules of the new medium. The documentary modes existing before the television had to be altered to fit the conventions. The conditions of reception, to name only one big difference, are radically different between the two. In cinema, large canvas and darkened atmosphere already help sustain viewers' attention, not to mention they paid the ticket to see the film. Watching television at home, we are prone to more distractions from the environment. Producers had to face the fact, that their work might not look so spectacular on a small TV screen, as it would in the cinema. Gradually strategies and tricks were developed by documentarists to produce documentaries, which would be accepted by the home viewers and retain them in front of the screen. Commercialisation of documentary modes was unfortunately unavoidable. Hybrid modes such as docudrama and reality shows are nothing more than concept of documentary mutilated to the extreme to fit the TV conventions and gather as many viewers as possible in front of the TV set.

Digital revolution started in the last decade of previous millennium provided even more challenge to the classical documentary makers. Tiny lightweight cameras, cheap editing equipment and new opportunities of distribution caused the documentary production to flourish. Maybe the future of the documentary lies in CDs and Internet. (Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 20-6)

2. 1. 2. What is a documentary today?

Rabiger's statement (1998: 3) of putting two documentarists together and they will argue about what is, or what is not a documentary is similar to those of mythologists arguing about the definition of myth. But apart from myths, documentaries can be easily identified, at least regarding the structure and type of material used. The most basic definition is: documentary is a non-fiction film. But inside non-fiction film we must consider more subdivisions: acted non-fiction film,[4] non-fiction film with some reconstructions, non-fiction film based only on historical footage. The last could arguably be called pure documentary. To illustrate the three notions, the corresponding content of these non-fiction films would be a film about a *true story* for docudrama, documentary about the first Russian flight to the space with some reconstructions of the happening in the cockpit for documentary with reconstructions and a pure documentary would be for example a document on D-day with original footage shot by the army. Diagram 2. 1. below shows the main types of non-fiction film, the dotted line marks the border between acted and not acted production, indicating the difference between documentaries trying to tell the story the way they (the directors) want, using reconstructions between shots of real events or filming it all as a fiction film, and documentaries using the real footage to tell the story. We cannot be certain that the mere usage of historical footage is the guarantee that there will be no manipulation in the documentary, but it is arguably true that there is by far greater possibility of manipulation with docudrama than documentary.[5]

Diagram 2. 1.: Fiction and Non-fiction film

---
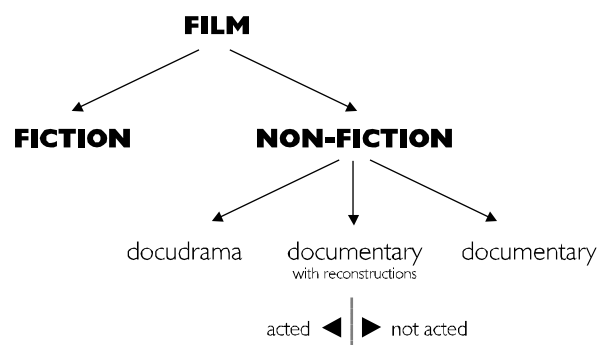
[4] This type of non-fiction film is discussed in *Why Docudrama?*, edited by Alan Roshental, and is called respectively: docudrama (presenting the reconstructions of real events on film or television).
[5] Here lies a catch: a wise documentarist could use the historical footage in such manner that it would tell the things he wants to be told, regardless of the truth, if we can even speak of truth as such, and make it look real. More detailed discussion on manipulation with editing is in chapter 3. 2. 1.

Rabiger (ibid.) asserts that documentarists sometime use actors when authentic means are not legitimately available to render the spirit of actuality. For him, the definition of documentary does not presuppose only authentic material but also reconstructions. Kilborn and Izod argue that one of the favourite strategies to map the documentary terrain was the notion of exclusion zones, to mark documentary film from all forms of fiction film-making activity:

> Some observers see the matter in relatively black-and-white terms. For them the principal task of documentary is to produce a suitably authenticated account of real-life event. This is in stark contrast with what they see as the main defining feature of fiction film (in all its many guises): that it deploys a variety of narrative and presentational techniques in the telling of the story that has been made up for the specific purpose of providing dramatic entertainment. For all these reasons – so the argument goes – documentaries can be conventionally labelled as 'non-fiction'. (1997: 14)

Even though this theoretical approach sounds reasonable, it suggests distinction in form and function between two categories, which makes the theory untenable – some fiction films claim that they are based on historical documents while some documentaries use fictional and dramatic techniques.

Apart from structure and type of material used, there is also a question of content when defining documentary. Theorists argue whether documentary is a genre, style, type of artefact or just a particular mode of film making (Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 15). Furthermore, we cannot define the documentary properly as it is the mode of response of the audience, which makes the documentary what it is (Crawford and Turton in Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 15). Kilborn and Izod (1997: 16) also stress that a plethora of terms to distinguish between different types of work (e.g. natural history documentary, fly-on-the-wall documentary) had the effect of establishing new sub-genres, although the definitions are still imprecise.

2. 1. 2. 1. Tracing the contours of poetics

Instead of defining types of documentaries Renov (1993: 21-36) introduces the four tendencies of rhetorical/aesthetic functions attributable to documentary practice, in order to trace the contours of a poetics of documentary:

- – to record, reveal, or preserve;
- – to persuade or promote;
- – to analyse or interrogate;
- – to express.

The types are not ideal and Renov asserts that in history of non-fiction film, one or another of his tendencies have been either over- or under-represented in documentary production. Although Renov considers documentary to be a whole, made up of four characteristics, he admits that they are not exclusive, meaning that they could overlap or oppose each other, contributing to richness and variability of non-fiction production. The four functions have to be understood as modalities of desire – elements which help the documentary tell what it wants to tell, or in words of Renov: "impulsions, which fuel documentary discourse".

First function – to record, reveal, or preserve – serves as "replications of historical real, the creation of second-order reality cut to the measure of our desire – to cheat death, stop time, restore loss." While the first two notions are quite clear to Renov, he stumbles upon the third – the problem of preserving on film has more to it than just filming the material:

> Always issues of selection intrude (which angle, take, camera stock will best serve); the results are indeed *mediated*, the result of multiple interventions that necessarily come *between* the cinematic sign (what we see on the screen) and its referent (what existed in the world). (Renov, 1993: 27)

And furthermore, he argues that in historical analysis, myriad of contradicting and complex documents are displaced by anecdotes and personal memories. The idea of public history is not an aggregate of private histories strung together, advocates Renov his favouring of interrogation over preservation. Similar idea can be found in Barthes's writing, where he is criticizing documentative utterances:

> Historical discourse does not follow reality, it only signifies it; it asserts at every moment: this happened, but the meaning conveyed is only that someone is making that assertion. (Barthes in Renov, 1993: 27)

Merging both views together we can radically argue, that no documentary is either historical or direct, it is always a consequence of different adaptions of the sources used (which could as well be mediated for many times until they reached their current stage) in order to mediate a certain assertion from the gathered sources.

Second function – to persuade or promote – is crucial for Renov, as he names it "paradoxical mutuality of the four documentary functions". Grierson thought of persuasion as the dominant trope for non-fiction films, Renov understands it as an effect of history within precise discursive conditions and argues that we cannot understand it merely as inherent in projects exhibiting a singularity of purpose and tone. Persuasion can come from different sources, Renov (1993: 30) uses Nichols's interpretation of Aristotelian triad of proofs operative in the documentary: ethical, emotional and demonstrative. In accordance with the triad he is

questioning the reasons for persuasion – is it ethical status of the filmmaker, is it emotionally touching elements or the magic of bar graphs? No matter how much of each component is present in the documentary, Renov concludes that persuasive or promotional modality is intrinsic to all documentary forms and has to be considered side to side with other rhetorical and aesthetic functions.

Third function – to analyse or interrogate – is by our opinion crucial for the documentarist and documentary film production. At this point a documentarist forms a shell of the documentary by reviewing the sources and gathering information. Renov sums up the proces:

> This documentary impetus transforms the unacknowledged questions that lie beneath all nonfictional forms into potential subject matter: that is, on what basis does the spectator invest belief in the representation, what are the codes which ensure that belief, what material processes are involved in the production of this "spectacle of the real" and to what extent are these processes to be rendered visible or knowable to the spectator? (1993: 31)

Renov's notion of the documentary is very interesting as he does not judge the documentaries by content, but by result, implying that "documentary works /.../ bear a direct, ontological tie to the real. That is, every documentary claims for itself an anchorage in history /.../ and, thus, was once available to experience in everyday" (ibid.). His idea of documentary is analytical – it should encourage inquiry, be open enough to offer space for judgment and provide tools for evaluation and further action. It should produce an active response from the audience, even when in the process of instruction or entertainment. In this respect analysis is the most crucial support for the documentarist. Another area of documentary Renov scrutinizes under analytical and interrogative function is the connotative power of non-linguistic audible elements (music and vocal inflection). He argues that with help of music, the tonal values of narration, even though unchanged, form different semantic effects and forces the viewer to confront the flexible meaning and ideological impact of authorial choices, which would otherwise be left unnoticed. In simpler words – music, for instance, with its subtle functioning can sometimes better stress important fragments of narration than obvious changes of narration or selection of footage.

The last of the Renov's modalities of desire – to express – is aesthetic function and as such consistently undervalued within the non-fiction domain. He calls Grierson's definition of documentary (creative treatment of actuality) an oxymoron, arguing that union between invention (creative) and mechanical reproduction (treatment of actuality) is not possible. His notion of expressiveness in documentary can be observed in different types of documentaries,

ranging from cinéma vérité, which does not attend to expression too much, to personal interpretations of the represented object in more expressive documentaries.

Renov's approach to discern the poetics of the documentary by analysing principles of construction, function and effect specific to non-fiction film and video, in a form of four tendencies is different from other theorists who try to categorise documentaries in one way or another. However, documentaries are different and a new typology could be made based on the four tendencies, it is even obvious in Renov's text, that specific types of documentaries are discussed within his modalities. And we might also argue, that it is not all the documentaries that have all four tendencies; by measuring or determining the 'strength' of each tendency, we could form a new typology.

Rosenthal (in Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 6) nicely sums up the function of documentary: "The key function of documentary, as I see it, is to explore the hard, awkward questions more deeply and more critically than other branches of the media do (or can)". And it is precisely the third modality (to analyse or interrogate) which is crucial to the documentary – it is every form of fiction or non-fiction, which can record, reveal, preserve, persuade, promote and express.

2. 1. 2. 3. Modes of documentaries

Killborn and Izod (1997: 13-4) explore definition problematic from the point of view of the definer: it matters if it's producers, critics or the audience. They define three usages of the term documentary in contemporary broadcasting:

- as a noun referring to a specific film or programme;
- suggesting a style or mode of film making that accords with certain conventions on how information and evidence are gathered and incorporated into a programme;
- purely adjectival sense – the reference is either to a general tenor of factuality which pervades the piece in question or to adoption of a certain style or approach.

Main problem of documentary definition is the lack of convention what exactly is documentary. Kilborn and Izod, instead of focusing on the function, introduce a new term – mode of documentary – and coin a typology based on both historical evolvement of documentary and approaches of filmmakers to the topics they cover (1997: 57-87). Although their definition of mode, as they explain, is very similar to genre, they are not alike. In fiction a certain genre represents a certain imaginary world while in documentary, modes represent

"the actual historical world in different ways". Another difference between genres and modes is the rivalry of the latter. Modes have challenged themselves since producers 'invented' new modes because they thought old modes were inadequate. The new phenomena is deliberate mixing of the modes, for instance in reality shows, which "use 'voice-of-God' narration, camcorder actuality footage, studio interviews and dramatised re-enactments in a single three-minute item". The modes Kilborn and Izod use to classify the documentaries are:[6] expository documentary, observational documentary (direct cinema, *cinéma vérité* which evolved into interactive documentary, flies on the wall), reflexive documentary, first-person documentary, poetic documentary and drama documentary.

Expository documentary is the oldest form of documentary; during the 1930s it was a norm for British documentary movement, lead by John Grierson. The main characteristic of this mode is the form of narration – the narrator tells us what we should think of while viewing the film. The idea behind the narrator who could not be seen was 'invented' because of technical reasons, since it was easier to add only the narration without the image of the narrator. This type of narration was named 'voice-of-God' mode. The name, however, does not only suggest that we cannot see the speaker, but also the diction of the narration – in expository documentary it was authoritative, and it is an anchor, to which all the material of the documentary is tied to. Selection of the narrator is also important for this mode. It is generally a person, who represents the target audience, and communicates to them in one perspective only, setting up the relationship between them, people who are different and strange from us, and us. It presents its content in a matter that "the commentator is offering the only reasonable way of looking at the topic under consideration". Re-enactment is used, but again the reason for using it is of technological nature. Today's cameras can easily be operated on field, while back in the 1930s equipment was so cumbersome, they had to set it up and by the time they did, the event was by far over so they had to do re-enactment of the events they saw earlier. Winston (1993: 42) explains that Griersonian realist filmmakers never actively wanted to reconstruct, it was rather the technique forced on them, limiting the full observational potential. Although the main characters were told to do exactly the same as they did before, the narration added later contributed to the creators' own interpretation of the happening. Which is the main cause for this mode's proneness to stereotypes, which permits generalisation. Director's influence on activities of filmed person can imply that every person

---

[6] We left out the mixing modes and reality programme from our list as these two modes are regarded as hybrid modes and are discussed in one of the later chapters of the book entitled: Making a drama out of a crisis.

in the same kind of work does the same – Kilborn and Izod accent that particular incident witnessed on screen (and authenticated by the commentary) seems to guarantee the wider general truth. A specific editing style is used in expository mode to authenticate the narration. Nichols (in Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 63) describes it as editing, which "generally serves to establish and maintain rhetorical continuity rather more than spacial or temporal continuity". Predomination of authoritative rhetoric, which organizes the flow of the events rather than space or flow of time, holds audiences more in spite of distractions from surroundings. Expository approach is still used today, married neatly with television, a medium, which relies on the dominance of the sound-track.s

The observational documentary mode enabled with lightweight filming equipment, moved the cameras from studios closer to people's lives. The change in perspective occurred partly because the main medium was no longer cinema but television. Documentary makers wanted direct access to the conditions in which their subjects lived and worked. Two main streams of production emerged: direct cinema in USA and cinéma vérité in France, the third sub mode called 'Flies on the wall' is really a modification of the former two. Three major technological breakthroughs in filming equipment significantly influenced the production of the documentaries: lightweight portable equipment, zoom lens which enabled the filmmaker to follow the happening without moving the camera and ever-faster film stocks which eradicated the need for clumsy lightning equipment on account of the adequacy of natural light on almost every location. Kilborn and Izod note the main shift in filming from large group shots to emphasized close-ups of individuals. Technological improvements also influenced the audio. The ability to freely record any sound on location with a small recorder and a rifle microphone, which could pick out a certain voice out of the crowd, meant that people could talk freely and do whatever they really did without directors bothering them too much or having to re-enact their working process. The quality of such filmed material was of course subordinate to studio-filmed material, but it added a certain charm to the production, something Kilborn and Izod call "aesthetic of immediacy upon which observational cinema depends". On the other hand, the production costs could skyrocket, as the camera had to run for a long time, because the director did not know whether any of the material shot would be of use. Introduction of video cameras lowered the costs considerably – video tapes are much cheaper and they can be re-recorded.

With direct cinema the filming process was radically changed. Not only did the filmmakers refuse to do any re-enactments, they played the role of innocent bystanders and just filmed the

happening under presumption that filmed material bears the authority of scientific evidence, because it is filmed without any interference. "They find the events, they don't ask anyone to do anything or to say anything" (Shivas in Winston, 1993: 44) – non-intervention became the prime source of legitimacy for filmmakers and observers. Technological improvements reduced the crew to a minimum and made it almost invisible. The main purpose was to bring the viewer unmediated access to the world. In their quest for purely unmodified reality, the direct cinema makers deprived documentary from any commentary, arguing that it is a distractive device, which reduces authenticity. Viewers were disoriented by the absence of narration, similar to the situation when one is dropped in the middle of an action and does not know what is going on. Instead of adding narration, directors decided to develop a more elaborated screen language to overcome viewers' disorientation. That was accomplished by using participants with "readily knowable identities to make up for the explanations of the missing voice-over narration", use of press conferences journalists' questions as a form of narration "preserving the pretence of not interfering with life in front of the lens" (Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 69). The editing style is the opposite from expository mode: every effort is made to sustain the continuity of time and space, even if this means showing scenes in which nothing significant for the viewer happens. The loss of the ideal observer has to be compensated by establishing a sense of space and time to put the viewers in the middle of the happening. The idea of not mediating the filmed can be criticized, especially when reviewing the directors' view on the editing process – Richard Leacock (Shivas in Winston, 1993: 44) said that "Often we discover a new kind of drama that we were not really aware of when we shot it." Winston (1993: 44-5) criticizes the direct cinema because it rejected all the traditional journalistic investigative traditions for being at the right place at the right time, and made viewers believe, that what camera shot was raw an that the filmmakers have not mediated the result and were as new to the situation as the viewers. The conclusion Winston makes on direct cinema is very negative:

> Direct Cinema hides its processes as much, if not more, that does Hollywod. The long takes, the lack of commentary, music and sound effects, the absence of cinematic lightning, the understated titles, even the early, persistent use of black-and-white stock. /.../ The filmmaker might claim that the work is personal but in technique it is deliberately and systematically unsigned. (1993: 50)

Rabiger (1998: 25) is another theorist questioning the integrity of the direct cinema, as he argues that unless the camera is hidden (which could be ethically problematic), participants can not help themselves but alter their behaviour:

The integrity of observation claimed by direct cinema proponents is more illusory than actual, because its appearance is sustained by editing out the material where the illusion is broken, such as when participants glance at the camera.

Erik Barnow (in Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 70-1; in Rabiger, 1998: 25; in Winston, 1993: 51) sums up the distinction between the two main forms in one sentence: "The direct cinema artist played the role of uninvolved bystander; the cinéma vérité artist espoused that of provocateur." The founding father of cinéma vérité, French filmmaker Jean Rouch drew his ideas from ethnographic experience in Afrika and thought authorship could usefully be shared with the participants, perpetuating the interaction between director and the subject (Rabiger, 1998: 25). Interaction is obvious since people being filmed can talk to the camera directly or we can hear (or even see) a person questioning the interviewee. Kilborn and Izod reduce cinéma vérité to nothing more than the first kind of interactive documentary. The origins of such approach lie in the pre-existing television procedures and we can observe the same thing with daily journalism – the on-camera interview. Which is adequate for daily info programme but limiting for the documentary since this approach denies viewer the access to anything that subject might know, but they do not tell. Winston (1993: 50) explains cinéma vérité as a reaction to an objectivity problem of expositional mode: "French Cinéma Vérité practitioners /.../ took the objectivity problem on directly and tried to solve it by putting themselves into the films." The people appearing in this mode are addressed directly by the filmmakers for the information, which they need for the documentary, and they might respond directly to what the filmmakers say, making them the agenda setters. The material is edited in a manner to "maintain a logical continuity between individual viewpoints" (Nichols in Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 72). Material is edited to either support or undermine participants' statements in case they are not telling the truth as the filmmakers conceive it. The image is also manipulated to support the view of the documentarist when his opinion clashes with that of the witness. Influence of the director and camera crew on the content can be crucial for the final 'truth', which is mediated through the documentary; they can be impartial when conflicting two speakers or they can be hostile and try to provoke. The social group who advised the documentary to be made might also hint the approach to the topic concerned and instruct the filmmakers to produce a programme in accordanse with their attentions. Kilborn and Izod argue that interactive mode is particularly vulnerable to abuse because of putting witnesses on screen and letting them speak and thus giving authority to their words. We might argue that

especially by the ones, who ordered the documentary to be done or are supporting the production.

Winston (1993: 55) concludes his review of scientific inscription in direct cinema and cinéma vérité by exposing an irony: "just as the documentarists finally got the equipment to illuminate, as they supposed, the real world of externally verifiable data, that world was denied them and they were instead revealed as the constructors of particular ideologically charged texts par excellence".

Third sub mode of the observational mode is called Flies on the wall, which, whether building on direct cinema or cinéma vérité's heritage, is reshaped to better fit the format of television. The major shift in programming is the tendency to organize documentaries in series to attract more viewers. Documentaries centre on a single set of concerns or particular way of seeing; Kilborn and Izod divide this production into two broad categories: documentaries preoccupied with institutions and documentaries devoted to domestic lives. Next phase in evolvement of television documentary is hybridisation, where elements of both modes (expository and observational) are employed together – all in pursue of television to attract viewers. Extreme version of hybridisation is reality programming.

Reflexive documentary mode is yet another modification of the modes present to that time. It criticizes observational mode in its attempt to be transparent. Arguing that the things would not be the same if the camera would not be filming, reflexive documentarists use self reflection when producing films and besides the content also pay much attention to the way they are showing the material and talking about it. An evident shift in attention is present: from dealing with the world to addressing the viewer. However with ever-more educated television viewers, reflexive documentarists might sound patronizing in their attempt to inform them that they are watching the process of constructing a film. Reflexive documentaries often "give rise to doubt in such a way as to discourage spectators from accepting that a single point of view is an adequate representation of the whole truth on any topic" (Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 76-7). Reflexive documentarists deny the simple realism of the world and argue, that unproblematic access to it is not possible through traditional representation. That is why they implement not only beliefs and values of the people in front of the lens, but also of those behind and so build a complex system of competing beliefs. The result is the viewer questioning the adequacy of seen images and sounds to represent reality – in this mode the encounter between the viewer and the filmmaker is emphasised. We have already mentioned, that viewers' expectations and acceptance of the documentary somehow

influences the definition of documentary. With reflexive mode, the viewers come to expect the unexpected. Nichols (in Kilborn and Izod, 1997: 79) lists some devices reflexivists use to make their films: deconstruction of familiar styles and coding conventions so the viewer becomes aware of them – parody, irony and satire. Kilborn and Izod also argue that reflexive documentary can be used to heighten political awareness, although it is by no means the only mode which can be used for this purpose.

The first person documentary is explicitly an individual account on observing the society, and because the viewers know what to expect, subjectivity is one of the strenghts of this mode. They are the products of the video age, which made broadcast-quality video equipment available to a broad number of ordinary people.[7] The emergence of this mode goes back to the time when "families with portable cameras began making home movies" (Killborn and Izod, 1997: 81).

Poetic documentary can be outlined by two particularly interesting elements: firstly, it usually moves away from the presumption that a documentary should construct an argument about something and secondly, it gives more attention to its effect on viewer than it does to the referent in the historical world. Elements from poetic documentary can be found in other modes, Kilborn and Izod (1997: 84) also assert, that "poetic style has often been used to enliven the expository documentary and make it interesting to the eye and the ear". But we should not confuse poetic elements with the poetic mode – the main difference is the dominance of the viewer as the primary referent: some enhance the sense of shared experience; others rise issues in collective consciousness.

Drama-documentary mode or docudrama bonds more with hybrid formats and even though it is hard to define only by means of using the reconstructions of the events, Kilbor and Izod argue that:

> ... drama-documentary is found where the primary intention of the programme is to provide a documentary chronicling of events, but in which dramatic reconstructions have been employed whose function is to make the account more persuasive or to depict events /.../ that could not be shown by other documentary means. (1997: 86)

Another issue arises concerning the documentary part of the drama-documentary: because such programmes use devices of fiction and are more or less intended to maximise audiences,

---

[7] Especially with digital video and computer editing which enables easy transfer of the footage into the computer and editing, no harder than cut and paste process familiar to anybody using a word processor. Because of its technical superiority to the analogue home formats (VHS, Hi-8), the footage from a small digital camera can be broadcasted.

there is reasonable doubt in the accuracy of the research and question of sensationalism to meet the commercial imperative (1997: 87).

2. 1. 3. Differences in narration – daily journalism versus documentary

American Press Institute's guides for effective writing[8] have an interesting advice for journalists to protect themselves from hoaxes: "Eternal scepticism is the best protection". Because of the ever-increasing speed of the daily media, the doubt-in-everything-approach is a convention. Documentary work often supported by intensive analysis and interrogation has a totally different approach. Even if the questions asked for purposes of documentary doubt, the final product often shows no hesitation when telling the story. And narration can explain, whereas in journalistic articles' narration only points to given statements. Comparing documentary work and daily journalism is similar to comparing old historians and modern ones. Old did not quote their sources or refer to authorities, while modern historians make every effort to attribute certain information to the source:

> Modern historians suggest the interpretation of facts and thus enable the reader to easily check the information and interpret it differently; old historians checked the information by themselves, they did not leave this to the reader: that was the nature of their work. (Veyne, 1998: 23-4)

The nature of daily television journalistic work is to gather statements from different authorities and bind them together in a meaningful whole. The guidelines for reporting[9] are very strict concerning the opinion of the journalists – they are not supposed to have one. When an opinion is published, it has to be attributed – in most cases, where there is no face behind the statement, well-known phrases like "from the sources close to the president", "from reliable government sources", "from well informed spheres" etc. are used to introduce a certain opinion into the story. All the sources can be verified since all the relevant information for identifying the officials is written on a caption appearing on the screen.

With documentary, it is also true that the people giving a statement are captioned, the problem is with the narrator. Here, the journalist's (or documentary maker's) role is no longer to link contradictory statements with his neutral text, but to tell the story. There is no 'doubt in everything' approach evident in documentary discourse, the narration tells us what happened,

---

[8] Published in 1985; prepared by Elwood M. Wardlow.
[9] cf. Routledge's Television Handbook from Patricia Holland, Perovič and Šipek's TV Novice etc.

not what somebody thinks that happened. Habermas (in Winston, 1993: 55) claims that documentary more than any other filmic form produces a nature as a guarantee of its truth. Documentary indeed has a specific narrative structure, comparing to either fiction film or daily journalism. Kilborn and Izod explore the function of narration:

> What is the nature of narrative? It usually requires as a minimum a sequence of actions that have a goal or a purpose, and these actions occur in a story world, which occupies a specified time and place. This is true no matter whether that story world claims to be real, as in a news report, or entirely fantastic, as in science fiction. Narrative also requires that casual connections be drawn between the events that it brings together the sequential chain. (1997: 117)

The typical narrative profile of the documentary is problem-solution paradigmatic structure (1997: 119). Problem is examined and a solution is found or at least possible solutions are pointed at. Daily journalistic work does not function like that, although the first two stages are identical: there is a problem and we have to investigate it. But when journalists use advocates (officials, witnesses) supporting or rejecting different views and maybe direct viewers to potential solutions of the problem it is the narration of the documentary (at least in the modes, which use narration) that explains what could (or should) be done.

Differences in narration also arise from the selection of topics. Criteria of newsworthiness[10] used for daily journalistic work is not useful for documentary production – the event would be by far forgotten by the time synopsis is written. Ellis (1989: 145-59) advocates different view: it is not the narration which makes the difference but the source of material. Ellis also sees no need to differentiate between fiction and non-fiction narration models; by his opinion, both news on television and soap opera have the same narration. Broadcast TV narrative is open-ended, providing a continuous update, while film narrative (and we can also claim that for a documentary, even though Ellis treats them as non-fiction broadcast TV narrative) is closed and final. For Rabiger (1998: 15), newsreels cannot be documentaries because of their episodic and disjointed nature. They lack the comprehensive vision and their footage is event centred, not disclosing meaning or relationship to any larger dimension of the event.

2. 2. Looking for a definition of Myth

At least three major questions can be asked of myth: what is its subject matter, what is its origin, and what is its function? Theories of myth differ, first of all, on the answers they give to these questions. The subject matter, or referent, of myth can be anything. It can be the literal subject matter, which is most often gods or goddesses, or a symbolic subject matter, such as divinities as symbols of human traits. For most theorists, myth originates and functions to satisfy a need, but that need can be for anything – for example, for rain, for information, or for meaning of life. The need can be on the part of individuals or on the part of the documentary. (Segal, 1998: 3)

Myth is a type of speech.
(Barthes, 1993: 109)

Exploring the definitions of myth one comes across a vast amount of definitions that either try to embrace the whole myth or just single usages of if. We shall look at some of the definitions in order to establish a critical distance and pursue the development of a working definition for the purposes of this work.

For Eliade (1970: 9) myth is a cultural and extremely complex reality, which can be accessed and interpreted from a variety of viewpoints, which can supplement each other. Eliade believes that a modern man succeeds in obtaining an "escape from time" comparable to the "emmergence from time" effected by myths (1987: 205). Barthes (1993: 109-10) considers myth to be a type of speech, where the way in which it is uttered is important and not the object of the speech, and derives the final definition – "myth is a type of speech chosen by history". Campbell in his Masks of God (1991: 608-24) rather than defining myth itself lists four functions that a complete new mythology appearing in world of now and here should serve: the psychological sphere, metaphysical-mystical, cosmological and social prospect. There are at least as many definitions of myth as there are scholars analysing it so Doty in his study of myths and rituals (2000: 29) lists some of the most common components of the myth definitions:

- myth as aesthetic device, narrative, literary form;
- subject matter to do with the gods, an "other" world;
- explaining origins (aetiology);
- as mistaken or primitive science;
- myth as the words to rituals, or myth dependent upon ritual, which it explicates;

[10] The criteria by which journalists and editors decide whether to publish a story or not; based on importance of

- making universals concrete or intelligible;
- explicating beliefs, collective experiences, or values;
- "spiritual" or "psychic" expression;
- the ideological framework for a culture.

We could compare his effort with Cupitt's consideration that there are so many misleading definitions that is least misleading to list a number of 'typical features' and then proclaim a narrative mythic if it has most, but not necessarily all of these features (Cupitt in Coupe, 1997: 5). This is the family resemblance approach, which does not favour any particular paradigm of myth:

> So we may say that a myth is typically a traditional sacred story of anonymous authorship and archetypal or universal significance which is recounted in a certain community and is often linked with a ritual; that it tells of the deeds of the superhuman beings such as gods, demigods, heroes, spirits or ghosts; that it is set outside historical time in primal or eschatological [i.e. last, ultimate] time or in the supernatural world, or may deal with comings and goings between the supernatural world and the world of human history; that the superhuman beings are imagined in anthropomorphic [i.e. humanly formed] ways, although their powers are more than human and often the story is not naturalistic but has the fractured, disorderly logic of dreams; that the whole body of people's mythology is often prolix [i.e. lengthy, wordy], extravagant and full of seeming inconsistencies; and finally that the work of myth is to explain, to reconcile, to guide action or to legitimate. We can add that myth-making is evidently a primal and universal function of the human mind as it seeks more-or-less unified vision of the cosmic order, the social order, and the meaning of the individual's life. Both for society at large and for the individual, this story-generating function seems irreplaceable. The individual finds meaning in his life by making of his life a story set within a larger social and cosmic story. (Cupitt in Coupe, 1997: 5-6)

For illustrating the difference between mythology and mythopoeia[11] Coupe (1997: 1-6) introduces the five stories, five different types, five paradigms of myth: fertility myth, creation myth, myth of deliverance, hero myth and literary myth or mythic literature. Because mythology is the body of inherited myths in any culture, Coupe concludes that it is an important part of literature, which is an important element of extending mythology – mythopoeia. Coupe favours Cupitt's family resemblance approach over different theorists, who consider single type of myth as the key to all mythologies – Eliade favours creation myth and Sir James Frazer fertility myth. Lincoln (1999: ix) argues that definitions of myth are only misleading hence he pursues not to define it but to identify the most dramatic shifts in that

---

event, proximity, timing, prominence, new or unusual event and conflictness. (Mencher in Erjavec, 1998: 48)

occurred it the status of myth and it's usage. We will therefore use Lincoln's work to review historical aspects of myth and the last part of his book later on as a guide to what myth is today and how in interweaves with ideology. Another theorist who explored myth in depth is Freud's disciple Carl Jung, for whom Segal argues (1998: 3) that he is one of the few theorists who fully answers all three questions, which can be asked of myth: "what is its subject matter, what is its origin, and what is its function?" While Jung may be answering the right questions, Ricoeur (in Coupe, 1997: 8) believes that myth cannot be explained away, as the people of modern age would like to believe, it is only myth's impetus that can be determined; for him myth also implies a horizon: a view to other possible worlds that transcend the limits of our world.
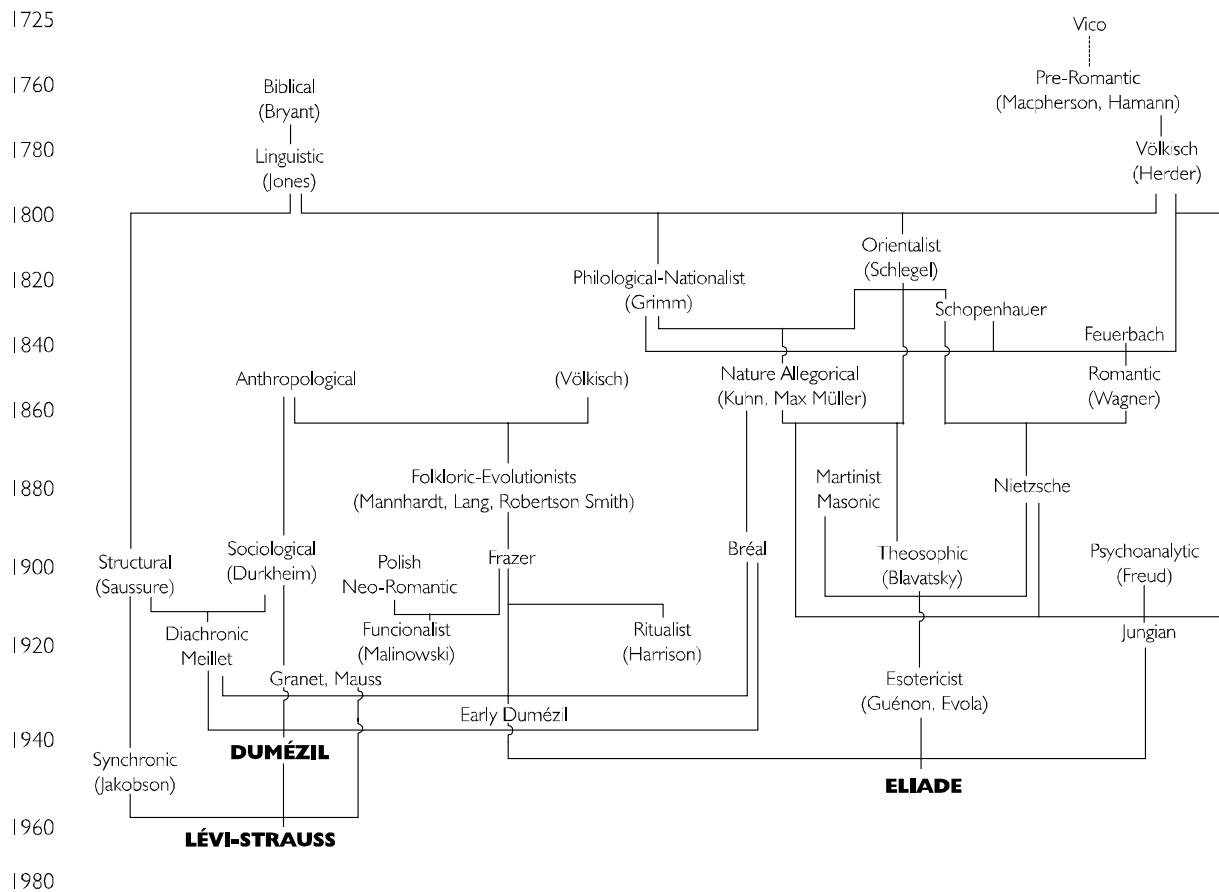
The most interesting and useful definition of myth for our task would be the one incorporating the narrative aspect of myth and its social function as the 'reliable source' or the source we do not doubt in. For such a definition we must find an answer to the question: "How did myth come to be such a valuable source?" For purpose of revealing the answer we must look into the history of myth.

2. 2. 1. Studying of myth through history

Although many definitions of myth declare it as a false story, symbolic story or sacred story, Lincoln's research in the earliest mentions of mythos and logos show, that mythos was used exclusively as "an assertive discourse of power and authority that represents itself as something to be believed and obeyed" (Lincoln, 1999: 17). Martin (ibid.), who also analysed Greek works, came to the same conclusion: "*mythos* is always a speech of power, performed at length, in public, by one in position of authority". Judging myth by its days in Greek tragedy, we can agree with Barthes's saying that myth is just a type of speech.

Diagram 2. 2.: Genealogy of theories and approaches to myth in nineteenth and twentieth century

---

[11] As mentioned above, mythopoeia is tendency to "create or recreate certain narratives which human beings take to be crucial to their understanding of their world" (Coupe, 1997: 4)

1725   Vico

1760   Biblical (Bryant)   Pre-Romantic (Macpherson, Hamann)

1780   Linguistic (Jones)   Völkisch (Herder)

1800

1820   Philological-Nationalist (Grimm)   Orientalist (Schlegel)   Schopenhauer

1840   Feuerbach

1860   Anthropological   (Völkisch)   Nature Allegorical (Kuhn, Max Müller)   Romantic (Wagner)

1880   Folkloric-Evolutionists (Mannhardt, Lang, Robertson Smith)   Martinist Masonic   Nietzsche

1900   Structural (Saussure)   Sociological (Durkheim)   Polish Neo-Romantic   Frazer   Bréal   Theosophic (Blavatsky)   Psychoanalytic (Freud)

1920   Diachronic Meillet   Funcionalist (Malinowski)   Ritualist (Harrison)   Jungian

   Granet, Mauss   Esotericist (Guénon, Evola)

   Early Dumézil

1940   Synchronic (Jakobson)   **DUMÉZIL**   **ELIADE**

1960   **LÉVI-STRAUSS**

1980

Source: Lincoln, 1999: 144

Roughly a millennium and a half later, in Renaissance, recovery of ancient texts provided an alternative to the authority of the church. Before the Renaissance, mythic narratives lost their authority and were regarded as folktales, fairytales, legends etc. used for entertainment and artistic adornment. Greeks and Romans of the later era designated such stories as *mythoi* and *fabulae*, and another factor attributed to the degradation of myth – Christian opposition to them in form of the Bible.

Even though Bible reduced interest in myth, Enlightenment philosophers renewed it, but with negative criticism – which actually perpetuated the critiques of Bible and church. On the other hand, mythic poetry, although considered as a form of primitive irrationality, returned explained as authentic, traditional and bearing national identity. One of the early romanticists, pastor Johann Gottfried Herder wrote about myths in his *Ideen* (1784-91), defining myth as a crucial resource for collective identity. Myths were supposed to communicate historic, cultural and practical knowledge, while keeping nation's distinct values. From Herder's idea of myth as discourse of differentiation, Lincoln suggests two interpretations for scholars: reading myths with interest in diversity (myth has distinctive elements for the nation who tells it) and reading

myth focused on unity (using mythical evidence to find a place of common origin). German patriots forged a specific term out of Herder's works – *Volk*. It helped them imagine themselves as homogenous, defined by their common language, myths, history, physiognomy, climate and landscape. Jacob Grimm wrote another big contribution to the field of studying myths in 1835 – *Deutsche Mythologie*, which is more of a catalogue of pagan gods than a critical study. He also traced specific features of German landscape to fit them into old myths, which shaped the nature of a *Volk*. Grimm's work inspired Richard Wagner who pursued the same goal – to connect myth with *Volk*. He wrote a number of theoretical essays between 1849 and 1851. His efforts became of mythopoetic proportions, when he decided to invent a myth, which would help *Volk* in its time of need; he later discarded the first tale and decided to use the story of Sigfried. He expanded his tale into four dramas of the Ring cycle and performance (in August 1876) supposed to assemble, restore and inspire the German *Volk*. After the premiere of the Ring Friedrich Nietzsche, who was greatly influenced by Wagner, broke off with his theoretical views. Nietzsche's saw myth as intensely concentrated image of the world and a necessary prerequisite of every religion, a genre that wishes to be experienced as a unique example of universality and truth. Adalbert Kuhn, German comparative mythologist, influenced Nietzsche, especially with his invented reconstruction of "Aryan" myth, a modification of the Prometheus myth. Nietzsche took Kuhn's theft-of-fire theme and instead of focusing on nature allegory chose to pursuit moral significance. As a result he constructed discriminatory and stereotypical binary oppositions acquired from mythic narrative. In England, Friedrich Max Müller was working on similar ground as Kuhn. His approach – philological comparative mythology – died with him and was replaced with folkloric-anthropological models. Changes in anthropology had indeed great influences on the study of myth. Although anthropology constituted as a part of nature sciences and regarded the human body as a basic object of its study, a number of theorists in England distanced from this approach and favoured social, cultural and symbolical anthropology over physical. E. B. Tylor, Andrew Lang, W. Robertson Smith, Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Arnold van Gennep and Sir James George Frazer diverted from comparative mythologists and regarded myths primarily as oral and not textual phenomenon. Studying myth in context to ritual, they analysed primitive peoples and saw myth as irrationalities, showing the childhood mind of the primitives. Theories of myth also came at a right time because of the colonial expansion, which needed some reason for salvaging the myth-obsessed primitives. Frazer's *Golden Bough* was particularly influential with evolutionist approach to myths and magic. It was the same

work that inspired Bronislaw Malinowski to study myth, which was for him a form of social charter, establishing and legitimating important aspects of culture. In France, Georges Dumézil continued the work of Müller to fix it. He relied mostly on Frazer's anthropological theory but later realised that his reliance on Frazer was misguided. Apart from England and France, land-myth-and-*Volk* paradigm and comparative mythology prevailed among the northern and central European nations, among which the most notable theorists were: Mircea Eliade, Walter Otto and C. G. Jung. (Lincoln, 1999: 47-75)

After the second World War the study of myth settled in France, where in École pratique des hautes études three most important myth theorists held classes: Georges Dumézil, Mircea Eliade and Claude Lévi-Strauss. Dumézil helped both of them to the position in the school, but in 1950s they separated; Dumézil and Lévi-Strauss joined the College de France, Eliade went to the United States to join University of Chicago. However unified their view on myth was (ancient or exotic genre from which one could recover something of inestimable value), they differed tremendously when explaining what this meant exactly. For Dumézil it was tripartite ideology of Indo-Europeans and critics explained away his views as weaving of fascist ideology into reconstruction of Indo-European myth. Eliade, influenced by early Dumézil (and also by Jung[12] and esotericists Guénon and Evola) to find moments of transcendent ecstasy in myth in ritual, thought of myth as an archaic sense of the sacred. Lévi-Strauss, influenced by French tradition of Durkheim and Mauss, moved his focus to sociology rather than comparative mythology and folklore (see lineage in Diagram 2. 2.). He defines myth as elementary structure of human mind. Because of his interest in language and synchronic linguistics in particular (Jakobson was his close friend), Lévi-Strauss adopted its view that language is a system of logical relations, which can be analysed without reference to history. Critics of Lévi-Strauss's view argue that his synchronic orientation drains mythic narrative of its historical content and political agency.

Among the cultural theorists who also dealt with myth – Gramsci, Bordieu and Barthes – the latter is interesting to investigate, especially because of linking theory of myth with semiology. (Lincoln, 1999: 141-59)

---

[12] Jung accepts the conventional view that science has replaced religion as the explanation of events in the physical world. In Psychological terms, the projection of archetypes onto the world has been withdrawn (his idea of myth among the primitives is, that they project themselves onto the world and thereby create a world of gods; however, they are not capable of creating myths about gods – they experience rather than invent them), and the world is now experienced as impersonal and mechanical. Myth suffers the same fate as religion, of which it has traditionally been a part. Jung also believed, that traditional myths did not vanish with the emergence of science; he argued that today, myth minimally becomes literature. (Segal, 1998: 175, 178-9)

2. 2. 2. Barthes's Myth as a semiological system

Barthes (1993: 109-59) sees myth as a type of speech, denying the possibility of myth being an object, a concept or an idea. His definition and scientific approach to myth was greatly influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure's science of signs – Barthes locates myth to the "province of a general science, coextensive with linguistics, which is semiology" (1993: 111). His myth is defined by the way it is uttered. Which in simple words means that absolutely everything can be myth, given that the pure matter is 'enriched' with a certain type of social usage. Myth can also be temporary – objects can be involved in mythical speech for a while and then disappear, others retain the status. Transitory nature of myth is explained as historical influence, for it is "human history which converts reality into speech, and it alone rules the life and the death of mythical language", and further: "for myth is a type of speech chosen by history" (1993: 110). Choice of material used in myth is not arbitrary, it has to be material previously worked on, made suitable for communication. Their meaning (of the substance – materials of myth) is discounted while reasoning about them. Myth is placed in semiology by upgrading Saussure's triade of signifier, signified and sign into second-order semiological system:

Diagram 2. 3.: Barthes's Myth as second-order semiological system

1. Signifier	2. Signified	
3. Sign I **SIGNIFIER**		II **SIGNIFIED**
III **SIGN**		
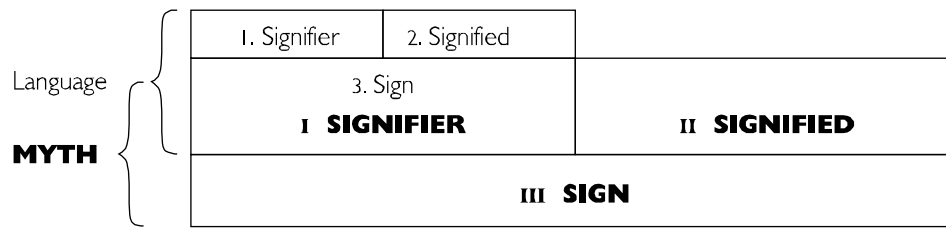
Source: Barthes, 1993: 115

For Saussure in language signifier denotes acoustic image, signified denotes the concept and relation between them is the sign, a word for example. With myth the relations are different as it uses pre-determined concepts as mere signifiers. Barthes's explanation of myth includes reduction of the meaning to mere signifier, as soon as the materials are 'caught by myth'. Myth wants to 'blind' the meaning, by forcing to see only the sum of signs, the final element of the semiological chain. The language (as seen in Diagram 5) is shifted to form the signifier of the myth, which uses it to construct its own system. The former is called language-object system, the latter metalanguage – second language, which speaks about the first. Set of two new terms is introduced: form and concept – the form stands for sign of the language/signifier of the myth (3, I), the concept for signified of the myth (II). Barthes argues that meaning of myth has its own value, belonging to the history. And since signifier of the myth already has meaning, which could be self-sufficient, myth removes it and transforms its signifier into an empty form, calling for signification to fill it. Barthes illustrates it with evaporation of history; only the letters remain. The shift from linguistic sign to mythical signifier requires regression from meaning to form. The meaning however is not lost, it is merely put into background, available at every moment for myth to call or dismiss. "It is the constant game of hide-and-seek between the meaning and the form which defines myth. The form of myth is not a symbol" (1993: 118). The concept, in opposition to form, is not abstract; it is historical and intentional for it is the motivation forcing the myth to be uttered. For Barthes, concept is the constituting element of myth filling it with new history and having a function of appropriation; it is a tendency. Similar to Freud's theory of psychoanalysis where signified can have several signifiers, Barthes (1993: 120) claims the same for mythical concept: "it has at its disposal an unlimited mass of signifiers". Quantitative richness of the signifier helps mythologist decipher the myth since repetition of the concept through different forms enables us to reveal myth's intention. The form:concept ratio however is not fixed for myth, as it is

fixed for language (concept hardly excesses the word). Third element of Barthes's myth is sign (III on Diagram 2. 3.), which he calls signification and is the myth itself (similar to Saussure's sign being the word).

The nature of elements in myth's semiological system is fundamentally different from other semiological systems. The form and the concept of myth are not hidden behind the signification; they are completely manifest. Barthes argues that myth hides nothing, because its function is to distort. And since myth's form (semiological signifier) is a sign of the language, it has two types of manifestation: the immediate (literal) and extended. The form cannot use signifiers, which are not already constituted by a meaning, it can only appear through a given substance (Barthes defines this process as extension). This is the main difference between language and myth: language's signifier is an acoustic image, which is mental; form's presence is spatial; its elements relate to place and time. Depending on the type of myth extension it performs can be either linear (with oral myth) or multi-dimensional (with visual myth). We could symbolise the difference between the two extensions with moves of chessmen on a chessboard: linear extension would be similar to the possible moves of a pawn, multi-dimensional similar to the possible moves of a queen. Concept is not as clear as form. It is a group of interconnected elements of knowledge and its presence is memorial.

The relation between concept and meaning is that of deformation, but myth can deform only because of the predefined nature of the form – how would otherwise be possible to deform emptiness? But form is empty in a way, because it has two aspects: one is full (meaning – i.e. passion) and the other empty (form of that meaning – i.e. a bouquet of red roses). Myth is a double system; signification alternately presents its meaning (language-object, purely signifying consciousness) and form (metalanguage, purely imaging consciousness). The alteration process in myth: "its form being empty but present, its meaning absent but full" (1993: 124) is useful only for readers of myth and Barthes suggests a static method of deciphering – analysing each aspect separately. Myth is stemming from a historical concept and it is turned towards us. It is a type of speech defined by its intention, but its intention is made absent. Barthes concludes that myth is speech stolen and restored, only that the restored version is not exactly like the stolen, which gives the mythical speech its benumbed look. The last of the mythical elements to be examined is motivation. Mythical signification is never arbitrary and thus in part motivated, containing some analogy between meaning and form. Even if myth lacks motivation, Barthes argues that the absence itself will be sufficiently objectified and it will become a second-order motivation – motivation is

unavoidable: "Myth is a pure ideographic system, where the forms are still motivated by the concept which they represent while not yet, by a long way, covering the sum of its possibilities for representation." (Barthes, 1993: 127).

We can decipher myth in three ways, by focusing on different types of signifiers:

- focus on an empty signifier (cynical);
- focus on a full signifier (demistifiying);
- focus on the mythical signifier (dynamic).

The first focus produces signification, which is literal again hence the emptiness of the form (it has no previous meaning). Barthes attributes this focus to mythmakers and journalists, who start a concept and seek a form for it. Because of making myth's intention obvious, this focus destroys the myth; this is a cynical focus. Second focus, which uses full signifier, distinguishes form and meaning clearly and consequently the distortion. Myth is thus demystified; it is unmasked. This approach is that of a mythologist, for he decpihers the myth, revealing its distortion. Both of the mentioned focuses are static and analytical, destroying the myth. The third focus is Barthes's answer to proper reading of myths: mythical signifier is understood as a whole made of meaning and form. The reader becomes response to the constitutive mechanism of myth and becomes a reader of myths. This focus is dynamic and the only one, which does not destroy myth: "reader lives the myth as a story once true and unreal" (1993: 128).

If we were to connect mythical schema to general history to explain how it integrates into the society and caters for its interests, we must use the third type of focus. To do this move – switch from semiology to ideology – we (the readers of myth) must reveal myth's essential function: how do we receive myth today? Barthes introduces a false dilemma when analysing myths in this manner:

> In one word, either the intention of the myth is too obscure to be efficacious, or it is too clear to be believed. /.../ This is but a false dilemma. Myth hides nothing and flaunts nothing: it distorts; myth is neither a lie nor a confession: it is an inflexion. (1993: 129).

As myth robes language of something, we can mythify myth and so use its own weapon against it. All we have to do is to use the second-order semiological system as a starting point of the third system. The product will be an artificial myth:

Diagram 2. 4.: Barthes's 'artificial' myth
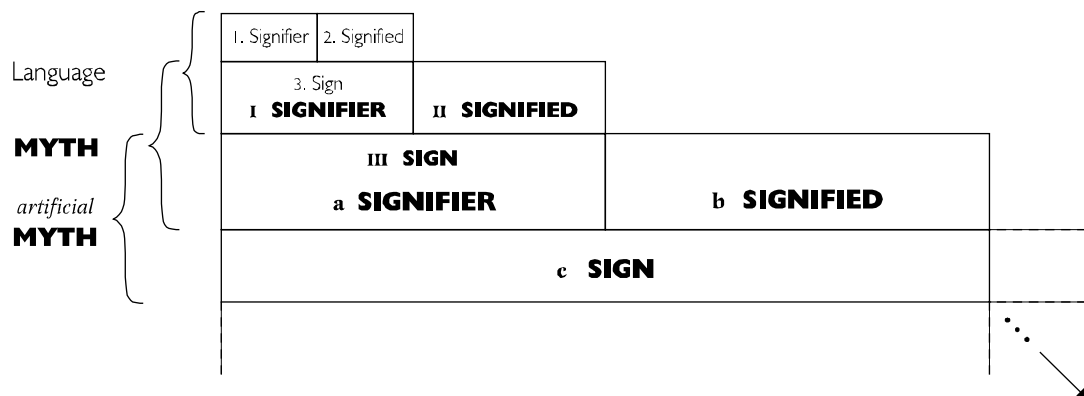
Source: adapted from Barthes, 1993: 135

We added the arrow and dotted lines to emphasise the possibility of nesting even more myths into new artificial myth. Barthes's explains artificial myth by analysing Flaubert's novel, but we could generalise it to mythopoeia or ideology, for which Velikonja (1996) argues it uses myth as a palimpsest. Third-order (or any-order) myth functions exactly as the second-order one, the only difference is the nature of the sign, because the second-order semiological system already has a form, concept and signification, which have to be deformed, for the artificial myth to use it as its own signifier.

The idea of artificial myth however is not new. Between 1760 an 1763 James Macpherson published three volumes of poetry devoted to *Ossian*, supposedly a blind bard from the thirteenth century. Macpherson of course invented (or rather recreated from various sources) the myth and presented it as translations of obscure Gaelic manuscripts and oral traditions of Scottish Highlands. It was only after his death that his papers could be inspected and finally determined, that his myth was invented, fraudulent. His influence was tremendous as his readers modelled their relation to the ideal past according to Macpherson's transcription of their desire – their own collective imaginary. (Lincoln, 1999: 50-1)

2. 2. 3. Myth as a cultural artefact – Mythopoeia

> ... we will discover that 'mythology', the body of inherited myths in any culture, is an important element of literature, and that literature is a means of extending mythology. That is, literary works may be regarded as 'mythopoeic', tending to create or recreate certain narratives which human beings take to be crucial to their understanding of their world. (Coupe, 1997: 4)

Coupe's research of the mythopoeia in modern society consists of analysing two major works. Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* and James Joyce's *Ulysses*. His work focuses on certain mythic paradigms used in the works as well as tracing back the ideas of authors, who influenced the creators of analysed mythopoeia. He uses his typology of myths to decipher and properly place different motives inside cultural artefacts. His work gives us some insight on how literary (and also factual, non-fiction writing, we might add) are ever more interweaved with myth. For writing myth (mythopoeia) one must be able to read myth (mytography). Both processes involve mythic reading, which Coupe divides into two kinds: allegory (the meaning of the message is presented in symbols) and typology (study of interpretation of types). The former understands tales as those, which effect announcement or are made to announce their own intention; they say *this* in terms of *that* – it is domesticated myth. The latter provides a story with *type*, which carries a certain promise with itself and *anti-type*, which is *type*'s fulfilment. (Coupe, 1997: 1-13, 94-124)

The myth of mythlessness – systematic attempt to explain away mythology, which started during the Enlightenment – still prevails in the modern society. Velikonja argues that myth of mythlessness is the highest myth of the demystified, positive era. Objective interventions of the divinised mind are the only ones who can interfere with the cruel reality. Rehabilitation of myth (the (re)emergence of mythopoeia) was necessary because of needs of cultural self representation of the nations and emerging national states. Mythopoeia was necessary for reviving culture and man; the most obvious come back of the mythologies occurred in totalitarian regimes, but they were also present in modern, democratic countries. (Velikonja, 1996: 20; Coupe, 1997: 9-13)

Among the defenders of theory that science can never replace mythology was also Jung (in Segal, 1998: 211), who commented the impossibility of life without mythology by: "Enlightenment avails nothing, it merely destroys a transitory manifestation, but not the

creative impulse". He also claims that a "very few individuals succeeded in throwing off mythology in epoch of exceptional intellectual exuberance – the masses never" (ibid.).

Veyne has his view on the fight of reason against myth. He advocates that reason never prevailed (as some theorists argue that modern definition of myth is something opposed to reality – myth is fiction; and something opposed to what is rational – myth is absurd. (Vernant in Coupe, 1997: 9)); it forgot about the question of authority of the myth rather than answering it. And also, it was not the reason that was fighting against myth, but only the realistic program of that time. Another quite important view on myth is that it is not history and it does not bring facts; it is only there to explain, give signification of the event and does not speak about what happened. (Veyne, 1998: 109-113)

One of the most valued works in theory of deciphering myth is Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of criticism*, in which five narrative modes are presented to classify myths or to put in more exactly: to understand the myth displaced through the four modes (there are five, but one of them is myth) of literature as mythic reading. Frye is concerned with myth as the transformation of nature into culture, while for example Barthes argues myth is a culture disguised as nature. (Coupe, 1997: 164)

If literature distances itself from myth, it does appear more real, but this appearance is deceptive once it reaches the last of the mode – ironic. Frye defines his mode as "conventional power of action assumed about the chief characters in fictional literature, or the corresponding attitude assumed by the poet toward his audience in thematic literature" (Frye, 1966: 366). Another quality of the modes is that they are successive in history. His classification of fictions according to the hero's power can be presented in the following diagram:

Diagram 2. 5.: Frye's fiction modes
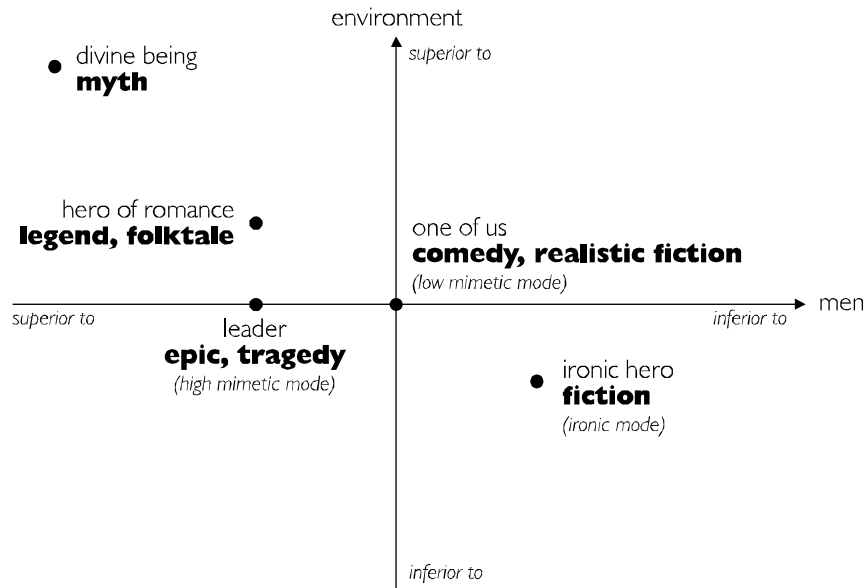
Axis representing the men is oriented from superior to inferior for purposes of following the historical sequence of the modes. The first entry describes the type of the hero for that mode, second (in bold) describes a typical fiction in which it can be found, the third (where mentioned) identifies the mode of narrative.

Source: adapted from Frye, 1966: 33-5 and Coupe, 1997: 160-1

First of the modes is clearly a myth, its hero is absolutely superior to both the environment and to the men; such types of stories have an important place in literature, but are usually found outside normal literary categories in such pure form.[13] Second hero is superior only in degree to men and environment, his actions are marvellous, but he considers himself to be human, he is a typical hero for the romance; stories in this mode are legends, folktales and their derivates in literature. The third mode represents a leader, although equal to other men in their natural environment, he is still superior to them, he has authority but is subjective to criticism and laws of nature; he is thus hero of the *high mimetic* mode. This type of hero appears in epic and tragedy. The fourth hero is one of us. Superior neither to other men neither to environment, our response to his is of common humanity and possibility of our common experience. He is the hero of the *low mimetic* mode, appearing in most comedy and realistic fiction. The last hero is inferior to both men and environment and we get the sense of looking down on him. He is ironic hero, appearing in most of the serious fiction of the last hundred

---

[13] Eloquent examples of such mode are the Greek myths. Veyne (1998: 138) regards them as national tradition, bearing high cultural dignity.

and fifty years. The situations ironic hero finds himself in are judged by the norms of a greater freedom of the reader.

Historical overview of literature shows a move from myth (pre-medieval period of literature) over romance (two main forms emerge: secular about knights and religious devoted to legends of saints) to Renaissance, where the cult of the prince moves the *high mimetic* mode into the foreground (most obvious in drama, especially tragedy, and epic). *Low mimetic* mode is born out of middle-class culture, which is predominant in English literature from approximately 1700 to the end of nineteenth century, whereas in France it begins and ends around fifty years earlier. The last of the modes is evident in serious fiction of the last century. (Frye 1966: 33-5)

The melting of myth into different modes starts with a story – myth –, which is in origin about characters (heroes) that can do anything, but gradually reduces its elements to those of a credible story:

> Myths of gods merge into legends of heroes; legends of heroes merge into plots of tragedies and comedies; plots of tragedies and comedies merge into plots of more or less realistic fiction. But these are change of social context rather then literary form, and the principles of story-telling remain constant through them, though of course they adapt to them. (Frye, 1966: 51)

Frye regards modes as series of displaced myts, *mythoi* or plot-formulas, which are progressively moving towards the other pole of reality and then with irony starting to move back. In this perspective we can argue that the shift in modes in not moving mythopoeia away from myth but is actually bringing it closer to it. Jung considers myth to have withdrawn to literature, but he accepts the primacy of science; he also believes in the continued existence of traditional myths:

> Even if science has replaced myth as an explanation of events in the external world, myth continues to exist today. Minimally, myth becomes literature. Writers invoke traditional myths not to explain the world, which remains the purview of science, /.../ One step beyond the invocation of traditional myths is the updating of the symbols used in traditional myths. (Segal, 1998: 179)

Barthes, although from different perspective of semiological study of myth, also regards literature as mythical, or at least as mythical system:

> Literature is an undoubted mythical system: there is a meaning, that of the discourse; there is a signifier, which is the same discourse as form of writing; there is a signified, which is the concept of literature; there is signification, which is the literary discourse. (Barthes, 1993: 134)

Returning to Coupe's theory of five mythic paradigms (fertility myth, creation myth, myth of deliverance, hero myth and mythic literature) we can notice how works regarded as mythopoeic always use one or more of the paradigms listed. We shall focus on another theorist, Kennet Burke (in Coupe, 1997: 6-8), who developed more elaborated theory of how myths are made and how this influences all later works dealing with or recreating mythical motives. His theory derives from Aristotle's actualisation of potential,[14] which he names perfectionism, and when considering myth, we have to trace the stages by which its idea of perfection is generated and sustained. He develops five stages of myth creation:

1. some material operation to be performed;

2. involvement of strictly pragmatic use of speech;

3. desire to 'round out' the experience through story or symbolism, to charge it with significance, which finds expression in myth and ritual;

4. designation by the community of certain 'myth-man' or 'mythic-specialists' who conserve the myth and communicate the myth and supervise the ritual in their apparently pure form;

5. readers of myth, distant in time and space from its creators, might take myth to be the complete answer to their theoretical problems.

For both, the creators and readers, myth provides an approximation of totality. When reading myth we should consider both aspects of it: what it is doing and what it is saying. And when interpreting the myth, reader can decide in advance to favour one aspect of myth[15] and by doing this projects an idea of perfection onto the material that could have other functions.

Hall believes in the idea of basic family of myths and he argues that when deciphering myth by moving from its surface narrative to the structure, we reveal that completely different myths on surface reveal much resemblance and could be linked to the same constellation of basic myths. If there is limited set of mythical 'building blocks' we could combine them together and get almost an infinite number of different myths. (Hall, 1986: 71)

To illustrate Burke's theory on a historical documentary: historical event is the first step; narration of the documentary suggests it was something important, necessary and unavoidable (see the Case study in Chapter 4) is the second step; the third is importance of the event for

---

[14] A theory (called entelechy) by which realisation of actuality is opposed to potentiality. For example: a process where an acorn insists on becoming a full-grown oak. (Coupe, 1997: 6)

[15] This is similar to theoretical approaches in most of the social sciences: the definitions that fit in the explanation are favoured over the ones that do not and definitions are chosen and explained according to theorists interpretation and not necessarily of the author of the definition.

the nation or forming the nation; fourth step would be the form of documentary, produced by the well-known and trustworthy journalist; and the fifth would be airing of the documentary some years later with viewers convinced that they are watching the explanation of the events exactly as they happened.

2. 3. Mythopoeia of transition – Myth and Ideology hand in hand

"Ideological" or rhetorical use of myth derives from peaceful coexistence of myth criticism from scholars and ingenuousness of the audience. (Veyne, 1998: 65)

Mythologies of transition are the most interesting part of the history of a nation for it is in that period that all the political mythologies that existed have to reshape, vanish, re-emerge or reformulate. Transition itself means change from one state to another; mythopoeia helps to proliferate it. Other political mythologies can benefit from mythopoeia too, but we can argue that when transition is in question, mythopoeia is the most productive.

2. 3. 1. Mythology of transition – a typology

Title of Velikonja's *Masadas of the Mind* chapter on mythology of transition is self-explanatory: the future of the past. It is the old myth, which community can always rely on. Common to all transitions is the motive of dark ages of repression and hard times demand a change. In most cases transitional needs are linked with the myth of the saviour (hero myth if we use Coupe's typology). The constant critical conditions are exploited (and sustained) by the state, because such conditions enable it to create problems and solve them in its own way. Transition is always presented as an imminent move to the better.

The final stage – time after transition – will be the promised golden epoch, but the path to salvage (as it is expressed in transitional mythology) is long and full of sacrifice, fight to survive and giving up. Two extreme forms of transition are mythology of revolution and mythology of war. Everything is allowed as long as the community makes it through the dangerous period. The end justifies the means for all activities of the authorities. The fundamental quality of the society in transitional time is collectivity, which has to be organicistic – all people have to act like a huge family, a well-coordinated organism; each part

knows its role. The state starts to resemble the whole community, political group or nation and vice versa. Myth of organic unity of the nation can be abused by totalitarian states, where for the sake of good for all, radical changes are made: from eliminating politics (Franco in Spain) to inventing guided democracy (Karel, king of Romania). Transition requires infallible leadership to command joined collectivity and lead it through all the traps it sets upon them. The leadership must be unanimous; there should be no divisions inside it. Together with new politics, new symbols and colours arise.

Velikonja sees the archetype of all transitions in the passage that most clearly separates live on Earth – passage over water. New age transitions use biblical mythology (crossing of the Red sea) and antiquity history (Cesar's crossing of Rubicon) as reference to do a transition of their own. In former Yugoslavia's national liberation fight, such mythology was the escape over rivers Neretva and Sutjeska. In Slovene's mythologies, rivers Kolpa and Sotla are not only physical, but also symbolical frontiers, dividing lines from the south.

Language, the fundamental element of culture is as well affected as political and social life. Through new way of communicating new mythic conceptualisation of the existing is formed. Newspeak is invented[16] or at least neologisms, idioms, revival of death languages ... new symbols are formed inside political discourse to point out the transition, the ongoing change. Words point to the Word, actions are reasoned with the Act, events with the Event (Burke in Velikonja, 1996: 74). Propaganda discourse as a method of ideological apparatus is very direct and does not choose its methods when deceiving the people. The real war of the propaganda machinery goes on with the media and the public, foreign and domestic.

The shift from peace to war is particularly interesting. Mythology of peace regards collectivity as an oasis of peace surrounded by unavoidable fact of having neighbours. Mythology of war in contrast builds the representation of our allies and us surrounding the enemy. In war, however, forces have to confront each other and mythology can only help to motivate them by pouring more mythic fuel to their sense of collectivity. Home armies get shiny names (Spanish *Unvanquishable army*, French *Grand Armée* etc.), they all summon up mythologies of the bravery of warriors of their kin; or predict the outcomes of the battles according to national myths (British knew they lost all first battles, but won all last).

The whole transition resides on the magical adjective *new* (new order, new age etc.), but elements of new are newer alone in mythology, they are supported by allusions to the golden

age, good old times. Each myth of golden age has the same ending: since paradise lost can potentially be repeated, ideology of the big return of the blessed era of nation's history shines in all of its glory. Another tool of mythology of transition is the ability to upgrade the past. Ideology finds confirmation in past examples (Irish republican army for instance claims to draw its inspiration out of *primordial Irish tradition*).

Obsession with enemies' conspiracy theories is yet another element of mythology of transition. Similar as in old myths, where defeated monsters return to the kingdom of shadows and hibernate there, in modern transitional myths culprits for current problems become the residues of past systems: secret services, intelligence agencies etc. New systems need the fragments of the old age to have something to blame the political opponents of the current time. Velikonja compares this effort to the great witch-hunt in 16th and beginning of 17th century, among the others. Selected heroes of the nation oppose deserters from 'correct' political orientation; the fight is of mythical proportions, but it never ends. Constant tension created by this never-ending conflict sustains the atmosphere of constant capability of decisive actions, total subordination to the politics of authority, for they *know*, what they are doing; or as Dzeržinski said (in Velikonja, 1996: 80) "Holy light of terror should newer go out. People have to be afraid."

Enemy is understood to be all around. Special attention in mythology is given to the eternal enemies, who can threaten the unity of the collectivity. With external enemy, cohesion is maintained and transitional leaders make sure that people do not loose faith in their right doing. The crisis is, oxymoronically, resolved by the authorities that provoked the situation in the first place. As authorities establish highly controlled state of rumours, doubts, predictions and scenarios, it is time do start with the pre-planned steps, which in the light of current propaganda look like the only reasonable thing to do. Régime uses the generated crisis to confirm its legitimacy.

Each transition is anchored in prominent personalities. In Coupe's hero myth paradigm we've seen that archetypical solution to the problem lays in the slaying-the-dragon-rescuing-the-princess-and-humanity hero, who is exactly what is needed in the transition. As a rule, personalities in mythology of transition always emerge in pairs. Political and army hero is accompanied by events and figures form cultural life. The chosen hero, either tragic or famous, must be from epoch at least remotely similar to the current. Remembering of ancient

---

[16] George Orwell's novel 1848 sets an extreme example of such a language, which eliminates the possibility to even think against the new political system. Another example can be taken from Nazi rhetoric, which did not use

ancestors can be conflictual: when the hero also represents some vices besides virtues or is claimed by other, usually neighbouring nations. Collective imagery of important events from nation's history incorporated in epics, sages, legends and tales make up the nation's mythology. They are usually bitter and full of suffering: great famines, tragic defeats and great migrations are among a plethora of motives.

The revolution is the central form of mythology of transition. It is a rebirth of all aspects of social life. Its self-representation is the most detailed, concentrated and purified form of mythology of transition. Revolutions carry out the decisive historical rupture, which is glorified by the final battle of good against evil (usually unarmed masses against reactionary forces). The bloody outbreak of the revolution becomes mythicized point of new symbolical order. But it is founded on a contradiction, much alike trying to extinguish a fire with a can of gas: necessity of war to restore peace, shedding of blood for peaceful continuation; using force to achieve order. Heroes and martyrs of revolution form a 'circle' of myths, which are then disposed in mythical foundations of the nations. At first, they are a part of folk mythologies, becoming national through the time.

Transition itself is perceived as something necessary not because of the circumstances but because of subjective will of a group of individuals, who are capable of distracting people inasmuch that their scenario is not obvious. They make the situation and confront the people with it – something that has to be done and they (the group that caused it) are perceived as saviours, they know how to solve the problem. Interestingly, the ideological connotation is so strong, that people do not see the call to arms as a political speech but something so natural, so real – it is the only sensible thing to do since there is no other way of solving it. The language of necessity is speaking out of mythical narration and/or ideological repression, which are the most powerful when there is no sign of them. The processes started and events taken place in mythology of transition carry on their mythical character throughout mythology of order and mythology of rites. (Velikonja, 1996: 69-87)

---

conditional clauses.

2. 3. 2. Authority of the myth, dictatorship of ideology

> ... when a taxonomy is encoded in mythic form, the narrative packages a specific, contingent system of discrimination in a particularly attractive and memorable form. What is more, it naturalizes and legitimates it. Myth, then, is not just taxonomy, but *ideology* in narrative form. (Lincoln, 1999: 147)

"Ideology is a 'representation' of the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence," wrote Althusser (1999: 317) and we could compare his definition of ideology with understanding of myth as a means of giving structure to the human thoughts, helping them understand their existence in universe, or as Velikonja (1996: 21-2) puts it: "(mythology) creates social connections, consolidates authority, sanctions existing order." and furthermore "mythology is an established holistic view on the well-regulated world, the most important reality, which is rooted in unquestionable dogmas and orientations."

When myth and ideology go hand in hand, some of the fundamental principles of myth have to be altered. Instead of looking to the past to resolve a current problem as in classical myth, ideological myth looks into the future. The undertaken ideological project determines past and present, as ideology mobilises scientific and objective positions on the matter and confronts them. Kolakowski defines ideology as conquer myth, which not only controls the society from outside, but maintains stability with constant tension, fight and threat.

Mythology and ideology are not contradictory and are not successive concepts in human evolution:

> Myth and ideology cohabitate and round up each other's meaning: the former offers the latter an unquestionable origin and matrix, the latter feels called to develop those two in "right" direction; former opens, latter answers and constantly closes; former burdens, latter liberates. Connected they form the whole mythology, mythical system of a certain society. (Velikonja, 1996: 24-5)

Myth's connection to history serves as a reference to ideology, which uses both historical facts and mythical stories. Myth is fundamental to the society, not only for providing support to the society with explanation of the ontological questions, value creation and maintaining social bonds. Analogy of myth and ideology relationship can be presented with seed and soil. Myth, being the soil, serves as a basis of ideology, being the seed. All sorts of seeds can fall on the soil and some will grow, others will not. The potential value of mythology is great,

especially because of myth's nature as an unfinished story, which has to be explained, filled-in and rationalised by every succeeding generation. Myth is not interpreted or explained away; myth is lived. Ideology takes place of the filling and writes the end of the sacred story over and over again, like on the palimpsest.

Myths and ideology incorporated in the mythology of the nation provide a complex system of representations, beliefs and symbols – all of which build this nation's self-image. The contradictions in current environment of the nations are resolved by using analogies with great ancestors (important part of mythology of transition), which can be identified in the primal myth. (Velikonja, 1996: 23-6)

Hall shares the idea of reinterpretation of myth with help of ideology, but includes the media. He argues that "classificatory schemes of a society /.../ could therefore be said to consist of ideological elements or premises" (1986: 72). The formulations produced in the society would tend to be ideological precisely because of the foundation they were built on – a limited ideological matrix. The broadcasters may without knowing reproduce the ideological conceptions of the society, similar to the myth-teller's unawareness of the nature of basic elements he uses to generate his version of myth. Veron (in Hall, 1986: 71) defines ideology as "a system of semantic rules to generate messages," and Hall compares grammar to ideology: the former as subconscious rules of speaking; the latter as unconscious usage of ideological framework and classifying schemes of society in statements. The media help to reproduce the dominant ideologies even though they claim to be independent. Claiming to be free from direct influence of the politics, they "present partial explanations of the events as if they were comprehensive and adequate" (Hall, 1986: 86). Hall also argues that ideology of the broadcasters in not rooted only in the way they are representing the reality, but also in the formal protocols that govern the broadcasting, and the type of the state, which licences them. The questions asked in common interest and the 'logical' conclusions compatible with dominant interests in society might seem as independent work, but ideology is hidden deeper: it is a function of the discourse and obeys the logic of social processes rather than being sole intention of the broadcaster. The broadcasters so unwillingly function as supporters of the dominant ideology, whether they know it or not. (Hall, 1986: 87-8)

Modern mythology consists of two parts: traditional and new. Traditional part is mythical tradition of the past and new part is ideological charge that carries here-and-now principle. Mythical part is already known and present all the time; ideological is learned. Whenever old myths have to be awaken, it is the considered impulse of the ruling minority who decides

whether it is time to act (this is the *something-has-to-be-done* impulse in transitional mythology); by doing this they also open possibilities of expression of the ancient myth in modern form (for example fight for independence). There always have to be both parts present: 'internal' myth and 'external' ideology. Traditional myth is poetic and ideology tries to politicise it by exploiting myth's open ended, unfinished story to fill-in the gaps and present itself even as a fulfilment. Mythology is the knowledge of the leading elite and the behaviour of the masses. (Velikonja, 1996: 26-30)

We cannot write the complete definition of myth and ideology, but from the number of attempts mentioned, Barthes's is the most universal, although the least specific:

> This is the case with mythology: it is a part both of semiology inasmuch as it is a formal science, and of ideology inasmuch as it is an historical science: in studies ideas-in-form. (Barthes, 1993: 112)

3. The method

> In the period of violent and current history (i.e. between world wars and cold war) myth as imaginary content has overwhelmed film. This is the golden age of the great resurrection of despots and legends. Exiled from real with aggressiveness of history, Myth found its shelter in film. (Baudrillard, 1999:57)

The method used in this work is critical reading of the analysed documentary's narration and choice of picture and sound to reveal elements of ideology. Textual analysis has two goals: to reveal mythopoeia (elements of myths in narration) and eventual ideological elements connected to mythopoeic elements.

3. 1. Revealing mythopoeia

To reveal mythopoeic elements we have to decipher documentary text and search for repetitions of mythic paradigms. In this work, we will focus on mythopoeia of transition, searching for the elements outlined in chapter 2. 3. We will try to place the identified paradigms in the historical perspective and try to find the 'mother' myth out of which specific paradigms emerged. Velikonja's study of contemporary Slovene mythological self-perception and self-construction (1996: 171-88) will serve as a staring point of analysis.

Ideological elements will be analysed together with mythopoeia of transition and ideas of Slovene politicians at that time (national programme, millennial dreams of Slovene nation to be independent etc.).

3. 2. Analysing documentary

Selected narration parts of the documentary were analysed. Together with researching the meaning of the text (the search for mythopoeia and ideology) visual and audible analysis of the documentary was done. Typology of cuts from Rabiger, definition of ideological editing from Martin and Chion's relationships of image and sound will served as a basis of analysis.

3. 2. 1. Typology of cuts and ideological editing

Table 3. 1. contains Rabiger's typology of cuts assembled from two early Russian editing theorists, Pudovkin and Eisenstein:

Table 3. 1.: Typology of juxtapositions (or cuts) preferred by Pudovkin (1-5) and Eisenstein (6-12)

	Shot A	Shot B	Shot B in relation to A	Type of cut
1	Woman descends interior stairway	Same woman walking in street	Narrates her progress	**Structural** (builds scene)
2	Man runs across busy street	Close shot of his shoelace coming undone	Makes us anticipate his falling in front of a vehicle	**Structural** (directs our attention to significant detail)
3	Hungry street person begging from doorway	Wealthy man eating oysters in expensive restaurant	Places one person's fate next to another's	**Relational** (creates contrast)
4	Bath filling up	Teenager in bathrobe on phone in bedroom	Shows two events happening at the same time	**Relational** (parallelism)
5	Exhausted boxer takes knockout punch	Bullock killed with a stun-gun in an abattoir	Suggests boxer is a sacrificial victim	**Relational** (symbolism)
6	Police waiting at road block	Shabby van driving erratically at high speed	Driver doesn't know what he's going to soon meet	**Conflictual** (still vs. dynamic)
7	Giant earth-moving machine at work	Ant moving between blades of grass	Microcosm and macrocosm coexist	**Conflictual** (conflict of scale)
8	Geese flying across frame	Water plummeting at Niagara falls	Forces flowing in different directions	**Conflictual** (conflict of graphic direction)
9	Screen-filling close-up of face, teeth clenched	Huge Olympic stadium, line of runners poised for pistol start	The one among the many	**Conflictual** (conflict of scale)
10	Dark moth resting on white curtains	Flashlight emerging out of dark forest	Opposite elements	**Conflictual** (dark vs. light)
11	Girl walks into funfair	Distorted face appears in funfair mirror	The original and its reflection	**Conflictual**
12	Driver sees cyclist in his path	In slow motion driver screams and swings steering wheel	Event and its perception	**Conflictual** (real time vs. perceived time)
13	Driver gets out of disabled car	Same image, car in foreground, driver walking as a tiny figure in distance	Transition – some time has gone by	**Jump cut**

Source: Rabiger, 1998: 58

Pudovkin advocates structural approach, gradually building his story to the paramount, while Eisenstein prefers contradictory approach (which is quite common in documentary) for its presumably greater influence on the viewer. Eisenstein's principle was to assemble the shots which would as much argue as inform. (Rabiger, 1998: 57-9)

In documentary production, conflictual shots are often used when trying to put someone on a lie or confront one statement with another. The common example would be a police officer statement: "We are almost 100 % sure he killed her; the evidence ..." and the next shot would be an interview with forensic expert saying: "Although the police thought the suspect was almost certainly guilty, the DNA test showed that he was not the one." With conflictual technique we achieve greater attention among the viewers (contradictory statements provoke reflection), especially if we use footage of opposite meaning over a statement (football fan saying that the police started the fight while the footage shows fans throwing objects into the police).

Use of contradictory material can be controversial in cases, when we use footage that does not relate to the event the interviewee or narrator is talking about (showing footage of different fans or even game, when one of them is explaining what happened, for instance). Structural and relational approach can also be controversial and morally questionable when changing the order of the events as they happened or relating some events to others with connotation of similarity (comparing rally of a political party with Hitler's conventions would be one extreme).

Ideological editing has to be understood as an upgrade of technical conventions that govern the editing process. Killborn and Izod (1997: 89-9) argue that the majority of documentaries get their real shape no sooner than in the editing room where the director and editor decide which footage out of hours of filmed material will be used. When editing the documentary some statements that would previously not be included might serve as a great conflictual element or vice versa. They suggest the analysis of rhythm of editing to determine which effect did the filmmaker want to achieve. Martin (1963: 82-5) defines rhythmic editing as fundamental, technical form of editing and describes it as metrical appearance depending on the length of the shot, determined by the level of psychological interest agitated by content. Chartier determines the sense of rhythm in film in detail:

> The shot is not comprehended the same from beginning to end. At first we recognize it and localize it; we could call that *exposition*. Next, the *moment of highest attention* sets in grasping the meaning and signification of the shot. This is a gesture, word or a move, adding to the development of the act. Then *attention reduces*, if the shot still lasts it creates a moment of *boredom and impatience*. When each shot is cut exactly in the moment when attention diminishes, we will be tense all the time and we will say that the film has rhythm. (in Martin, 1963: 82; stress added)

Ideological editing denotes a consecutive series of shots that mediate a specific point of view to the viewer, emotion or thought. Connotation derived from the series of shots is nested in the relationships between the two juxtaposed shots. Martin distinguishes five different relations: time (simultaneity, future), place (closer and closer shot of an house), cause (a person rises his head, we see and hear a phone ringing), consequence (soldier shoots, another soldier falls) and parallelism. The last is namely ideological editing. The progression of shots does not imply any scientific or directly explainable relation; the connection is formed in the viewer's head and he can decide whether to believe it or not. Parallelism has two forms: similarity (workers shot to death– slaughtered livestock; this is similar to Pudovkin's relational symbolic cut) and contrast (wheat thrown in the sea – starved child; this is similar to Pudovkin's relational contrast cut). (Martin, 1963: 85-6)

3. 2. 2. Image-sound relationship

Theories of editing are predominantly concerned with image, rarely they give more attention to the sound. One of the reasons is the nature of the sound – its continuity makes it impossible to dissect it into basic units as we can dissect film into shots. And while a transition between two shots is rather easy to spot, only a very attentive viewer will notice a cut in sound. Chion (1986: 7) explains the difference with approaches to image and sound: image is a part of the discourse while sound is part of something un-spoken, un-named; image is associated with day, sound with night; image creates discontinuity and music creates continuity over this discontinuity.

The reasons are partly in the history of film, its beginnings were silent and even though recording devices existed in that time nobody used them since it was almost impossible to edit sound (recorded on a plate, a cylinder or in a spiral). Another set of reasons could be socio-economical, cultural and ideological: in contrast with image, sound was immediately something that could not be cut apart.

The basic relationship of image and sound lays it its status: image is linked with the subject itself, sound is sensed as sound of something, of 'vaporizing' quality and not as a subject. Images are interpreted while looking at them; sound is immediately interpreted and we rarely name the sounds, as we name images. Shots are invented units, specific to film and no other visual-narrative arts know or use this basic unit (opera, theatre, comic books ...). Interpretation

of sounds depends on the type of sound (it is a speech we decipher it, if it is something else we attribute it to a source) and these categories are based on our daily experience and are not specific to film.

Editing of the sound is inferior to the editing of the picture,[17] it presents added value to the picture and it fills the emptiness of images and between them. Music acts as cement used to stick images together. The cut of two images is more obvious if it is done together with music, but if music is continuous in the background, cut is much nicer. Millar and Reizs call the process of sound overlapping the cuts "smoothness" in film (in Chion, 1986: 14). Inferiority of the sound to the image is evident when they are synchronic. In this case sound is totally subordinated to the space-time dictated by the images. But when not directly linked to the events on screen, sound can overcome the limits of the screen to which the images are trapped. Shots are like cups that can be filled to a certain level, sound can go over that level. This is particularly evident in news reporting, where the sound (in this instance the speech) is the basic of information and the images are just there to show something in most of the cases. Chion thus calls television "illustrated radio", as the word absolutely governs the perception of images and regardless of their individual value connects them together. (Chion, 1986: 7 - 18)

Two natures of sound can be found in film production: one is the uniting function of sound (music, atmosphere noise, international tone, sound effects) which helps create a smooth flow of the film; the other is the authoritative function introduced by speech, which dictates the order of the images and adds much greater informational value to the pictures. The former function of sound helps the images become poetic; with latter it is the images that help the sound.

Babac (2000: 376) lists five different editing techniques for editing sound with image. First is parallel editing where sound is exactly what images shows us, with the cut, sound also changes. Second is Retrospective editing where sounds of the past mix with sounds of the present (for instance old lady singing along an old record). Analogy editing is used when sound is the only connection between two scenes, antithesis editing combines two contradictory sounds (singing, grinding the teeth), and in light motive editing sound is used to mark a specific transition (easy music when character remembers his past)

---

[17] Chion refers mainly to film production here, where sounds are recorded later; today all music videos and most of the production, which involves music are edited by first recording the sound and adding picture later.

4. Case study

4. 1. Why fight for independence analysis?

When a nation is deciding to enter a new, most commonly independent era, transition has to occur. In this period, as we have outlined in the previous chapters, the strongest mythologies are (re)created for nation to overcome the situation in which 'it was pushed'. From the emergence of television on, this medium provided a new means of propaganda that was constantly abused by the leading political elite (and still is – CNN's trailers of war on terror, Yugoslav anti-NATO clips etc.) or other groups trying to make a point.

Fight for independence is such a turning point in nation's history that people forgive almost everything to the leadership, which will take them to prosperity. All transitions, regardless of the cause, are linked with ancient myths, which will now come true. Millennial dreams of nations are turning into reality, as the transitional machinery is set into motion.

4. 1. 1. Selection of topic

Slovenia's fight for independence was no exception. Slovenes were on their way to the independence, so long awaited in new national mythology. Common interpretation – finally we will be masters on our own land, no longer serfs on the foreign land – was one of the basic elements of the explanation for the independent state. Another element of transitional mythology – it has to be done now and here – was also very present; theory of the only reasonable thing to do has proven right to the masses when army of the Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia moved out of the barracks and occupied Slovene land.

The 'final liberation' is the victory of cosmos over chaos. European order is supposed to replace the Balkan chaos and replace unpredictability with systematism. Inevitability of separation was of course ideological. Current mythological situation in Slovenia is torn apart; other half of the glorified independence is the remembering of the dark ages of the past. The way to go is thus limited again to only one choice: "from lobby of the hell on south /.../ to other lobby of the *peacefull, developed* world of (*Central*) *Europe*" (Velikonja, 1996: 183).

4. 1. 2. Selection of documentary film

Slovenija na barikadah (*Slovenia on barricades*) was produced in July 1991 by the information programme of the Slovene public television (TV Slovenija). Lado Ambrožič did selection of footage, reports and narration. Materials used in the documentary have been already broadcasted on TV Slovenija either as complete stories or just footage; some was shot by amateurs who were at the right time at the right place. Documentary also includes reports from foreign news stations (Sky News, CNN and TV Beograd). It was broadcasted in July 1991 on TV Slovenija and is available on videotape from TV Slovenija record company.

Slovenija na barikadah was selected because of its proximity to the events. Production was completed less then a month after the war has ended and it still shows great emotional involvement of all the creators (narrator, domestic journalists). Transitional mythologies are still very alive and the critical distance to the dark past has not yet been established, so the narration truly shows a lot of elements of mythopoeia of transition. Even though there is not a lot of narration in it, this documentary is a resourceful mythopoeic example of the Slovene transitional period.

4. 2. Textual analysis

4. 2. 1. Film as a whole

Slovenija na barikadah is particularly interesting documentary from two points: it was produced not even a month after the last event mentioned in happened and it uses only material, shot for the purposes of daily info programme. No additional interviews were conducted or additional material shot. Some of the material was shot with amateur cameras, shaky footage somehow attributes to the 'real' feeling when watching it, but most of the material was shot by professionals, attributing to the overall quality of the documentary.

Music is used very wisely. Even though there are only three types of music (Slovene national anthem and celebration music from the declaration of independence celebration, the string motive and the drum motive), the atmosphere is build up when it is used. In the beginning when danger (or devastation, breach of freedom ...) is expressed with music, orchestral music produces great tension an keeps the viewer interested throughout the

sequence. And when Slovene forces' successful actions are introduced the drum motive brings up positive feelings. Music is always used as 'glue' to hold together the edited material, one of the nicest examples is analysed in Table 8. 4. (shots [1], [2] and [3]), where dramatic and slightly frightening orchestra music counteracts the enthusiastic music from the declaration of independence ceremony (Table 8. 2. and 8. 3.).

Statements of the politicians are mainly used to argument the narration, but three statements in particularly stand out of this scheme: Blagoje Ađić's (57:18 - 59:44), Veljko Kadijevič's (1:05:28 - 1:06:21) and Slobodan Milošević's (1:06:31 - 1:08:01). All three are used at the end of the documentary, when viewer has a firm position on the events that took place. Function of these statements in not to support the narration but to point out how terribly wrong impressions were tried to be given by the high Yugoslav army officials and politicians about the situation in Slovenia. Such usage of statements points to the use of ideology in assembling the documentary, for it is one of the ways to discredit somebody if you use his statement as an absurdity. Even though the statements were misleading (and their ideological apparatus was working as well hence the content of their statements), the way they are used makes them absurd, contradictory to everything we've seen in the past hour of the documentary. Statements from both army officers also show great indoctrination. Both have pointed out how the Slovenes criminally attacked the by standing JLA and most importantly that the reason for current situation is betrayal inside JLA. Individuals have surrendered the whole units and this tragically contributed to the great loss JLA has suffered.

Statements of the civilians are used to express disgust on the JLA actions, mainly used as inserts between narrations. Strong emotions are expressed and empathy is provoked in the viewer (for instance a man in his 30s is crying because he served the army that is attacking now etc.). International reports on the crisis in Yugoslavia from ORF, Sky news and CNN are used to support the narration for additional credibility.

Documentary is organized in three parts. First covers the independence celebration, the second first days of war and the third efforts made to solve the situation on national, federal and international level. Because it was finished in July 1991, no additional information could have been added and so the ending leaves the viewer wondering on how the young country made its way into the international community.

Narration is not predominantly ideological, but closer analysis (see Chapter 4. 2. 2.) shows that certain elements of narration and editing reveal elements of mythology of transition and

are ideological in their essence. Selected parts of narration are analysed below, together with image-sound relationship. Analysis tables are included in the Appendix B.

4. 2. 2. Selected details

4. 2. 2. 1. Opening narration

(Analysis is in Table 8. 2.)

Opening narration is the most exemplary part of the synergy of combining narration, image and sound. Basic element of all transitions – change of the symbols – is the main visual topic, which, supported by narration, demonstrates the change. Conflictual cut used here symbolises the past (old Slovene flag descending in background) and bright future (huge Slovene flag ascends in foreground, filling almost whole frame). Despite the value of the new symbols, narration presents it as merely a formality, after the parliament decided to support the choice for independence. In next cut, which superimposes flag over the masses of people gathered on the Republic Square, yet another motive from transitional mythology is used – we stand united, going into the bright future. Value of the new flag is emphasised again, this time with low camera angle that substantially changes the perspective, showing the flag in all its glory. Continuity is established with new Slovene national anthem, adding to the combination of narration and images.

Another corpus of mythology is present in the beginning of the documentary – mythology of ritual activities. Even though ritual activities normally follow transitional period, they also mark the beginnings of transitions, as they are distinct in value, place and time from other activities. In our case, the selection of place and time is well thought, as is the value of the ceremony – once in a lifetime event, Slovenia is declaring its independence after centuries of serfdom. Places where such events happen become more important; each year the ritual activity of celebrating independence is held at that exact place where it first took place (Velikonja, 1996: 88-98).

4. 2. 2. 2. After president's speech

(Analysis is in Table 8. 3.)

Narration moves forward to explain the consequences of the decision to be independent, but images are building the story of national pride further, by showing Triglav, another

symbol, which has in contrast to the new flag, been with Slovenes for a long time. Indeed, natural environment and its particularities are basis for national mythology.

While the first part shows ongoing celebrations, in the second ([3] and [4]), conflictual cuts reveal the move towards problems. First the cut from flowing fireworks to the still flag, which creates a sort of a stop and then suddenly, the flag is replaced by the extremely loud noise and image of tank driving towards the viewer. The cut is emphasised by discontinuation of music, shocking the viewer by introducing a contradictory element.

The title of the movie is shown after this narration, which serves as a bridge from celebration to war the next day.

4. 2. 2. 3. Waking up in war

(Analysis is in Table 8. 4.)

While narration discloses that the plans for current actions have been prepared for a while, images tell us the story of progressing tanks, driving through Slovenia, moving and removing barricades ... Narration uses special language (The war has begun, The army has been sent out to subdue the most creative part of the Yugoslav formation) to set up a relation to the aggressor (Armada, which should be here only to protect us ...). This negative relation in enriched with bystander's statement that he is ashamed he served this army.

After the statement, strong ideological narration follows. Images show people revolting and throwing rocks; an ordinary city bus stopped unstoppable tanks, at least for a short time. Narration informs us: "The fight for communications has begun, the fight for each feet of Slovene state. The fight for freedom, for honour and time." Together with this sentence orchestra music begins to play. This introduces the here-and-now paradigm of the supposedly only choice the leading elite had in this critical moment. The decision was made, now we have to do everything we can to get through this period to live freely and happily ever after.

Next shot is interesting – however inspiring the narration was, ran-over civilian car on a road near Ljubljana symbolises the apparent absurdity of resistance and showing the brutality of the army towards civilians in general.

4. 2. 2. 4. Resistance

(Analysis is in Table 8. 5. and 8. 6.)

The mighty power of the Yugoslav army has not lasted long. The main paradigm of the narration here is the choice of the people. The only reasonable explanation (for the narrator) of

such an abrupt breakdown of the massive army is the resistance of the people, Slovene army and police. The contrast of images makes a point: we've been watching enemy tanks and now we see two ordinary soldiers, each with a gun and a rocket launcher. The result of a battle on a bridge serves as a symbol of what is the aggressor's army turning into – "a pile of old iron".

The last part builds a visual story with army removing barricades set up by civilians, while narration informs us of the ill-minded belief of the Yugoslav army that there will be no resistance in Slovenia. Another ideological element is present here: the leaders knew what will happen and were very prepared for the military actions of the JLA, hence the quick response of the 'people', Slovene army and police and impotence of the JLA. It is about making belief that the people did this; that it is their victory and narration persuades us that if it were not for the ordinary people, the resistance would have never been so successful.

Narration of the next analysed segment supports this thesis (Table 8. 7.) – summary of the first day of war is presented. First part concentrates on civilians disarming a tank and Slovene policemen actively in positions, ready to fight. Narration reveals that it has been obvious (it is presented as if it were obvious the first day that the home army is victorious – another ideological element), that the JLA did not expect such a resistance. Rhetorical figure of repetition is used to stress the enemy's mistake of not anticipating the resistance. However, when this part of narration begins, images of civilians are replaced by shots of Slovene policemen in full fighting outfit, holding position. The cut from dynamic to static shot when the repetition is narrated creates a contrast and supports the narration.

4. 2. 2. 5. Aggressor is brought to its knees

(Analysis is in Table 8. 7. and 8. 8.)

Images of wounded JLA soldiers and soldiers surrendering denote the collapse of their morale, Slovene soldiers have taken things into control, enemy is disabled. Use of adjectives in narration adds another ideological connotation to it. Mocking the army of the aggressor is one of the basic elements of upbringing the morale of home army in time of war and building mythology of transition after the war. No matter how strong the army was, resourcefulness of home army proved to be the key to victory. Drum music is present in both of the analysed parts.

Second analysed part (Table 8. 8.) introduces yet another element – abandonment of the international community, serving as a basis of the hero myth paradigm. Even though international community gave moral support, "Slovenia, its armed forces and civilians" were

left alone on the battlefields. The value of home victory would without doubt be diminished if international forces would intervene and help Slovenia achieve victory. In this instance, the leading elite establishes a motive of good leadership, which by synergy of all three elements (the state, the army and the people) brought peace. And by this motive they argument the need for them to take the people into bright independent future for it is they who guided them to final victory. Ideologically, this moment is similar to the 1945 victory of the Yugoslav forces over Germany. There too, communist leaders established Liberation Front with Partisans as its troops earlier and took over the leadership of the country when the enemy was defeated.

4. 2. 2. 6. Final thought

(Analysis is in Table 8. 9.)

The last fade symbolises the title of the documentary. President Kučan's (who knew what JLA was planning) statement, that today we can dream, tomorrow is another day, is used to symbolise the transition, which was hopefully quick. "Time for dreams has not come yet," bright future still awaits; the transition is not over yet.

5. Conclusion

The hypothesis of transitional mythology infiltrating as the higher truth in documentary narrative has proven to be only halfway right. Because of ideological proportions of documentary film, which lie far beyond the this-is-how-it-happened narration, typical for documentary production, higher truth as represented in transitional mythology, is not expressed directly in narration. When analysing all three elements: narration, image and sound, much more connotations can be read from the documentary. Ideology, analysed here through mythology of transition, is not thrown into viewers face, it is rather build as a credible story, supported by statements and narration. Its hidden power, its main strength is in juxtaposing different sound bites, short statements and fragments of footage that connote something far from the obvious narration. As we have seen in this particular case, the power of narration lies in persuading the viewer that something happened in a certain way and then consolidating its position with a conflictual statement, which sounds so absurd, that the viewer believes the story the narrator told him, regardless of the new facts he learned. Ideology in narration is hidden exactly in the juxtaposition of the narration of 'truth' and narration of 'lies'. If we would take shots from the same documentary, put Ađić's and Kadijević's statements at the beginning and edit the images to support their point of view, we would get different, no less ideological perspective on the situation.

Mythological elements present in the documentary, bound with ideology (we have already established, that myth is nothing but a palimpsest, serving the impetus of current ideology) present themselves as pure truth. We do not doubt that the decision to be independent is right, but it brought war and destruction – only ideology is capable of convincing the people that it was the only reasonable thing to do. Mythopoeia of transition, present in cultural artefacts of the nation, makes sure that the memory of the transition is positive. Ideology joins here for it is exactly the comparison with old dark ages, we left behind, that constructs the illusion of the bright future we are living now. A belief, that we enjoy the current state and would pick the same, if we had a choice. But the brightness slowly fades and new transition is inevitable – forgetting that current state was something it fought for in last transition, ideology, assisted by mythology, turns it into something that has to be changed. Again. Narration of transitional documentary films helps establishing the 'right' view – this is why documentaries of previous transitions seem so distant, exaggerated and unreal.

6. Povzetek

V diplomskem delu se ukvarjamo z dvema navidez nepovezanima področjema: z dokumentarnim filmom in političnimi mitologijami, natančneje mitologijami prehoda. Namen dela je ugotoviti, na kako se ideologija odraža v naraciji dokumentarnega filma. Analiza primera je narejena na dokumentarnem filmu Slovenija na barikadah, izdelanega julija 1991 v produkciji TV Slovenija.

Dokumentarni film smo definirali kot neigrani film, za katerega je uporabljena resnična snov (npr. zgodovinski dogodek) in v katerem ni izmišljenih elementov (rekonstrukcij in dodatkov k znanim zgodovinskim dejstvom). Kot osnovna načina razlikovanja med različnimi vrstami (žanri, načini) dokumentarnih filmov sta obravnavani teorija poetičnih funkcij dokumentarnega filma Michaela Renova in teorija načinov, ki v nasprotju z žanri niso vezani na vsebino ampak na formo, dokumentarnih filmov Richarda Kilborna in Johna Izoda.

Pri definiciji mita smo se osredotočili na Barthesov semiotični model mita in Coupeovo teorijo mita kot kulturnega artefakta, ki ga imenuje mitopoetika. Mitopoetika nadgrajena s političnimi mitologijami, natančneje mitologijami prehoda, za potrebe tekstualne analize dokumentarnega filma. V teorijo ideologije je mit vključen kot njen palimpsest, podvržen trenutnim impulzom ideologije, ki ga izrablja za svoj namen. Ideologija je razumljena v Althusserjevem smislu, kot reprezentacija posameznikovih namišljenih odnosov do njihovega resničnega obstoja.

Izhodišče diplomskega dela, da se mitologije prehoda ustoličijo kot višje resnice v dokumentarnih filmih, drži le delno, saj naracija, vsaj v analiziranem primeru, ni neposredno ideološka, pač pa se ideološkost vzpostavi šele ob vzajemnem učinku slike, zvoka in naracije. Analizirani dokumentarni film uporablja namesto neposrednega načina upovedovanja izjave, ki jih zoperstavi svoji poprejšnji naraciji. Ker kot gledalci verjamemo (ali pa se nam vsaj zdi bolj verjetno kot karkoli drugega) povedanemu, se nam uporabljene izjave zdijo smešne, absurdne, toda v tistem trenutku smo že sprejeli ideološki naboj poprejšnje naracije.

Ideologija je v naraciji dokumentarnega filma vsekakor prisotna. Ni omejena le na eksplicitno navajanje določenih 'resnic', ampak je razširjena tudi na montažo in glasbo.

7. Literature and sources

Althusser, Louis (1999) Ideology and ideological state apparatuses: notes towards an investigation. In Evans, Jessica and Hall, Stuart (ed.) *Visual culture: the reader*, 317-23. London: Sage.

Babac, Marko (2000) *Jezik montaže pokretnih slika*. Beograd and Novi Sad: Clio.

Baudrillard, Jean (1999) *Simulaker in simulacija, Popoln zločin*. Ljubljana: ŠOU (Koda).

Barthes, Roland (1993) *Mythologies*. London: Vintage.

Campbell, Joseph (1991) *The Masks of God: Creative Mythology*. London: Penguin Compass.

Chion, Michel (1987) Zvok in montaža v filmu. In Vrdlovec, Zdenko, (ed.) *Montaža: izbor predavanj z jesenske filmske šole*, 7-19. Ljubljana: Revija Ekran.

Coupe, Laurence (1997) *Myth*. London and New York: Routledge.

Doty, William G. (2000) *Mythography: The Study of Myths and Rituals*. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press.

Eliade, Mircea (1970) *Mit i zbilja*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

Eliade, Mircea (1987) *The Sacred and the profane: The nature of religion*. San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt.

Erjavec, Karmen (1998) *Koraki do kakovostnega novinarskega prispevka*. Ljubljana: Jutro.

Frye, Northrop (1966) *Anatomy of criticism: Four essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hall, Stuart (1986) The rediscovery of 'ideology': return of the repressed in media studies. In Gurevitch, M., Bennet, T., Curran, J. and Woollacott, J. (ed.) *Culture, society and the media*, 56-90. London: Routledge.

Kilborn, Richard and Izod, John (1997) *An Introduction to Television Documentary: Confronting reality*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Lincoln, Bruce (1999) *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scolarship.* Chichago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Marcel, Martin (1963) *Filmski jezik*. Ljubljana: Mladinska Knjiga.

Nešovič, Branimir and Prunk, Janko (1994) *20. stoletje: zgodovina za 8. razred osnovne šole*. Ljubljana: DZS.

Rabiger, Michael (1998) *Directing the Documentary: third edition*. Boston: Focal press.

Renov, Michael, ed. (1993a) *Theorizing Documentary*. New York and London: Routledge.

Renov, Michael (1993) Toward a Poetics of Documentary. In Renov, Michael (ed.) *Theorizing Documentary*, 12-36. New York and London: Routledge.

Rosenthal, Alan, ed. (1999) *Why Docudrama? Fact-Fiction on Film and TV*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.

Segal, Robert A. (1998) *Jung on Mythology*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Velikonja, Mitja (1996) *Masade duha: razpotja sodobnih mitologij*. Ljubljana: Sophia.

Veyne, Paul (1998) *So Grki verjeli v svoje mite?* Ljubljana: *cf.

Winston, Brian (1993) The documentary Film as Scientific Inscription. In Renov, Michael (ed.) *Theorizing Documentary*, 37-57. New York and London: Routledge.

————————————

Documentary film:

Ambrožič, Lado (1991) *Slovenija na barikadah*. Ljubljana: TV Slovenija.

8. Appendices

Apendix A – Symbols used in textual analysis

Diagram 8. 1.: Typology of cuts with symbols
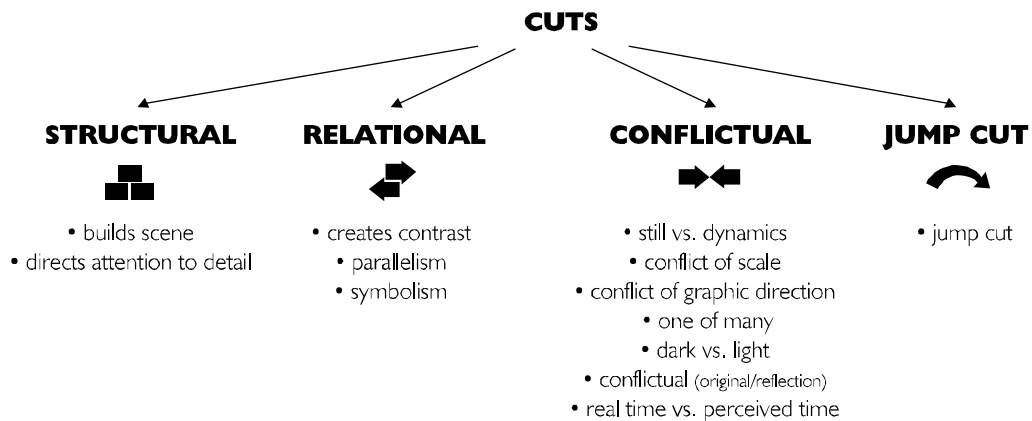
Source: adapted from Rabiger, 1998: 58

Appendix B – Textual analysis tables

Tables for analysis consist of five fields (see below). First field (narration) is a transcription of the text, second (image) explains what we see and third (sounds) explains what we hear. Vertical alignment of the image and sound fields shows the timing of the described events according to the narration. The bottom line consists of the type of cut and explanation, what does the cut regarding the narration, image and sound mean.

Table 8. 1.: Explanation of the fields

Narration	Image	Sound
Type of cut (F = fade)	*Explanation*	

Time code of the analysed part is in brackets by the title. In the type of cut field a pictogram from Diagram 8 presents the type of cut, subtype is written below.

When fade to is used instead of a clear cut, F is written by the pictogram. Additional explanation is in the brackets (if the fade is slow or if it is done just half-way, superimposing the current shot on the next). Explanation consists of the analysis of cut and mythological connotation (in separate paragraph marked by >). Table also contains the next shot, following the end of narration for purposes of pointing out the continuation; the cut is not analysed.

Table 8. 2.: Opening narration (1:11 - 1:50)

Narration Type of cut (F = fade)	Image Explanation	Sound
1 26. junija 1991 je pred slovenskim parlamentom zaplapolala zastava nove in suverene države	old Slovene flag with a red star descends and is at the bottom of the pole	Slovene national anthem begins to play
▶◀ F conflict of scale	Old flag in the background in replaced by the new in the foreground. Conflict of scale clearly denotes the importance of the latter. > In transition, new symbols, which represent the rebirth of the nation are formed. This shift is supported with the new Slovene national anthem. The text also stresses the new symbolic as the indication of a new era.	
2 Slovenije. Zamenjava starih simbolov z novo slovensko zastavo in grbom je bila le še formalnost po tistem, ko je parlament, dan poprej,	Slovene flag in foreground slowly ascends the flag pole	cont.
◀ F (superimposition) symbolism	Rising of the flag is superimposed over the gathered crowd on the square. The flag is a symbol of all the Slovenes, they are going to live under one flag. > In mythology of transition, people stand united (as they are on the shot underneath the flag)	
3 sprejel in razglasil ustavni zakon za spremembo temeljne ustavne listine o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti republike Slovenije	people gather on the Republic square, appaluding	cont. applause in the background volume of the anthem increases as the narration ends
◀ F creates contrast	The flag is filmed from below, showing it as a huge symbol, background in dark blue sky (whic could symbolise freedom). Contrast is created because of the obvoius change of shooting angle. > The symbol is one of the elements, which will lead Slovens to prosperity.	
4	Slovene flag on top of the flag pole, filmed from below	anthem ends, people are applauding
/		
5 *Speech of Milan Kučan*	cont. Milan Kučan speaking	

Table 8. 3.: After Kučan's speech (2:23 - 3:16)

|		
1 Kaj bo prinesel jutrišnji dan? Nekatere poteze Zvezne vlade in armade že na dan same razglasitve Slovenske samostojnsoti so bile vse prej kot prijazne. Zvezna uprava za kontrolo letenja je dala zapreti vsa tri naša letališča, vojska pa je razkazovala svojo moč na mejnih prehodih in v zraku.	crowd on the square, superimposed fireworks from the top of the Iskra building; time is clearly seen (21:48)	inspiring music, lovers when narration begins
▶◀ F parallelism	Fireworks indicate the greatness of the moment, people in background show how everybody is in favour of the independence. In the meantime some people decided to celebrate the independence on the highest mountain, we perceive this cut as something that is happening at the same time, parallel to the events in the capital city. > In national mythology, natural environment, landscape of the nation plays a great role. Velikonja (1996: 185) describes it as almost adornment of geographical image of the country. Triglav has already been used in Slovene national symbols.	

2	Najbolj nevarnih pri slovenskem odhodu iz Jugoslavije naj bi bilo, vsaj po teoriji, prvih 48 ur.	people on Triglav with torches by the Slvene flag, fixed to the Aljažev stolp, the highest point of Slovenija (slight slow motion, filmed from a helicopter), fireworks are still superimposed, but a different kind (falling stars)	cont.
	⬅ F Parallelism	We move back to the Republic square to see the ongoing celebration.	
3		same fireworks (people on Triglav fade away)	cont.
	➡⬅ F still vs. dynamics	While fireworks are falling from the building, flag stands there peacefully.	
4		Slovene flag	cont.
	➡⬅ still vs. dynamics	A short shot of the flag is abruptly interrupted by the image of a tank driving down the road, accompanied by the loud noise. > By juxtaposing the flag to the tank, we realise that army is not defending Yugoslavia from Slovenia, but attacking our independence (people united under a new, independent flag). In mythology of transition, people are one; there are no differentiations among them. If somebody attacks, it attacks them all.	
		Yugoslav tank	music is interrupted with loud noise of a tank

Table 8. 4.: Waking up in war (4:30 - 5:52)

1	27.	tank breaks a barricade (a truck parked across the road) and drives on down the road, camera follows it (left to right)	orchestra music and international tone (IT) of tanks noise lowers as the narration begins
	➡⬅ conflict of graphic direction	Tank breaking the barricade shows YU army eagerness to do their thing, nothing will stop them; next shot shows tanks driving in different direction and camera is behind the bush, a hidden observer. > Enemy is brutal, does not choose means for his victory.	
2	junija zaran. Medmet ko marsikod še proslavljajo rojstvo nove države, so se začeli vrstiti dramatični dogodki. Začela se je vojna. Po scenariju, ki je bil že zdavnaj pripravljen. Poveljniki v Mariboru	camera is behind the bush, a tank and an army vehicle drive by (right to left)	cont. + IT
	builds scene	Tanks are moving towards their final destination, effortlessly, this motive is repeated (or strengthened) from [2] to [7] – although it is not the same tank and the scenes put together are not geographically close, it seems that we are watching the same tank.	
3	in Ljubljani so imeli zapečatene kuverte z navodili in le čakali so na znamenje generalov iz	a tank driving down the road, camera follows it (right to left)	music slowly fades away. IT remains
	builds scene		
4	Beograda. Zvezni izvršni svet je prispeval formalno kritje,	a tank drives across the junction, camera in the middle of it follows it (right to left)	IT
	builds scene		

5	varovanje ustave pa je bilo zgolj okras jugoslovanske politike za oči zahodnega sveta.	a tank drives slowly, camera pans to show another identical tank behind (right to left)	IT
builds scene		Showing a tank behind the tank we first saw (and from [2] to beginning of [5] we had a feeling there is only one tank) tells us that there are more tanks following the one we've been watching. Hitting the firs barricade on its way, tank easily drives by. > No matter how people would set up the obstacles, enemy is driven by great force to achieve its goals, they go forward no matter what.	
6	Armada, ki bi morala biti tu izključno za obrambo pred zunanjim sovražnikom, se je odpravila pokorit najustvarjalnejši del jugoslovanske	tank crashes into the rear part of the truck and turns it and drives (right to left) by until we can only see the trucks	IT
builds scene		Tank has gone by the barricade.	
7	državne tvorbe.	trucks in foreground a tank, which has obviously managed to go by, drives away (right to left)	IT
still vs. dynamics		Cut to bystander's statement changes the uninterrupted movement from right to left and introduces the narration conflict – shows that people hate what the YU army is doing. > People 'spontaneously' rise against the enemy; if they are to reach the final destination – time of peace and happiness – they have to fight now with all available power.	
	statement of a bystander		
8	Tankovske enote so se začele zgrinjati proti mejam in nekaterim strateškim točkam	shot like [6] (we can see the bystander on it for a short time), another tank drives by the truck and slightly bumps it	IT
still vs. dynamics		Tanks are suddenly stopped, not by massive army, but an ordinary city bus, assisted by ordinary people. > People were not called to the streets, it was their duty as citizens, to participate in such en event (look also [7] and [9])	
9	v notranjosti. Slovenska mesta se prebujajo obkrožena z barikadami.	tank pushes city bus away, a lot of civilians are standing on the side and watching the event	IT
builds scene		People take an active role – from bystanders to active participants. Although throwing rocks won't stop the tanks, people think they are doing a good thing. >The phenomenon of people throwing rock into the tanks (although rational thinking would tell them it is useless) is the most evident element of people standing united against enemy, who could destroy their dreams of better times.	
10	Začenja se bitka za komunikacije, bitka za vsako ped slovenske države. Bitka za svobodo, za čast in za čas. In vse se začenja dogajati tako rekoč sočasno pred očmi vsega sveta.	one tank pushes a truck out of the way, the other follows the first while people are throwing things at it	same music begins + IT
	/		
		ran-over car on the road	music and IT slowly fade away

Table 8. 5.: Slovenes fight back (7:33 - 8:30)

1	Armada, ki je v prvem naletu dosegla veliko ciljev, se je že drugi dan znašla v obroču	wide shot of building, some people and a policeman in foreground shot narrows on the tree, we see leaves falling camera shakes a bit	IT loud noise of a tank shooting another loud noise
build scene		When we here the noise we wonder what happened, the cut takes us to the heart of the happening.	
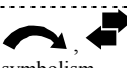
| #			
2	sredi barikad, obkrožena z ljudmi, ki so jo zavračali. Obkrožena z enotami Teritorialne obrambe in Milice. Nenadoma ni imela nobenega izhoda.	black smoke coming out of the background, camera moves to the left to show to railroad wagons then zooms in to show two Slovene soldiers, both carrying heavy weapons.	IT
	▪▪ ▪ directs attention to detail	We can not determine, whether it was the two Slovenes who fired the shots (or any Slovene soldier, for the shot could be symbolic), the cut takes us to the same shot as in beginning of [1] when suddenly explosion takes place.	
3	Ob nasprotniku, ki je imel usklajeno in do kraja izdelano medijsko podporo doma in na tujem se je počasi	close up of black smoke explosion bursts out of black smoke and camera quickly zooms out to show the same shot as the beginning of [2] (only smoke is heavier)	IT loud explosion sound
	�ú , ◄┐ symbolism	After the smoke is gone, there is only old iron left from the war machines of the enemy (picture follows narration). > No matter how strong and sophisticated the enemy's war machinery is, our ill-equipped troops [2] can destroy them. Belief in the almightiness of the home army.	
4	spreminjala v svoje nasprotje –	bridge, full of pieces of armour and burnt cars; camera zooms out to show two people walking towards it	IT
	▪▪ ▪ directs attention to detail	Cut builds the story, supporting the narration, showing the damage done in the fight.	
5	postajala je kup neuporabnega železja, nemočna, da bi izpolnjevala nadaljne ukaze. Znašla se je v položaju, ko je morala	close up of a hole in a bridge, apparently made by tank grenade, camera zooms out	IT music begins in background
	►◄ still vs. dynamics	Motionless bridge scene is cut to dynamic helicopter scene, which widens to show people (civilians) looking at it. The image however does not support the narrative, which would be better represented with image [2].	
6	preprosto dvigniti roke pred vojaško in tehnično neprimerno slabše opremljenimi teritorialci. Njene predpostavke, da se ji	camera follows flying JLA helicopter zooms out to show civilians on the road (two tanks in background) looking at it	music cont. + IT
	◄┐ creates contrast	Wide shot of the helicopter in the air is replaced by tank pulling a working machine from the bridge. The following cuts ([7] - [9]) build the story of people opposing the army – all the vehicles constructing the barricades are civilian. Contradiction to army's expectations is narrated and shown. > People gave what they have, their working machines and trucks to help overcome the aggressor. They sacrificed their means of income for a common goal.	
7	nihče ne bo upal zoperstaviti, so bile povsem napačne. Njena predvidevanja,	tank, pulling a yellow dredging machine from the bridge; soldiers walking by the tank as it pulls	music cont. + IT
	▪▪ ▪ builds scene	cont.	
8	da se bo Slovenija ob vojaški intervenciji gladko odpovedala	move from one yellow truck in the ditch by the road to another (blue), lying on its side	IT
	▪▪ ▪ builds scene	cont.	
9	svojemu političnemu vodstvu, so bila več kot naivna.	tank pushing a yellow dredging machine from the road, a woman journalist is in foreground camera follows the machine as it goes down the slope	IT a bit of the same music is played
	/	JLA helicopter in the air	IT

Table 8. 6.: Aftermath of the first day (17:16 - 17:40)

1	Obrambni minister Janez Janša je v večernem televizijskem nastopu,	close up of burning tank on the side of the road	music + IT
	■■ / ➤ builds scene / symbolism	The cut shows us what the tank did to the house and the result of its bad doing – destruction of the tank. It could be both, structural (building the scene, telling the story; although narration speaks of something else) and relational for its symbolic value – the tank deserved to be destroyed for what it did.	
2	ko je govoril o izidu vojaškega spopada prvi dan vojne, navedel tudi nekatere	zoom out of a building to show a burning tank on the side of the road	music cont. + IT
	■■ direct attention to detail	The people did not leave tanks just sitting there but usefully used the resources found in them (grenades). > Ingenuity of the people is exaggerated in transition, the notion of the 'bare-footed'-but-very-inventive-and-full-of-surprises people is essential to the narration in transitional period (this is evident in repeating the same sentence in narration of [4] and [5]).	
3	številke, ki so se kasneje pokazale za pretirane. A ne glede na to je	civilians unloading grenades from the disabled tank camera moves left to show civilians in the tank	music cont. + IT
	➤◄ still vs. dynamics	Slow unloading of grenades is replaced by quick zigzag running of a Slovene policeman. The connotation of the shot could be, again, ingenuity of Slovene police (if we analyse narration and image as a whole), when camera widens the shot, we see more policemen hiding behind cars, which symbolises resistance (shot widens just when narration of Slovene resistance to JLA begins [5])	
4	bilo že takrat očitno, da je Jugoslovanska armada v Sloveniji naletela na odpor, ki z njim ni računala.	medium shot of a Slovene police official with a helmet frantically running left and right shot wideness to show him taking cover, in foreground another policemen are waiting nervously	music cont. + IT
	■■ direct attention to detail	One of the policemen taking shelter (right from where the first policeman ran in [4]) is isolated to show effort of the police. The uncomfortable position and his clutching to the gun symbolise willingness to fight with the enemy. > The sequence of the shots shows a whole team of policemen totally prepared and ready. Here again the paradigm of united fight is used, without total cooperation between individuals, transition will not be successful. The repetition of narration has strong ideological connotation: they expected us to be weak, but we are strong, nothing can break us (in this particular case the strength was not used as an argument, it is rather narrated that Slovene ingenuity and preparedness to fight was the crucial factor). Even though symbolic, people throwing rock at the tanks show exactly what has to happen people have to be against the aggressor. At the beginning of the documentary, a Slovene army official says over the loudspeaker: "No army without the support of the people, has ever won the war" – and this is exactly the case here.	
5	Ki z njim sploh ni računala.	Slovene policeman taking cover in the entrance of the house, ducking and clutching to his gun	music cont. + IT
	/	closer version of end of [4], two policemen hiding behind a police vehicle camera moves to the left and lowers showing the third policeman behind the other vehicle	music, a bit louder police radio in background

Table 8. 7.: Aggressor's units start surrendering, I. (23:53 - 24:10)

1	Poskus okupacije *svojeglave* Slovenije je *klavrno propadel* že ne začetku.	camera follows an ambulance from the top of a building, wile moving to the other side to show ambulance, we see two officials ducking, camera follows the ambulance again	drum music in background
	▶◀ still vs. dynamics	Combination of music and narration creates an atmosphere, supported by the very dynamic movement of the camera. The ambulance is presumably driving an JLA soldier to the hospital (according to narration). next shot is a visual break with dynamic motion of the ambulance, but adds more information – here, the JLA soldiers are surrendering. > The use of adjectives like [1]: "Attempt of occupation of *stubborn* Slovenia has been a *sorry sight* from the beginning." and [2]: "... was just an *additional* and *unnecessary calvary*" mocks the enemy and its incapability to bring under a small country like Slovenia.	
2	Vse tisto, kar je sledilo porazu Armade pri Trzinu in drugod, je bila zgolj *dodatna* in *nepotrebna kalvarija*.	camera zooms in to show JLA soldiers surrendering, image is shaky, Slovene soldiers are walking around with guns	music cont.
	/		
	Slovene soldier statement		

Table 8. 8.: Aggressor's units start surrendering, II. (25:17 - 25:30)

1	Slovenija, njene oborožene sile in njeno prebivalstvo	civilians and medical personnel carrying a wounded soldier to the medical car	drum music, fades when narration begins
	▢▢ builds scene	A JLA soldier is taken away from the scene of the fight, narration begins applauding to Slovene army and civilians for their resistance, > Typical narration of the transitional mythology is seen here: "Slovenia, its armed forces and citizens" – the first place always goes to the unity of all; we already know who constitutes Slovenia, but here the state as a symbol is mentioned first and then as if explained away, but if we carefully listen to narration, it lists three elements and Slovenia is one of them.	
2	so v odporu zoper podivjane beograjske pučiste	civilians walking around enemy tank	music cont.
	▢▢ directs attention to detail	Detail of oil leakage shows the tank is disabled by Slovene army.	
3	kljub enotni moralni podpori svetovne javnosti, na bojiščih vendarle ostali sami.	oil leakage is shown under tank's tracks, camera moves to the left and shows a bit of the tank's top	music. cont.
	/		
		Janez Janša speaking	

Table 8. 9.: Final thought (1:11:39 - 1:12:30)

1	In vojna za Slovenijo naj bi se tu	two Slovene soldiers walking among people	
	parallelism	Although it seems the war is over, there is still some preventive activity going on to stop the potential enemy attacks; while the soldiers are patroling, workers are putting up new barricades.	
2	po dveh vročih tednih končala. Samo grozeči španski jezdeci na mestnih vpadnicah pričajo, da se je tukaj	working machine transports x-shaped barricades, camera follows it	
	jump cut	Some time has gone by and now all the barricades are put up.	
3	nekaj dogajalo, da to niso bile samo moreče sanje.	x-shaped barricades on a junction	music starts in background
	F (slow) symbolism	The last fade symbolises the title of the documentary: Slovenia on barricades. It takes us back in time where documentary started to relive the night before the attacks. The narrator changes president Kučan's independence speech words ("Today we are allowed to dream, tomorrow is a new day") with words: "Time for dreams has not come yet."	
4	Sanj sploh biti ni moglo, ni bilo časa. Slovenija, še preden je na večer svoje osamosvojitve odpela svojo Zdravljico, je morala na barikade. Čas za sanje še ni prišel.	wide shot of raising the flag on Republic square, superimposed image of fireworks	music continues

music gets louder |

Appendix C – Historical overview of the fight for independence

In 1987 Slovene national programme was published in 57th issue of Nova Revija. Its main points were economical and political independence and setting up of multi-party democracy. Crisis in Yugoslavia could supposedly solve greater centralisation of the federation and change of decision making from consensus to majority vote. In February 1989, all Slovene political parties expressed support for the striking miners in Trepča, Kosovo and organised a rally in Cankarjev dom in Ljubljana. The day after strike was called off and the miners were promised that their demands would be fulfilled. They were not and realtionship Belgrade-Ljubljana became radically worse as Belgrade accused Slovenia of separatism and soon introduced economic blockade for Slovene goods. Despite attempts to prevent the Yugoslav crisis (obstinate intervention in the monetary politics by the federal government substantially increased the internal debt, yearly inflation was over 250 %), Slovene government saw no other exit than to protect itself by accepting amendments to the constitution on September 27th, 1989 (the same day Zdravljica became the new national anthem of Slovenija). Amendments gave Slovenia the right of self-determination regarding secession and economical independence. Croatia supported Slovene action while Federal constitutional court started to analyse legitimacy of the amendments.

The turning point for final parting of Slovenia and Yugoslavia was departure of Slovene communists from XIV. Congress of communists of Yugoslavia. At that point Yugoslav national army (JLA) promised to defend the unity and geographical integrity of Yugoslavia even with force, if necessary. The JLA has showed its 'force' in Slovenia before, in 1988, when Janez Janša and two other subjects were arrested for revealing army secret (document was published in weekly magazine Mladina, but authorities managed to confiscate all the issues before they went on stands). The affair reached its peak with 'The process against the four' (called *Afera JBTZ*), accused in connection to publishing a top secret document. Public, who held protest conventions outside the prison, heavily criticized the process and additional disgust was expressed because the hearing was closed to public and held in Serbo-Croatian language. The Committee for human rights established for protection of the four was basis of Slovene oposition.

In April 1990 the first multi-party elections were held in Slovenia and DEMOS (Democratic opposition of Slovenia) won 126 out of 240 places in the parliament, Milan

Kučan was elected for president of Slovenia. Last attempts to stitch Yugoslavia together were made in early fall the same year, when Presidency of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia proposed that Federal assembly accepts a law, which would reform the state into federation, confederation or dismissal of federal state. Although Slovenia and Croatia were willing to form a confederation, presidency and assembly rejected the proposal; federation proposed by Serbian leadership was not acceptable. As a consequence to the demands of even stronger federation, Slovenia withdrew Territorial defence from the JLA command and announced referendum on independence.

In December 1990, 82 % of registered voters decided in favour of independent Slovenia. Another attempt was made to form a confederation, but Federal assembly, but it rejected it. Because of Serbia's another breach of monetary politics (printing of money to buy foreign currency and inject money into its banks) Slovenia established its own tax system and took control over federal sales taxes and customs fees. Negotiations between all the presidents of the republics of Yugoslavia at the end of 1990 and beginning of 1991 took place all over Yugoslavia without reaching a consensus on the future of the unity of the republics. In April 1991 on their meeting in Brdo pri Kranju in Slovenia, they proposed two versions of crisis solution: Yugoslavia as unity of independent states (confederation) or as united federation of states (federation).

In May 1991 additional laws were accepted to establish adequate legal system for independent Slovenia. On June 1st Constitution committee dealt with the law on attainment of independence, Territorial defence started training first troops of Slovene soldiers the next day. In the middle of June, Yugoslav federal government warned Slovenia of the consequences of arbitrary change of Yugoslav borders. At the same time European community warned Slovenia and Croatia it is not going to recognize their independence while there is still a way for peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Regardless of the threats of Federal government and European community, Slovenia accepted the Declaration of independence on June 25th, and declared independence the next day, June 26th. Similar process was going on in Croatian assembly and both newly independent countries recognized each other.

Federal government closed all Slovene airports the same day and accepted a series of laws, which were supposed to protect the JLA when using force to maintain control in Slovenia. After declaration of independence Slovenia woke up to find JLA tanks and troops moving towards border crossings and Brnik airport. President Milan Kučan's words the night before:

"Today, dreams are allowed; tomorrow is a new day", sounded seriously in the light of ongoing events. Territorial defence and police stood up to the JLA forces and even though the aggressor had poor tactics and soldiers did not even know what happened and what was their role, serious fighting took place in some border crossings, JLA rocketed RTV Slovenija's transmitters, trapped trucks in Krakovski gozd and Medvedjek, border crossing Šentilj and Brnik Airport. Despite many agreements on cease-fire, fights endured until July 3rd, when army moved back to the barracks and completely moved out of Slovenija on October 25th.

Slovenia had to freeze independence acts on behalf of the Brioni declaration, forced to the now former republics of Yugoslavia by the European community. Although war spread first to Croatia and then to Bosnia and Herzegovina, European communion decided to recognize independence of all the republics that wanted to be recognized and fulfiled the international legal norms on January 15th 1992. Other world countries followed and the final step towards truly independent state was made on May 22nd 1992, when UN accepted Slovenia, Croatia and Bosna and Herzegovina. (Nešovič and Prunk, 1994: 241-252)