

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI  
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

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Globalizacija v vsakdanjem življenju – problematika zapiranja kinematografov  
(Hrvaški primer)

Globalization in Everyday Life – The Issue of Closing the Cinemas (Croatian  
Example)

Magistrsko delo

Ljubljana, 2014

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## **Globalization in Everyday Life – The Issue of Closing the Cinemas (Croatian Example)**

The topic of my master thesis is the influence of multiplex cinemas on the closing of small cinemas in city centres – through this process I will research the influence of globalization on everyday life. I think the closing of small cinemas is one of the processes everybody can see while walking through the centre of any bigger city in Croatia. I was wondering what the reason is – can we blame only multiplex cinemas for the closing of small cinemas or is there something else? When I researched the topic more thoroughly, I couldn't believe the number of cinemas closed during the last two decades in Croatia, after big political and economical changes took place. Are those the reasons of closing them? All those questions encouraged me to write my master thesis on this topic.

I think it's a devastating fact that cinemas and movies, which used to be a big part of our culture, became a part of shopping malls, a place where you go before or after you spend some time shopping. Cinemas stopped being a place where you go exclusively to see an interesting movie and discuss it later. Are cinemas, because the influence of globalization, becoming a part of large culture industry and are they losing their general purpose?

Key words: globalization, McDonaldization, capitalism, cinemas, Croatia.

## **Globalizacija v vsakdanjem življenju – problematika zapiranja kinematografov (Hrvaški primer)**

Tema mojega magisterija bo vpliv kinocentrov na zapiranje majhnih kinematografov v centrih mest. Skozi ta proces bom poskušala raziskati vpliv globalizacije na vsakdanje življenje. Zdi se mi, da je zapiranje malih kinematografov eden izmed procesov, ki ga lahko vsakdo opazi že s sprehajanjem skozi center kateregakoli večjega mesta na Hrvaškem. Spraševala sem se, zakaj je tako – ali res lahko krivimo le kinocentre ali je prisotno še kaj drugega? Ko sem raziskala temo bolj podrobno, nisem mogla verjeti številu kinematografov, ki so prenehali z obratovanjem v zadnjih dveh desetletjih na Hrvaškem po velikih političnih in ekonomskih spremembah. Ali je to razlog za njihovo zapiranje? Vsa ta vprašanja so me spodbudila, da napišem svojo magistrsko nalogo na to temo.

Skoraj pretresljivo je dejstvo, da so kinematografi in filmi, ki so bili včasih pomemben del naše kulture, postali del nakupovalnih centrov, prostor, kamor se zatečemo pred ali po nakupovanju. Kinematografi so prenehali biti prostor, kamor odidemo le z namenom gledanja zanimivih filmov in diskusije, ki temu sledi. Ali kinematografi zaradi vpliva globalizacije postajajo del velike kulturne industrije in ali izgubljajo svoj osnovni namen?

Ključne besede: globalizacija, McDonaldizacija, kapitalizem, kinematografi, Hrvaška.

1 Introduction .....	5
2 Theoretical frame and methodology .....	7
2.1 Subject and research goals .....	7
2.2 Hypotheses.....	8
2.3 Methodology.....	9
2.4 Main terms .....	11
2.4.1 Globalization: definitions and its perspectives .....	11
2.4.2 Culture and cultural imperialism .....	16
2.4.3 Cinemas and universalization in everyday life.....	20
3 Croatia and its cinemas from 1990s until today .....	24
3.1 Croatia and its independence – a review of Croatian history .....	24
3.2 Situation with the cinemas in Croatia – tendencies of closing in the last twenty years .....	26
4 Influence of globalization and capitalism on cinemas – empirical research.....	32
4.1 Capitalism and its reflections on Croatian cities .....	32
4.2 Rijeka and Zagreb – processes which have been taking place in the last twenty years .....	36
4.2.1 Description of case – study cinemas.....	39
4.2.2 Analysis of interviews .....	42
4.2.3 Cinema programmes’ analysis.....	48
5 Conclusion.....	60
6 Povzetek magistrskega dela v slovenskem jeziku.....	64
7 Literature .....	69
Attachment: Questionnaire for managers of cinemas .....	75

## 1 Introduction

While walking through Ljubljana, to come to my Slovenian “home”, I often go past a cinema called Bežigrad. I remember it was always open when I was a child, but it has been closed for some time now. I always liked the entrance and a small park in front of it, so I easily notice how sad it looks now. That led me thinking about cinemas in general. While thinking, I realized that lots of old cinemas are closed or repurposed. Why is this happening?

I thought about large cinemas within shopping centers, so glossy and luxurious, with Hollywood spectacles and large comfortable seats. Is there a reason why old town cinemas are being closed? Do globalization and consumerism really have such effect on people’s everyday life, but we can’t see it because it is happening slowly and cunningly (Ritzer 2004)?

I think it’s sad that cinemas and films, which used to be a big part of our culture, became a part of shopping malls, the places where you go before or after you spend some time shopping. Cinemas stopped being a place where you go exclusively to see an interesting film and discuss it later. Are cinemas, by becoming a part of a large culture industry, losing their general purpose (Adorno 1991, Elmer and Gasher 2005)?

My intention is not to focus on globalization as a global economic process in this paper, but on globalization on its micro level – its local results we can see all around us. One of the greatest challenges of globalization is its impact on culture and society. Today, the cultural convergence of different nations is a product of tremendous progress in communication technology and an exchange of information and dissemination of satellite and computer networks, which is considered one of the positive aspects of globalization.

Globalization influences all parts of individual’s life. Within that, the culture, as the most widespread, the deepest and the most influential factor in the life of a man, accepts these changes more than anything else.

Are there any other good reasons for the closing of old cinemas? Is that happening because of a possibility to rent and watch a film at home, or maybe because of a possibility to illegally download it online? Could new, large cinemas in shopping malls bring people back to cinemas without turning them away from the old ones? Turkish journalist Fethi Karatas claims that cinemas and theatres are shutting down due to the lack of interest in art films, and that modern cinemas are attracting the majority of population (Karatas 2013). It is easy to see that the number of cinemas’ visitors has been reducing during the years – at least in Croatia – there is a statistic table later in the text (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2013) and Slovenia –

from 17, 2 million visitors in the 1960s and the 1970s to 2, 9 million in the year 2011 (Dnevnik 2013), so statistics can confirm this thesis. My research will follow that thought.

## **2 Theoretical frame and methodology**

### **2.1 Subject and research goals**

The subject of my research will be the issue of the closing of small cinemas in city centres. Through theoretical and empirical analysis, I will try to correlate the opening of multiplex cinemas and the change of social atmosphere in the last twenty years in Croatia with the closing of small cinemas.

My goal is to find out why small city cinemas in city centres are closing. Is it happening because of the multiplex cinemas opening in shopping malls or are there other reasons? I will thoroughly research examples from Rijeka and Zagreb, and try to answer the question based on these case studies.

The globalization of economic actions is followed by waves of cultural transformation and that process is called cultural globalization. Parts of social sciences and the public have accepted a thesis of convergence of global culture for this area, so called McDonaldization (Ritzer 2004, Beck 2003). According to this thesis, McDonaldization, as a part of universalization, is becoming more and more frequent and significant, in a way that life styles, cultural symbols and the way of behaviour are becoming more similar around the world (Ritzer 2004, Giddens 2005). I will try to correlate this term with the problem of the closing of small cinemas – is univerzalization “forcing” everything that is different to stop existing?

Let me explain my concerns with a few examples from my country. The situation in the cities of Zagreb and Rijeka is as follows: there are eleven cinemas in Zagreb, four of which are multiplex cinemas, two are parts of student dorms, one is a part of a culture centre and four are independent cinemas. In the period from 1950 until 1990 there were more than 40 cinemas in Zagreb (Zg Portal 2013).

The situation in Rijeka is even more radical. Out of eight cinemas, which used to work in the 60s, now there is one multiplex and one art cinema. We can see a trend developing and I would like to explore which trend it is and when, why and how it is occurring (Lokalpatrioti Rijeka 2013).

I think my work will be a small but worthy contribution to cultural studies in the region, because there are only a few researches on this topic which affirm my thesis about closing the cinemas under the influence of large multiplexes, (Silver 2007, Collins et al. 2005).

## 2.2 Hypotheses

By comparing one simple walk through any bigger city in Croatia today and 20 years ago, one would notice many differences. Maybe the most noticeable one would be many shopping malls built in suburban areas. Apart from many other facilities, they offer multiplex cinemas where visitors can watch films of all kinds at any time (Meyer and Geschiere 1999, 179).

On the other hand, in the last 20 years the appearance of the city centres has also changed. Many public spaces have been repurposed or closed, and that includes old town cinemas (Mišetić 2004, 88). Also, town cinemas are not able to project films with such quality as multiplex cinemas. Old cinemas are losing the battle with the new technologies. Could that be one of the reasons why people visit cinemas in shopping malls more? Is this happening because it is easier to go to shopping and watch a film at the same time, rather than doing it separately? Why are new multiplexes more attractive? What has been happening during the last 20 years in Croatia that the issue of closing town cinemas became so radical?

So, my **first hypothesis** will be: The opening of large multiplex cinemas and the closing of town cinemas are in correlation – small cinemas can't compete with multiplex cinemas' quality of film projections, or with the number of facilities they offer, so they are closing due to the lack of audience. On the other hand, the number of visitors of multiplex cinemas in Croatia is increasing.

I find process chains that were taking place in Croatia from the 1990s interesting: the end of socialist era, gaining independence, the acceptance of capitalism and high investments from foreign corporation (Goldstein 2008). All those processes did not only change the political and economic image of the country, but they also changed the everyday life of an individual. The closing of town cinemas and the growth of the popularity of multiplex cinemas are very good examples of how those mainly non-cultural processes influence culture (Adorno 1991, 5). We can call that process cultural imperialism. "The sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system ... The public media is the foremost example of operating enterprises that are used in the penetrative process" (Schiller 1976, 35) and I will research its impacts on cinemas in Croatia.



My **second hypothesis** will be: Political (spreading of democracy and unification) and economic processes (a fast development of the world market, high finance and capital flows in the whole world) that are taking place influence cultural processes, which then influence everyday life of people. This is a so called thesis of convergence of global culture in terms of unification of lifestyles, cultural symbols and transnational behaviour. The increase in cultural industry means the convergence of cultural symbols and forms of life. Thus, local cultures and identities are destroyed and replaced with the symbols of the world of goods that originate in advertising design and image design of multinational concerns.

The second thesis will support the first, more specific thesis.

### **2.3 Methodology**

I will try to prove my hypothesis by dividing my master thesis into two main parts: the first one will be based on a theoretical analysis of relevant literature where I will try to create a theoretical background for the second part. In that part I will focus on the results of my empirical research that will include interviews with people relevant for my topic. I will talk to them about the situation in the cinemas after the opening of multiplex cinemas.

The first part will be theoretical and analytical. There, I will analyze theoretical terms and theories that are important for the second part of my work – I will use the method of the secondary literature analysis. Firstly, I intend to analyze the terms of globalization, capitalism, universalization, cultural imperialism, cinemas and shopping malls (Adorno 1991, Beck 2003, Ritzer 2004).

My intention is not to focus on globalization and capitalism as global economic processes in my work, but on their micro level – their local effects we can see all around us. I will base some of my conclusions on Collins et al. (2005) and Silver (2007), who claim that a large part of the blame for the closing of small cinemas is on technological advantages of multiplex cinemas, but also on the variety of possibilities of home entertainment.

Furthermore, I intend to describe some sociological concepts about the influence of globalization on the city structure in general (the focus will be on the opening of the shopping malls), and then I will describe how those processes affect cinemas in city centres. I will brace those theoretical conclusions with the statistic information about the number of cinemas in each city in Croatia (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2013).

In my master thesis I will use qualitative methods of research. Qualitative research is a multi-methodological process – it is a set of interpretative activities, and it does not privilege any specific research method. That is the reason I will combine more research possibilities, starting with the literature analysis, and ending my thesis with empirical methods.

The second part of master thesis will be empirical. It will be a case study – I will concentrate on cinemas in Rijeka and Zagreb.

I will interview cinema managers of different cinemas: the Cinestar multiplex, the DokuKino (a cinema specialized for documentary films) and the Europa cinema (independent film cinema) from Zagreb; and the Cinestar multiplex and the Art cinema Croatia from Rijeka. Those will be structured interviews - every person will get the same questions (See Attachment A); this ensures that the answers can be reliably aggregated and that comparisons can be made with confidence. I would like to know more about their thoughts on my topic – how they feel about the opening of the multiplex cinemas, if they see them as a threat or a healthy competition for their cinemas and if they have noticed the decrease in the number of visitors since multiplex cinemas were opened. They are relevant to talk about the closing of small town cinemas because they are directly connected to the topic of my master thesis; they will give me a real insider view of the problem.

Secondly, I used one film fan amateur's research – Vanja Radovanović (2011) – he did some amateur analyses of his own, so I will use his long time observations concerning Zagreb cinemas by using his research conclusions (See Table 3.2). His research is based on statistical and historical facts, so I think it is a good base for my research.

I will also visit cinemas and compare films programmes in different cinemas using the method of the programme content analysis of each cinema and using the method of observation.

In the third, final, part I will draw some conclusions by reflecting theoretical facts on empirical conclusions, and by doing so I will try to answer how cinemas in Rijeka and Zagreb are affected by globalization processes (Blašković 2006, Ivezić 2010, Pažanin 2005, Valerjev Ogurlić 2011). I hope I will fulfil the task successfully.

## **2.4 Main terms**

### **2.4.1 Globalization: definitions and its perspectives**

Firstly, I would like to make a short introduction to the topic by describing some basic terms such as globalization and capitalism.

One can say that globalization has the same significance for transnational active enterprises in the 21st century, as the matter of classes for labour movement in the 19th century, with one crucial difference: labour movement had the counter-power, and global enterprises are working without it for now (Beck 2003, 7). Globalization allows enterprises to have the most important role not only in shaping the economy, but also the whole society. Still, it is very difficult to define globalization, because it's not a homogeneous process and it influences all areas of human life. Five dimensions affected by globalization - society, politics, economy, culture and environment - cannot be strictly separated from each other, but they do overlap. This relationship, not only between actors, but also between regions is one of the features of globalization.

Most generally, globalization can be defined as the worldwide diffusion of practices, expansion of relations across the world, organization of social life on a global scale and growth of a shared global consciousness (Ritzer 2004, 160). Still, to understand globalization it is important to include this agenda: globalization of local and localization of global, because globalization is not a one way process – local factors usually adapt consequences of globalization, like globalization changes local state of things (Rizman 2010). We can describe this process with a term glocalization. According to a sociologist Roland Robertson (1994), who popularized the term, glocalization describes a new outcome of local conditions towards global pressures. Glocalization is a blend of the terms globalization and local, and Robertson claims that the term globalization should be replaced with the term glocalization, which was borrowed from the Japanese business world, and it refers to the process of adopting and fitting foreign products to meet the needs and taste of the local markets.

Anthony Giddens (2005) divides globalization thinkers into two groups: sceptics and radicals. Sceptics claim that globalization is just a story and that nothing is changing in the world economies, some of them even deny the existence of globalization. On the other side, radicals claim that globalization is very real and that we can feel its influences all the time and

everywhere. Giddens thinks that radicals are right, that globalization is happening and it is influencing us.

When one reads about globalization, most of the texts have one thing in common: writing about it in terms of economy. However, that is not completely true, because globalization is not only economic, but also political, technical and cultural process. The development of communication systems influenced it significantly. For the first time in the history of mankind, instantaneous communication is possible from one side of the world to the other (Giddens 2005, 32).

David Held and Anthony McGrew (2002) describe globalization as a process which creates profound changes as states and societies try to adapt to a more interconnected but uncertain world. Organizational interests along with trading blocs develop into a new system of political globalization. Globalization is defined as the sum of the set of internationalizing socio-temporal processes.

My intention is not to focus on globalization as a global economical process in my work, but on globalization on its micro level – its local results we can see all around us. One of the greatest challenges of globalization is its impact on culture and society. Today, the convergence of cultures of different nations is the product of tremendous progress in communication technology, in the exchange of information and dissemination of satellite and computer networks, which is considered one of the positive aspects of globalization.

Globalization is certainly influencing some parts of every individual's life. Thus, the culture, as the most widespread, the deepest and the most influential factor in the life of an individual, accepts these changes more than anything else.

When we talk about the way of communication between globalization and culture, we could summarize four groups of opinions present in cultural sociology and cultural studies.

One group sees globalization as a cause of gradual rapprochement and drowning of the existing culture and the creation of one universal culture that would embrace the whole world.

Another group believes that globalization causes cultural diversity and abundance and in other words, stabilization of the current situation and the revival of small, marginal cultures.

The third group talks about the situation to be described as “unity in the crowd” – people around the world seem to be united because of globalization – they have no hope of significant progress in the area of globalization and culture – the situation will not change significantly in a way of improvement of culture as a direct consequence of globalization.

And finally, there is the fourth group that believes that globalization causes perturbation and mixing of cultures, interweaving the borders and the emergence of species, and talks about sharing culture to many parts.

Ulrich Beck (2003) differentiates three terms connected to the issue of globalization: globalism, globality, and globalization. Globalism is the idea that the world market is replacing political functions. It reduces multidimensionality of globalization to only one – economic dimension. It implicates that the state should be led as an enterprise.

Globalism is an ideology whose foundation is in creating the world as a whole. There are three schools of globalism: hyperglobalists, sceptics and transformationalists. Hyperglobalists presume that we live in a globalized period. The dominant features of this period are: the global capitalism, global government and global civil society. The leading forces of globalization are capitalism and technology. They are noting the crisis and the erosion of traditional values, the end of national governments and the creation of a "global civilization".

Sceptic school of globalism believes that the world is moving towards the creation of regional blocks and the clash of civilizations, and that the power of national governments and the state will be enhanced or elevated.

Transformationalists, as a third school of globalism, see the force of globalization as the power that changes the state and world politics, seeing the future between global integration and fragmentation, and the reconstruction of the national government and the states, creating "a new architecture of world order" (Milardović 2004).

Globalization, in contrast to globalism, means the processes, after which the nation-state and its sovereignty are to be linked through transnational intermediaries.

Globality implies that we have already been living in world society, and that the image of enclosed spaces is fictive. None of the countries can be "closed" for the others; this means that economic, cultural and political forms are crashing and interweaving with each other. World society is a totality of social ties, which are not integrated in national politics. We can understand world society as "diversity without unity" (Beck 2003, 28). This implies many different facts: transnational product forms and competition on labour market, global media reporting, transnational living forms, global wars and crisis, destruction of nature, etc.

Thus, writing about the effects that the large corporation cinema openings have on small town cinemas, implies writing about results of globality, because it also marks a fact that from now on nothing on our planet is local any more, everything is global, and people

have to reorganize and reorient their organizations and institutions in the direction “local – global” (Beck 2003, 30). When I write about processes that led to the opening of those large cinemas, I actually talk about globalization. Accordingly, globalization is a world process, and globality is a state of things after globalization took place. There are eight types of globality: economic and technological types, universal values, global culture industry, polycentric world politics, world impoverishment, global destruction of environment and transcultural conflict (Milardović 1999). I am interested in global culture industry, and the way those changes influence former local culture industry. According to Beck (2003), some domains like communication or politics have their autonomy in relation to economy – they are not completely independent but they are not completely dependent. Culture within globalized world is one of them.

The concept of globalization is an obvious target for ideological suspicion because it appears to justify the spread of Western culture and of capitalist society by suggesting that there are forces that are transforming the world, and they are beyond human control (Waters 2001, 6). Globalization is the direct consequence of the expansion of European (later American – altogether it can be called Western) culture across one part of the planet via settlement, colonization and cultural replication. To avoid being Eurocentric, I also have to mention China’s and India’s influence on small Asian countries – from their point of view China and India have much bigger influence on them than Western (neo)colonization. Same thing is happening with Russian or Indian influence on Africa. Economic system that characterizes globalization is capitalism.

*Capitalism is an economical system, in which most of the means of production are privately owned, and production is guided and income distributed largely through the operation of market. ... Unlike earlier systems, capitalism used the excess of production over consumption to enlarge productive capacity rather than investing it in economically unproductive enterprises such as palaces or cathedrals. The strong national states of the mercantilist era provided the social conditions, such as uniform monetary systems and legal codes, necessary for the rise of capitalism (Merriam Webster Dictionary 2013).*

The great expansion of the world trade began in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. The pattern was mainly imperialistic: it involved the transfer of primary products

from the non-industrialized world in exchange for European manufactures (Waters 2001, 41). The main focus for hopes and fears about economic globalization are the multi-national enterprises. Those are corporations that have its facilities and other assets in at least one country other than its home country. Such companies have offices and/or factories in different countries and usually have a centralized head office where they coordinate global management (Merriam Webster Dictionary 2013). For the critics of capitalism they are “vehicles by which intolerable and inhuman practices of exploitation are spread across the globe, and for its friends they are the virtuous sources of investment, technology transfer and upgrading of the labour force” (Waters 2001, 46). There are series of “true global industries”, they are dominated by large corporations of diverse national origins, producing and marketing in all worlds largest economies. The most important example is petrochemical industry, and then there are car industry, consumer electronics, pharmaceuticals, tobacco, soft drinks and fast food industry, financial consultancies and luxury hotels. There is a paradigm called Fordism – The Ford Motor Company of the USA invented the moving assembly line and established an ideological paradigm for economic organizations. It advocates the mass production of standardized items for mass markets, and it became a major feature of the global economy in the period after World War II (Waters 2001, 46–48).

When I talk about standardized mass production, I again have to mention the term McDonaldization introduced by George Ritzer. This term describes “the process by which the principles of the fast – food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world” (Ritzer 2004, 1). McDonaldization is a symbol of standardized mass production, because of one simple reason – there are millions of franchises in the world, and in every one of them they offer the same food of similar taste – however, they still adjust food to local habits (glocalization) – for example, veal will not be served in India. This process of standardization affects not only the restaurant business, but also education, work, justice system, health care, travel, nutrition, family, religion and every other aspect of society.

There are four elements which are responsible for the great success of one fast-food restaurant chain, and they have been taken over by many other large corporations: efficiency (optimal methods for getting from one point to another), calculability (emphasis on the quantitative aspects of products sold and services offered), predictability (the assurance that products and services are the same over time and in all locales) and control (consumers do what management want them to do – queues, limited menus, few options and uncomfortable

seats make customers eat quickly and leave – management has the control) (Ritzer 2004, 12–15). Nowadays, one can find those elements in many transnational corporations, and we can say that McDonaldization is, actually, more specific name for the process of univerzalisation, and it is an important aspect of numerous globalization processes.

Ritzer also outlines irrationality of rationality as the fifth aspect of McDonaldization. "Most specifically, irrationality means that rational systems are unreasonable systems. By that I mean that they deny the basic humanity, the human reason, of the people who work within or are served by them" (Ritzer 2004).

Further in the text, I will try to define culture and relate it to cultural imperialism – which is a widespread process that affects the cultural segment of society, especially processes related to cinemas, which is the topic of this paper.

#### **2.4.2 Culture and cultural imperialism**

Culture is one of the most used terms in cultural studies. When we use it in everyday conversation, we usually talk about arts, literature, music, paintings. When sociologists use the term, they do in much wider context. Culture is a way of life of an individual within society or social group (Giddens 2007, 22). Sociologists deal with learned, not inherited aspects of human life. The members of society share the same elements of culture, which helps them to cooperate and communicate; they create a unique context in which people live. Culture of a specific society includes invisible aspects, beliefs, ideas and values, but also the visible ones such as symbols, objects and technologies.

Raymond Williams (1989) claims that culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is partly so because of its intricate historical development in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought. It is necessary, he argued, to speak of cultures in the plural: the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation.

*Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact. Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings. Every human society expresses these, in institutions, and in arts and learning. ... A culture has two aspects: the known*



*meanings and directions, which its members are trained to; the new observations and meanings, which are offered and tested. These are the ordinary processes of human societies and human minds, and we see through them the nature of a culture: that it is always both traditional and creative; that it is both the most ordinary common meanings and the finest individual meanings. We use the word culture in these two senses: to mean a whole way of life – the common meanings; to mean the arts and learning – the special processes of discovery and creative effort. Some writers reserve the word for one or other of these senses; I insist on both, and on the significance of their conjunction. The questions I ask about our culture are questions about deep personal meanings. Culture is ordinary, in every society and in every mind. (Williams 1989, 92)*

In every culture, norms and values define what is important, valuable and desirable, and they determine people's behaviour in society. Norms and values are transmitted from generation to generation, and culture has been changing all the time, it is dynamic (Giddens 2007, 31).

When writing about culture, I think it is necessary to mention Geert Hofstede, an anthropologist, psychologist and scientist whose model of national culture is one of the most popular models in exploring cultures. He defines culture as collective programming of mind. Every individual possesses certain patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential actions that have been learned over a lifetime, and a large part of these patterns, values and norms, were learned and adopted in early childhood, when an individual went through a period of primary socialization in the family and school learning patterns of their culture or culture their society (Hofstede 2001). Still, individual's behaviour is not completely determined by those patterns, they have the basic ability of deviations from these programmes and to respond in ways that may be completely new, innovative, creative or destructive. There are five main characteristics of culture by Hofstede:

- a) culture is collective, not individual
- b) it is common to most, but not all people
- c) it is learned through the process of socialization in society
- d) it can't be directly observed, it manifests in behaviour
- e) its core is made of values (Hofstede 2001).

Simultaneously with the development of a global political system, the world was dragged into many types of economic correlations. Those were the main mediums by which different forms of Western, but also Eastern (Asia) culture were spread (Spybey in Milardović 1999, 136). Here, I would like to mention cultural integration – a process which connects people by believing in common systems of values and legal norms, but also by language, symbols and rituals. By now, state and political parties have been converged as main carriers of cultural integration within one specific culture. Nowadays, because of the values we attribute to material goods, this role has been expanded on economy. Material goods have symbolic meanings; they attract attention and recruit followers because of its universal attractiveness (Smelser in Milardović 1999, 185). According to this standpoint, consumer culture sees material goods as elements of cultural classification schemas. Also, consumer goods can be one of the instruments of colonization of cultural periphery.

The globalization of economical actions is followed by waves of cultural transformation, and the process is called cultural globalization. Parts of social sciences and the public have accepted the thesis of convergence of global culture for this area, so called McDonaldization (Beck 2003), a term I mentioned in a previous chapter. According to this thesis, universalization is becoming more and more frequent, in a way that life styles, cultural symbols and the way of behaviour are becoming more similar around the world. The process is called McDonaldization because the principles of the fast-food restaurants are starting to dominate more and more sectors of society (Ritzer 2004b, 1).

I would like to mention shopping malls in this context, because McDonaldized chains and shopping malls complement each other. Malls are places where people of all ages can find entertainment, they are predictable and uniformed, and McDonaldized chains fit in perfectly.

According to David Hesmondhalgh (2002), cultural imperialism is the term that describes forcing of Western culture and Western culture products to be part of Nonwestern cultures; it homogenizes the impacts of Western culture, and at the same time destroys Nonwestern traditions, values and beliefs. The term cultural imperialism is often equalized with terms Westernization and the aforementioned McDonaldization.

The notion of cultural imperialism can be described as the way in which cultures of countries that are less economically developed according to Western standards are affected by the arrival of cultural texts, forms and technologies associated with the West. The term also

refers to the impact of the development of cultural industries in the United States on other countries. Hesmondhalgh (2002) points out the main features of cultural imperialism:

- forcing of Western culture to Nonwestern countries
- potential effects of the homogenized Western culture, which spread around the world
- destruction of indigenous cultural traditions through cultural flows and transfer of value systems of Western culture.

At this point, we can associate three main terms I have described so far: globalization, capitalism and cultural imperialism. The leaders of Western culture are the United States of America, and their global capitalist hegemony is attained by two means. The first is global military apparatus which makes the world safe for transnational transactions. The second is the aforementioned cultural imperialism – the systematic penetration and domination of other nations’ communication and informational systems, educational institutions, arts, religious organizations, labour unions, lifestyles and so on (Snow 1998, 11).

One can say that, behind the mask of globalization, leading Western countries are, in fact, conducting their cultural imperialism in the world. Nancy Snow (1998) describes this process well through three terms often used by American policy; she calls them “coded propaganda terms”: peace, prosperity and democracy. “Peace” means U.S. global military domination; “prosperity” means subsidizing the expansion of U.S. corporate interest abroad, at the expense of millions of people in other nations who might be better by loyal and independent development; “democracy” stands for a system in which political decisions are made by transnational and publicly unaccountable interests and their governments, in which publics’ role is minimized (Snow 1998, 11).

From this we can see that, in fact, globalization, capitalism and cultural imperialism create a circle - one can’t exist without the other; those processes are closely connected and pervade one another.

On the other hand, there are some critics of this kind of the cultural imperialism understanding. For example, John Tomlinson (1991) claims that it is necessary to make a distinction between the spread of culturally imperialistic influences and the spread of uniformity. He also writes about cultural imperialism in a different way – according to him, it has to be considered as a process of adaptation to a new environment in a determined period of time, where there is a difference between America and Europe and Asia. Cultural

imperialism is neither the failure of a culture to survive in its original form nor the spread of uniform badness; rather it is the spread of uniformity in itself. The term is problematic because it can't explain what is happening in this society and interpret the cultural meaning at a micro level.

When we talk about cinemas, we can see a connection between them and cultural imperialism. We can apply his critics considering uniformity – many multiplex cinemas have this tendency, but I wouldn't go so far to say they are under cultural imperialistic influences. I will write about that more in the next chapter.

### **2.4.3 Cinemas and universalization in everyday life**

In this part of my work I would like to say something about cinemas in general and something about connections between cinemas nowadays and the process of universalization.

The tradition of going to cinemas is now about a hundred years long. Because of the lack of other forms of entertainment, cinemas have historically enjoyed a competitive advantage over other forms of leisure. Until films were first shown on television in the late 1950s and later became available on video, they could only be seen at the cinema (Silver 2007). Moreover, until the recent introduction of digital technologies and big screen televisions, the only medium for watching films on large, wide screens was cinema.

Universalization and uniformization<sup>1</sup> are the words that can perfectly describe what is happening in the matter of films and cinemas due to the influences of globalization on a daily basis (Meyer, Geschiere in Meyer and Geschiere 1999, 6). We can all see it; for example in an American film when you realize that shopping mall in the film looks exactly like the one you have in your city, that food chains are the same, and that the actors wear the same clothes as you do. When you travel somewhere, to New York, Moscow, Sidney or Rio de Janeiro, many things look just like the ones you have at home. We can say globalization is “an accelerating process of disappearing borders and the free flow of goods, ideas and people” (Shami in Meyer and Geschiere 1999, 18).

Cities, on the other hand, are complicated cultural and civilization systems where diffusion of more cultures happen. There, an individual can feel the intense influence of mass

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<sup>1</sup> There is practically no difference between those two terms Universalization: to give universal character or application to something; uniformization: to bring something into uniformity (Merriam Webster Dictionary 2013).

communication media. They are places where many subcultures and smaller culture groups cohabit and share everyday life habits, which results in their common lifestyle (Mišetić 2004, 87). The processes of urbanization have spread the influence of cities to the global dimensions, and it seems that one of the main consequences of this development and openness is a loss of a city's identity and personality.

Cities, under the impact of globalization, are changing in two ways: flows between cities are globalizing, and global flows inside the cities are localizing (Hočevar 2005). When it is said that flows between cities are becoming globalized, we actually say that supranational integration of different cities is increasing; and by saying that global flows are being localized, we actually think of different kinds and shapes of spatial and physical localenesses. Those processes, along with their accompanying trends are the basis for the transformation of modern cities: global accessibility is increasing, and local exclusivity is decreasing (Hočevar 2005). Deterritorialization of cities is the only consequence of the same process in society. Logical result of those processes is a change in the lifestyles of citizens. If the facilities of the city move even more to the suburban area, then people must move there too. The result is the decrease of population in the city centre, and the increase of population in suburban areas. This leads to the closing of many stores, café bars and other types of facilities in centres, so, in the end, citizens have no reason to go there – of course, this process is not so radical as it sounds because there will always be need for people to go to the centre. The problem is in the closing of traditional facilities where people just spend their free time, and their moving to the shopping areas in suburban area. Some cities have already tried to bring citizens back to the city centres by encouraging people to open traditional stores and crafts and by closing wider city centres for traffic thus making them more attractive for spending free time in peace. We can apply the scenario of abandoning city centres to cinemas, and here is one of the reasons of the closing of small town cinemas.

Secondly, I think the process of McDonaldization has made people distrustful towards something other than uniformed places they know. This is easy to describe by using simple observation of tourists when a person is abroad. You will always see so many of them searching for and eating in McDonalds, KFC, Burger King or some other well known restaurant, although there may be much cheaper and more interesting places to eat in destination they are in. But still, when we discuss globalization and restaurants, it is inevitably to mention all kinds of “ethnic” restaurants opening during the last decades in big cities – it is the other side of a coin and I think it supports the thesis on globalization – you can eat

whatever you want almost anywhere you want to, but you choose the place where you feel “safe” – whether it is McDonalds or a Chinese restaurant in Europe. We can apply this to cinemas – there are cinema chains in every country and consumers know what to expect there, they know the prices, what seats are like, and what they can eat during the film. Everything is familiar and “safe”, the film content is acceptable to all age groups and this could be one of the reasons people choose multiplex cinemas.

To understand the relationship between globalization which sometimes leads to universalization and everyday life, I would like to mention Habermas’s (1989) theory of distinction between system and lifeworld. System refers to media such as power and money. They are transmitted in highly abstract symbolic forms – this means they can be measured, stored and they permit formalized action responses. Systems are fully rationalized. Lifeworld is intersubjective linguistically mediated communication that deploys culturally specific values and beliefs, non-verbal understanding, ambiguity and background knowledge essential to be part of conversation; competences, practices, and attitudes representable in terms of one’s cognitive horizon. Lifeworld is being colonized by the system. He believes that represents a crisis. Lifeworld and system are not simply a distinction between global (system) and local (lifeworld), they are an attempt to conceptualize the processes and relations between everyday life (something we all know well) and globalization (something abstract) (Habermas 1989, Ray 2007, 40).

When talking about globalization, universalization and cinemas, I have to mention film industry as an example of cultural imperialism of the USA. Hollywood is a good example of almost complete Western domination in the film industry area – it is the capital and the most important film centre in the Western world. Cinematography is one of the first cultural industries in which one can discern Hollywood’s domination on the international cinematography market. This domination became so big that some Nonwestern, but also European countries begun initiatives to protect their domestic cinematography (Elmer and Gasher 2005).

One of the ways of fighting against Hollywood domination is by opening art cinemas, which has also been visible in Croatia in the last ten years. Art cinema is a term which dates from the late 1970s. It describes a kind of cinema where there are no Hollywood films, it is a cinema with a more direct approach to reality, where both authors and audience enjoy a certain degree of freedom not to be found in Hollywood films. Both national and foreign films

are shown in this kind of cinema, which should be understood not only in formal terms, but as film consumption in its own particular institutional context, which varies from country to country (Cook and Bernink 1999, 106).

By various initiatives, some, mainly non-European cinematographies succeeded in preserving their national ones. A good example is Indian Bollywood, which is one of the largest film production centres in the world. It produces around 1000 films a year (about twice the output of Hollywood), and 4 billion tickets are sold for Bollywood films annually - compared to 3 billion for Hollywood films worldwide (Bollywood.com, 2014).

This tells us that, although cultural impact is strong and comprehensive, there are ways to persist. Despite that, Western cinematography is still the most powerful and the most spread in the world, and other, smaller national cinematographies are hybridized and changed due to its great impact.

In the next chapter I will get to the subject of the paper and make my writing more specific - I will write about a Croatian example – starting with a brief history review and then getting to the cinemas and the impact globalization has had on them.

### 3 Croatia and its cinemas from the 1990s until today

#### 3.1 Croatia and its independence – a review of Croatian history

Here, I would like to say a few words about Croatia in the last years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, its culture and cinemas – the topic I am interested in the most. I think it is important to say something about the recent Croatian history and make it more familiar, because some significant changes in political and social life have happened in the last twenty years and they have had a great impact on all domains of individual life, including cultural scene, which includes my point of interest - cinemas.

During the first months of 1990, the ideas of multiparty political system started to spread from Zagreb to the other cities of Croatia. Due to the pressure of Slobodan Milošević, a Serbian dictator who wanted to create a kind of Serbian Yugoslavia, it was clear that the party which convinced people that its intention was to defend Croatian national sovereignty, would win the elections. In April and May of 1990 elections were held, and HDZ party<sup>2</sup> (Croatian Democratic Union) won the elections with 41,9% of all votes. On 30 May 1990, a new government and parliament were constituted, and Croatian people finally got their own, national state (Goldstein 2008, 651). But, during the post-election euphoria, many people in the government forgot two facts: that almost half a million Serbs were living in Croatia, and most of them were manipulated by Serbian national politicians; and that Croatia, by the public law, was still a part of Yugoslavia. This fact created tensions in all parts of political and public life<sup>3</sup>.

The Constitution of Croatia was declared on 22 December 1990. Croatia became a democratic state, with a free market. Conflicts between Croats and Serbs were becoming prominent day by day. In March 1991, Milošević said that Yugoslav army would be mobilized to protect Serbian interests in Croatia and everywhere outside Serbia.

On 19 May 1991, a referendum was announced in Croatia, where citizens were supposed to declare if they wanted the independence of Croatia. 93 % of them answered positively. During the first months of 1992, almost all European and many non-European

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<sup>2</sup> In Croatian: *Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*

<sup>3</sup> As an example we can take a football match in May 1990 between Croatian „Dinamo“ and Serbian „Crvena zvezda“ in Zagreb, when fans clashed, and police took Serbian side, making this clash even heavier; general situation in public life became worse.



countries recognized the independence of Croatia, and Croatia was also accepted in the United Nations (Goldstein 2008, 716-738).

From 1991 until 1995, a catastrophic war shook the territories of former Yugoslavia, ending with peace negotiations and agreement in Dayton in November 1995, signed in Paris on 20 November 1995. The consequences of the war were terrible: about 22 000 dead, about 2000 people missing, 37 000 wounded, and a massive material damage. Many people became homeless (Goldstein 2008, 751).

I found one interesting description of Croatian reality after the war: “derailed transition” (Rupnik 1999, 57). That kind of transition is determined by creating a national state as an absolute priority, disregarding democratic changes. According to Rupnik’s classification, Croatia did not become the part of “New Middle Europe” where there were Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Baltic countries, but a part of “the Balkan Countries” group, which is characterized with the legacy of communism and economic backwardness. The 1990s in Croatia were marked by ethnical polarization, war, deterioration of society, disturbances in the economy and the regime's repressive policies (Goldstein 2008, 752). The main actors in the Croatian transition process had neither a vision about its development, nor had they known how to reform institutions. Franjo Tudman, the first president of Croatia, was advocating outdated ideas about a mythical national state of the Croats, and his governance was authoritative. This could hardly lead towards economically and politically more developed and prosperous future for Croatia as a member of the European Union – which he claimed he aimed to.

In the 2000s, according to some economic criteria, Croatia was behind Albania and Macedonia, the countries which were centuries less developed and backward from Croatia. In the first decade of 2000, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania joined European Union, Croatia followed them 13 years later (Kevo 2013).

After becoming independent, Croatia had many problems: failed transition, slow democratization, a leader who belonged to the past, non-democratic future, bad economy etc. One of those problems was (is) globalization, whose challenges I described earlier in the text. Croatia must overcome them if it wants to build a better future. Maybe the problem lies in the fact that Croatia is a young country, and 10 – 15 years after the independence it was dealing only with the national questions, and global flows came as a surprise (Kevo 2003)?

After the 1990s, Croatia was dealing with modern – postmodern processes; the arrear of deficit of modern influences had to be refunded. Many researches were concentrated on sociological and cultural changes caused by those new influences, and one of the main characteristics of this transition is a conflict between new (modern – free market, capitalism, democracy, private properties), and old (socialist – closed market, socialism, social properties) values (Mišetić 2004, 7).

Now, having described political and economic situation in Croatia in the last twenty years, I think it is time to say something about Croatian cinemas in that period of time.

### 3.2 Situation with the cinemas in Croatia – tendencies of closing in the last twenty years

I will begin this chapter with a statistics table on cinemas in the city of Zagreb and Primorsko – goranska County, because there are no data for the city of Rijeka, which is the only larger city in the County. I think this is the best way to show the reality of the Croatian cinemas during the first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Table 3.1: Cinemas and their attendance in Croatia, the city of Zagreb and Primorsko – goranska County

Year	Cinemas in Croatia – total number	Attendance - Croatia	Cinemas in the city of Zagreb – total number	Attendance – the city of Zagreb	Cinemas in Primorsko – goranska County – total number	Attendance – Primorsko – goranska County
2002	146	2 766 321	20	1 299 468	11	268 340
2003	142	2 342 992	18	1 120 993	10	252 727
2004	131	2 975 569	14	1 719 489	10	264 128
2005	107	2 173 633	13	1 418 471	8	182 728
2006	87	2 668 695	9	1 692 775	7	228 762
2007	89	2 482 799	8	1 607 231	8	181 241
2008	81	3 282 900	7	1 909 509	7	518 823
2009	75	3 523 873	8	2 009 408	6	485 690
2010	72	3 355 313	7	1 978 452	6	462 772
2011	78	3 558 049	9	1 932 139	6	403 676

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2013).

As we can see, the number of cinemas in Croatia was decreasing over the researched period of time; in ten years the number dropped off for almost 50 percent. Now, we can tell that the reduction of the cinemas in Croatia is a fact. It is fascinating that 68 cinemas were closed in the whole country in ten years (See Table 3.1).

What is even more interesting is the fact that, although the number of cinema is reducing, the number of people who attended the projections is increasing<sup>4</sup>. For example, large multiplex cinema in Rijeka was opened in December 2007 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2013), and in 2008 the number of visitors increased almost three times. The new multiplex has 1868 seats, and I think this increase in attendance is logical because of several reasons.

There were two cinemas operating in Rijeka at the moment of the multiplex opening: the Teatro Fenice with 632 seats (Lokalpatrioti Rijeka, 2013) and the Croatia cinema with 323 seats (Art kino Croatia, 2013), which was closed in December 2007, the same month when the Cinestar multiplex was opened. When we consider that the Cinestar has eight screens and the possibility of projecting eight movies at a time, the larger number of viewers is logical.

Secondly, the Cinestar multiplex is situated in the first big shopping mall in Rijeka (Tower Centre Rijeka), and it was an attraction just like the mall itself, and that may be the fact which “pushed” people to the cinema. Large comfortable seats, large screens, surround systems, luxurious look, popcorn and shiny entrance were something new in the city and everybody wanted to see it.

There were around thirty cinemas in Rijeka altogether, from the beginning of the film projections in Rijeka in 1906, when the Edison cinema became the first cinema not only in Rijeka, but also on the whole Croatian territory. All of those thirty cinemas had a similar destiny after closing: most of them became stores, coffee bars or disco clubs.

Nowadays, the Teatro Fenice cinema has been closed since the spring 2010, because of the City of Rijeka’s inability of financing it. The Teatro Fenice is the only theatre from the Secession period in Croatia, and reinforced concrete was used for the first time in the construction of a theatre building in Croatia, which was also one of the earliest uses of such concrete in Europe. The building was designed and built at the same time with the famous Paris Theatre des Champs Elysees, Auguste Perret. The construction of the theatre was further

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<sup>4</sup> Except in Primorsko – goranska county in year 2011 – there we can see small decrease

conditioned by fitting two auditoriums, one above the other. The Teatro Fenice was added to the list of cultural monuments of Croatia, so it must not be transformed into something else than a cinema or a theatre. The building is falling apart, it is completely abandoned. The cinema has private owners, and the city of Rijeka is trying to buy the building and restart the film projections (Valerjev Ogurlić 2011).

The second cinema which was operating in the period of the Cinestar opening was the Croatia cinema. The origins of the cinema located in the building of Rijeka Capuchin monastery, which was named Croatia in 1991, are dating from 1927, when the first film Projections were held in the Capuchin theatre - Teatrino Cappuccini. After the end of World War II, in 1947, the cinema became a part of the newly founded city cinematography company and changed its name to Beograd. A complete reconstruction of the cinema's interior was carried out between 1975 and 1980. In 1991, the cinema was renamed in the Croatia cinema, and it was closed in 2007 – because of the same reason as the Teatro Fenice – weak finances in the city. The Croatia Cinema, together with the Tuškanac and the Europa cinemas in Zagreb, was one of the last authentic cinemas in Croatia (Art kino Croatia, 2013).

In 2008, in the building of the Croatia cinema, the new Art Cinema Croatia was opened. The programme can be defined as a combination of the classics and contemporary art films. They also show retrospectives of different national cinematographies or individual authors and genres. The Art Cinema is trying to respond to the trend of the closing of classic cinemas and the opening of multiplex cinema where, unfortunately, Hollywood spectacles predominate (the Art kino Croatia, 2013).

Zagreb has a more complicated story than Rijeka; it is a bigger city and has had more cinemas in its history – I will present a table of all cinemas that have ever operated in Zagreb; thus, I would like to show how the issue of cinemas is complex and how many cinemas have actually been closed in the last 20 years.

Table 3.2: Cinemas in Zagreb from the 1960s until today

<b>Name of the cinema</b>	<b>Its current status</b>
August Cesarec	Repurposed – the Exit Theatre
August Cesarec	Closed
Balkan	Working – cinema Europa
Bratstvo	Repurposed – there is a butcher shop
Broadway	Closed
Central	Closed
Croatia	Working
Croatia	Repurposed – the Kerempuh Theatre
Dom	Closed
Dom JNA	Closed
Forum SKUC	Closed
KIC Art Cinema	Closed
Jadran	Repurposed – there is a shop
Jedinstvo	Closed
Kamnik	Closed
Kinoteka	Closed
Kosmaj	Working – the Grič Cinema
Kozara	Closed
Kustošija	Demolished
Lika	Closed
Luxor	Demolished
Midium	Closed
Mosor	Closed
Movieplex	Working
Moša Pijade	Repurposed –Boogaloo Club
Opatija	Repurposed –the Vidra Theatre
Otokar Keršovani	Closed
Partizan	Closed

Peščenica	Closed
Podsused	Closed
Rade Končar	Closed
Radnički dom	Repurposed – Tvornica Club
Remetinec	Closed
Romanija	Repurposed – a hotel
Sesvete	Closed
Sigečica	Closed
Sloboda	Working
Studentski centar	Working
Studio	Repurposed – a private space
Trešnjevka	Closed
Triglav	Repurposed – a shop
Trnje	Demolished
Zagreb	Demolished

Source: Radovanović (2011).

We can see from this table that Zagreb was a very active city concerning cinemas. It is a very alarming fact that all those cinemas were closed in the late 1980s and the early 1990s<sup>5</sup>, so this process was happening simultaneously with political and economic changes in the country (See Table 3.2). That isn't by any chance accidental.

Today, there are eleven cinemas in Zagreb, four of them are multiplex cinemas, and out of the other seven, two are in student dorms (the SC cinema and the Forum cinema), the Europa cinema is oriented on the promotion of Croatian films, the Tuškanac cinema is working on the film education of young population, the KIC cinema is specialized in documentary projections, the Grič cinema is an art cinema, and there is also the Croatia cinema which is not oriented as the cinemas I mentioned above (ZgPortal 2013). From these information I can draw a conclusion that if a small town cinema wants to “survive” in the multiplex era, it has to define its programme to attract particular audience, or to have financial support of the local community.

<sup>5</sup> It is not possible to specify the year of the closing for every cinema separately, because such data is not elaborated in town institutions, and there is hardly any interest in doing it

The fact that Zagreb and its wider area, according the last census, have more than one million inhabitants (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2013) tells us that there are 0,000006 cinemas (without multiplex) per inhabitant. Rijeka has around 130 000 inhabitants, and only two cinemas, but this is still a larger number of cinemas per inhabitant than in Zagreb (which has around 780 000 inhabitants).

In comparison, Vienna, with around 2 million inhabitants, has 34 cinemas without multiplex cinemas, which means almost three times more cinemas per inhabitant (Wien Konkret, 2013). Berlin has around 3.5 million inhabitants, and in 2011 there were 94 cinemas (Berlin.de, 2013), which is even a bigger number. So, we can draw a conclusion that Zagreb is very indigent with cinemas.

In the next chapter, I will write about Rijeka and Zagreb, because I want to describe social and political atmosphere in those cities in the period when cinemas were closing, to make the whole situation more clear and understandable.

## 4 Influence of globalization and capitalism on cinemas – empirical research

### 4.1 Capitalism and its reflections on Croatian cities

The most important process that has been taking place in Croatia in the last 20 years is a transition process. In this context, it means the process of the transition from socialist collectivism to civil capitalistic society. Until the 1990s, Croatia, as a part of socialist society, had some privileges that supported the social standard of its citizens: they could get a job more easily than today, they could get a place to live (a flat) from the state, and both social and health insurance were covered by the state (Puljiz 1993). In this atmosphere, where basic human needs were covered by the state, people could use their free time for entertainment. That explains the larger number of cinemas operating in Zagreb and Rijeka in the time of socialism, than now.

In the 1990s things changed, and Croatian society had to face transition processes to become a part of capitalist society. That fact brought some news and the process of privatization is one of them. Most of national goods became private, many non profitable companies, which were working in the socialist era, were closed or privatized. This leads us to the second consequence of the transition: unemployment – due to the closing of companies, people lost their jobs; the companies that kept working didn't need so many workers, so they were fired. A logic consequence of losing a job is a degradation of the standard of living. Besides that, health insurance, housing policy and family policy moved from the state domain to the private one, which made life much more difficult for an individual than before the transition. A direct consequence is a decrease in spending free time on individual joys, and a turn to existential questions. This reason for the closing of cinemas also confirms my **second hypothesis**: political and economic processes influence individual's everyday life. If individuals do not have time for leisure in their free time (due to all the reasons mentioned above), they don't use cultural resources in their surroundings; those resources have been destructed and are slowly disappearing. This is how globalization processes affect every individual's life on a daily basis. Nevertheless, social sciences are not exact sciences, and sometimes there are exceptions to some patterns. The perfect example is the increase in the number of visitors in Croatian cinemas in the period when multiplex cinemas were opened, which I find perfectly logic, because those were the first cinemas of that type in the country, and they were attractive to the audience. If we look at the table carefully, we will see that, in



Rijeka and Zagreb, after a few years of increase, the number of visitors is slowly decreasing again.

Due to the globalization processes, cities and counties are changing and restructuring. Some changes are so radical that some regions are threatened by the loss of their basic identity<sup>6</sup>. On the other side, global economy is forcing them to change so they can be prepared to face new challenges – economic and political. Globalization promotes standardization in many fields, including architecture and the culture of space. In a discussion about the influence of globalization on public spaces we encounter two different points of view: one says that universalization is a consequence of losing local identity and erasing of local culture. The second point of view emphasizes homogenization as an inevitable process, but also as an authentic expression of new global influences (Šaban 2006). Universalization results in the lack of significant symbols of a single city, and over the time, with the lack of the society's identity. Maybe it is more adequate to say that cities are getting glocalized – they will never lose their native looks and image, but they are becoming more alike due to global influences.

World economy has shaped the life of the cities for centuries. In the 1960s, the organization of economic activity entered a period of transformation. Some of the consequences of those changes are: dismantle of once-powerful industrial centres, accelerated industrialization of several so-called Third World countries, and rapid internalization of the financial industry into worldwide network of transactions. Global cities are not only becoming nodal points for the coordination of the processes; they are becoming particular sites of production. However, this thesis could be applied to great world centres such as London, New York and Tokyo. Others, smaller former industrial centres are losing their role of the leading centres of industrial manufacturing, as a result of decentralization of this production form (Sassen 2001, 3). One can say that the processes of globalization have jolted national urban and economic systems. Even larger cities than Rijeka and Zagreb were affected by decentralization of their key industries at both national and international level. I see it this way: before processes of globalization took place, particular cities in every country had their main industry, and they provided their products for a specific area. Now, it is much cheaper to move the industry somewhere where the price of workers and raw materials is lower. So, this spatial dispersion of economic activities and the reorganization of financial industry are two processes that have contributed to the new forms of centralization. The spatial dispersion,

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<sup>6</sup> I will take celebration of Halloween or Thanksgiving in Asia or Europe for example.

which started in the 1980's, has brought about an expansion in central functions and in the growing stratum of specialized firms; reorganization in financial industry has brought sharp growth, rapid productions and a proliferation of financial firms (Sassen 2001). Another aspect of this mobility of capital is transnationalization of ownership, which raises the issue of national capital.

Those processes, of course, have a social aspect. They include the transmission of routine tasks to offices abroad or to suburban areas where head offices are located, setting up offices in cheaper locations, subcontracting office work to other firms. Secondly, spatial dispersion allows the entrance of large corporations into the retail of consumer services. The expanded market for such services has led large corporations to produce for the open market consumer services that once used to be produced only by small, single-site firms for smaller area. This led to centralize planning, development of such services, franchising and purchasing. The result has been the growth of large new firms, or fragmentation within firms – this is visible in hotels, restaurants, cinemas, car rentals and other services which used to be largely the domain of small, local, independent firms (Sassen 2001, 28 – 30). This explains us the reason and the way of how those large corporations can have their franchise in almost every city in the world, but also why small, local firms are perishing – they just cannot deal with such large machineries.

Industrial recomposition of the cities is not simply a result of the shift from manufacturing to service industry. There are three parts of this process: geographic dispersal of factories to cheaper areas which contributed the need for new forms of the management centralization, mostly in major cities. Secondly, these forms of centralization entail a shift in the locus of control and management: there is also a new marketplace with a multiplicity of advanced corporate service firms and nonbank financial institutions. New York, London, Tokyo, Paris and Frankfurt are examples of finance centres and global servicing and management centres. Thirdly, innovations in service and finance have been central for the economic activity transformation, and cities have emerged as key locations for the production in such innovations (Sassen 2001, 127).

To put it simply, the manufacturing industry has moved mainly from major cities to periphery, and cities have become financial and service centres – of course, this thesis cannot be so exclusive. Some major cities are still mainly industrial. However, the point is in polarization of work and services. New York, Tokyo and London have always been business and finance centres, but from the 1970s till now, the magnitude and structure of those sectors

have changed – less regulation, more diversification, more competition, the loss of market share due to the banks, and massive increase in economic transactions (Sassen 2001, 128).

All of this has consequences in social geography. The first key element is the suburbanization of the population associated with the expansion of a middle class. The second element is suburbanization of jobs which became possible due to telecommunication development. Only the minority of population – high class – is concentrated in city centres. City centres have become too expensive and too classy for middle and low class. Residents' life style dictates the offer in city centres – fine restaurants, boutiques, and high class hotels.

Cities are facing big changes due to those economic and political changes, which results in many everyday social problems. Residents of those cities face difficulties with transport, education, employment etc. One of the most visible changes is the opening of shopping centres outside the cities. Before them, shopping took place in the city centre, and now the city (shopping centre) is the result of shopping.

In capitalist Western world, those processes have been taking place since 1970s and they have been taking place for almost forty years now. Croatia has been isolated from those processes due to different market system by the early 1990s. While other countries of the Western world were dealing with the processes I described above, Croatia was dealing with post-war situation and economic transition.

Croatia, as a country which underwent transition not long ago, must accept both positive and negative aspects of globalization. Globalization is a process which different countries benefit differently from, but it definitely transforms the society. One of the positive aspects of globalization is occurrence and development of information technologies, which have provided fast information, knowledge and picture transfer (Milardović 2004, 164). Thus, more than ever before, the world has become a networked society on a global level.

One of the negative aspects of globalization is the fact that its essence is the power of major individuals and enterprises. Americanization (similar to Westernization) is one of the main terms mentioned in this context. Globalization with Americanization does not take enough care about the rest of the world which constitutes of variety of cultures and languages. We can say that American (Western) culture has hegemonic tendencies – its implicit ethnocentrism is taking over the world (Milardović 2004, 196). We can notice those tendencies within the issue of cinemas in Croatia – more and more cinemas which show mainly Hollywood movies have been opened.

## **4.2 Rijeka and Zagreb – processes which have been taking place in the last twenty years**

As I wrote before, many changes have taken place in Croatia in the last twenty years. Those processes affected Croatian cities in many ways, and I will describe how those changes affected the issue of cinemas.

Rijeka was an industrial, port city on the northern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Before the transition processes took place, most of the population had been working in two large shipyards (Viktor Lenac and 3. maj), metal industry (almost 4000 people worked there), transport (3000 employees), construction industry (9000 employees) and other kinds of manufacturing industries (4000 employees). After the war, around 30 000 working places were lost, and now, only one shipyard (3. maj) and one pharmaceutical firm (Jadran Galenski Laboratorij) work. Only 15 out of 500 major corporations are situated in Rijeka, only 3 percent of the country's production is in Rijeka (Pajić 2012).

Out of 30 biggest companies in the city, 12 of them deal with trade, and 11 of them deal with different kinds of services (transport, hotels, and building). Almost all prewar industry is gone, and the city can barely survive in these conditions. The process of transition showed its worst form in this city, which used to be the industrial centre of former Yugoslavia. All these companies are considered to be victims of a row of transition to Croatian fashion and technological backwardness. Wild privatization, high debts and private interest influenced Rijeka's downfall, and today that is a sad and poor city with rich history. Almost 40 000 people left Rijeka in the period between 1991 and 2001 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2013). The downfall of the city is visible to everyone; one short walk through the centre is enough to see abandoned industry buildings, with an area in the centre - the former paper mill Harter - falling apart.

Here, I would like to say something about Rijeka's cultural history in Yugoslavia, before the constitution of independent Croatia. Firstly, in the 1970s, Rijeka was the core of youth counterculture where there were not just rockers but also designers, photographers, journalists and urban bohemians. Rijeka, with its famous punk and new wave rock scene, had a special meaning within the context of the former Yugoslavia rock scene. It is comparable to Manchester in the British context. The reasons for such individualism and revolt should be

looked for in geographic position – because of the port there was the opportunity of information flow from the West, where in the 1970's punk movement was born. Secondly, there were good contacts with Ljubljana's punk scene because of its proximity and similar musical sensibilities. All of this, along with, of course, talent and enthusiasm of young people and peculiar sociopolitical background of the time, resulted in one of the most interesting rock scenes in this part of Europe.

In the late 1970s, in Rijeka, together with Ljubljana and Zagreb, and later Belgrade and Sarajevo, the urban core of young people who had done a kind of subcultural movement of youth (counter) culture was created. On one hand, it was in a genuine conflict with parental culture, and on the other hand it created a kind of new cultural model of living. This is a new view of the world, the way of life where rebellion and enthusiasm intertwine to push the limits of freedom and creativity - something similar to what the young generation in the West did in the 1960s (Lokalpatrioti Rijeka 2014). Those statements were spread through rock radio shows and youth newspaper VAL, which no longer exists.

Unfortunately, there is not much left of this great alternative scene. Most of the places where concerts, exhibitions and performances were held are now closed or repurposed. Iconic café bar Palach from that period, named after a Czech protester Jan Palach, is still open, but the city authorities do not have benevolent view of its work. Many guitar festivals and many kinds of rock events were held in Rijeka – today there is only Ri-rock festival, only a shadow of what it once was. It seems that cultural life of Rijeka has disappeared in the last 20 – 30 years, but nothing can erase the heritage of Rijeka's punk bands who were famous not only all over Yugoslavia, but also in the region – Termiti, Paraf, Grad, Fit and so on.

A great paradox, and one of the indicators of inconsistency between state and civil society in Croatia, is the fact that there are many associations in Rijeka, which work in public, mostly cultural domain, and have problems with spaces they need for their activities. However, they cannot get any of many abandoned buildings in the city, because they are state property. At the national and local level, there is no clear strategy to manage areas that are currently available and could be converted and used for cultural activities. The examples of such unused spaces are abandoned industrial areas (ex-factories), which number increases proportionally with the erosion of the industry. While former factory complexes decay, the independent cultural scene deals with the lack of adequate spaces to function as centres of the independent culture development and those buildings could serve as a home to a wide range of cultural associations. In this fact I can find one reason for the lack of cinemas in Rijeka: old

ones are closed, but new ones cannot be opened by the initiative of non-profit associations; government does not allow them to use those empty spaces, so in the city full of old, unused buildings, there is no place for cultural initiatives (Odjel za kulturalne studije Rijeka 2013).

We can find one of the reasons for closing old cinemas in the centre in this fast and thorough destruction of the city's industry – unemployed people surely don't think about cinemas or visit them. Besides that, many young people left the city, and there is a meaningful number of eventual cinema visitors.

Zagreb, on the other hand, has a similar, but somewhat different story. It is a bigger city and because of that the variety and number of industry is larger; it was (is) the industrial centre of the state. Like in Rijeka, the process of deindustrialization has taken place in the last twenty years. Still, by being the largest city in Croatia, this process wasn't as radical as in Rijeka.

The largest share in the entrepreneurship of Zagreb with 38.1 %, are wholesale trade and retail trade. The second is the manufacturing industry with a share of 20.3 %, and the third are electricity, steam, gas and air conditioning accounting for 7.8 % of total revenue in the enterprise of the City of Zagreb. Following are the activities of information and communication, with a share of 7.2 %, construction with 5.4 % of the shares; professional, scientific and technical activities with a share of 4.6 %, financial activities whose share is 4.5 %, and transportation and storage with the share of 3.9 %. In eight of these activities 91.8 % of the total revenue of entrepreneurship in Zagreb is achieved (Hrvatska gospodarska komora, 6 November 2013).

The fact that most of the major companies and banks, as well as the state monopolists, registered its headquarters in Zagreb, results in GDP per capita approximately three times higher in Zagreb than the average for the whole country. People from the whole country are immigrating to Zagreb, and the standard of living there is higher than in other parts of Croatia, and it is still possible to find a job there. This results in the spreading of the city, the expansion of suburban region and deficit of necessary infrastructure.

Unlike Rijeka, the City of Zagreb agreed to let some former industry buildings to independent associations, for the purpose of cultural activities. Among them, there is Laub, who once was Cavalry barracks of Austro-Hungarian army, and today its almost twenty thousand squares are home to the contemporary art in the form of exhibitions, performances and projections. Among similar positive examples, it is important to highlight the Pogon

Jedinstvo – it is the Centre for Independent Culture and Youth, a hybrid cultural institution based on a new model of civil-public partnerships (Odjel za kulturalne studije Rijeka 2013).

Like Rijeka, Zagreb had more unique cultural scene in Yugoslavia than nowadays. Many people from that period would even say that Rijeka's cultural scene was marginalized in favour of Zagreb, but that are just personal thoughts. Just like in Rijeka, alternative music scene in the 1970's was blossoming – great bands like Azra and Parni valjak appeared. Big international music stars visited Zagreb in that period: Deep Purple (1975), Rolling Stones (1976) and Paul McCartney (1976). The city was important on the cultural map of Yugoslavia and the region. There were many clubs with all kinds of music, there were cinemas in every quarter, as we can see in a table listed above; there were both Hollywood and Croatian films on the programme. Today, we can find all of that in Zagreb, but not so widespread, especially when we talk about cinemas. As in Rijeka, along with the constitution of a new country, culture issues become less relevant and marginalized.

We can conclude that Zagreb's cultural scene is a bit bigger than the one in Rijeka, but I think that is just a consequence of Zagreb being a larger city with larger population, and consequentially, larger number of various cultural initiatives. Later on, I will say something about what people I interviewed think of that issue.

#### **4.2.1 Description of case – study cinemas**

When I tried to reach someone from the Multiplex Cinestar, I wasn't successful. One of their employees told me that nobody from their public relations does things like student interviews, and that I have everything I need on their web site. Any of my efforts didn't help, so I had to look for what I need on the Cinestar web sites, where I didn't find all the answers I wanted, but I found some basic information.

The Cinestar is a chain of multiplex cinemas in Croatia, and Blitz is their movie distributor. There are 13 Cinestar cinemas in Croatia: 3 in Zagreb, one in Rijeka and the rest are around the country. There are several different auditoriums in each cinema, to make the experience of watching a film better: IMAX, 4D, eXtreme, Auto 3D and 4DX Samsung. Each of those kinds of the film projection has its specificities, and most of them are the newest technologies in cinematography. Also, there are special events like hidden and midnight movie premiere, matinee and family packages, a possibility of celebrating children's birthdays or buying cheaper tickets on Wednesdays. The Cinestar in Rijeka has 8 auditoriums, 1868

seats, which makes it bigger than all other three cinemas I studied together; there are between 260 – 300 film projections weekly, and there are around 11 000 visitors weekly (Cinestar, 2014).

I didn't hear any thoughts on the topic from any of the managers. I believe my work would be more profound if it included their answers too. I believe it is their marketing plan: the cinema itself is presented in the media through commercials great deal of time, but they don't communicate with people like me directly, and that is the element of non-humanity I will mention later in the text. Here, we can also apply a part of McDonaldization theory: control – consumers do what management wants them to do to have the complete control over all kinds of situations. If they had given me the interview, they wouldn't have completed the control over my interpretation of it: "By that I mean that they deny the basic humanity, the human reason, of the people who work within or are served by them" (Ritzer 2004).

In Rijeka besides multiplex cinema there is an art cinema called Croatia whose programme structure and approach to the art of the film is completely different from that of a multiplex cinema. The Art Cinema Croatia was opened on 18 December 2008. From its establishment until today, there have been a total of over 1,500 titles, and nearly 2,500 film projections. With the opening of the theatre, Rijeka has become one of the few Croatian cities which offered a response to the trend of the closing cinemas in city centres and offered space for the projection of valuable Croatian and international films, for which commercial multiplex cinemas closed their doors. Due to the number of projections and the titles in the first year of the Art Cinema Croatia, it has established itself as the leading Croatian art-cinema, which is recognized by the Europa Cinemas network which affiliated this cinema after the first six months of operating.

The origins of the cinema, located in the building of the Rijeka Capuchin monastery in nowadays Krešimirova Street are dating from 1927, and since then films have been shown in the same space. After the end of World War II, in 1947, the Cinematography Company of San Giorgio (so it was called) was confiscated, and cinema became a part of a newly founded city Cinematography Company and changed its name to Belgrade.

The complete reconstruction of the theatre's interior was carried out from 1975 until 1980, simultaneously with the complete renovation of the central heating, air conditioning and electric installations. In 1991 the cinema enterprise was renamed in Rijekakino and the theatre changed its name to Croatia. There were no other significant modifications until the closure of the cinema in December 2007 (Art kino Rijeka, 2104).



In 2008, the theatre was equipped with modern equipment - new 35 mm and 16 mm projectors, digital beta, video projector, sound system, and more recently, digital projector as a part of the digitization project of Independent cinemas which is a part of the National Programme for audiovisual creativity. This is a strategic project which was launched by the Croatian Audiovisual Centre and the Ministry of Culture with the support of the local city governments to empower independent cinemas, increase the viewership of European, Croatian and world titles in independent cinemas and enrich cultural diversity offers in cities and small communities. The Art Cinema Croatia is annually visited by almost 25.000 visitors, one-fifth of which are children and young people (Mišković 2013)

The Europa Cinema is Zagreb's iconic cinema, built in 1924-25 by the rich family Müller, designed by an architect Srecko Florshütza with the desire to make the most beautiful, the most important and the most modern cinema in the region. The City of Zagreb bought it in October 2007. In 2008 the management was entrusted to Zagreb Film Festival, with the intention of becoming a regional centre of films and cinema. In 2013 the Ministry of Culture issued a decision according to which the Europa cinema is a protected monument and the Croatian national treasure. The interior of the cinema with its rich decorations and classicist detail is considered one of the most beautiful urban spaces in the city (Kino Europa 2014).

Since the management of the cinema Europe was taken by the Zagreb Film Festival in January 2008, it has become the leading regional institution for the projection of independent films and contemporary home for almost all of Zagreb festivals and events. The regular programme - over 365 days of the year – consists of about forty contemporary independent films from all over the world and all categories – feature films, short, animation, documentary, experimental films, films for children and other. The cinema is home for even 17 Croatian film festivals and events, with about thirty film premieres annually in all genres, and it pays special attention to children and high-quality films for pre-school and primary school age. In the halls and lobbies of theatre numerous lectures, round tables, discussions, book presentations and film projects, performances, exhibitions, music and similar events are held. As we can see, there are many similarities with the program of the Art cinema in Rijeka.

The cinema is independent and non-profitable; the manager says that the cinema is not there to make money, but to promote films which you can't see in other cinemas. This cinema has around 100 000 visitors a year (Laurenta 2013).

The third cinema is the DokuKino – a very interesting type of cinema because it is specialized for documentaries, but it doesn't have space of its own and it uses the Grič art cinema for its work, every Thursday and Friday. In addition to the regular distribution of documentaries, the titles from a large number of regional festivals (Motovun Film Festival, Sarajevo Film Festival, Liburnia Film Festival, Dokufest, Mediterranean Film Festival...) are also shown there, special projections and presentations of authors and regular conversations with directors after the projections are also organized. In the Dokukino the focus is on local and regional authors through the projection of new films and retrospectives (DokuKino, 2014).

It is also interesting that since 2009 the DokuKino has been led by an organization called Restart. It is a private, profit organization financed mostly by different Ministries (Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Science, Ministry of Family), the City Of Zagreb and HAVC,<sup>7</sup> that deals with the production, education, publishing, distribution and technical assistance for the development of documentary film, and it is the only specialized distributor of documentaries in Croatia. The members of Restart are film and media professionals engaged in the field of documentary, experimental and animated films with the experience in organization, production and public relations. It is important to say that this organization manages the whole process around each movie – they visit many film festivals in the region, but also in Europe. When they see an interesting documentary, they contact the distributor, they translate the films on their own, and they manage the distribution in Croatia and region. The DokuKino is actually a project, without a space of their own. They are trying to find one, but until then, they use the Grič Cinema and rarely some other cinemas as well. The DokuKino is visited by 10 000 visitors annually (Korać 2013).

#### **4.2.2 Analysis of interviews**

In this part of the master thesis I will present the results of the research I did on the basis of structured interviews with cinema managers.

Having used structured interviews, I interviewed three managers of independent cinemas, one from Rijeka and two from Zagreb – Boba Mišković from the Art cinema Croatia from Rijeka, Hrvoje Laurenta from the Europa cinema and Inja Korać from the documentary

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<sup>7</sup> *Hrvatski audiovizualni centar* (Croatian Audio-Visual Centre).

cinema DokuKino, both from Zagreb<sup>8</sup>. Here, I will present interpretations of those interviews. The questions I asked them can be found in the attachment (See Attachment A). Also, I had an intention to interview managers of the Cinestar multiplex from Rijeka and Zagreb, but they didn't want to have any contact with me.

First I talked to my examinees about the differences between their cinemas and multiplex cinemas.

The film program in the Art Cinema Croatia is very clearly identifiable and consists of a programme which shows film classics and contemporary art films, the specific educational programmes, experimental films programmes, cycles intended for target audience (programmes for national minorities, children, youth, queer film), and programmes aimed to promote film activity through the organization of premieres, exhibitions, etc. In addition, the Art Cinema Croatia's work is based on two key points: creating quality programmes and communicating with citizens. To actually create the best possible quality of programme they established the Programme Council and developed co-operation with a number of organizations engaged in the film business, foreign embassies and film distributors at home and abroad. Because of the desire for the artistic presentation of relevant programmes that do not attract large numbers of visitors, yet they have exceptional importance in film studies, they decided to build a new auditorium - a mini-theatre. The auditorium can accommodate about twenty visitors, and the goal is to periodically run documentary and experimental films (Mišković 2013).

Hrvoje Laurenta from the Europa cinema says that films shown in multiplex cinemas are not the kind of films after which you will reflect or argue about the topic, and even maybe do some research on it. Those are the films to clear your head and relax, and that is the main difference. He doesn't see anything bad in that, but he would like to see more people in independent cinemas (Laurenta 2013).

Inja Korać from the DokuKino says that multiplex cinemas have so many financial possibilities that the release of one film in the Cinestar costs like 10 years of managing the DokuKino and similar cinemas. Here, she sees the biggest difference between small cinemas and multiplex cinemas – money. This factor makes competition between them impossible, neither in technical nor in programme conditions, and that is why she can't compare those two types of cinemas. In multiplex cinemas everything is about money, advertising, marketing,

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<sup>8</sup> Boba Mišković sent me her answers in written form, while with Hrvoje Laurenta and Inja Korać I talked on the phone.

and very little about films themselves. The DokuKino has other way of accessing the art of cinematography – they like to make social event out of a film projection, they try to stimulate discussions after seeing a movie, they try to achieve contact with the visitors, especially with regular ones, they organize events with film directors and other people involved in film business, they organize education programme where they educate people about making their own documentaries. She thinks it is important to keep this human component in cinemas, and not to reduce the film art to pure marketing and populism (Korać 2013).

The criteria of choosing which movies they will show are similar in all three cinemas.

Multiplex cinemas have completely different programming concepts so she doesn't consider them a competition. When the Art Cinema Croatia was opened, the Cinestar had already existed, and since the opening, the number of visitors has been growing each year, which indicates some changes in the structure and the wishes of the audience.

The Art Cinema Croatia has a lot of loyal visitors who are almost exclusively the audience of art cinemas. However, a part of this audience certainly also visits the Cinestar. One does not exclude the other; multiplex cinemas also show some valuable film titles. It is important to educate the audience to approach the film art constructively and comprehensively and to bypass ideological traps that are often placed in it. The whole project was launched with the idea of achieving a clearly defined goal: the development of film audience in Rijeka. The Art cinema, merely by its existence, enables the fulfilment of cultural and educational needs of the citizens of Rijeka, who, in the past five years, have shown great interest in the programmes in that cinema. Although the citizens have the right to realize their cultural needs in the areas of the film art, they often remain unrealized because of the non-developed distribution systems, or because of the lack of spaces where this kind of films could be shown. Moreover, despite the fact that the film culture is a part of the school curriculum, in reality it is totally marginalized among other things, because there is no decent space where films could be shown to pupils (Mišković 2013).

In the Europa Cinema many festivals take place, so there are many international films shown there. The regular programme during all 365 days of the year consists of around forty contemporary independent films from all over the world and all categories – feature films, short, animation, documentary, experimental films, films for children and other. The Europa Cinema has become the centre of contemporary independent international cinematography in Zagreb and Croatia, and it educates and informs the audience about recent film work and cultures around the world (Laurenta 2013).

The DokuKino shows only documentaries. The way of choosing which films will be shown in the DokuKino is only one – they visit film festivals and common events and they choose films they find important, interesting or relevant for the current situation in society. They don't do that to attract the audience and to make the cinema different from the others; they do that out of love for documentary films. They think there are enough people in Zagreb who appreciate that, and they are their loyal audience.

When talking about a need for a specific kind of programme to attract the audience, all of them agree that it is their attention to show movies which are interesting to them and which are appreciated by the audience; it is not their desire to be special, their desire is to encourage people to think about what they have seen and discuss it later.

The next question was about seeing multiplex cinemas as their competition. None of the examinees sees multiplex cinemas as a direct competition, but they agree that a certain amount of audience was distracted by multiplex cinemas. All three agree that they have their loyal audience, regardless of the multiplex cinemas.

Multiplex cinemas have completely different programming concepts so they are not considered a competition (Mišković 2013).

Hrvoje Laurenta doesn't see multiplex cinemas as a competition to the Europa cinema; he thinks it is good for people to have the possibility of choosing where they want to watch a film, and he thinks it is good that people visit any kind of cinema because the number of people who visit cinemas is decreasing (Laurenta 2013).

Inja Korać thinks that multiplex cinemas are a kind of competition to the DokuKino, but she doesn't think it is something to worry about. She says their presence in media and public life is so big that it's not possible for small cinemas to get through in the way of advertising in media. Hence, they need an interesting programme to make people visit them (Korać 2013).

The next question was about the audience – do people who attend small cinemas visit multiplex cinemas too, or is the audience divided between those types of film theatres and multiplex cinemas?

The Art cinema Croatia has a lot of loyal visitors who are almost exclusively the audience of art cinemas, while a part of the audience is certainly also the audience of the Cinestar. One does not exclude the other; multiplex cinemas also show valuable film titles. It

is important to educate the audience to approach film media constructively. The whole project of art cinema was launched with the idea of achieving clearly defined goal and that is the development of the film audience in Rijeka. The work of art cinema enables the fulfilment of cultural and educational needs for the citizens of Rijeka. In the past five years they have shown great interest in the programmes that took place in the cinema (Mišković 2013).

The culture and habit of going to cinemas is what is important, and if you educate people more, they may visit independent cinemas more often. According to Hrvoje Laurenta, the programme in multiplex cinemas is of lesser quality than in the Europa cinema. He divides the audience by age: children go to both multiplex and small cinemas, young people age 12 – 18 almost exclusively go to a multiplex, people age 18 – 30 visit multiplex, but they have started to show the interest in small independent cinemas, and by getting older, they choose to go to a multiplex less and to small cinemas more. Retired people almost never visit multiplex cinemas. (Laurenta 2013).

Inja Korać thinks that people do not have many choices, so, if they are interested in films, they go to both multiplex and small cinemas. If they do not care so much about film art, they go to a multiplex because they are more practical to visit. She blames the city authorities for closing so many small cinemas over the years – a city should protect this kind of culture, because when the city loses all small cinemas, the only place to see a film will be multiplex cinemas, and so the mainstream culture will become the only culture, and that leaves people without possibility of choosing what kind of cultural praxis they will perform. Just because the fact that mainstream culture, in this case multiplex cinemas, grows independently of politics and economical situation, authorities should assure the presence of small independent cinemas (Korać 2013).

Finally, I asked them about the impact of multiplex cinemas on small cinemas and the connection between the closing of smaller theatres in the city centre with the opening of multiplex cinemas.

The occurrence of multiplex cinemas certainly did not do any good to smaller city theatres, but the issue is much more complex. It is the systematic neglect of film as art in education programmes and the lack of education about film that led to an increase in the number of audience for films which sell good advertising, and not the quality or artistic relevance. In fact, over the past twenty years, from Rijeka, as well as from the centres of other Croatian cities, little theatres have disappeared – this process was completed in the mid 2000s when the last city cinemas were closed. Parallel with the disappearance of the cinemas in city

centres, multiplex cinemas in shopping malls were opened. The causes of such a process are manifold; from rapid and numerous changes in the production and distribution of audiovisual works to the changes in the economic domain. However, the situation in Croatia was more difficult because of many transitional changes that have affected every social and cultural sector, including this one. Finally, the disappearance of the area intended for the film projections in the city centre took place. The support for this activity was insufficient, as well as the education of new generations in film art and finally, the decrease of the audience. In Croatia, the capitalism and Hollywood penetrated with lightning speed and won the audience, but after the initial boom, the situation is slowly beginning to change, and citizens have been creating a new relationship with the film. Encouragement of filmmaking at the local level and constant investment in creating a quality film programme, as well as supporting activities is a long process that requires a lot of effort and commitment, but is of utmost importance. The support of HAVC, Croatian Ministry of Culture and the city administration that recognizes the need of citizens for diverse cultural offerings is crucial (Mišković 2013).

Hrvoje Laurenta is aware of all the lacks of small town cinemas. Firstly, he argues about technical conditions – the seats are not comfortable, the technology of the film projections is outdated, there are no snacks, etc. He understands that people want to go to more modern spaces to witness modern technology advantages, and if small cinemas don't do something about it, they could very soon become a part of the history. Here, we face the issue of money – multiplex cinemas are financed by sponsors, large corporations, and small cinemas depend on private donations and public money. Because of the weak economic situation in the country, money for culture needs is unassuming, and small cinemas are “fighting” for their survival. This is why he doesn't blame the opening of multiplex cinemas for the closing of small cinemas; he thinks they would close anyway because of the lack of finances and backwardness. The opening of multiplexes influenced small cinemas that kept operating to work even harder, to make programmes more creative, to buy and show films of greater quality (Laurenta 2013).

Inja Korać also thinks that the local government should help financing small cinemas to keep them operating, because there is no way they will survive without their help. She thinks that the culture politics in the country is wrong and marginalized completely, the money is spent on less important subjects, and cinemas are at the end of the line (Korać 2013). She thinks that, because of the financial factor, small cinemas will eventually lose this “battle” with multiplex cinemas.

It is clear from those interviews that all my examinees agree on one thing – the lack of finances is the main reason for closing small town cinemas. Multiplex cinemas surely did contribute to this process, but they weren't the only cause for small cinemas to close. Technical backwardness, modest theatres, limits in film projections, unattractiveness – these are the reasons why people stopped visiting small cinemas. When this process started taking place, multiplex cinemas entered the market and that led to the present situation. This is an answer to my **first hypothesis**: The opening of large multiplexes and the closing of town cinemas are in correlation – small cinemas can't compete with multiplex cinemas' quality of the film projection, or with many facilities they offer, so they have been closing due to the lack of the audience. This is partly, but not entirely, correct. Small cinemas were left without financial help from the local authorities, and they can't compete with multiplexes on any level. I think Boba Mišković (2013), the manager of the Art cinema Croatia explained it perfectly: the causes of such a process are manifold, from rapid and numerous changes in the production and distribution of audiovisual works to the changes in the economic domain. However, the situation in Croatia was more difficult because of many transitional changes that have affected every social and cultural sector, including this one. Finally, the disappearance of the area intended for the film projections in the city centre took place. The support for this activity was insufficient, as well as the education of new generations in film art and finally, the decrease of the audience. In Croatia, the capitalism and Hollywood penetrated with lightning speed and won the audience, but after the initial boom, the situation is slowly beginning to change, and citizens have been creating a new relationship with the film.

#### **4.2.3 Cinema programmes' analysis**

In this part I intend to analyze cinema programmes and do their comparison. I think it is necessary to do so, to back up the thoughts of people I interviewed and some of my conclusions. Without this analysis my paper would be unreliable and without a firm base for talking about multiplex and small town cinemas. I will analyze programmes for March 2014.<sup>9</sup> I will present two tables – one for three small cinemas, and other for the Cinestar Rijeka. The reason for doing so is in practicality – there are too many films shown in the Cinestar, in

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<sup>9</sup> I decided I will analyze only one month film programme because it would be too much material to research the whole year, so March is the sample period. I decided to analyze the month of March because it is the last month of writing my master thesis, so I can get the most recent information.



relation to small cinemas, so I think two tables will be much more precise than only one. In the tables, I will gather all films shown in March 2014 in all three small cinemas, and one week in March 2014 for the Cinestar, because I think it is unnecessary to write their program for the whole month. It would be too long, and by doing so I still have enough material for comparison. I think this is the best way of comparison, because it is visible in one place.

After I present the tables, I will draw some personal conclusions about the film programmes.

Table 4.1: Movie programs of case study small cinemas for March 2014

Cinema	The Art cinema	The Europa Cinema -	The DokuKino –
Date	Croatia - Rijeka <sup>10 11</sup>	Zagreb	Zagreb <sup>12</sup>
1 March	<p><b>The Lego Movie</b>, Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon</p> <p><b>Snow Queen</b>, Russia, 2012, cartoon</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>The Great Beauty</b>, Italy, 2013</p>	<p><b>Nymphomaniac I and II</b>, Denmark/ Germany, 2013</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>Her</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Gangster Loves You</b>, Croatia/Germany, 2013</p>	No programme
2 March	<p><b>The Lego Movie</b>, Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon</p> <p><b>Snow Queen</b>, Russia, 2012, cartoon</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>The Great Beauty</b>, Italy, 2013</p>	<p><b>Nymphomaniac II</b>, Denmark/ Germany, 2013</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>Her</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>The Great Beauty</b>, Italy, 2013</p> <p><b>Wrong Delivery</b>, India, 2013</p>	No programme
3 March	<p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>The Great Beauty</b>, Italy, 2013</p>	<p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>Her</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>The Great Beauty</b>, Italy, 2013</p> <p><b>Wrong Delivery</b>, India, 2013</p> <p><b>Gangster Loves You</b>,</p>	No programme

<sup>10</sup>The films I didn't note which genre they belong to, means they are motion pictures.

<sup>11</sup> Films noted with „F“ belong to French movie cycle running at the cinema in March.

<sup>12</sup>Films noted with „L“ are shown within Liburnia Film Festival - the only Croatian documentary film festival (taking place at the cinema in March).

		Croatia/Germany, 2013	
4 March	<b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013	<b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>Wrong Delivery</b> , India, 2013 <b>Gangster Loves You</b> , Croatia/Germany, 2013	No programme
5 March	<b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013	<b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>Wrong Delivery</b> , India, 2013 <b>Nymphomaniac II</b> , Denmark/Germany, 2013	No programme
6 March	<b>Made in Dagenham</b> , Great Britain, 2010 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013	<b>Nymphomaniac II</b> , Denmark/Germany, 2013 <b>Gangster Loves You</b> , Croatia/Germany, 2013 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>From Thursday until Sunday</b> , Chile/Nederland, 2012 <b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013	No programme
7 March	<b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>Gangster Loves You</b> , Croatia, 2103	<b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>From Thursday until Sunday</b> , Chile/Nederland, 2012 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>Wrong Delivery</b> , India, 2013 <b>Her</b> , USA, 2013	No programme
8 March	<b>Snow Queen</b> , Russia, 2012, cartoon <b>The Lego Movie</b> , Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Drops of Heaven</b> , Japan, 2012 <b>Gangster Loves You</b> , Croatia, 2103	<b>Nymphomaniac I and II</b> , Denmark/ Germany, 2013 <b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>Her</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Gangster Loves You</b> , Croatia/Germany, 2013 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>From Thursday until Sunday</b> , Chile/Nederland, 2012	No programme
9 March	<b>Šegrt Hlapić</b> , Croatia,	<b>Nymphomaniac I and II</b> ,	No programme

	<p>2013</p> <p><b>The Lego Movie</b>, Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon</p> <p><b>The Great Beauty</b>, Italy, 2013</p> <p><b>Vis-à-vis</b>, Croatia, 2013</p> <p><b>Gangster Loves You</b>, Croatia, 2103</p>	<p>Denmark/ Germany, 2013</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>From Thursday until Sunday</b>, Chile/Nederland, 2012</p> <p><b>Wrong Delivery</b>, India, 2013</p> <p><b>Nebraska</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Šegrt Hlapić</b>, Croatia, 2013</p>	
10 March	<p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>Indian Song</b>, India, 1975</p>	<p><b>Nymphomaniac I and II</b>, Denmark/ Germany, 2013</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>Her</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Gangster Loves You</b>, Croatia/Germany, 2013</p> <p><b>From Thursday until Sunday</b>, Chile/Nederland, 2012</p> <p><b>Nebraska</b>, USA, 2013</p>	No programme
11 March	<p><b>Hiroshima, My Love</b>, France, 1959</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p>	<p><b>Nebraska</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Wrong Delivery</b>, India, 2013</p> <p><b>The Great Beauty</b>, Italy, 2013</p> <p><b>From Thursday until Sunday</b>, Chile/Nederland, 2012</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>Nymphomaniac II</b>, Denmark/ Germany, 2013</p>	No programme
12 March	<p><b>Moderato Cantabile</b>, Italy/France</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012, 1960</p>	<p><b>Nebraska</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Gangster Loves You</b>, Croatia/Germany, 2013</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>Wrong Delivery</b>, India, 2013</p> <p><b>Her</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Dvojina</b>, Croatia, Slovenia, Denmark, 2013</p>	No programme
13 March	<p><b>Vis-à-vis</b>, Croatia, 2013</p> <p><b>Nebraska</b>, USA, 2013</p>	<p><b>Nymphomaniac II</b>, Denmark/ Germany, 2013</p> <p><b>Gangster Loves You</b>, Croatia/Germany, 2013</p> <p><b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b>, Belgium, 2012</p> <p><b>Vis-à-vis</b>, Croatia, 2013</p>	<b>Master of the Universe</b> , Germany/Austria, 2013

		<b>Dvojina</b> , Croatia, Slovenia, Denmark, 2013	
14 March	<b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013	<b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Wrong Delivery</b> , India, 2013 <b>Gangster Loves You</b> , Croatia/Germany, 2013 <b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013	<b>Master of the Universe</b> , Germany/Austria, 2013 <b>Mother Europe</b> , Slovenia/Macedonia/Croatia, 2013
15 March	<b>Snow Queen</b> , Russia, 2012, cartoon <b>The Lego Movie</b> , Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013	<b>Nymphomaniac II</b> , Denmark/ Germany, 2013 <b>Gangster Loves You</b> , Croatia/Germany, 2013 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Wrong Delivery</b> , India, 2013 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Her</b> , USA, 2013	No programme
16 March	<b>Snow Queen</b> , Russia, 2012, cartoon <b>The Lego Movie</b> , Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013	<b>Nymphomaniac II</b> , Denmark/ Germany, 2013 <b>Gangster Loves You</b> , Croatia/Germany, 2013 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>Wrong Delivery</b> , India, 2013 <b>Najljepša je zemlja moja</b> , Croatia/Serbia/Germany, 2012	No programme
17 March	<b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Loved ones</b> , France, Great Britain, 2011 - F	<b>Her</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Najljepša je zemlja moja</b> , Croatia/Serbia/Germany, 2012 <b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012	No programme
18 March	<b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Cages</b> , Belgium/France, 2006 - F	<b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Najljepša je zemlja moja</b> , Croatia/Serbia/Germany, 2012 <b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>Nymphomaniac II</b> , Denmark/ Germany, 2013	No programme

		<b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013	
19 March	<b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Mother's Thoughts</b> , France, 2007 - F	<b>Her</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Najljepša je zemlja moja</b> , Croatia/Serbia/Germany, 2012 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013	<b>Master of the Universe</b> , Germany/Austria, 2013 <b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013
20 March	<b>To Russia, Donkeys and the Rest Ones</b> , France, 2003 – F – documentary film <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated film <b>The Concert</b> , France/Italy/Belgium, 2009 - F	<b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated movie <b>The Broken Circle</b> <b>Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>Najljepša je zemlja moja</b> , Croatia/Serbia/Germany, 2012	<b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013
21 March	<b>Simone Veil, the French Story</b> , France, 2004 – F <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated movie <b>Little Room</b> , Switzerland, 2010 - F	<b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>Najljepša je zemlja moja</b> , Croatia/Serbia/Germany, 2012 <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated movie <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013	<b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013
22 March	<b>Snow Queen</b> , Russia, 2012, animated <b>The Lego Movie</b> , Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated <b>Together is Too Much</b> , France, 2010 - F	<b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated <b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>Najljepša je zemlja moja</b> , Croatia/Serbia/Germany <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013	No programme
23 March	<b>Snow Queen</b> , Russia, 2012, cartoon <b>The Lego Movie</b> , Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon movie	<b>Her</b> , USA, 2013 <b>The Broken Circle</b> <b>Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Adoption Approved</b> ,	No programme

	<b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated	France/South Korea, 2012, animated <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013 <b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013	
24 March	<b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated	<b>Nymphomaniac II</b> , Denmark/ Germany, 2013 <b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013	No programme
25 March	<b>Every Everything: The Music, Life &amp; Times of Grant Hart</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Dvojina</b> , Croatia, Slovenia, Denmark, 2013	<b>Young and Beautiful</b> , France, 2013 <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated <b>Her</b> , USA, 2013 <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013	No programme
26 March	<b>From Thursday until Sunday</b> , Chile/Nederland, 2012 <b>Damir Avdić: the Real Man for Capitalism</b> , Slovenia, 2013, documentary movie	<b>Nymphomaniac II</b> , Denmark/ Germany, 2013 <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013	<b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013
27March	Short films of Karpo Godina, experimental films (10 titles)	<b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013 <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>Hands Over the City</b> , Italy, 1963 <b>Mother's Boy</b> , France, 2013	<b>Park of Love</b> , Croatia, 2013 - L <b>Autofocus</b> , Croatia, 2013 - L <b>The Infant</b> , Croatia, 2013 - L <b>The Verdict</b> , Croatia, 2013 - L <b>What is Like at Home?</b> , Croatia, 2013 - L <b>The Terrace</b> , Croatia, 2013 - L <b>Starting Point for Waiting</b> ,

			Croatia, 2013 - L
28 March	<b>Early Work</b> , Yugoslavia, 1969	<b>Her</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>The First Snow</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>Mother's Boy</b> , France, 2013 <b>Bertolucci about Bertolucci</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013	<b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013
29 March	<b>The Lego Movie</b> , Austria/USA, 2014 – cartoon <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated film Short movies of Karpo Godina, experimental films	<b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>Mother's Boy</b> , France, 2013 <b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013 <b>The Fearless</b> , Italy, 2013	No programme
30 March	<b>Snow Queen</b> , Russia, 2012, cartoon <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated <b>From Thursday until Sunday</b> , Chile/Nederland, 2012	<b>The Great Beauty</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>The Broken Circle Breakdown</b> , Belgium, 2012 <b>Mother's Boy</b> , France, 2013 <b>Adoption Approved</b> , France/South Korea, 2012, animated <b>Sacro Gra</b> , Italy, 2013 <b>The Missing Picture</b> , Cambodia, 2013 <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>Prediction: Pasolini's Africa</b> , Italy, 2013	No programme
31 March	<b>From Thursday until Sunday</b> , Chile/Nederland, 2012	<b>Vis-à-vis</b> , Croatia, 2013 <b>Nebraska</b> , USA, 2013 <b>History</b> , France/Italy, 2013 <b>Mother's Boy</b> , France, 2013	No programme
Total number of titles:	28	23	10

Sources: The Art kino Croatia, 2014; The DokuKino, 2014; Kino Europa, 2014.

In the table for the Cinestar in Rijeka I will not write the titles of the films, because I think it would be too long and unnecessary. I divided films they show into categories, and I

will write the number of films shown daily. I will present the film programme for one week in March: 14 March – 20 March 2014.

Table 4.2: Film programme of the multiplex Cinestar Rijeka<sup>13</sup>

Film type	Hollywood production films	Croatian production films	Other production films	Live theatre show projections <sup>14</sup>	Cartoons
Date					
14 March	<p><b>Need for Speed</b>, USA, 2014</p> <p><b>Non Stop</b>, USA, 2014</p> <p><b>300: Rise of an Empire</b>, USA, 2014 (3D)</p> <p><b>Lone Survivor</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Three Days to Kill</b>, USA, 2104</p> <p><b>Dallas Buyers Club</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Gravity</b>, USA, 2013 (3D)</p> <p><b>Her</b>, USA, 2013</p> <p><b>Pompeii</b>, USA, 2013 (3D)</p> <p><b>The Monuments Men</b>, USA, 2014</p> <p><b>12 Years a Slave</b>, USA, 2014</p> <p><b>Nymphomaniac II</b>, Denmark/ Germany, 2013</p>	<p><b>Majstori</b>, Croatia, 2013</p> <p><b>Šegrt Hlapić</b>, Croatia, 2103</p>	<p><b>Montevideo, See You!</b>, Serbia, 2014</p> <p><b>Beauty and the Beast</b>, France, 2014</p>	<p><b>Elton John: Million Dollar Piano</b>, USA, concert</p> <p><b>The Sleeping Beauty</b>, Great Britain, ballet</p> <p><b>The Winters Tale</b>, Great Britain, ballet</p> <p><b>Manon Lescaut</b>, Great Britain, opera</p>	<p><b>Mr. Peabody and Sherman</b>, USA, 2104 (3D)</p> <p><b>Snow Queen</b>, Russia, 2012 (3D)</p> <p><b>The Lego Movie</b>, Austria/USA, 2014 (3D)</p> <p><b>The House of Magic</b>, Belgium, 2013 (3D)</p>
15 March	<p><b>Need for Speed</b>, USA, 2014</p> <p><b>Non Stop</b>, USA, 2014</p> <p><b>300: Rise of an Empire</b>, USA, 2014</p>	<p><b>Majstori</b>, Croatia, 2013</p> <p><b>Šegrt Hlapić</b>, Croatia, 2103</p>	<p><b>Montevideo, See You!</b>, Serbia, 2014</p> <p><b>Beauty and the Beast</b>,</p>	<p><b>Elton John: Million Dollar Piano</b>, USA, concert</p> <p><b>The Sleeping Beauty</b>, Great Britain, ballet</p>	<p><b>Mr. Peabody and Sherman</b>, USA, 2104 (3D)</p> <p><b>Snow Queen</b>, Russia, 2012 (3D)</p>

<sup>13</sup> Where there is a note 3D, it means that a 3D version of a film is also shown.

<sup>14</sup> One of the Cinestar's great moves was to broadcast some of the famous ballets and operas live from world theatres, it is the way to experience the part of the culture most people would probably never see in the place of its origin.



	(3D) <b>Lone Survivor</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Three Days to Kill</b> , USA, 2104 <b>Dallas Buyers Club</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Gravity</b> , USA, 2013 (3D) <b>Her</b> , USA, 2013 <b>Pompeii</b> , USA, 2013 (3D) <b>The Monuments Men</b> , USA, 2014 <b>12 Years a Slave</b> , USA, 2014 <b>Nymphomaniac II</b> , Denmark/ Germany, 2013		France, 2014	<b>The Winters Tale</b> , Great Britain, ballet <b>Manon Lescaut</b> , Great Britain, opera	<b>The Lego Movie</b> , Austria/USA, 2014 (3D) <b>The House of Magic</b> , Belgium, 2013 (3D)
16 March	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-
17 March	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-
18 March	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-
19 March	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-
20 March	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-	-II-
Total number of titles:	12	2	2	4	4

Source: The Cinestar Rijeka, 2014.

In the final section of this part of my paper, I would like to make a short analysis about film programmes in multiplex cinemas and in small town cinemas. The Cinestar multiplex in Rijeka shows 22 films in only one week in March, while the Art Cinema Croatia in Rijeka shows 28 films in the whole month of March, the Europa Cinema in Zagreb 23, and the DokuKino 10 (See Table 4.1). In Cinestar, there is really something for someone, from Hollywood production films, cartoons, Croatian production films and live broadcasting from world theatres (See Table 4.2). That is why it refers to itself as “Cinema with five stars” (Cinestar 2014).

The choice of films in the Art Cinema in Rijeka is very wide and it covers international film art, trying to please the wishes of all their visitors. There are many titles, but the flaw is the fact that each film is on the programme for a very short period of time, between one and seven days, so visitors have to pay attention to their web site very thoroughly if they want to see a film they're interested in.

Since the Europa Cinema has a space of its own, and two auditoriums inside the cinema, there is a possibility of showing a wider programme, with more films, more times a day. As well as the Art Cinema in Rijeka, this cinema offers variety of different films, for people of all ages and interests, with the same flaw like in Art Cinema in Rijeka – some films are on the programme only one day.

As I wrote earlier in the text, the DokuKino uses Grič cinema space, so they project films only on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Each of those days they have two projections: at 7:00pm and 9:00pm, and that is why they don't have a lot of titles in one month, but still they manage to organize the only Croatian documentary film festival (Liburnia Film Festival).

It is impossible to compete the variety of offer, because multiplex cinemas have more auditoriums in one cinema, they offer more attractive films to wider groups of people, they have bigger financial possibilities and more employees. Thus, the competition is unfair and ridiculous. Still, managers of small town cinemas in Rijeka and Zagreb try to keep up, they offer movies for everyone, they try to make their programme miscellaneous, and they organize festivals and events (Liburnia Film Festival in the DokuKino, French Films Days in The Art cinema Croatia). The number of visitors is also incomparable; The Cinestar achieves the number of annual attendance of the DokuKino in one week, or it achieves the number of attendance of the Europa Cinema in 10 weeks.

When we see these numbers in one place, and compare them, we can see how small town cinemas are doing a good job. They actually fight with this unfair competition, they work hard, and that is why they can survive in these hard times for them. Anyway, the majority of small town cinemas no longer operate, and people and its local politics can't allow the decline of the remained small cinemas. When I talked to small cinema managers, when I read their programmes, I could feel the passion for their job; when I tried to reach someone from the Cinestar all I got was rejection. This is maybe one of the greatest reasons why small town cinemas should stay open – the human touch in the process of watching a film – it is a social event, it is nice to know the author whose movie you have just seen, it is nice when

somebody knows your name when you come to see what is new in “your” cinema. We live in the world which is becoming more and more brutal and nonhuman, and these pieces of human contact are precious and should remain untouched, regardless of less comfortable seats or the lack of snacks in the hallway.

## 5 Conclusion

In this master thesis I had two hypotheses considering my subject – the influence of multiplex cinemas on the closing of small town cinemas. I tried to argue this hypothesis through theoretical and empirical parts of paper.

The first part of the paper was theoretical, where I explained some basic terms important for the subject. In that part, I backed up my **second hypothesis**: political and economic processes that are taking place, influence cultural processes, which influence everyday life of people. This is a so called thesis of convergence of global culture in terms of unification of lifestyles, cultural symbols and transnational behaviour. I think I managed to affirm this hypothesis by explaining main terms and bringing them in correlation with the subject of my paper. In short, this would be an abstract of the theoretical part of my master thesis:

Globalization can be defined as the worldwide diffusion of practices, expansion of relations across the world, organization of social life on a global scale and growth of a shared global consciousness (Ritzer 2004, 160). Glocalization describes a new outcome of local conditions towards global pressures. Glocalisation is a blend between the terms globalization and local, and Robertson (1994) claims that the term globalization should be replaced with the term glocalization which refers to the process of adopting and fitting foreign products to meet the needs and taste of the local markets. In my work I wasn't focused on globalization as a global economic process, but on globalization on its micro level – its local results which are seen everywhere around us. Globality implies that we already live in the world society, and that the image of enclosed spaces is fictive. None of the countries can be “closed” in front of the others; this means that economic, cultural and political forms are crashing and interweaving with each other. World society is totality of social ties, which are not integrated in national politics. We can understand world society as “diversity without unity” (Beck 2003, 28).

So, while I was writing about the results of the opening of large corporations' cinemas on small town cinemas, I was actually talking about the results of globality, because it also marks a fact that from now on nothing on our planet is local any more - everything is global, and people have to reorganize and reorient their organizations and institutions in the direction “local – global”; I was also talking about globalism, because it is an ideology where multiplex cinemas are products and factors of cultural industry with only one purpose – maximization of profit (Beck 2003).

The next important terms were univerzalization and McDonaldization. The globalization of economic actions is followed by the waves of cultural transformation, and the process is called cultural globalization. Some parts of social sciences and the public have accepted for this area a thesis of convergence of global culture, so called McDonaldization (Beck 2003). According to this thesis, universalization is becoming more and more frequent, in a way that life styles, cultural symbols and the way of behaviour are becoming more similar around the world. It represents a special kind of lifestyle with principles of high speed, large volume and low price. McDonaldization also stands for a type of social change – evolution in the way of eating, whose principles spread to other fields of life causing them to change too.

When talking about globalization, universalization and cinemas, I mentioned film industry as an example of cultural imperialism of the USA. Hollywood is a good example of almost complete Western domination in the film industry area – it is the capital and the most important film centre in the Western world.

One of the ways of fighting against Hollywood domination<sup>15</sup> is by opening art cinemas, which has also been visible in Croatia in the last ten years. Art cinema is a term dating from the late 1970s. It describes the kind of cinema where there are no Hollywood films, it is a cinema with more direct approach to reality, where both authors and audience enjoy a certain degree of freedom not to be found in Hollywood films. Both national and foreign movies are shown in this kind of cinema, which should be understood not only in formal terms, but also as a film consumption in its own particular institutional context, which varies from country to country (Cook and Bernink 1999, 106).

We can see all of the processes mentioned earlier happening in Croatia in the last two decades, in the example of closing small town cinemas. Universalization and uniformization are the words that would describe perfectly what is happening in the matter of films and cinemas due to the influences of globalization on everyday basis (Meyer, Geschiere in Meyer and Geschiere 1999, 6).

In the 1990s Croatian society had to face the transition processes to become a part of capitalist society. That fact brought some news and the process of privatization is one of them. Most of the national goods have become private, many non profitable companies, which were working in the socialist era, have been closed or privatized.

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<sup>15</sup> Multiplex cinemas and art cinemas can't compete in the real sense of the word, but I think I can draw a conclusion from my text that multiplexes dominate on the market because of simple reason: they display more films and they are more spread.

When we put all facts that Croatia faced in last twenty years together (e.g. entrance on the global market, crossing from socialist to capitalist society, the occurrence of universalized chains of food, cinemas, stores on the Croatian market) and bring them in correlation with the closing of small cinemas, we can really draw a conclusion that political and economic processes that are taking place, influence cultural processes, which influence everyday life of people in Croatia.

My **first hypothesis** was: the opening of large multiplex cinemas and the closing of town cinemas are in correlation – small cinemas can't compete with multiplex cinemas' quality of the film projections, or with many facilities they offer, so they close due to the lack of the audience.

By affirming my second hypothesis I explained half of this one, as well. I elaborated this hypothesis through the empirical part of my paper, because I don't think there aren't more relevant sources for it than talking to cinema managers, they are in the middle of happenings, and they are in a direct contact with the audience, so they can estimate the real influence of multiplex cinemas on the closing of small town cinemas.

When McDonalized chains of cinemas entered Croatian market, we could witness an increase in the number of people visiting them. All three of my examinees agree that this issue is not so simple. Yes, opening of fancy and luxurious multiplex cinemas did drag away some amount of people from small cinemas, but the real problem is in attitude of local authorities towards them. The Cinestar is a private chain of cinemas, with many employees, a large possibility of advertising itself in media, powerful sponsors and, what is the most important, Hollywood films repertoire. Those factors allowed the Cinestar to become the most powerful cinema in the country. On the other hand, small cinemas that didn't close have a small number of employees, almost no sponsors and almost no space in media. They are based on the work of people who do that job because they love film art, they don't have distributors, they translate the films by themselves, and some of them don't even have their own space for the film projections. Besides all of that, technical conditions are far behind in comparison with multiplex cinemas. They all agree that cities should protect the culture of small cinemas, because when the city loses all small cinemas, the only place to see a film will be multiplex cinemas, so the mainstream culture will become the only culture, and that leaves people without a possibility of choosing what kind of cultural praxis they will perform.

I will conclude this part with the following thought: It is always good when people have the possibility of choosing in which way they will fulfil their free time. Political and

economic changes in the last two decades have influenced cultural scene in Croatia very much, in some good and some bad ways, but that doesn't mean that all of non-mainstream culture should disappear because we live in the capitalist society now. It is good to have an option to go to multiplex cinema, but it is not good if local authorities are indifferent towards alternative types of cinemas praxis. We can't blame the opening of multiplex cinemas exclusively for the closing of small town cinemas, but they are one of the reasons. We should search for other reasons in ignorant local authorities, the lack of finances and sometimes even in the lack of people interested in alternative film programmes. All three cinemas I studied give great effort not to lose this great part of culture, and I think that is important. Big cinema chains will always be present. If one closes, another will open, but if all small cinemas in city centres closed, we would not only lose an alternative culture offer, but it would also change the image of a certain city, and impoverish the city and its citizens.

## 6 Povzetek magistrskega dela v slovenskem jeziku

Tema mojega magisterija je bila vpliv kinocentrov na zapiranje majhnih kinematografov v mestnih središč – na podlagi tega procesa sem raziskala vpliv globalizacije na vsakdanje življenje. Zdi se mi, da je zapiranje malih kinematografov eden izmed procesov, ki ga lahko vsakdo opazi le s sprehajanjem skozi središče kateregakoli večjega mesta na Hrvaškem. Spraševala sem se, zakaj je tako – ali res lahko krivimo le kinocentre ali pa je prisotno še kaj drugega? Ko sem raziskala temo bolj podrobno, nisem mogla verjeti številu kinematografov, ki so prenehali z obratovanjem v zadnjih dveh desetletjih na Hrvaškem po velikih političnih in ekonomskih spremembah. Ali je to razlog za njihovo zapiranje? Vsa ta vprašanja so me spodbudila, da napišem svojo magistrsko nalogo na to temo.

Zdi se mi pretresljivo, da so kinematografi in filmi – ki so bili včasih pomemben del naše kulture – postali del nakupovalnih centrov, prostor, kamor se zatečemo pred ali po nakupovanju. Kinematografi so prenehali biti prostor, kamor odidemo le z namenom gledanja zanimivih filmov in diskusije, ki temu sledi. Ali kinematografi zaradi vpliva globalizacije postajajo del velike kulturne industrije in ali izgubljajo svoj osnovni namen?

V svojem delu se nisem osredotočala na globalizacijo kot globalni ekonomski proces, ampak na globalizacijo na njenem mikro nivoju – na lokalne posledice, ki jih vidimo povsod okoli sebe. Eden izmed največjih izzivov globalizacije je njen vpliv na kulturo in družbo. Produkt zблиževanja kultur različnih narodov je viden v ogromnem napredku komunikacijske tehnologije, v izmenjavi informacij in razširjanju satelitskih in računalniških omrežij, kar velja za enega od pozitivnih aspektov globalizacije (Held 2000, Held in McGrew 2002, Pikalo 2003).

Globalizacija vpliva na vse dele posameznikovega življenja. V vsem tem kultura kot najbolj razširjen, najgloblji in najbolj vpliven dejavnik v življenju človeka sprejema te spremembe bolj kot karkoli drugega (Milardović 1999, Rizman 2000, 2005, 2010).

Ali obstajajo drugi razlogi za zapiranje starih kinematografov? Se to dogaja zaradi možnosti izposoje in gledanja filmov doma, ali mogoče zaradi ilegalnega prevzemanja filmov z interneta?

Iz naloge je razvidno, da se število obiskovalcev umetniških kinematografov letno zmanjšuje (Hrvatski ured za statistiku 2013), kar potrjuje mojo tezo, in raziskava je sledila temu dejstvu.



Cilj magistrskega dela je torej bil ugotoviti, zakaj se kinematografi zapirajo. Da bi prišla do te ugotovitve, sem postavila dve hipotezi. Moja prva hipoteza je bila: Odpiranje velikih kinocentrov in zapiranje mestnih kinematografov sta tesno povezana – majhni kinematografi ne morejo tekmovati s kvaliteto kinocentrov pri reproduciranju filmov, niti s kvantiteto prostorov, ki jih ponujajo, zato se zaradi premajhnega števila obiskovalcev zapirajo. Na drugi strani število obiskovalcev kinocentrov na Hrvaškem raste.

V tem kontekstu so se mi zdeli zanimivi procesi, ki so se odvijali na Hrvaškem od devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja naprej: konec dobe socializma, osamosvojitve, sprejemanje kapitalizma in visokih investicij tujih korporacij (Goldstein 2008). Vse, kar je spremenilo ne le politično in ekonomsko sliko države, ampak tudi vsakodnevno življenje posameznika. Zapiranje mestnih kinematografov in rastoča priljubljenost kinocentrov sta dobra pokazatelja vpliva teh ne-kulturnih procesov na kulturo (Adorno 1991, 5). Temu procesu lahko rečemo kulturni imperializem, tj. »skupek postopkov, s katerimi družba vstopa v sodobni svetovni sistem» (Schiller 1976, 35).

Moja druga hipoteza je bila: Politični (širjenje demokracije) in ekonomski procesi (hiter razvoj svetovnega trga, visoki finančni in kapitalni pretoki po celem svetu), ki se odvijajo, vplivajo na kulturne procese, ti pa vplivajo na vsakdanje življenje ljudi. To je tako imenovana teza zblíževanja globalne kulture v smislu združevanja življenjskih stilov, kulturnih simbolov in transnacionalnega vedenja. Rast kulturne industrije pomeni združevanje kulturnih simbolov in oblik življenja.

Da bi preverila pravilnost mojih hipotez, sem razdelila magisterij na dva dela: na prvi teoretični in drugi empirični del.

Prvi del magistrskega dela je bil osnovan na teoretični analizi izbrane literature, kjer sem poskušala ustvariti teoretično podlago za drugi del. V teoretičnem delu sem analizirala pojme in teorije, ki so pomembni za drugi del mojega dela, uporabila sem metodo analize sekundarne literature. Najprej sem analizirala pojem globalizacije, kapitalizma, univerzalizacije, kulturnega imperializma, kinematografa in nakupovalnega centra (Adorno 1991, Beck 2003, Ritzer 2004).

Opisala sem nekaj socioloških konceptov vpliva globalizacije na strukturo mesta na splošno (poudarek je bil na odpiranju nakupovalnih centrov) in nadaljevala s tem, kako ti procesi vplivajo na kinematografe v centrih mest. Teoretične zaključke sem povezala s

statističnimi informacijami o številu kinematografov v izbranem hrvaškem mestu (Hrvaški urad za statistiko, 2013).

Globalizacija je najbolj splošno definirana kot difuzija navad po celem svetu, širjenje odnosov po celem svetu, organizacija socialnega življenja na svetovni ravni in rast deljene globalne zavesti (Ritzer 2004, 160). Za razumevanje globalizacije pa je potrebno vključiti tudi drug pogled: globalizacijo lokalnega in lokalizacijo globalnega, saj globalizacija ni enosmerni proces – lokalni faktorji spreminjajo posledice globalizacije kot tudi globalizacija spreminja lokalno stanje stvari (Rizman 2010). Ta proces lahko opišemo s pojmom glokalizacije. Glede na sociologa Roland Robertsona (1994), ki je populariziral ta pojem, globalizacija opiše nov izid lokalnih pogojev za globalne pritiske.

V svojem delu se nisem osredotočala na globalizacijo kot globalni ekonomski proces, ampak na globalizacijo na njenem mikro nivoju – na lokalne posledice, ki jih vidimo povsod okoli sebe. Eden izmed največjih izzivov globalizacije je njen vpliv na kulturo in družbo. Današnji produkt zблиževanja kultur različnih narodov je ogromni napredek v komunikativni tehnologiji, izmenjavi informacij in razširjanju satelitskih in računalniških omrežij, kar velja za enega od pozitivnih aspektov globalizacije.

Globalizacija vpliva na nekatere dele življenja vsakega posameznika. V vsem tem kultura kot najbolj razširjen, najgloblji in najbolj vpliven faktor v življenju človeka sprejema te spremembe bolj kot karkoli drugega.

Ekonomski sistem, ki je karakterističen za globalizacijo, je kapitalizem, ki se kaže tako v zahodnih tudi kot v vzhodnih (azijskih) tipih globalizacij. Velik del kapitalizma je usmerjen v standardizirano množično proizvodnjo. Ko govorimo o tej temi, pa moram omeniti pojem mcDonaldizacija, ki ga je uveljavil George Ritzer (2004). Ta pojem opisuje "proces, s katerim restavracije s hitro prehrano prevzemajo prevlado nad vse več sektorji tako ameriške kot tudi svetovne družbe" (Ritzer 2004, 1). Globalizaciji ekonomskih ukrepanj sledi val kulturnih transformacij in procesu pravimo kulturna globalizacija. Del humanističnih ved je sprejel tezo o združevanju globalne kulture (ki ji pravimo tudi mcDonaldizacija). Glede na to tezo postaja univerzalizacija vedno bolj pogosta v smislu, da življenjski stili, kulturni simboli in načini obnašanja postajajo vedno bolj podobni povsod po svetu.

McDonaldizacija je simbol standardizirane množične proizvodnje iz enega preprostega razloga – po svetu je mnogo standardiziranih mcDonalds restavracij in v vsaki izmed njih je na voljo enaka hrana s podobnimi okusi – še vedno je prilagojena lokalnim navadam (glokalizacija). Na primer, v Indiji kravje meso ni na voljo. Proces standardizacije vpliva tako na poslovanje restavracij kot tudi na izobrazbo, delo, pravni sistem, zdravstvo, potovanje,

diete, družino, vero in druge vidike družbe. Predstavlja poseben življenjski slog z načeli velike hitrosti in volumna ter nizke cene.

Iz rezultatov moje statistične raziskave je očitno, da je število kinematografov na Hrvaškem v desetih letih (2002-2012) upadlo za skoraj 50 odstotkov. Zdaj lahko z gotovostjo trdimo, da je upad kinematografov na Hrvaškem dejstvo. Kar 68 kinematografov je prenehalo z obratovanjem v desetih letih po celi državi. Ko upoštevamo vse procese, ki jim je bila Hrvaška izpostavljena v zadnjih dvajsetih letih (vstop na svetovni trg, prehod iz socialistične v kapitalistično družbi, vstopanje univerzaliziranih verig na hrvaški trg), in jih povežemo z zapiranjem malih kinematografov, lahko zaključimo, da politični in ekonomski procesi, ki se odvijajo, vplivajo na kulturne procese, ti pa posledično vplivajo na vsakdanje življenje ljudi.

Potrdila sem svojo drugo hipotezo: politični in ekonomski procesi vplivajo na posameznikovo vsakdanje življenje.

Drugi del magisterija je bil empiričen – v študiji primera sem se osredotočila na kinematografe na Reki in v Zagrebu.

Izpeljala sem intervjuje z direktorji treh različnih kinematografov: DokuKino (kinematograf dokumentarnih filmov) in kinematograf Europa (kinematograf neodvisnih filmov) v Zagrebu ter umetniški kinematograf Croatia na Reki. Intervjuji so bili strukturirani. Želela sem si izvedeti več o njihovih pogledih na mojo temo – kako se počutijo ob odpiranju kinocentrov, ali jih vidijo kot grožnjo ali zdravo konkurenco njihovim kinematografom in če so opazili upad obiskovalcev, odkar so se odprli kinocentri. Intervjuvani so kompetentni za pogovor o zapiranju malih mestnih kinematografov, saj so s temo neposredno povezani; dali so mi vpogled v težavo iz njihove perspektive.

Ko so mcDonaldizirane verige kinematografov prodrle na hrvaški trg, smo bili priče porastu obiskovalcev teh kinematografov. Vsi moji intervjuvanci so se strinjali, da težava ni tako enostavna. Odpiranje luksuznih kinocentrov je odvrnilo nekaj ljudi od malih kinematografov, ampak resničen problem je v odnosu lokalnih oblasti do njih.

Cinestar je zasebna veriga kinematografov z velikim številom zaposlenih, širokim spektrom možnosti oglaševanja v medijih, vplivnimi sponzorji in, kar je najbolj pomembno, repertoarjem hollywoodskih filmov.

Vsi ti dejavniki so zaslužni, da je Cinestar postal najbolj vpliven in močen kinematograf v državi. Na drugi strani so mali kinematografi, ki se v zadnjih dvajsetih letih niso zaprli in imajo majhno število zaposlenih, pomanjkanje števila sponzorjev in medijskega prostora. Osnovani so na delu nekaj entuzijastov, ki delo opravljajo iz ljubezni do filmske

umetnosti, brez distributerjev, prevajanje filmov opravljajo sami, nekateri pa nimajo niti lastnega prostora za predvajanje filmov. Tehnični pogoji so daleč za tistimi v kinocentrih. Vsi se strinjajo, da bi mesta morala ščititi kulturo malih kinematografov, saj se v nasprotnem primeru lahko zgodi, da bodo mali kinematografi izginili in bodo kinocentri postali edini prostor za gledanje filmov, prevladujoča kultura bo postala edina kultura, ljudje pa bodo ostali brez možnosti izbire lastne kulturne prakse.

Kinocentri so nedvomno prispevali k temu procesu, ampak niso bili edini razlog za zaprtje malih kinematografov. Zaostalost v tehničnih pogojih, skromni prostori, omejitve v predvajanju filmov, neprivlačnost – to je nekaj razlogov, zaradi katerih so ljudje prenehali obiskovati male kinematografe. Simultano z začetkom tega procesa so na trg prodrli kinocentri in vse je vodilo do današnje situacije. To je odgovor na mojo prvo hipotezo: odpiranje velikih kinocentrov in zapiranje mestnih kinematografov sta tesno povezana – majhni kinematografi ne morejo tekmovati s kvaliteto kinocentrov pri reproduciranju filmov, niti s kvantiteto prostorov, ki jih ponujajo, zato se zaradi premajhnega števila obiskovalcev zapirajo.

To je le delno resnično. Mali kinematografi ne prejemajo finančne pomoči od lokalnih oblasti in zato ne morejo tekmovati s kinocentri na nobenem nivoju, a vendar njihovo zapiranje ni le krivda kinocentrov. Zdi se mi, da je direktorica Art-kina Croatia iz Reke, Boba Mišković (2013), to najbolje razložila: “Razlogov za ta proces je ogromno, od številnih hitrih sprememb v produkciji in distribuciji avdio-vizualnih del do sprememb v ekonomski sferi, a situacija na Hrvaškem je bila veliko težja zaradi mnogih transnacionalnih sprememb, ki so vplivale na vsak socialni in kulturni sektor, tudi ta.”

Nenazadnje, prišlo je do izginotja območij namenjenih za predvajanje filmov v centru mesta, nezadostne podpore za to dejavnost, nezadostnega izobraževanja novih generacij v filmski umetnosti in do izumrtja občinstva. Na Hrvaško sta kapitalizem in Hollywood prodrli s svetlobno hitrostjo in osvojila občinstvo, ampak po prvem poku se je situacija počasi začela spreminjati in državljanji so vzpostavili nov odnos s filmom.

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Attachment: Questionnaire for managers of cinemas

1. Can you briefly describe which makes this movie different from other cinemas in the city?
2. By what criteria you choose the movies you will run?
3. Do you think that you have to have a specific program to attract an audience, or do you think that with the "conventional" program (for example Hollywood films) you would have a sufficient number of visitors?
4. Do you see multiplex cinemas as your competition? Is your cinema attendance dropped since the multiplexes are spread throughout the city?
5. Do you think that people who attend this cinema visits multiplex also or do you think that the audience is divided between those types of movie theatres and multiplexes? Can you explain your thoughts on this?
6. What do you think about the impact of multiplex on small cinemas like yours? Do you think there is a connection between the closures of smaller theatres in the city centre with the opening of multiplex cinemas?