Traditiones 55 (2): 57–81 | COBISS: 1.01 | CC BY 4.0 | DOI: 10.3986/Traditio2026550204

Multimodal Encounters: Animating Childhood Memories in Changing Landscapes

Barbara Turk Niskač

ZRC SAZU, Institute of Anthropological and Spatial Studies, Slovenia
barbara.turk-niskac@zrc-sazu.si
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9228-7218

This article explores animation as a multimodal representation emerging from collaboration between ethnographic research and artistic practice. It presents six animations produced from original memory stories recorded during an ethnographic study of childhood participation in southeastern Slovenia's domestic agricultural economy. Framed alongside written accounts, photographs, and video clips from walking ethnography, the article examines animation's role in multimodal ethnography.

▪ **Keywords**: childhood memories, animation, walking ethnography, photography, multispecies landscape

Članek obravnava animacijo kot večnačinsko reprezentacijo, ki je plod prepleta med etnografsko raziskavo in umetniško prakso. Predstavljenih je šest animacij, nastalih na podlagi spominov, ki so bili zabeleženi med etnografsko raziskavo o vključevanju otrok v kmečko gospodarstvo v jugovzhodni Sloveniji. Članek preučuje vlogo animacije v večnačinski etnografiji s pomočjo konkretnih animacij, ki so predstavljene ob zapisanih spominih ter fotografijah in videoposnetkih etnografskih sprehodov.

▪ **Ključne besede**: spomini na otroštvo, animacija, etnografija s hojo, fotografija, večvrstna krajina

Introduction

This article discusses animation as a form of multimodal representation emerging from ethnographic research, showing how collaboration between academia and artistic practice can reconfigure both the process and the representations of ethnographic study, fostering openness to the unexpected and the co-production of knowledge. Although such collaboration is not without tensions, it offers possibilities to challenge "the siloing of anthropological knowledge that can result from keeping within disciplinary borders" (Haapio-Kirk, 2022). While research participants were consulted to a certain extent during the process of making the animations, as described in the proceedings, the animations featured in this article are not examples of collaborative co-creation with participants. Instead, they represent an interdisciplinary collaboration between the researcher and the illustrator and animator Zarja Menart, along with Finta Film, a production studio specializing in stop-motion animated films.

The aim of this article is twofold. First, it situates animation as an alternative mode of storytelling within the broader graphic narrative turn. Second, it illustrates how animation can communicate insights that extend beyond the constraints of other multimodal approaches, particularly with respect to the multisensorial, emplaced, and

affective aspects of research participants' past experiences. The article opens with a brief overview of the use of animation in ethnography and situates this approach within the broader graphic narrative turn. It then shares the background of the ethnographic study and describes the creation of animations based on collaboration with the illustrator and director Zarja Menart at the intersection of ethnographic and artistic practice. Finally, the animations are presented alongside written accounts of narrated memories, as well as photographs and video taken during walking ethnography, to demonstrate how animation can help us more vividly imagine research participants' past experiences, including their multisensorial and affective dimensions, and bring to life both their memories and environmental changes unfolding over their lifetimes due to modernization and deagrarisation (for further contextualisation, see Turk Niskač, Millei, 2025; Turk Niskač, Rautio, 2025). The article concludes by reflecting on the role of animation in multimodal ethnography and its potential for sharing academic research with diverse, wide-ranging audiences. In doing so, it contributes to discussions on how multimodal approaches, particularly through animation, can infuse our work with wonder and curiosity, open possibilities of creative collaboration, forge new avenues for disseminating research, and create opportunities to make our work more resonant and meaningful for the research participants and communities it seeks to represent (Powis, 2017; Moretti, 2021; Haapio-Kirk, 2022; Bates et al., 2023).

Situating animation within the multimodal ethnographic approach

As a methodological approach, multimodal ethnography acknowledges the multisensory nature of human experience, perception, and knowledge-making. It employs a combination of various modes, including audio, sound, video, illustrations, drawings, graphic novels, animations, ethnographic writing, photography and digital media. Furthermore, according to Dattatreyan and Marrero-Guillamón (2019), a multimodal ethnographic approach challenges conventional notions of authorship, representation, and academic dissemination by embracing experimental forms, collaborative practices and diverse audiences. Rather than documenting pre-existing ideas or phenomena, multimodal ethnography enacts encounters where new meanings, relationships, and possibilities emerge through the creative use of audiovisual, multimedia, and performative strategies.

The graphic narrative turn has grown since the second decade of the 21st century, alongside other creative approaches such as imaginative ethnographic practices, live methods, and multimodal practices (Dix, Kaur, 2019; Theodossopoulos, 2022; Theodossopoulos, Bonnano, 2026). A growing interest in illustration, drawing, comics and animation within anthropological research and communication reflects their narrative potential to return research to the communities with whom anthropologists work, to engage audiences through storytelling, and to share scholarship beyond academia

(Atalay et al., 2019; Bates et al., 2023). By acknowledging that "in our hypervisual culture, presenting research in a visually engaging way can have a powerful and democratizing impact" (Atalay et al., 2019: 769), graphic-ethnographic experiments combine image and text in various ways. Some researchers produce these independently (e.g., Spray, 2021, 2025), while others rely on artistic collaboration (e.g., Rumsby, Thomas, 2022). Some of the possibilities of ethno-graphic production are demonstrated by Illustrating Anthropology[1] and the ethnoGRAPHIC series published by the University of Toronto Press.[2] For instance, Dimitrios Theodossopoulos uses graphic ethnography to popularise and analytically re-conceptualise ethnographic production (Theodossopoulos, 2022; Theodossopoulos, Bonnano, 2026). Benjamin Dix and Raminder Kaur proposed a theory and practice for graphic novel production termed *vérités graphiques* (literally, graphic realities), representational practice encompassing "collaborative and interactive engagement with participants' contributions and views, and their distillation and fictionalization through sequential art" (Dix, Kaur, 2019: 90). Charlie Rumsby (2020) integrated participatory visual research methods with stateless children of Vietnamese descent in Cambodia, collaborating with an illustrator to retrospectively produce an ethnographic novel grounded in her ethnographic research. Rumsby argues that using alternative modes of (re)presentation beyond the ethnographic text allows us to engage with affective details embedded in stories that would otherwise go unnoticed (Rumsby, 2022).

Animation holds similar expressive potential, translating words, emotions, and affects into images (Bates et al., 2023). Similar to graphic novels, animation conveys events through reenactment and reconstruction, enriching the viewer's experience with vivid artistic expression (Wang, Zhang, 2022). Especially when we want to recount past events, memories, difficult stories, emotions, and other psychological experiences, animation can bring research to life on a more emotional, personal level and capture sensory dimensions of social life (Honess Roe, 2016; Haapio-Kirk, 2022; Rumsby, Thomas, 2022; Theodossopoulos, 2022; Hamdy, Moll, 2024). As Charlotte Bates and her colleagues emphasize, "playful and poetic, enchanting and engaging, animation can bring research to life in more personal and immediate ways, making research tangible and creating new spaces of relation and engagement" (Bates et al., 2023: 988). Yet compared to ethnographic novels, animations remain less common in ethnographic research. For example, Yasmin Moll directed the short animation *Hanina/Homesick* in collaboration with Egyptian Nubian musician Ahmed Sayed Gayer and US-based animator and illustrator Karson Schenk. Part of a larger project at the University of Michigan project exploring multimodal approaches to intangible heritage and social memory, *Hanina* explores the historic losses following the repeated displacement of

[1] Illustrating Anthropology website can be accessed at: https://illustratinganthropologycom.wordpress.com.

[2] EthnoGRAPHIC series can be accessed at: https://utppublishing.com/series/ethnographic.

Nubians from their ancestral homeland along the Nile River due to dam constructions. Moll argues that animation is "especially apt as a visual method of recovering and presenting erased landscapes like Nubia in ways that are resonant for new generations" (Hamdy, Moll, 2024: 274). Most notably, Camilla Morelli (2025) has developed an innovative methodology based on the co-production of *ethnographic animation* in collaboration with a UK-based animation director, Latin American academics, junior indigenous researchers and Amazonian artists. She applies this approach ethnographically to examine how young people in Amazonia envision the future amid the critical challenges they face in the present, while teaching them new digital skills through which they can tell their own stories and share them with others, including policymakers. Thus, as Morelli shows, animation can be simultaneously a participatory research method and an impact tool.

Animation at the intersection of ethnographic and artistic practice

The animations presented in the proceedings are based on an ethnographic study exploring memories of children's participation in domestic agricultural economy in the latter half of the 20th century in Bela Krajina, a region in southeastern Slovenia. I conducted memory-sharing workshops and life history interviews with thirty-four research participants born between 1940 and 2006.[3] The majority of research participants were born between the 1940s to 1960s, so this article reflects their childhood experiences. During workshops and interviews, research participants were also asked to share old photographs or family albums to elicit and contextualise their memories. Following these encounters, I asked some of the research participants to take me to the places that were related to their childhood memories of participation in work, or those cultivated and abandoned lands, which were particularly meaningful to them. During walks, which sometimes also included driving by car to more remote locations, we discussed memories related to their participation in agricultural work, and multiple relationalities with plants, animals, and land. We also observed how the landscape has transformed in the interlocutors' lifetimes and scrutinised contemporary land cultivation practices. Walks were photo and sometimes video documented and all the conversations were audio recorded and transcribed. Some of the walks and accompanying memories were published on a project blog.[4] As part of the research project, a museum exhibition in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum

[3] Based on the Ethical Principles of Research with Human Participants and Ethical Review in Human Sciences in Finland, it was determined that the study did not require ethical review. The study was conducted in accordance with the ethical code of conduct of Tampere University. The templates for the information sheet and the privacy notice are available on the research project's website (https://projects.tuni.fi/patchwork/ethics).

[4] Blog can be accessed at: https://blogs.tuni.fi/patchwork.

was also planned.[5] I decided to focus the museum exhibition on *steljniki*, plots of land covered with common bracken and birches used for grazing and harvesting of bracken, as they illustrate the interplay between human activities, grazing animals, plants seeking suitable habitats, and the landscape features of Bela Krajina, including soil composition and Karst-characterized topography. Thinking about the material that could be used for the museum exhibition, I was particularly intrigued by intimate, place-based childhood memories and the transformations that had occurred within the landscapes over the lifetimes of the research participants. As I gathered childhood memories, I noticed that they often took the form of short, complete stories or anecdotes, sometimes resurfacing and being retold in different situations. Furthermore, as I asked research participants to walk me to the places related to their memories, the transformations in landscape occurring in the lifetimes of one generation became obvious. Had I walked the same routes alone, I would have often thought I was walking through young forest. Yet much of what is nowadays secondary forest in a region where I conducted research used to be pastures, meadows, *steljniki*, arable and other extensively farmed land when research participants were young. Through childhood memories, these overgrown patches of land acquired new, intimate meanings, also revealing the perceptual skills and environmental knowledge of the research participants. Furthermore, as we paid attention to the interweaving of memory, embodied experience and sociality described in memories, the entanglement of human and more-than-human activities gained increased prominence (for more detailed accounts on the walking ethnography used in this research see Turk Niskač, 2025). Through intergenerational shifts in socioeconomic and environmental conditions, both childhood experiences narrated in memories and the landscapes they reference have receded into the past. Yet these memories hold significant potential for fostering intergenerational dialogue on socioecological entanglements between humans, domestic animals and their shared ecosystems. Thus, although I did not initially plan the production of animations, the idea took shape during the research process. At the museum exhibition, I also used old photos from the museum archives and research participants' personal archives. However, old pictures taken at the locations of their memories were scarce to non-existent. I incorporated Franciscan cadastres and aerial footage from the Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia to illustrate landscape transformations over time. Yet these offered only detached bird's eye views and failed to capture intimate stories. While considering how to bring personal memories and changing places of the past to life in a museum exhibition, I realized animation would be a particularly suitable medium. I therefore approached illustrator and animation director Zarja Menart to create short animations based on the original memory stories recorded during the interviews. With the legal services of Tampere

[5] The museum exhibition entitled Stories of *Steljniki*: The Interweaving of Common Bracken, Animals and Humans was exhibited in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana from 21 February to 19 October 2025.

University, we agreed that Finta Film production studio would apply for funding to the Slovenian Film Centre in co-production with RTV Slovenia. The form and length of the animations were determined by the Slovenian Film Centre call, which specified six animations 1–2 minutes long. At this stage, the participants whose memories I had in mind were tentatively asked whether they would permit their recollections to be translated into animations. When the studio successfully obtained funding to produce the animations, I selected six narrated memories based on the criterion that each was told as a short, self-contained story and was connected to a different patch of land, illustrating various forms of land use in extensive farming. Together with Zarja, we visited research participants to obtain formal consent for creating animations based on their narratives. In one case, Zarja visited a participant on her own.[6] Since one of the memories was originally in written form, we had to record it anew. During these visits, informal conversations took place in which Zarja asked for additional details about the narrated stories to better contextualize them – such as the appearance of the animals, the nature of the relationship between children and animals, children's clothing, the season in which the events occurred, etc. Some research participants also shared family albums or selected old photographs, which helped to more vividly imagine the visual aspects of the stories. Zarja also consulted photographs from the Slovene Ethnographic Museum Documentation Department, the Bela Krajina Museum and online sources to study how people dressed, how they worked, what animals looked like, and what the local architecture looked like at the time the memory stories took place (see Figures 1 and 2).

When certain details remained unclear during the animation production process, research participants were contacted by phone for clarification. Additionally, Zarja attended the annual harvesting of bracken in Vinomer *steljniki* organized by the local community in Drašiči, to observe the techniques of harvesting and stacking bracken, which she needed for the animation titled *Steljnik*. To gain a better understanding of the landscape and the visual impressions of the locations associated with the memory stories, Zarja visited some sites in person, while I also shared photographs from the walking ethnography with her. The embodied, sensory experience of Zarja walking through the landscapes, their topography and vegetation also enriched the portrayal of these landscapes in the animations (see Figure 3). While with Zarja we agreed to make considerable effort to preserve documentary value by capturing historical period and

[6] As the production of the animations was not planned at the outset of the project, the researcher and animation director, upon receiving funding from the Slovenian Film Centre, revisited the research participants to present additional information on the animations and obtain further consent. A separate informed consent form was signed, specifying the use of participants' recorded narratives for the purpose of animation production, noting authorship, and outlining the dissemination of the animations and their open access. Participants were also given the option to decide whether their names could appear in the credits. All participants discussed in this article consented to the publication of their real names and years of birth. To acknowledge their authorship of the stories presented in the animations, and in accordance with their permission, I use their real names throughout this article.

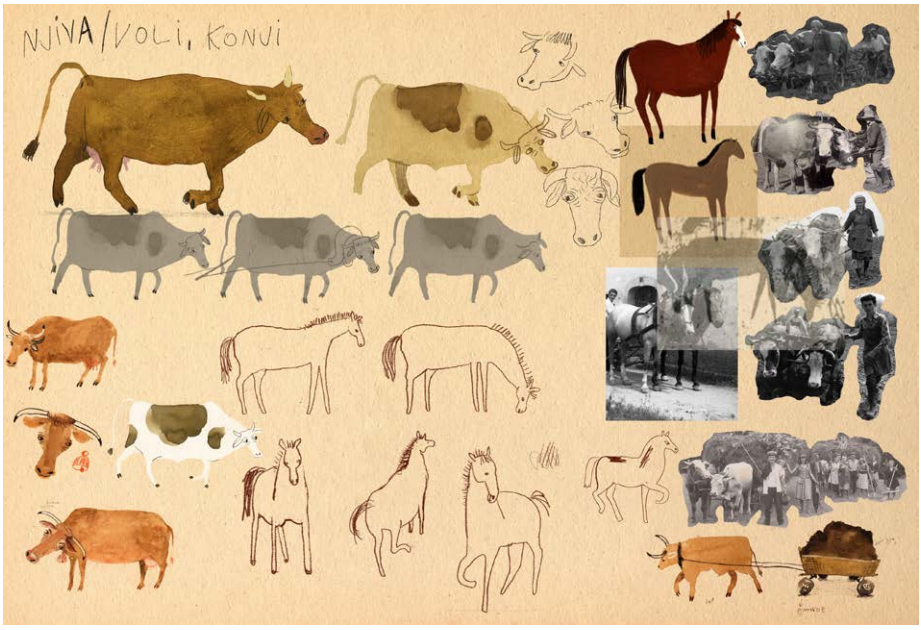

Figure 1. A moodboard of draught horses and oxen. Photo: Zarja Menart, 2024.



Figure 2. A moodboard of a mother working in a field. Photo: Zarja Menart, 2024.

landscape features as accurately as possible, animation's multimodality doesn't relay past memories literally, but "rather a fragmentation and diffraction of memories so that they can enter new circuits of meaning and take on new resonances, affective and embodied" (Gupta, 2021, after Moretti, 2021: 256). In addition, Zarja followed my interpretation of the research material that children, domestic animals and landscape co-constituted each other (see Turk Niskač, Millei, 2025; Turk Niskač, Rautio, 2025). While the animations focus on childhood memories and the places associated with them, animals frequently appear as the main protagonists in these narrated recollections. By emphasizing the shared agency of animals and children, these memory stories highlight how humans and animals inhabited, shared, and shaped joint rural landscapes. To emphasize the corporeal experiences of memory (Grossman, 2013), details from other research data were also incorporated, as in the animation entitled *Steljnik*, where Zarja depicted children climbing a young birch tree, bending its trunk and swinging to the ground. While the original narrator does not mention this, the detail was drawn from interviews with other research participants recalling bracken harvesting and climbing the birches, and it serves to convey a sense of playfulness in the children's work-related activities. Finally, Zarja shared working versions of the animations with me so that I could provide feedback and suggest possible changes. After this, each animation was sent to the author of the corresponding story and they were later contacted by phone to ask whether they were satisfied with it and whether they have any comments and corrections, emphasizing that any corrections or overlooked details could still be addressed at this stage. As it took two years to produce all six animations, three were screened at the opening of the museum exhibition at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in 2025 and included in the exhibition itself. In 2026, all six were screened at the opening of the museum exhibition in the region where the research took place. Since the animations were produced by Finta Film studio, I was not involved in all aspects of production, such as screenplay, storyboard, dramaturgy and post-production including music which also involved other artists. Despite the above described collaboration with Zarja, the process allowed a great degree of artistic freedom, for example in selecting animation techniques, shortening narratives for better flow, and filling in visual details. Ultimately, two versions of the animations were produced; one presented in this article, and a shorter version combining different animations without original narration, created for international animation festivals.[7] Although the latter displays greater artistic freedom, it also reflects the different expectations of professional animation production funded by the Slovene Film Centre in co-production with RTV Slovenia, particularly regarding technical aspects like sound quality, as the original versions use narration I recorded during interviews with a simple audio recorder.

[7] Animations can be accessed at Bear With Me Distribution website: https://www.bearwithmefilm.com/project/a-wily-ones/.



Figure 3: The process of illustrating landscapes of memory stories. Photos: Zarja Menart, 2024.

Bringing fading memories and changing landscapes to life through animation

All the recounted memories presented through animations in the proceedings are tied to specific places, some of which have undergone significant transformations over the narrators' lifetimes. As was noted by Bodenhorn and Lee, memory can play an important role in shaping a personal sense of responsibility toward place. Places, in turn, can serve as important sites for storytelling – or they may be the subjects of the stories themselves (Bodenhorn, Lee, 2021). In what follows, I present the animations produced based on childhood memories recorded during ethnographic research. I deliberately first describe the memories behind each animation, situating them alongside photographs and, in some cases, short videos of places visited during walking ethnography, before providing links to watch the animations. Rather than offering analytical explanations of the different modes, i.e., written accounts, photography, video clips and animation, I invite the reader/viewer to reflect on what each mode evokes for them, before moving to the conclusion. There, I present my perspective on animation's role in studying and representing childhood memories situated within multispecies landscapes.

Steljnik (pl. *Steljniki*; Bracken stands)
Bela Krajina, the region where this research was conducted, is characterised by mosaic, or patchy landscape, formed through centuries of extensive farming. The farming households of research participants typically had vineyards, arable land, pastures and meadows, forest and *steljniki* – plots of land where bracken or eagle fern grows. *Steljniki* are inherently connected to animal husbandry. Sometimes they were used as grazing areas, but more importantly, every autumn, bracken was cut and used as bedding for stable animals. When bracken harvesting stops, *steljniki* enter successive stages of overgrowing and within 40–50 years transform into forests of oak and hornbeam, which was the natural forest communities of the lowlands in Bela Krajina (Čarni et al., 2007). *Steljniki* that are still preserved are recognised for their rich biodiversity, yet their maintenance depends on the cutting of the bracken. They are also a distinctive feature of Bela Krajina, which, according to one explanation, got its name from the white birch trees, also associated with *steljniki*. Although a handful of farmers still cut bracken and use it for bedding, there has been a rapid transformation of *steljniki* since the 1960s, when they were converted into coniferous forests through afforestation or agricultural land through liming. As livestock farming declined and agricultural practices changed and bracken ceased to be harvested, *steljniki* also underwent a process of natural regrowth since the 1970s. A handful of farmers still cut bracken for bedding and some *steljniki* are maintained only to preserve their appearance. This is the case with Vinomer *steljniki,* which have been designated a natural heritage site and are part of the European Natura 2000 network. Here, the local community in Drašiči organizes the harvesting of bracken, which Zarja attended to observe the cutting and stacking process needed for the production of animation, and which was documented in a short film available in Video 1.

Video 1: https://youtu.be/2daDDqtEfOE. Harvesting bracken in the Vinomer *steljniki*. Produced by Barbara Turk Niskač, 2024.

While this video depicts well-preserved *steljnik*, when conducting walking ethnography with research participants, I frequently visited places which once used to be *steljniki*, but are now secondary forest. This was also the case when Anica, born in 1952, took me to her family's *steljnik*, where she used to cut bracken as a child (see Figure 4).

The first animation is based on the narration of Anica, and represents a visual description of what *steljnik* is, and the agricultural work it entailed. The animation also serves as an introduction to the patchy landscape and its disappearance occurring with overgrowing. Anica explains that areas closer to the village were arable land, while lower-quality meadows blended with *steljniki,* where bracken grows, before the forest began. Here, the soil was stony, shallow and acid and therefore not suitable for ploughing and growing crops. The word *stelja* in the Slovene language refers to all



Figure 4: *Steljniki* from Anica's memory story have been transforming into oak and hornbeam forest since bracken stopped being harvested in the 1980s. Photos: Barbara Turk Niskač, July 2023.

forest material used for animal bedding including dry leaves, moss and other undergrowth. However, in Bela Krajina, the word *stelja* refers specifically to bracken, also known as eagle fern (*Pteridium aquilinum* or *orlova praprot* in Slovenian language). The name *steljnik* also derives from *stelja* and denotes plots of land where bracken was harvested. Anica emphasised that when bracken is young, it is a lovely plant with beautiful, furled fiddleheads. By autumn, when it was cut, however, it turned into a nasty, rough plant, commonly causing injuries. Anica described:

> *It grows high, it grows all year, and its roots are also quite deep. The stems get woody, so it was difficult when we were harvesting it* [as children]. *They used to cut it a bit higher, there was often thorny bush. You easily got scratched.*

Anica recalled that when she came from school, they did not even have time to eat. The days were short, with autumn moisture dominating the air and soil. The entire family hurried to the *steljnik* to complete the bracken harvesting before nightfall. Men cut bracken by hand with two-handed scythes. As nothing was to be wasted, women and children went to spots where, due to the rocky surface, the men could not use scythes,

and cut the bracken with a hand sickle. The women and children then raked the bracken, which was usually stored in the *steljnik* and left to dry in stacks a few metres high with a single birch tree or erected pole to support the stack. In this way, it was protected from rain, waiting to be transported to the barn with a cart or sleds during the winter as needed. Sometimes, the bracken was also stored on the farm in a bracken shed, as was the case in Anica's story. It was important though that the bracken was thoroughly dried before storage, as moist piled bracken posed a spontaneous combustion risk.

Animation 1: https://vimeo.com/1141114911 (password: Belokranjske_zgodbe). Bracken Meadow. Produced by Finta Film, RTV Slovenija, 2025.

Njiva (Field)

When bracken was used as bedding material in stables, it mixed with livestock manure and turned into precious fertilizer to improve the soils in vineyards and arable land where crops and vegetables grew. The next animation brings to life a memory story related to carrying manure to the field. Marija, born in 1962, shared this story during a memory sharing workshop explaining that she often tells it to her grandchildren. She recalled that when she was a child, horsedrawn carts with rubber wheels were still in use. Her father would load manure onto a cart, cover it with plastic sheeting, and then place a blanket over it so that they could sit on it. Marija was about seven or eight years old, and as they drove to the field, she leaned over, watching the wheel spin. Suddenly, she slipped and fell to the ground. Her father stopped the horse just in time so the wheel did not run over her. He then lifted her onto his knee and spanked her. Although father had punished Marija because she fell under the cart, she was fond of this memory as it is connected to her family's field, where she and her siblings often accompanied their parents to work. Marija inherited this field and to this day continues to cultivate it; she emphasised that it means a lot to her because she got it from her parents. When I asked her if we could visit the field, she awaited me there with her grandchildren and daughter-in-law. She prepared home-made flatbread *belokranjska pogača* and wine, and was happy that we visited the field just before the oat harvest (see Figure 5) so she could demonstrate how before mechanization they used to harvest oats with a sickle and bind the sheaves as can be seen in Video 2 and Video 3. Similar to other place-based memories, the story presented in this animation also reflects the attachment to the land and the emotional aspects of working on it, as is illustrated in the high value this field, as well as memory presented in the animation, holds for Marija.

Video 2: https://youtu.be/Ue-OpGdu33Q. Sharpening the sickle. Produced by Barbara Turk Niskač, 2024.



Figure 5: Because of land consolidation in the 1980s, which aimed to make small, fragmented plots – previously ploughed by draught horses and oxen – more suitable for mechanization, the field where Marija's story took place is now much larger and differently shaped. At the time of our visit, Marija's family cultivated oats and maize in these fields. Photos: Barbara Turk Niskač, July 2023.

Video 3: https://youtu.be/ys6eivIKy10. Binding the sheaves. Produced by Barbara Turk Niskač, 2024.

Animation 2: The animation produced based on Marija's narrative is available at: https://vimeo.com/1141114197 (password: Belokranjske_zgodbe). Field. Produced by Finta Film, RTV Slovenija, 2025.

Kal (Pond)

Children participated in almost all work in the agricultural domestic economy, and until the 1970s it was common for them to be responsible for the seasonal grazing of cows, oxen, and sheep. The research participants usually had fond memories related to time spent on the pastures because far from the gaze of adults they often found themselves immersed in play, foraging, hunting small animals and engaging in all sorts of unruly activities. Rajko, who was born in 1953, shared on several occasions a story when, as a child, he took cows to pasture with other boys from the village and, on their way

back home, they stopped by a pond. Ponds were primarily water sources for cattle; however, children sometimes used them for bathing. In a memory story upon which the third animation was based, Rajko recalled that there was an elderly neighbour who did not like to see children bathing in the pond because they made the water cloudy and then the cattle did not want to drink it. It therefore happened that this neighbour came to the pond and found the children bathing in it with their shorts and shirts hanging from the tree. Angrily, he took their clothes and headed towards the village. The boys followed him naked, begging him to return their clothes. He stopped and asked: "*Will you bathe in the pond again?"* After the children reassured him that they would not, he finally returned their clothes. However, Rajko added that the next day, the boys were again bathing in the pond. Only this time, they hid their clothes, so that the neighbour could not find them.

Ponds which gather rainwater were typical in the karst landscape, where due to a bedrock consisting mainly of limestone and dolomite, most of the precipitation that falls on the surface seeps directly underground. The limestone and the water that dissolves it played an important role in the formation of the landscape in Bela Krajina. The ponds formed where the shape of the surface and the clay in the soil enabled rainwater to gather. They were maintained by the cattle themselves when they came to drink and trampled the clay at the bottom, making the beds of ponds impermeable to sustain the rainwater collection in the pond. Once these ponds were no longer used by cattle, the soil underneath them became permeable, and the ponds gradually disappeared,



Figure 6: The location of a pond from Rajko's childhood story. Photo: Barbara Turk Niskač, November 2022.

becoming overgrown. This was also the case with the pond from Rajko's childhood memory. When I asked him to take me to the location of this story, I realized that I had already passed this place several times on my own. The site of the former pond is by the gravel road that leads from the village through the woods and is now completely overgrown with thorny bushes and surrounded by secondary forest (see Figure 6).

In Rajko's childhood, cows grazed here, and the pond was surrounded with pastures with bushes and scarcely grown trees. Having been recognised as important habitats supporting biodiversity, some ponds in the region have recently been restored, yet it has proved difficult to maintain them without actually being in use by the cattle and village community which cleaned them annually. In this sense, the story of a pond, like other patches of land depicted in the animations, also highlights the children's role in co-constituting the ecologies that have sustained multispecies life.

Animation 3: The animation produced based on Rajko's narrative is available at: https://vimeo.com/1141113731 (password: Belokranjske_zgodbe). Pond. Produced by Finta Film, RTV Slovenija, 2025.

Pašnik (Pasture)

During grazing, children had to ensure the animals got well fed, while also taking care of cultivated land. Since the land was not fenced, they had to make sure the cows did not stray.

> *She was a real doe, she was a 'šarf' cow* [from the German scharf, meaning she was fiery, she had a character one should not mess around with]. *That's why she had a chain around her neck. The other cows didn't have a chain* [...] *Srna was a leader; she was always the first everywhere.*

So, when the neighbour said he would take a cow, he seized Srna by the chain. That was when she showed her character: she snorted, pawed the ground and charged at the neighbour. He got scared and ran home, with Srna chasing him through the fields threaded with creeks. Alojz concluded the story:

> *We didn't need the thousand dinars anymore, nothing. He barely escaped the cow. We watched to see what would happen next, because when the neighbour jumped over the first creek, the cow jumped right after him. Golly, he jumped over another creek, and there she stopped. I wouldn't know if that creek was wider, but she stopped there, jumped back over and returned to grazing clover.*



Figure 7: Fields where Alojz's cows grazed on a neighbour's clover. In the distance, the creek runs beneath a line of trees. Photo: Barbara Turk Niskač, February 2024.

Like Marija's story of carrying manure to the field, this one takes place in the flatlands, where the soil is richer and therefore more suitable for intensive agriculture which continues to this day. In the 1980s, the area underwent land consolidation to facilitate mechanization as farming shifted from draught animals to machinery. The plots of land are now larger and less fragmented, yet when we visited the site with Alojz, he could still point out where the cows grazed, and the creek where he fished with his friend was still there (see Figure 7). Yet this story also emphasizes the relationships children formed with animals and their knowledge of them. As they worked and lived together, animals – like the children – were attributed with personhood and agency and, in some cases, as in this story, ultimately saved the day.

Animation 4: The animation based on Alojz's recollection is available at: https://vimeo.com/1141114661 (password: Belokranjske_zgodbe). Pasture. Produced by Finta Film, RTV Slovenija, 2025.

Gmajna (Pastures belonging to village commons)

Often it was animals themselves, particularly cows and oxen, that were the main protagonists in memories related to animal husbandry and grazing. This was true for Srna, as well as for Lisko, the ox featured in Andreja's memory story. Andreja, who was born



Figure 8: An expanse of bracken surrounded by secondary forest, where Andreja as a child watched over grazing cattle and cut bracken, and where her memory story unfolded. Photo: Barbara Turk Niskač, July 2023.

in 1969, recalled that as a girl of about eight or ten years old, her parents told her that when she came from school, she should go to the *gmajna* (the term used for pastures that belonged to village commons), chop some juniper and bring it home. It was a time when her family was smoking sausages, and juniper was used as a flavour. She recalled that it was winter with lots of snow, and she could barely walk to the *gmajna*, which was about a kilometre away from their home. When she finally reached her destination, she wanted to make an impression on her parents and cut a branch too big to carry on her own. As she was walking home in the snow without the juniper, she remembered that Lisko the ox could assist her. In the stable, she untied Lisko, put a yoke on him and took a string to tie the juniper. She reached the *gmajna* with Lisko, collected the juniper and returned home. Her parents noticed that she was missing, and seeing that the stable was empty, they panicked and looked for her and the ox all over the village. When Andreja finally appeared with the ox and juniper before nightfall, they were surprised at how she had managed to untie and harness the ox, as she had never done this before. Like all memories presented through animations, this story also highlights the interconnected lives of humans, animals, and landscapes. When I asked Andreja if her parents were angry she had disappeared like this, she replied they were not, adding jokingly that they were mostly relieved because the ox had come home, suggesting that Lisko was of more concern to the parents than she was. Others who were present when Andreja shared this story in a memory-sharing workshop commented that it was

the ox that had led her in fact, and not the other way around, emphasising Lisko as the protagonist (see Turk Niskač, Rautio, 2025 for a more detailed account on relations between children and animals).

The title of the animation is *Gmajna*, since this is how Andreja referred to the place. The word *gmajna* comes from the German word *Gemeinde* and denotes land that belonged to the village commons, tracing its origins to the Middle Ages, usually consisting of lower-quality pastures with stunted bushes and trees. Thus, it also illustrates the relationship between grazing areas and *steljniki* where bracken was harvested. When I visited the place where this story happened with Andreja, it was an expanse of bracken surrounded by encroaching secondary forest (see Figure 8). Bracken grew there in abundance, as her brother at the time still used that patch of land for spring grazing and bracken harvesting in the autumn. There were also some spruce trees, but no juniper was found. Juniper favours open spaces, so with overgrowing it is also disappearing from the landscape.

Animation 5: The animation produced based on Andreja's narrative is available at: https://vimeo.com/1141113487 (password: Belokranjske_zgodbe). Common Land. Produced by Finta Film, RTV Slovenija, 2025.

Košenica (Meadow)

The final animation also unfolds in a landscape shaped by animal grazing, marked by the alternating pattern of meadows and *steljniki*. Its title, *Košenica* (meadow), refers to the dry grassland that was typically mowed only once a year and then grazed. Martin, born in 1948, recalled taking a flock of sheep there for grazing. By the road, there was a spot where beautiful grass used to grow – especially in the sinkholes, where it was sheltered from drought and always grew lush and green. As a little shepherd, up until the age of twelve, he enjoyed spending time with his flock of sheep here. By the roadside, the grass was all grazed down and smooth, like a neat green lawn. A bit further along, the road workers had planted some apple trees, and there was nice grass there as well. There were even some apples, and everything was green so the sheep liked to linger there. Martin proudly recalled wearing his father's big hat when he once saw a car approaching and a man looking out. He moved the sheep aside so they could graze, and the man asked him whose boy he was. When Martin told him, the man asked if he had any lambs. Straightening up, Martin said he did. Then the man asked whether he would sell him one. Martin agreed, but growing worried what his father would say if he actually sold a lamb, he named such a high price that the man refused. The man drove off and Martin went back to the pasture. In the evening, as it was getting dark, he came home – and there was the man, waiting with his father at their house. The man said, *"Ah, so this is your mischievous boy who tried to overcharge me for a lamb."*



Figure 9: Photos above show the area where Martin's sheep grazed in the animated story on the way to the *košenica*. Photos below depict the *košenica* where Martin remembered playing football as a child. While the surroundings in the photos above have undergone natural regrowth, the adjacent plots of the *košenica* pictured below were afforested with spruce trees, which can also be seen in Video 4. Photos: Barbara Turk Niskač, February 2024.

It turned out he had already made a deal with Martin's father and had come to their place to pick up the lamb.

While Martin still watched over grazing animals during his childhood, these lands gradually ceased to be used for grazing and bracken harvesting since the 1970s. With changes in agriculture under the Yugoslav modernisation, Martin's family shifted from a flock of around twenty sheep to around ten cows and milk production in his late childhood. At the time, the government, seeking greater productivity, encouraged the conversion of *steljniki* and less favourable meadows into coniferous forests through afforestation. As a result, the meadows of Martin's childhood have since grown into mature spruce forests, while other plots in the area, once grazing ceased, naturally regenerated into oak and hornbeam woodlands. The Figure 9 shows the place where the story Martin recalled from his childhood happened; as we can see, the area is now surrounded by secondary forest. In Video 4, Martin demonstrates the shepherd's games in his spruce forest that used to be a meadow in his childhood. Thus, Martin's memory story, like many others, attests to the transformations in rural livelihoods and their manifestations in landscape.

Video 4: https://youtu.be/R04U5pWJn_w. Shepherd's games. Produced by Barbara Turk Niskač, 2024.

Animation 6: The animation produced based on Martin's narrative is available at: https://vimeo.com/1141113943 (password: Belokranjske_zgodbe). Hay Meadow. Produced by Finta Film, RTV Slovenija, 2025.

Conclusion

The memory stories presented above have been used in various settings, including scientific articles, lectures, conference presentations, museum exhibitions, and outreach activities for children and adults. They appeared either as standalone written texts (e.g., Turk Niskač, Rautio, 2025), standalone animations (museum exhibitions and outreach activities), or in combination (lectures, conference papers, this article). My aim was for animation to bring past childhood experiences to life and animate the "empty" and often "overgrown" places depicted in the photographs and video from the walking ethnography. In this article, I have presented the animations alongside narrated recollections, photographs, and video to create a dialogue between different modes of engaging with narrated memories. While the photographs depict "empty", often "overgrown" places, the animations bring these same places to life, conveying intimate stories of both humans and animals who have inhabited and co-constructed them. Placing photographs of the contemporary locations where memories were situated alongside the animations illustrates the landscape changes that occurred within a single generation. Thus, both photos and animations encourage viewers to empathetically engage with material, social, sensory, and emotional environments of research participants (Pink, 2009; Pink et al., 2010) and the transformations that have occurred across their lifespans. Moreover, animations as narrative visualizations add affective, multisensorial, emplaced, and aesthetic dimensions (Theodossopoulos, 2022; Bates et al., 2023). They enable viewers to better imagine what it *felt* like to dwell in the depicted landscapes and raise awareness of economic and environmental changes unfolding within a single generation's lifespan. Far from playing a merely supporting role, animation complements other modes by enlivening and critically enriching writing and talking about research participants' memories – allowing readers and viewers to see and feel what words cannot explicitly capture (Theodossopoulos, Bonanno, 2026: 131). I share Charlotte Bates and colleagues' view that animations

> can make us attentive to different things, open up different choices, and expand the ways we represent our research beyond the dominance of words. Evocative and lively, the animation is a powerful reminder that

> good ethnographic representation should evoke the liveness of the world. (Bates et al., 2023: 988)

While memory is commonly understood as situated in or belonging to the past, it also comes to matter in the present (Moretti, 2021). As Hamdy and Moll note, that which no longer exists "may be palpably experienced by our interlocutors yet remain invisible to the ethnographer's gaze or camera lenses" (Hamdy, Moll, 2024: 264). In this sense, animation is especially well-suited to capture "the intangible elements of participants' everyday lives" (Rumsby, Thomas, 2022) and past realities, methodologically bridging "the gap between what can be absent in various ways in our field sites, but still important to our interlocutors" (Hamdy, Moll, 2024). When situated alongside walking ethnography, photos and video, animations do more than depict past events. Compared to other presentation modes, animation "works in a different affective and emotive register" (Bates et al., 2023: 988). Animations therefore do not serve as exact representations of factual events but rather actively reenact and reconstruct past experiences and landscapes through vivid artistic expression. This article thus contributes to contemporary discussions on multimodal approaches by showing how the integration of animation into ethnographic practice not only represents but also interprets, embodies, and communicates multisensory and affective experiences of research participants.

Finally, animation as an alternative mode of storytelling makes ethnographic accounts more engaging and accessible to public audiences, especially younger generations, while offering new spaces of engagement (Atalay et al., 2019; Rumsby, Thomas, 2022). Through artistic collaboration, the presented animations remain embedded in ethnographic data yet provide a more sensory, aesthetic, and expressive mode of representation (Bates et al., 2023). The animations were included in the museum exhibition of the research project at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, as well as in the follow-up exhibition at the Cultural Centre Semič in the Bela Krajina region, where the research took place. Many research participants attended the exhibition openings, making this a meaningful way to acknowledge and conclude their contributions to the research. Animations proved to have strong appeal in the museum setting, engaging audiences across generations and resonating with efforts to make the study more meaningful for both the research participants and the communities it represents (Powis, 2017). The research participants whose memories were transformed into animations each received a personal copy for their own use. In this way, their memories took on a tangible form, with the potential to be passed down across generations. The animation in this case has been both a way of giving back to the community and of making ethnographic research public in *felt* ways (Bates et al., 2023: 987). With Finta Studio, we agreed that the animations will be made openly accessible online for educational purposes after they are featured at international animation festivals and broadcast on the Slovenian national television. Thus, the multimodal approach exemplified here through animation

production bridges academic disciplines and art by helping us better imagine the multisensorial, emplaced, and affective aspects of research participants' experiences, while making ethnographic research results more engaging and accessible to diverse, wide-ranging audiences.

Acknowledgements

The research and writing of this article were supported by the European Union's Horizon Europe MSCA postdoctoral fellowship (HORIZON-MSCA-2021-PF-01) under Grant Agreement 101061450 and a follow-up project under Grant Number MN-0033-618, funded by the European Union – NextGenerationEU within the framework of the Recovery and Resilience Plan, Investment (Co)financing projects to enhance the international mobility of Slovenian researchers and research organisations and to promote the international involvement of Slovenian applicants. The production of animations featured in this article was funded by the Slovenian Film Centre in co-production with RTV Slovenia.

Research data statement

The author states that the article is based on ethnographic research materials that are not classified as research data. All additional information concerning the ethnographic research materials are available on reasonable request with the author.

References

Atalay, Sonya, Letizia Bonanno, Sally Campbell Galman, Sarah Jacqz, Ryan Rybka, Jen Shannon, Cary Speck, John Swogger, and Erica Wolencheck. 2019. Ethno/Graphic Storytelling: Communicating Research and Exploring Pedagogical Approaches through Graphic Narratives, Drawings, and Zines. *American Anthropologist* 121 (3): 769–772. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13293.

Bates, Charlotte, Kate Moles, and Lily Mae Kroese. 2023. Animating Sociology. *The Sociological Review* 71 (5): 976–991. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261231156688.

Bodenhorn, Barbara and Elsa Lee. 2022. What Animates Place for Children? A Comparative Analysis. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 53 (2): 112–129. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/aeq.12409.

Čarni, Andraž, Petra Košir, Aleksander Marinšek, Urban Šilc, and Igor Zelnik. 2007. Changes in Structure, Floristic Composition and Chemical Soil Properties in a Succession of Birch Forests. *Periodicum Biologorum: An Interdisciplinary International Journal of the Societas Scientiarum Naturalium Croatica* 109 (1): 13–20.

Dattatreyan, Ethiraj Gabriel and Isaac Marrero-Guillamón. 2019. Introduction: Multimodal Anthropology and the Politics of Invention. *American Anthropologist* 121 (1): 220–228. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13183.

Dix, Benjamin, and Raminder Kaur. 2019. Drawing-Writing Culture: The Truth-Fiction Spectrum of an Ethno-Graphic Novel on the Sri Lankan Civil War and Migration. *Visual Anthropology Review* 35 (1): 76–111. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/var.12172.

Grossman, Alyssa. 2013. Filming in the Light of Memory. In *Transcultural Montage*, eds. Rane Willerslev and Christian Suhr, 198–212. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Haapio-Kirk, Laura. 2022. Introduction. Special Theme Ethnographic Collaborations: Crossing Borders with Multimodal Illustration. *Trajectoria* 3. DOI: https://doi.org/10.51002/trajectoria_022_01.

Hamdy, Sherine and Yasmin Moll. 2024. Visualizing Erasure: Co-Creating Comics and Animation from Revolutionary Street Art to Nubian Memories of Displacement in Egypt. *Visual Anthropology Review* 40 (2): 264–280. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/var.12343.

Honess Roe, Annabelle. 2016. Animated Documentary. In *Contemporary Documentary*, eds. Selmin Kara and Daniel Marcus, 42–56. London, New York: Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315725499-5.

Morelli, Camilla. 2025. Animating the Future: Amplifying Youth Voices Through Ethnographic Animation. *Visual Anthropology* 38 (1–2): 90–108. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2025.2510858.

Moretti, Cristina. 2021. Sensate Memory: An Introduction to the Special Issue. *Multimodality & Society* 1 (3): 245–265. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/26349795211028039.

Pink, Sarah, Phil Hubbard, Maggie O'Neill, and Alan Radley. 2010. Walking across Disciplines: From Ethnography to Arts Practice. *Visual Studies* 25 (1): 1–7. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14725861003606670.

Pink, Sarah. 2009. *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Powis, Richard. 2017. Heartened by Iconoclasm: A Few Preliminary Thoughts About Multimodality: Multimodal Anthropologies. *American Anthropologist* 119 (2): 359–361. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12870.

Rumsby, Charlie. 2020. Retrospective (Re)presentation: Turning the Written Ethnographic Text into an 'Ethno-Graphic'. *Entanglements: Experiments in Multimodal Ethnography* 3 (2): 7–27.

Rumsby, Charlie. 2022. Graphic Ethnography: Tuning into the Melody. *Theorizing the Contemporary, Fieldsights*, July 28. URL: https://www.culanth.org/fieldsights/graphic-ethnography-tuning-into-the-melody (accessed 16.11.2025).

Rumsby, Charlie and Ben Thomas. 2022. Waters of Death and Life: The Evolution of an 'Ethno-Graphic'. *Trajectoria* 3. DOI: https://doi.org/10.51002/trajectoria_022_03.

Spray, Julie. 2021. Drawing Perspectives Together: What Happens When Researchers Draw with Children? *Visual Anthropology Review* 37 (2): 356–379. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/var.12244.

Spray, Julie. 2025. Love and Agency in Ethnographic Fieldwork with Children. *Ethnography* 26 (4): 644–669. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381221120209.

Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios. 2022. Introduction: Graphic Ethnography on the Rise. *Theorizing the Contemporary, Fieldsights*. URL: https://www.culanth.org/fieldsights/introduction-graphic-ethnography-on-the-rise (accessed 16.4.2026).

Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios, and Letizia Bonanno. 2026. On the Compositional Relationship of Text and Image in Graphic Anthropology: The Promise of 'Sequential' and 'Unrestrained' Perspectives for Unsettling Representation. *American Anthropologist* 128 (1): 130–147. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.70054.

Turk Niskač, Barbara. 2025. The Value of Commoon Bracken Revisited: A Walking Ethnography of *steljniki*. *Suomen Antropologi: Suomen Antropologisen Seuran Julkaisu = Antropologi i Finland: Antropologiska Sällskapet i Finland* 49 (2): 90–105. DOI: https://doi.org/10.30676/jfas.141505.

Turk Niskač, Barbara and Zsuzsa Millei. 2025. Children, Common Bracken and Cows at Work: Re-Considering Work in Multispecies Relations through Childhood Memories. *Children's Geographies* 23 (1): 69–82. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2024.2425325.

Turk Niskač, Barbara and Pauliina Rautio. 2025. "If You Were Always with Them, You Were Their Friend": Cows and Oxen Co-Constituting Childhoods in Grazing Memories of Rural Slovenia. *Southeastern Europe* 49 (1–2): 74–98. DOI: https://doi.org/10.30965/18763332-49010004.

Wang, Yijing, and Yin Zhang. 2022. Giving a Voice to Minority: Practical Exploration of Ethnographic Animation. *International Journal of Computer Graphics & Animation* 12 (3): 1–8. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5121/ijcga.2022.12301.

Večnačinska srečanja: oživljanje spominov na otroštvo v spreminjajočih se krajinah

Članek obravnava animacijo kot večnačinsko etnografsko reprezentacijo, ki je nastala s povezovanjem etnografske raziskave in umetniške prakse. Predstavlja šest animiranih del, ki so bila na podlagi spominov posneta med etnografsko raziskavo o vključevanju otrok v kmečko gospodarstvo v jugovzhodni Sloveniji. Članek najprej umesti animacijo v etnografiji k t. i. obratu h grafičnim pripovedim. Nato podrobneje predstavi ozadje raziskave ter proces nastajanja animacij v sodelovanju z ilustratorko in režiserko Zarjo Menart ter studiom Finta Film, specializiranim za animirane stop-motion filme. V nadaljevanju članka so animacije predstavljene skupaj s pisnimi zapisi spominov ter fotografijami in videoposnetki s sprehodov s sogovorniki, s čimer prikazujejo, kako lahko animacija nazorneje predstavlja pretekle izkušnje sogovornikov. Naraščajoče število študij poudarja, da lahko grafična pripoved in animacija pomagata oživiti pretekle dogodke, spomine, težke zgodbe, čustva in druge neoprijemljive vidike vsakdanjega življenja sogovornikov. Pristopi, ki uporabljajo grafično pripoved in animacijo, oživijo raziskavo na bolj čustveni in osebni ravni ter lažje zajamejo čutne razsežnosti družbenega življenja (Haapio-Kirk, 2022; Theodossopoulos, 2022; Bates idr., 2023; Hamdy, Moll, 2024). Animacija kot vizualizacija pripovedi sogovornikov o preteklih dogodkih prikliče živost ter obudi afektivne, veččutne, prostorske in estetske razsežnosti raziskave (Theodossopoulos, 2022; Bates idr., 2023). Na podlagi teze, da lahko animacija raziskavo približa občinstvu na bolj oseben in neposreden način, predstavljene animacije gledalcem omogočajo lažje predstave o tem, kako je bilo sogovornikom kot otrokom bivati v predstavljenih

kmečkih krajinah, ter hkrati ozaveščajo o gospodarskih in okoljskih spremembah, ki so se odvile v času ene generacije. Članek se zaključi z razmislekom o vlogi animacije v večnačinski etnografiji in njenem prispevku k posredovanju raziskovalnih spoznanj raznolikim občinstvom. S tem prispeva k sodobnim razpravam o večnačinskih pristopih, saj pokaže, kako animacija ne le reprezentira, temveč tudi interpretira, uteleša in posreduje veččutne in afektivne izkušnje udeležencev v raziskavi. Uporaba animacije, ki povezuje akademski svet in umetnost, lahko naredi etnografske izsledke privlačnejše in dostopne širši javnosti, hkrati pa omogoča, da raziskavo približamo tudi sogovornikom in skupnostim, ki jih ti predstavljajo.