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Our Review is distributed free of charge. The Commission has no funding. In view of this, we would welcome donations from our American and European colleagues. A contribution of \$10 will enable us to send the Review to three new institutions in the Third World. Your donations will strengthen our commitment to the promotion of visual anthropology activities in developing countries.

Ce bulletin d'information est distribué gratuitement. La Commission ne reçoit aucun subside régulier. Dans ce contexte, nous acceptons volontiers des dons de nos collègues américains et européens. Une contribution de \$10 nous permettrait de faire parvenir ce bulletin à trois nouvelles institutions dans le Tiers-Monde. Votre don encouragerait notre engagement envers la promotion des activités d'anthropologie visuelle dans les pays en voie de développement.

Fall 1989

A LETTER FROM ASEN BALIKCI

chairman

COMMISSION ON VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The present issue of our Newsletter carries a new title, *CVA Review*. The change has become necessary in view of the increasingly comprehensive nature of our publication. What started as a two page flier has become a substantial periodical with contributions of enduring value. In subsequent editions of the Review we will strive to give priority to news items of world-wide import and encourage submissions on pressing issues relating to visual anthropology. Serious efforts will be made to include material by Third World anthropologists or items directly related to professional problems in Third World countries.

This issue again has been printed with the help of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. We thank our sponsor for its contribution and hope that it will continue. All editorial work is done on a voluntary basis in our Montreal office, mostly by anthropology students. We would like to remind our North American and European colleagues that all donations, however small, are welcome; it would indeed be indispensable for the continuation of our work. It is only with your help that we can extend our network, primarily in the Third World. Our mailing list has increased of late to 1400 addresses in nearly 70 countries. The network is vast and in order to maintain it we need your support.

Most importantly, we would like to see a more active involvement by our commissioners. We do indeed welcome their contributions to our endeavor. But we would also like to receive regular communication on the progress made by our commissioners, especially suggestions about new activities that our commission should undertake: new publications, conferences and festivals, regional surveys, topical interventions and production projects, etc. The Commission is basically what the commissioners would like it to be. We remain open to suggestions.

And now congratulations to our Dutch colleagues! Following the formation of the Dutch visual anthropology association, a new newsletter has appeared entitled *Savan*. This is a national Dutch publication and we hope that it will signal a new trend, the production of national periodicals. Developments in Holland are a clear indication that our profession is rapidly coming of age.

Jay Ruby, editor of *Visual Anthropology* reports very good news. The special number on Jean Rouch will become a double issue - Vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4. Vol. 3, no. 1 is already filled with various articles and reviews. Vol. 3, nos. 2 and 3 will be devoted to Joanna Scherer's special issue on ethnophotography. The quality of the material continues to improve. Jay Ruby deserves our congratulations for the excellent job he is doing as editor of the journal.

News from the Granada Center of Visual Anthropology, University of Manchester, is always good. Barely one year old, the center has attracted already a number of outstanding M.A. students and now is establishing a Ph.D. programme. This indeed is a most important development of considerable international significance. We believe that several institutions in Europe will follow the example set by the Manchester School. We all admire Dr. Paul Henley's energetic leadership! For further information, please read Dr. Henley's letter published in this issue.

The IUAES Inter-Congress will take place in Lisbon, 5-12 September 1990. Following the notable success of the Amsterdam meetings last June, I have asked Dr. Robert Boonzajer-Flaes, University of Amsterdam, to organize all visual anthropology activities. The theme of the Lisbon congress will be "anthropology on the air". This is particularly appropriate considering the growing number of anthropologists involved in the mass media. Detailed information about the Lisbon meetings can be found in this issue, in the section on forthcoming events.

"*Regards comparés*" is a remarkable initiative by Jean Rouch, Musée de l'Homme, Paris. It consists of presentation and analyses of a large number of ethnographic films from a single culture area. This approach allows for comparison of productions from different periods and different anthropological and film traditions. Past seminars concerned Bushman and New Guinea cultures. This year's event will examine the Eskimos in Canada, Alaska, Greenland and possibly

Siberia. It is well-known that hundreds of films have been made about the Eskimos including many documentaries, ethnographic films and features, with Flaherty's "*Nanook of the North*" being certainly the most famous. The Commission on Visual Anthropology will participate in the preparation of the program. The event will take place at the science museum in La Villette, Paris, November 28 December 4. For further information, write to Françoise Foucauld, CFE, Musée de l'Homme, Place du Trocadéro, Paris 16, phone 47043820.

The "V Settimana Mediterranean del Film Antropologico" will take place in Palermo, Italy, November 24-28. The Palermo festival will be devoted to ethnographic films illustrating various aspects of muslim culture in the Mediterranean area. For further information, please contact Dr Rita Cedrini, Università di Palermo, Facoltà di Lettere, Laboratorio Antropologico, Viale Delle Scienze, Palermo, Italy, telephone: (091) 590.774.

The Parnu festival is over. Jay Ruby reports excellent attendance, highly successful film selection and overwhelming public participation. Clearly, the Parnu festival has become a major visual anthropology event in the Soviet Union. Peter Eelsaare and Marc Soosar should be congratulated for their organizing abilities!

As indicated in the May issue of the *Newsletter*, our Commission is increasingly interested in visual anthropology activities in the museum setting. In the context of the 1992 international ICOM meeting in Quebec City, the Musée de la Civilisation in Québec, in collaboration with the Commission on Visual Anthropology, intends to organize a seminar on the place of visual anthropology in culture history museums. We invite our members and correspondents to send us published or unpublished reports on this subject. Of particular interest are museum-originated film production projects.

Dr. M.M. Ames, director of the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, has, in a letter, commented on my earlier editorial on visual anthropology in the museum setting. His remarks are important and express clearly the constraints under which museum directors work today. It is true that quite often visual anthropologists tend to pursue their own aims to the neglect of institutional interests. In this context, Dr. Ames letter is both sobering and positive. It invites collaboration for mutual benefit. We are publishing Dr. Ames letter with the hope that it may generate an international debate on some important issues of direct concern to our profession.

As a representative of the Commission I undertook two trips this year to eastern Siberia with the aim to organize a comprehensive visual anthropology survey of the indigenous peoples of Siberia. During my spring trip, I visited the Chukchee in the Kantchalan area. Daily life in the reindeer camps still follows a traditional style and is very reminiscent of the detailed observations made by Bogoras almost a century ago. The Chukchee still live in skin tents (*yaranga*), travel on sleds and beat the drum. In the fall I participated in the shooting of an ethnographic film among the Yupik Eskimos of Sireniki who are mainly walrus and whale hunters. This project is sponsored by Eesti Kultuurfilm, Tallinn and the Institute of Ethnography, Moscow. Our aim is to involve Soviet anthropologists and filmmakers in the production of a series of ethnographic films (both 16mm and video) on the social life of the native peoples of Siberia. Provisions can be made for the participation of non-Soviet visual anthropologists who are interested in native siberian research, who have knowledge of Russian and have access to funding. For further information, please write to our Montreal office.

We are profoundly honored to publish in this issue an article by Academician Nikita Tolstoy, dean of slavic studies in Russia. Academician Tolstoy comments vividly on the importance of audiovisual records in folklore research. At the same time he enumerates the constraints under which our Soviet colleagues labour. His comments are clearly reminiscent of Margaret Mead's prophetic pronouncements. Academician Nikita Tolstoy is the grandson of Leo Tolstoy and in a sense remains faithful to the family tradition. He is close to the people of his land.

LETTERS

HOMAGE TO VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

A LETTER FROM ACADEMICIAN NIKITA TOLSTOY

President of the Soviet Committee on Slavic Studies
Vice-president of the International Committee on Slavic Studies.

Scientific ethnographic film, which has seen wide diffusion in Europe since the 1960's, is an original genre the descriptive power of which, to my mind, no written text or photographic collections can replace. Imagine how important it would be to have today a good audiovisual record of French ballet of the last century or the beginning of Russian ballet with all its brilliant performers! Or a film on Russian storytellers from the past generations!

Unfortunately, in Russia, this field of activity is not well-developed. A large share of funds for filmmaking is allocated to sociology or, even worse, to productions illustrating vulgar materialism. It seems, however, that in Estonia and other Baltic republics ethnographic filmmaking developed in a better context. In those countries our cinematic genre is considered seriously, as it is in Poland. Polish anthropologists have sub-divided the ethnographic atlas of their country on the basis of historic fiefdoms and then, within the framework of a nationwide program, have proceeded with systematic filming. It is with considerable satisfaction that I screened several films from these series. As a specialist in Slavic studies I am better acquainted with professional achievements among the Slavic peoples. Many ethnographic films are also produced in Bulgaria. I am certain that an ethnographic film atlas of Russia could result in a very important documentation, no less important than the "Compendium on Russian Folklore" produced by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

From several cultural areas of our country, many traditional forms have been preserved up to the present time. Such an area are the Bielorussian Woodlands where I have been working for nearly a quarter of a century, unfortunately without film or video equipment. Yet some performances such as dance and ritual simply cannot be studied without the help of modern audiovisual equipment. Similarly for collecting folklore material, videotaping allows for considerable flexibility, the records of which can be exhaustive or fragmentary. Unfortunately our projects are constrained by serious difficulties due primarily to our technical backwardness. Recently one of our colleagues working in the Bielorussian village of Stodolichi made a video recording of some extremely important material, of which only one-tenth was preserved, while the rest of the videotapes were re-used for other purposes. The lack of videotapes severely limits our work.

It is imperative for us to coordinate our efforts and establish a programme involving the collaboration of scientists and filmmakers. In this context, it is necessary to set up a foundation of an all-union commission on visual anthropology which will supervise the production of both scientific films and more popular documentaries. If such a center could be established at the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR or at the Filmmakers Unions, we shall certainly join in a collaborative effort and propose many field-recording opportunities. We welcome additional members to our field expeditions.

The record of the Composers Union of the USSR has been most positive. Many of their members have collaborated with filmmakers to produce outstanding films and seminars have been held on film materials of interest to folklorists from many countries.

The establishment of a visual anthropology center open to various researchers will be an achievement of considerable importance. Folk dances and rituals should be filmed in situation, in their natural, normal setting, either inside the family dwelling or out in the courtyard. Such a recording strategy will allow for an integrated analysis of different parts of the whole. In peasant ritual much is sacred and related to myth. Visual recording will clearly reveal this. My field of study is the traditional life of the slavic peoples. I assume that to a certain degree ethnography stands apart from folklore, linguistics or sociology. While professional specialization does allow

for deeper analyses of a given body of data, much is also lost by specialist knowledge and it seems necessary to periodically go back to the original data for holistic analyses. In this context, visual records are irreplaceable. I could mention another example related to work processes and acquisitive strategies. From the turn of the century we have detailed written descriptions of wild honey gathering in the Bielorussian Woodlands. Film records would have enabled us to see all the different stages of this difficult activity, the tools used and the specific technique employed in tree-climbing.

I welcome the systematic adoption of audiovisual technology. At the same time I would like to warn you about some possible shortcomings. I fully agree with the common practice of bringing out from the family chest old, genuine costumes for use in contemporary folk dance. If however brand-new clothings have to be manufactured for the film setting, I cannot, without reservations, accept such a reconstruction. Limited and well-controlled reconstruction is acceptable but up to a point. Beyond that the creation of a feeling of artificiality is unacceptable. In any case all instances of reconstruction with regard to each specific object have to be announced on the screen.

Of course, innovations are perfectly acceptable provided that they have been made in agreement with the people themselves, who are the protagonists, and not imposed on them. A good example is the method adopted by the Bielorussian researcher Zinaïda Mojeïko. In the process of filming Christmas festivities she invited the peasants to decide for themselves what kind of dresses they would wear. The peasants put on their best clothes and bought from the store a bottle of bulgarian brandy which they proudly displayed on the Christmas table as a decorative feature. Obviously that was how the peasants celebrated Christmas. It would have been wrong for the filmmaker to have ordered the bottle away: "You don't drink of this brandy, so remove it!" If however the researcher had told the protagonists about the aims of the ethnographic film which required reconstruction, they would have removed the bottle themselves. Again, ethnographic film contexts vary and no single rule is applicable to a great variety of settings. Another example from linguistic investigations pertains to a basic rule which is to avoid interfering with the flow of the informant's speech. This rule is applicable to phonetic notation and research but not to lexical investigations. The linguist cannot wait indefinitely for the informant to pronounce the necessary words or sentences. If the researcher's aim is to collect terminological usage peculiar to weaving, he/she can do this by simply asking the informant specific questions without reconstructing a whole global context specific to weaving. Similarly with audiovisual recording, the technology of the loom can be filmed without the weaver actually having to wear her best costume.

Finally, the international circulation of visual ethnographies seems to be an essential part of the visual anthropology enterprise. Ethnographic films as cultural documents can easily cross state boundaries and contribute to the understanding of other cultures. They should be an important part of cross-cultural exchanges. All this is very much in the tradition of Russian science, very much in the tradition established by the prominent Russian ethnographer Nicolaï Mikluko-Maklaï. It is in this sense that I would like to express my sympathy and gratitude for the international Commission on Visual Anthropology.

A LETTER FROM DR. PAUL HENLEY

Director of Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology
University of Manchester

Dear Asen Balikci,

Our teaching activities here at the Centre continue to thrive and to grow. The first generation of MA students, who have been here for the academic year 1988-1989, are just reaching the end of their programme. They are due to hand in their combined film and dissertation projects by the end of October. Even before they leave, the new generation of students, for the academic

year 1989-1990, will be arriving. At the same time, we are presently working on a plan to begin a Ph.D. programme which will be in a sense an extension and elaboration of the MA programme.

The projects carried out by this year's students have been very varied and interesting. You will recall that they are required to produce a dissertation of some 5000 words and a video film of a maximum of 40 minutes which complement and reinforce one another. As you met the students yourself, you will be interested in the particular details of their work: Sarah Cole has carried out a project on the wedding industry and the idealized images of marriage that it purveys; Thomas Hammer's project concerns a Christian sect, which has a college here in Manchester and which is largely made up of people from a scientific background; Andrea Maguire is working on middle class witchcraft; Andrew Palmer took the ancient Eclair NPR to Spain and did a project on bull fighting; Robert Storrie is working on the political fall-out of the closure of a big steelworks in his home town in Northumberland; Polly Strauss is working on the revival of folk traditions, particularly step-dancing, in the North West of England; Desmond Whyms has been shooting on an organic farm as part of his project to examine how idealized images of rurality fit with harsh realities of agricultural life whilst, finally, Andy Wilson has been filming musical workshops with children as part of his project to look at the place of music in multi-cultural education in Manchester.

The coming year's intake of students (i.e. for 1989-90) is more international than last year. This is in line with the general trend that we wish to encourage. We are presently expecting ten students, but previous experience shows that usually one or two drop out due to funding or other difficulties at the last moment. Of the ten whom we are expecting, five are from overseas, two Germans, one North American, one Brazilian and one Malawian. The other five students are all British. The students also break down, more by luck than judgment, on a 50/50 basis as far as the men/women ratio goes. The students also come from a broad variety of intellectual backgrounds. Although all of them have studied anthropology to some degree at an undergraduate level, as we require for entry to the course, some of them have qualifications in other areas as well, such as Fine Arts, Political Science, Geography, Development Studies, etc. We are therefore very much hoping that this general mix of differences will produce another very stimulating year.

For this coming year, we have investigated a number of changes in the course. You will remember that students have to do four courses and then over the summer period carry out their combined dissertation and video project. We have now increased the number of practical methods courses from one to two but at the same time, we will be insisting that all students take at least one mainstream Social Anthropology option. The Visual Representation course which all students will take, will remain the main vehicle within the MA for the exploration of anthropological theories in relation to visual representation. However, next year, it will be amalgamated with what used to be Documentary Film course and it will be taught by Peter Crawford, who has recently come from Aarhus University in Denmark to join the staff of the Granada Centre here at Manchester. The course will trace the development of anthropological filmmaking from the end of the last century to the present day with special emphasis on the works of particular traditions and particular authors. All this will take place within the context of an extended theoretical discussion about such matters as Otherness and Cultural Representation, Images and Ideology, Communication and Development, etc.

The Ph.D. that we are now working out the details of, will be based on the same principles as the MA. The way open to such a programme was established with the approval that the University Senate gave to the submission of film and/or video in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Ph.d. degree. Students will still be required to write a dissertation and this will be "of paramount importance" but they will also be able to submit audio-visual materials as a "significant and integral" part of the work. It is very important to stress that the training we will be offering will be a social anthropological training, in which the use of visual media play an important part.

The students coming on to the programme will be registered with a member of the Department of Social Anthropology who specializes in the particular region of the world or the particular topic in which the student wishes to carry out research. The Granada Centre will be involved to the extent of providing training in the use of visual media and supervision on the specifically visual side of the student's research. However, the student will be required to carry out fieldwork in the conventional social anthropological manner and write a dissertation summarizing the result of that work. The role of visual media in the overall programme will be as

information gathering tools, and partly as a means of presenting the result. But the intellectual foundation of the programme as a whole, whether the results are presented in texts or in images, will be social anthropology.

Even though the main thrust of the programme will be social anthropological, we will still strive to train students to the same level of professionalism in image-making as is conventionally required of text-writing for Ph.d. dissertations. In order to achieve this level of expertise in image-making, we are investigating the possibility of a collaborative adventure with the National Film and Television School at Beaconsfield, whereby our students would go there for a period of up to six months to receive specialized documentary film training.

All this is still very much in the melting pot and we will have to work out how much it will all cost and who will pay for it. However, we are very keen to get the thing off the ground as soon as possible. In fact, we are aiming to welcome the first students enrolling under these conditions in October 1990. I would be very grateful therefore if you would draw the existence of this scheme to the attention of the readers of the CVA Newsletter. Although we have yet to work out the final details, we would hope to have these ready within the next month or so. Interested potential students should write to the Granada Centre for further details.

Nor is it only on the teaching side that we have been active. The Forman Lecture series, initiated so successfully by yourself last year, will happen again this year on November 21st. Jean Rouch has done us the great honour of accepting our invitation to be this year's Lecturer. He has told me that he plans to talk about his project to arrange for the filming of a complete cycle of Dogon ritual. Since this normally takes 240 years, it will be most interesting to see how he proposes to do it!

Arrangements for the second RAI International Anthropological Film Festival also proceed a pace. This will take place between September 24th-29th, 1990 here in Manchester and will be divided between the University and Granada Television studios. We are still working on the details of the programme, but at the moment we envisage a two-tier arrangement, with the presentation of papers and discussion in the morning (organized in conjunction with the Centre for Visual Anthropology at the University of Southern California) and the showing of films and videos in the afternoon and evening. An important feature of this Festival will be the prominence given to the issue of the training of anthropology students in the use of audio-visual media. This will be reflected not only in the verbal discussions but also in the range of films shown. Another important aspect of the arrangements will be the integration of the biannual RAI Film Prizes with the Festival. At the moment there are two of these, the so-called RAI Prize which is given to the film deemed to be of greatest conventional anthropological interest and the Basil Wright Prize, donated by Robert Gardner, which is awarded to the film deemed to use the particular aesthetic qualities of film to give an understanding of the human condition. This time, these two Prizes will be supplemented by a third which will be given for the best student production. The exact terms and conditions of the latter Prize have yet to be determined, but we feel that it is very important that such a Prize should be offered, as it were, to emphasize the commitment in this particular Festival to the issue of student training. Again, further details of this Festival will shortly be available either from us at the Granada Centre or from the RAI itself at the following address: 50 Fitzroy Street, London W1P 5HS.

A LETTER FROM DR. M.M. AMES

Director, Museum of Anthropology
University of British Columbia

Dear Dr. Balikci:

I am prompted to reply to your most interesting letter in the latest issue of the CVA Newsletter. You raise a number of interesting points about the relation between visual anthropology and museums that bear further discussion.

You note the general lack of museum involvement in the production of new ethnographic films, and ask whether it is due to lack of funding, lack of vision, or conservative policies. Your

subsequent discussion clearly suggests you think it is because of conservatism. But let me present you with an alternate view, from the perspective of someone who works in museums and is also interested in visual anthropology.

Most museum professionals I know of have as much vision as members of other professions, if not more. Just because they are not doing what you think is important does not mean they lack vision, only that they may lack your particular vision. They also lack funding. With the exception of a few large institutions, most museums and art galleries in Canada are today struggling to survive, with a steadily increasing proportion of their budgets being required for basic operation and maintenance. Governments are steadily cutting back on the levels of support, forcing cultural institutions more into the private sector which also limits their flexibility. I suspect that most if not all museums and galleries would love to use more audiovisual material, never mind produce them, if they could afford to do so. They would also be quite interested in participating in the production of audiovisual materials, if they could afford to do that as well. It is far more expensive to convey the same amount of information through film than through exhibitions, however, and the primary sources of funding available to museums is for exhibitions.

Yes, films may have more "power" than exhibitions, but not necessarily more if one compares productions of equal dollar value. Money buys power. Most museums would probably have to struggle to raise the money to pay the wages of projectionists, never mind to buy films or to produce them. There are a few exceptions, of course. The new Canadian Museum of Civilization is one. It is devoting a considerable amount of its resources to the production of audiovisual material.

Collaboration is important, but it would be helpful if it was done with understanding on both sides. Our past experience in dealing with visual specialists has left me somewhat skeptical, since they usually expect the museum to subsidize their work and to help them raise funds for their project, leaving our own expenses still to be covered. It becomes a very expensive undertaking to "collaborate" with visual anthropologists.

And yes, exhibits are "static", but why the pejorative word? They could also be described as stable, firm, and the objects well-preserved for future generations. Objects can still be exciting and provocative, even if they are not moving around, and one's imagination need not remain "static" if one is willing to exercise it. Literature and poetry are equally "static" and I thank god for that, otherwise they would be extraordinarily difficult to read. The problem, I suspect, is that it takes more effort to "read" an object than a moving picture. Museum exhibits are indeed frequently superficial, but in my experience no more so than many films. It could also be said that exhibits are frequently less intrusive or voyeuristic than films. (The superficiality of exhibits extends to other museums besides anthropology ones, of course, and one might inquire as to why. It is certainly not because the curators are themselves superficial. There are other constraints and principles operating, including amongst other things some respect for those whose cultures are being exhibited and who do not necessarily wish the "cruelty and brutality", etcetera, to be displayed. Mr. Kenneth Hudson's pronouncement is itself superficial and was probably stated simply to be provocative).

It is easy to criticize museums because they are standing there easy to see. It takes a greater effort to understand why they are the way they are. It may also be superficial to assume that people who do not do things the way we think they should are therefore either lacking in vision or conservative. They may even have different visions.

I commend you for keeping the CVA Newsletter going.

ARTICLES

VIDEOGRAPHY AS INDIGENOUS TEXT AND LOCAL COMMODITY

by
Jayasinhji JHALA
Department of Anthropology
Harvard University

This paper examines the making of indigenous video texts and the potential this resource offers to anthropology in understanding other societies. It is assumed that the kind of traditional texts communities create and use, (written, oral, diagrammatic) are resources by and through which we can have a better understanding of their world. Similarly as suggested by Jack Goody when new forms are generated and when traditional textual forms give way to newer interpretations, the culture of the community making these alterations and additions is demonstrating signs of change. Like with texts, so too with things (Appadurai). Indigenously produced articles come to live with foreign imports and the culture is altered as new meanings and status are ascribed to the totality of things that make up the material culture of the community at any epoch.

Our understanding of most civilizations and communities is based on two perspectives that generate texts. The first is our understanding and interpretation of indigenous texts and the second is our understanding of historical and contemporary texts written by outsiders about societies they visit. Historically these outsiders have been soldiers, travellers, merchants and men of the cloth. Our comprehension of the ancient civilizations of Asia, India and Europe is considerably enriched by the writings of Marco Polo, Megasthenese, Ibn Batuta, and Cato. In recent decades, the contribution of ethnographers and ethnographic filmmakers (Marshall, MacDougall) has substantially added to our knowledge of other cultures, especially the peripheral societies that contain tribal and peasant peoples. By the contact activated between the culture of the visitor and those of the periphery, many indigenous societies have been exposed to modern medicine, improved transportation and communication facilities as well as other technological innovations that are now indispensably part of their culture.

Like other modern technologies and discipline, visual anthropology is a product of a particular social environment and culture. It rests on the technological foundation of that culture. Many of the communities visual anthropologists encounter and portray have no access to the technology that generates visual texts, nor do they have a technological infrastructure that enables them to appropriate this technology. Such societies do not create video or film texts and as a whole the visual anthropology discipline and product does not exist for them. However, there are more and more tribal and peasant societies in the world that have a growing access to video technology and who are generating visual texts for local use and consumption. These visual texts now join indigenous written and oral texts as repositories of and interpreters of the traditional culture. Such video texts are also accepted as local commodities being sold and exchanged like domestic ploughs, pots, masks, utensils. The study of the patterns of exchange of these videographies and of the aesthetics governing their construction are important ways in which visual anthropologists can elucidate the place of the new product that is made by and for the local populace. Like the mask, the fairy tale and the communal dance, this video artifact is an indigenous product that has primary meaning in and for the society in which it has been created and for which it primarily exists.

In contrast to videographies generated indigenously, visual anthropology (as it is known by its products in the west) has not involved itself in studying locally made videotapes and films but has rather been devoted to the manufacture of visual texts. This practice has led to the belief in several nations and amongst varied ethnic groups that visual anthropology is an expression of western voyeurism, and a symbol of the western appetite for cultural acquisition and appropriation (Said). The practitioners are described as insensitive, ill trained opportunists whose endeavors have been largely devoted to gathering filmic booty to be taken to the west and there exhibited as trophies in various temple shrines of the secular western nation states called museums, film libraries, academic institutions and on national television media. Such persons are called the people with four eyes. The two sets of eyes, the two normal ones with which they perceive the foreign

culture, and the two eyes stuck to the back of their heads that are metaphors for the allegiance, both ideological and material, that ethnographic filmmakers give to institutions funding and legitimating their endeavors. Lack of empathy, lack of knowledge, lack of ideological compatibility with the persons being filmed is understood to result in a peculiar kind of selection of situations, processes, material culture and social dramas that are filmed. This collectivity of traits and conditions distorts the social reality or rather presents a version of the social reality that is not necessarily shared by the local population. In sum, these visual anthropology products are valuable to the west precisely because they are of western manufacture, for they uphold western values and close the circle of appropriation by frequently denying the local voice of the community they film. This school of thought admits that these ethnographic films are films of non-western peoples by outsiders for western audiences. They are not a cultural product of the culture encountered as are masks, pots and fabrics that are used by the indigenous culture for indigenous purposes. They do not embody the values of the culture visited but rather are a canvas on which the western protagonist can perform to reinforce particular attitudes and to embark on particular crusades that are of western relevance and immediacy.

This same argument has been levelled at the governments of several non-western nations who with the support of the nationally dominant intelligentsia and media are on the one hand quite vociferous in condemning the west for its attitudes and actions and on the other are perpetuating a similar programme of appropriation. I do not suggest that the peoples filmed are not themselves manipulators, ideology makers and latent tyrants, for they are known to be all these things in particular contexts. While they are not powerful when pitted against national or international encroachment, they are not entirely powerless. It is well documented that certain groups have denied permission to be filmed, others such as the Australian Aborigines have been able to use the power of the legislature and the Australian State to ban the screening of films made about them many years before (Sandall - personal communication). Other groups have been able to use the national or international visual anthropologists to further domestic goals and to present their view in forums they had no access to.

This paper is not concerned with the tradition of fiction filmmaking in non-western societies even though these fiction films are of local manufacture. It concentrates on the local efforts to record real life events. In the noticeable absence of local video texts being used in the analysis of cultural interpretation, this paper presents new data for visual anthropology by illustrating the production of local video texts being used in the analysis of cultural interpretation, this paper presents new data for visual anthropology by illustrating the production of local video programmes, funded and executed by local persons in the peripheral rural district of Surendranagar that lies in the state of Gujarat in western India. The three case studies discussed demonstrate the use made of half-inch video to serve the needs of a family, a caste and a multi-caste community. It explains the technology base that makes this activity possible, the costs involved in producing these videographies, the editing criteria employed and modes of the use and the dissemination of this newest local artifact. It also explores the value that the finished videotape creates for itself and the impact video technology has on socio-cultural activities it is engaged to illustrate.

Surendranagar District, from which this data comes, is classified by the national government of India as a "backward" district. It has 671 villages and 11 towns in which live 82 endogamous castes, all of whom total approximately 1 million souls. There are Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, though the overwhelming majority of the residents are Hindu. The district is linked by road and rail to greater India. Most of its villages have electricity, and in many villages television has arrived. Besides consumer owned television and VCRs, there are rental shops that provide video tapes of Bombay and western cinema, as well as monitors and VCRs.

Many erstwhile 'Still Photographers' have added a 1/2" video camera, a VCR and television monitor to their repertoire of still studio photography, and hire themselves out as professionals offering a new product. They are all self-taught. Their new activities take up a portion of their professional time and these new activities are extensions of the old traditional services that were devoted to making photographic albums of various rites of passage and related special events. They now offer video tapes of these events as well. Rates for these services vary from individual to individual, from the type, modernity and quality of the equipment offered and by the duration of the contract period. In 1988, it was possible to rent an operator with a videocamera

for an eight hour working day for Rs. 1200 (around U.S. \$80). This price included a three hour videotape that consisted of the sequence of shots taken by the cameraman during the eight hour shift. There was natural sound, but no editing, no commentary and no background music. For additional money, all three of the above could be added as well as titles. Lights also cost extra. The cameraman is normally the owner/operator and he has an assistant, usually an apprentice who could be a family member. The apprentice comes free. The relation between client and videographer is short in terms of time and is restricted to a particular project. He is seldom a friend. However, unlike outsider-filmmakers, the videographer speaks the same language as the client, knows the general sequence of rituals and in general is familiar with local custom and etiquette. He does not know individuals and their centrality to the event he is recording nor does he know the geography of the homes and buildings he is engaged to work in. In these matters he is directed by one or more persons of the client's family or party.

Unlike the western filmmaker or the director of the national television station who comes endowed with resources allocated from their respective central funding agencies and as a consequence are not dependent on the resources of the local community, the local videographer is intimately tied to local resources. His relationship is relatively subordinate to the populace he serves unlike the position of the outside filmmaker who is in fact in a position to pay the people he films than the other way round. This creates an important difference in the relationship that exists between the local patron and client and that between the outsider filmmaker and the native subject. The relationship of the dependent local videographer to the present patron and the pool of potential patrons makes it possible to assume that the videographer will pay close attention to the needs of his clients and be receptive to comply with their wishes. To emphasize this dependency, it is normal practice in the district to pay the videographer the cost of the videotape in advance and nothing more. The rest of the fee becomes payable after the product has been seen and approved.

The above sketch outlines the local social morphology and the technological base in which the local videographer operates as well as the kind of relationship he has with his patrons. The more successful videotape is generally a collaborative venture between the client and the patron. While the asymmetrical patron-client relationship is the dominant, the videographer acquires a working relationship with the patron that includes in part the status of a doctor, a priest, a friend, and a guest. His work makes him visit the dwelling of his client and be a witness to interactions that these categories of persons have a privy to and to which he would not be ordinarily exposed. He is expected to dress modestly and to act with efficiency and reserve and cultivate a manner that does not draw attention to his presence and activities. This contrasts prominently with the demeanor of the patron or his representative who serves as director, organizer and general coordinator. This director is quite visible, gesticulating and supervising individuals, creating working space and suitable lighting conditions. The videographer works in his shadow as it were and it is to this director that the videographer turns in times of emergency. This predicament could relate to the filming process as well as to procuring final payment.

Such videographic endeavors could be on many subjects which include records of pilgrimages, rites-of-passage, cherished religious events, caste events and could be conveniently divided into three arenas or social fields. The first is the familial arena which includes affinal and consanguine kin and largely deal with individual rites-of-passage. The second arena covers matters related to caste events and rituals. The third arena is that in which a number of castes participate. A discussion of a single example of each arena will be discussed to show why a videography was created, what kinds of criteria were applied to form its contents and by what means was the finished product disseminated to intended audiences. To illustrate these arenas, I have chosen three videographies made by members of the Rajput caste amongst whom I spent time doing anthropological research as a Fulbright Fellow in 1987-1988. My access to these videographies and individuals was made easier by the generally known fact that I had been making films about different castes in this area in the preceding eleven years.

Arena 1

This videography is a record of a marriage ceremony in a single Rajput family of prominent farmers in the village of Bharad. It is three hours long and cost Rs. 4200 (approximately U.S. \$300) which was paid by the bride's father. It has titles, background music and special effects. The marriage negotiations, the couple's background, their educational and

occupational status, how the marriage came about, what role did the couple play in the decision making process, the cost of the wedding, the background and prior relationship of the two families to each other, all these questions and more do not form part of the film. The reason why many of these questions are not addressed is because they belong to the private domain and as the video is to be a 'shared product', such matters would be inappropriate to make public. The convention and tradition also preempt the role of the couple as active participants in the decision making process.

The video reveals the marriage ceremony in detail, the guests, the feasting, the environment, the emotional attitude of the bride and her family and friends and that of the groom and his family. For instance, the camera takes long and slow pans of the guests. This is deliberate and is essentially a counting of heads and the making of participants into future witnesses of the event. In the same way there is great concentration on the food, the dining area and the visible consumption of edibles by guests, joyfully devouring large portions is faithfully noted. When opportunity presents itself that the hosts are requesting their guests to eat more, the camera is quick to capitalize on this interchange.

There are no interviews, nor is there much interaction between the camera and those being videotaped. But rather the ceremony is accurately recorded, though wedding music is dubbed on and coexists with the chanting of the priests performing the marital rites. However, the videographer is very attentive to what is being said and when the priest explains in the vernacular the obligation and duties of the marital state, the background music is dropped and the entire sermon is recorded verbatim. The camera frame concentrates on showing the threesome (the priest lecturing to the attentive couple) to the exclusion of the larger picture. This kind of detail recording is also emulated in various ritual acts. The clasped hands of bride and groom are shown in extreme close up, the ritual steps the bride takes are also shown in close-up. Different and less intense camera angles and posture is used when dealing with ritual competition and play the bride and groom go through as well as in the toilet and preparation of the bride. Filming of the bride's displayed trousseau, jewelry and artifacts that the bride takes with her are filmed with steady methodological precision of a physician or a tax examiner. The beauty, the value and the quantity of the displayed items being of primary importance that the camera is seeking to convey.

The selection of the angles, lenses, duration of shots, length of sequences, all reveal the relative importance of events, persons and things that the patron and his principle audience (the party of the bridegroom) consider consequential. This is not to suggest that their interest coincide in all respects. The bride's father is particularly interested in demonstrating generosity, cordiality and deference. He is equally interested in creating a document that demonstrates these virtues and in which he has witnesses present. Besides these direct motive for documentation whereby the videotape becomes a family record and a valued heirloom, the videography is also a certificate of transfer and exchange. A copy of it often becomes a part of the gifts the bridegroom receives.

Moreover, it is also possible to use special-effect-lenses for additional money. One of these special-effect-lenses have in fact led to an entirely novel use of video for local marriages; it might be called the 'video photo gallery' as it is a direct descendant of the still photography tradition that members of a brides family took at the end of a marriage. This series of photographs was normally taken in the largest room or space and shows the proximity of relatives to the married couple. It also demonstrated different postures taken by those photographed. Their position showed relations of deference, affection, respect and of seniority that exist between the extensive members of the family. A copy of the photo-album became part of the bride's "stridhan" (bridal wealth) and she took it with her to her married home.

In an analogous attempt, the video-photo-gallery duplicates the effort of the still photographs and uses the special lenses to make icons of the persons filmed. For instance, the lense shows the bride and bridegroom looking at each other; the two are placed in the center of the frame where the image is clean and sharp. The rest of the frame is blurred and in soft focus creating an aura of a mysterious halo round the couple. This picture is in the tradition of romantic lovers, derived from the pair of divine lovers - Radha and Krishna or the folkloric lovers - Jashna and Toran. The hero of the Bombay cinema also lurks behind these ideas. Sometimes a lense multiplies the heads and limbs of the couple so that they veritably look like gods, as indeed the bridegroom is temporarily understood amongst some castes to be. The multiple heads also speak of the idea of conjugal devotion so that for the husband or wife the face of every man or woman becomes the face of the spouse. Sometimes, tabloids and skits demarcating relationships are

enacted especially for the camera's eye and one may see the bride touch the feet of seated and dignified looking grandmother or school friends of the bride might be seen hugging her. This "little theater of manners and postures" is important as it attempts to demonstrate to the bridegroom's family (who will undoubtedly see this video later in the privileged environment of their home) that the bride is treasured and appreciated in her home. The special affects seems to mythologize and idealize the bride and show her off as a most beautiful, modest, dutiful and valuable person that the bridegroom is fortunate to marry.

These marriage films do not have a narrator. The commentary is largely improvised by the family and group that is viewing it. Most viewing take place at times when the whole family has got together and there are many conversations taking place while the videotape is playing. Reminiscences directly associated with the event as well as those generated by the viewing become part of the discourse. These screenings do not necessarily run from start to finish without interruption and pauses. There can be intervals for meals, intermissions if a neighbor drops in or other delays caused by more immediate needs of the participants. While there is the elasticity regarding the viewing of the tapes as most persons do not own a Television and VCR but rent it, the day of the screening has to be a convenient day and thus the day of screening becomes a select one.

Arena 2

This videography records the inauguration of a Rajput Youth Hostel in 1987 in the town of Surendranagar. It is also three hours long but costs RS 1200 (around U.S. \$80). It has no background music, editing or titles but the normal sound-track.

The key motif of the film is one ritual act of garlanding repeated endlessly. It takes place amidst a gathering of several thousand persons in a canopied ground before a newly constructed youth hostel. Chief guests sit on an elevated dias and all others sit on cotton sheets spread on the floor under the canopy. There is a Master of Ceremonies that sits by a desk with a microphone on the one-side and announces names of the persons to be garlanded and the name of the person who is to garland. The respective persons come to the the dias when their names are called while the announcer states the amount of donation given at which time the audience claps. This act is comparable to the parade of graduating Seniors at a college commencement in the U.S.

In addition to this central motif of the videography, there are speeches made by the members of the Rajput caste leadership. The camera faithfully records the speaker's full speech as it is the convention that the following speech builds on to the preceding one. The end result is that when the last speaker comes on, his speech serves as a conclusion for the collection of linear speeches presented chapter by chapter. In the concluding remarks, he thanks the organizers, naming them in sequence of importance. Following the speeches is a feast at which the camera takes careful attention to show the new kitchen and dining facilities before focusing on the feasting crowd. Here the camera pan is deliberately slow, making certain that the face of each individual sitting cross-legged in long lines is clearly visible. The chief guest is taken on a tour of the new structure and the camera becomes his eyes as he visits the dormitory, assembly hall, bathing area and playground. The camera is again quite plainly studied and slow. The cultural activities that were performed seemed to find almost no place in the tape. It was obviously important that these cultural activities take place on that occasion but not important enough to be videographed and hence remembered.

Once the event was over, a single copy of the videography was made to be sent to a donor in England who paid for it. Three copies of the original were used to show the event in the local villages. The viewing in the villages was organized by calling a meeting of the officers of the nine chapters of the caste organization in Surendranagar. Dates were allotted when each of the nine sub-districts could have the videotape for viewing. The rental of the viewing-equipment and its payment was to be undertaken by the nine sub-committees. It was decided that screenings were to be locally publicized and were to be located in a village to which residents of three or four surrounding villages could come. The screening generally took place in the electrified home of the most prosperous Rajput. The audience that gathered in the evening in the courtyard sat on the floor, divided into male and female sections. The television was placed on a raised table. The attendance of men far outnumbered women at these screenings as women from neighboring villages seldom came. Tea and other local beverages was served and the videography was an occasion for the discussion of other social concerns. In addition to this village circuit, the

videography was sent to numerous Rajput hostels in the towns of the state and was shown to students. At other times such as organizational meetings of Rajputs, it was also screened.

Arena 3

The third videography was more ambitious than the two described. It was the record of the festivities celebrating the five hundredth anniversary of the local town of Halvad and was appropriately called the 'Halvad Raj Utsav'. It was executed by Navalsingh and his modest shopkeeper group of Rajput organizers. However, it would not have been possible to make the videography without the direct help and cooperation of the entire body of resident castes of Halvad, its assorted political leaders and the officers of the municipality. That the making of the videography on this festival cost Rs. 6000 (U.S. \$430) hides the fact that numerous facilities were provided free and that there was a large body of volunteers who were assigned specific tasks and placed in desirable locations to assist this enterprise. The elaborate preparations and mobilization of supporting individuals was necessary because of the nature of the event.

Halvad is a rural town of about 16,000 persons. On the day of the event it was estimated that another ten thousand people would arrive from the surrounding villages to witness and partake in the festival. The festival consisted of a series of events, starting with the ritual thanksgiving where residents of the town were to gather at the temple of the Goddess on the bank of the lake located in the western part of town. After this, the assembled crowd would go on procession to the medieval eastern city gate of the town and there formally welcome all the outsiders who had come to attend this function. The two processions, coming from different directions would merge and then worship at the several 'city gate shrines' in the town before finally arriving in the courtyard of the medieval fort located in the middle of the town. Here in the courtyard the chief guests would be garlanded, speeches would be read and recitations by bards, school children and priest would be followed by dances of various pastoral groups. These activities begun at 6 a.m. would conclude at 1 p.m. During the afternoon, several caste organizations would convene separately. At eight in the evening, a cultural variety show would commence that would include a magic show followed by comic acts. An hour before midnight the first of two historical plays were to be performed, one of which was specially written and commissioned for this event and dealt with exploits of the king that had founded Halvad in 1487. This event was to end at daybreak and would conclude the Festival.

The initial inspiration to make a videography of this event came to Hariprasad Shukla, a seventy-six year old Brahmin who was the head of the Halvad municipality. He had suggested that the municipality would be able to raise part of the funds and other caste representatives to the Festival Organization Committee also made pledges. However, as it turned out, most of the money raised came from Rajputs. As their ancestor was the founder of the town and as the event celebrated in part his deeds, Rajputs from all over the district felt they has a special place in this event. They planned to come in large numbers from all parts of the district. This development brought the Rajput caste organization of the district into the picture to deal with the logistical problems of transporting and feeding the caste members at the festival. This commitment expanded into organizing a caste meeting in the medieval castle at Halvad and raising contribution with regard to the making of the videography. Because of this development, Navalsingh was assigned executive control of the video project. He asked to see me as he knew of my interest in filmmaking from remarks I had made after watching the hostel inauguration tape.

I had known Navalsingh for seven months at this time and he had been one of my research informants. I was from this time involved in this videography as a consultant. My participation as a consultant is important to discuss briefly. At no time did I actually shoot a sequence nor was I present at an editing session. My involvement was restricted to general advice and did not extend to specific instrumental participation. I have no doubt that I could have been actively involved and that such a participation would have been welcome. I chose not to as I wanted them to make the aesthetic and contextual choices and to arrive at sequences they themselves found satisfactory. I was quite aware that my ideas in our discussions were well received and could have direct impact on the video being made. I feared that my filmmaking experiences and biases in closer 'hands on' collaboration could have an adverse effect on the finished product, affecting its spontaneity and questioning its authenticity as a locally produced text. This role as consultant did involve discussions related to site selection, camera positions. Discussions also involved theme construction and editing options, the use of the narrator and background music. None of these ideas were novel to Navalsingh and his team as they had seen many a television programme and

Bombay fiction films, they did help though in preparing a game plan. What evolved from these discussions was the decision to combine the attributes of a 'pilgrimage film' with those of an 'event film' in making this videography. The pilgrimage film in regional interpretation is a film made by a party of pilgrims visiting sacred places. The hired cameraman travels with the party, filming the many temples and sacred idols during hours of public adoration. The commentary identifies the deity. This pilgrimage videotape when brought back permits member of the family and caste who could not go to participate in the pilgrimage. The event film is like the recording of a marriage ceremony (as discussed earlier).

Besides the main film of the Halvad festival that was to contain all ingredients of the events sketched earlier, it was decided to make two separate films as well. One of these two was to be on the theatrical performance and the other on the proceedings of the assembly of the Rajput caste. This meeting was shot almost in the same technique as that of the hostel inauguration. As it was critical to record all speeches made in their entirety, the cameraman used the pause between speeches to shift his filming location. During the speech, he might make pans and zooms though he generally maintained a wide angle. This filming strategy was necessitated by technology constraints. An inbuilt microphone did not permit him to move beyond a distance of twenty feet. As the assembly was held on a long rectangular verandah with the participants arranged in an U formation, the cameraman constantly moved from side to side.

For the theatrical performance, the cameraman made a significant change and used a tripod. The play was shot as one continuous take, the visual frame shifting with zoom ins, pan and zoom outs. As the stage was a fifteen by fifteen feet square on the ground with the audience sitting on three sides, the tripod was located at a critical distance. When the lens was at its widest, the frame showed the proximity of the stage, the performers and the audience. At close-ups it was possible to isolate a particular player's torso. An external microphone was placed near the stage and the objective of recording an entire play as well as getting some audience reactions was made possible by the adoption of this strategy.

The main videography, which consisted of the totality of events, was shot piece-meal. The procession was filmed in a repetitive pattern. The cameraman and his assistant would arrive ahead of the dignitaries at the ceremonial site. The camera would record their approach as well as their ritual performance. Having completed that task, the cameraman would race to the next station flanked by his team. In this fashion the entire procession is seen to be constantly coming towards the camera and the camera representing the pilgrimage center - the repetition of the same shot reinforcing this impression of eager expectation. While the style of camera work is unvaried, each location has its own peculiarities, some are roof tops, others are on ground level, some in narrow streets and others in open squares. In the narrow medieval streets where eight men at best may walk shoulder to shoulder, the crowd of 15,000 people seemed like a serpentine-wave heralding its arrival at bend and crossroads by the sound of the kettle-drums placed in the lead bullock-carts followed by dancing Bharvad pastoralists. These in turn are followed by saffron turbanned Rajputs holding naked swords on the tips of which are placed yellow limes. Young girls with colorful vessels march in front of priests, municipal authorities and chief guests. Following this group of dignitaries, is the long tail of the procession in which at regular intervals are placed groups of dancers. The heaving crowd intermittently chant the praises of the God Shiva.

The camera-man concentrates his attention on lead figures, giving first priority to those who are acting, next to those who are holding emblems, ensigns and ritual implements. There is little use made of 'cut-a-ways' to persons watching or to architectural motifs. Other parts of this event were filmed in an illustrative fashion, making for an assemblage of shortened episodes presented in the 'how-they-occurred' sequence.

The finished film on the Halvad festival is three hours long and is a complex assemblage of shots and sequences executed with particular objectives in mind. In linear sequence, these can be described as (1) introduction, followed by (2) narrated historical sequence, succeeded by (3) a sequence showing the countryside and the people traveling to the festival. Once having arrived at Halvad, the next set of camera sequences (4) describe the procession and rituals, which is followed by (5) a narrated travel guide tour of the sacred shrines and historical architecture of the town. After which there is (6) the evening cultural performance and the videography concludes (7) with the reappearance of the narrator who makes the closing statement.

While the camera-work may not seem very skilful and the editing technically rough and unsophisticated, the message being conveyed is clear. The narrator appears in formal wear and is in part guide, teacher and sergeant major. His delivery is formal and serious and has nothing of the manner of the western TV narrator/host. He urges the audience to join in a pilgrimage and heightens its relevancy by offering a historical lecture and introducing eminent persons undertaking the pilgrimage. The face of the narrator is not seen hereafter until the last sequence (though his voice is heard at various points in the film). From the time the camera arrives at Halvad to the end of the noon-day activity, there is neither commentary nor music. Instead, the audience sees and hears only what the camera recorded. To signal a shift the music of the 'dakla' drums announces the tour of Halvad's temples and historical places. The narrators voice reappears and identifies various places of worship and their deities, suggesting to the audience that the deities be shown proper devotional respect. A popular religious song is the device used to shift from secular architecture to historical architecture and the narrator's voice ceases. The cultural show that follows had no additional music or commentary. The narrator returns at the end in the same formal attire as he appeared in the opening sequence of the film. However, he serves more as a priest in this closing sequence as he requests the Gods to bless the town and its people, asking for communal harmony between castes and ends with a direct plea to the audience to bring the curtain down by chanting in unison, 'Shakti Pateya Hara Hara Haradeval' (Hail to the husband of the Goddess Shakti, the great God Shiva).

This last videography attempts to convey several messages and to induce several emotional conditions in the viewer. It seeks to inform and to educate as well as entertain. Proclaiming communal harmony, the film at the same time concentrates on the achievements of a single caste - the Rajputs. How have the videographies of the Halvad event been used by the people who commissioned them and what impact have they made locally? The video on the theatrical performance has been shown in schools, hostels and villages, and a number of villages have formed theatrical groups and are believed to be performing this play. This development has annoyed and upset the traditional players (the Bhavaiyas) who believe that their customary privileges have been encroached upon. The videotaped debate on the caste meeting was made separately as it spoke exclusively of caste promotional strategies and proved to be significant to the Rajput community because attending this meeting were Rajput leaders and representatives from the neighboring state of Rajasthan. This particular videography has been shown only at Rajput caste gatherings.

The main videography on the Festival has had a mixed reception. It was well received by the Halvad municipality and general public but there was a section of the Brahmin and Vanya caste that took exception to it. They specially objected to the retention of scenes showing naked swords in the procession and were upset that despite their having made their feelings known the videographers did not edit those portions out. They also expressed dismay that while it was a Brahmin and a resident of Halvad who had first put forward the idea of a making of a video record, the Rajputs of the district had appropriated it. The programme as it was now was more a Rajput version of the event and that the film did not represent a consensus of the opinions of all the participating castes.

The impact of this videography on various schools and youth groups and with Rajputs in common has been positive at screening in different parts of the state of Gujarat. Copies of it has also found its way to the neighboring state of Rajasthan. Its general impact has led to a number of towns considering the celebration of their anniversaries in similar fashions. These are some reactions to this locally made videography in 1988, what influence it wields in the future remains to be seen.

Conclusion

This report has discussed the indigenous making of videographies from three social arenas, the kin group, the caste, and the plural polity of a rural district in western India. From these arenas came five finished products. These local texts generated discourse at pertinent levels. In the marriage film, the videography created becomes a record of the event. This record of the wife giving family becomes proof of generosity, liberality, and deference that is expected of them in this social situation. The participant guests become future witnesses in the event of disputes. This visual text has also become a gift of exchange and is given to the groom's family. With time

this text transfers its locale of identity as it has greater relevance for the groom's family and as a family heirloom will probably pass to the male progeny of the couple of this patrilineal caste. In similar ways the caste videos, the 'inauguration' and the 'meeting' tell us of caste dynamics, caste organization and the maximizing strategies of this group. From the 'festival' video we comprehend inter-caste relations, hierarchy and economic interdependency. This kind of informational detail enriches our understanding of this culture, as we have a better grasp of the strategies governing video text creation, video text use and the impact the created video text has. We can also see the multiple use of a single product and the ability of that product to become a living entity, its capacity to generate dialogue in the local context. Of course, this requires that the ethnographer have access to the culture over time, in which the various stages of the process and maturation of a text occurs. However, even without this long term association with the culture of which the videography is a product, these new videographies are revealing in several ways. It forces the viewer to ask who various persons are and what is their significance in the social drama recorded. Why are particular ritual events of an entire sequence given greater coverage than others. By the examination of these locally made choices, the visual text emphasizes indigenous preference, that have aesthetic, symbolic and contextual value. Collectively these decisions hint at the emergence of a local filmic style that is primarily a result of local genius, even though the technology is imported. For anthropology the emergence of local videography is significant as these new videos are an unexplored and stimulating resource, that lends itself to anthropological analysis from multiple perspectives.

That these videographies are unlikely to be found at International or National Film and Video Festivals or on national television, is entirely reasonable to assume as their use of local dialects and the lack of technical quality, probably preempt it, (at least for the present). While there remains a role for the traditional outsider ethnographic filmmaker to pursue the making of traditionally acceptable films, visual anthropology will be an impoverished discipline if it does not stop to listen to the new voice and the fresh face that this emerging indigenous visual anthropological practice represents. For if the discussion in this paper proves to be even partly correct, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that because of the factors of affordability, local need, local inspiration and motivation, the production and use of indigenously produced videographies will rapidly escalate. Videographies are likely to become, like the local mask, folk-song and sickle, a native product, a repository of local aesthetic values and a local text that has its own niche in the contemporary discourse.

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IN WHOSE IMAGE?

INDIGENOUS MEDIA FROM ABORIGINAL CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

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"TV is like an invasion. We have had grog, guns and diseases, but we have been really fortunate that people outside the major communities have had no communication like radio or TV. Language and culture have been protected by neglect. Now, they are not going to be. They need protection because TV will be going into those communities 24 hours a day in a foreign language - English. It only takes a few months and the kids start changing.. We're trying to teach kids you can be Aboriginal and keep your language and still mix in the wider community and have English as

well. At least they will be seeing black faces on the magic box that sits in the corner, instead of seeing white faces all day long". (Freda Glynn, Dir. CAAMA, chair Imparja, 1988).

Since the 1970's, in both "peripheries" and "centers", indigenous and minority people who had been the exotic objects of many films were concerned increasingly with producing their own images, initially by working with accomplished and sympathetic filmmakers (such as the MacDougalls in Australia, or Sarah Elder and Leonard Kamerling in Alaska) and, increasingly, by entering into film and video production themselves. These new forms of internal and external communication are both innovations in filmic representation, and new symbolic forms expressive of transformations in social conditions and cultural identities in terms appropriate to the shape of the globe in the late twentieth century.

These developments were part of a more general decentralization, democratization, and widespread penetration of media that emerged with the growth of new technologies that simultaneously worked the local and global fronts. On the one hand, inexpensive portable video cameras, and cable channels open to a spectrum of producers and viewers gave new meaning to notions of access and multicultural expression. On the other hand, the broad marketing of VCR's and the launching of communications satellites over Canada in the 1970's and Australia in the 1980's suddenly brought the possibility or menace, depending on one's point of view, of a mixture of minority/indigenous and mainstream western programming entering into the daily lives of people living in remote settlements, especially those in the Canadian Arctic and central Australian desert.

Thus, indigenous and minority people have faced a kind of Faustian dilemma: while they are finding new modes for expressing indigenous identity through media and gaining access to film and video to serve their own needs and ends, the spread of communications technology such as home video and satellite downlinks threaten to be a final assault on culture, language, imagery, relationship between generations, and respect for traditional knowledge.

Because such efforts are generally small-scale, low-budget and locally-based, their existence is politically and economically fragile, while their significance is largely invisible outside of circles of specialists. Yet, they are of critical theoretical and empirical significance for current debates in several fields regarding the politics and poetics of representation, the development of media in third and fourth world settings, and anthropological and ethnographic film knowledge and theory.

In order to better understand this phenomenon, in the summer of 1988 I carried out research in Australia on Aboriginal media production which has been burgeoning since 1980. I was able to conduct interviews with key people and look at and acquire materials (tapes of their productions) at the following places:

The Walpiri Media Association

In 1982, a project was established by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies to assess the impact of the AUSSAT satellite that in 1985 would bring television to remote areas for the first time. Researcher Eric Michaels began to work with Warlpiri people from the Aboriginal community at Yuendumu in the Central Desert to develop video production based on local interests and needs. The fifty tapes on traditional dance, painting and sacred sites produced by Warlpiri videomakers then produced a successful pilot project in 1984 demonstrated how media could be produced in ways appropriate to native social organization, narrative conventions, and communicative strategies. The activities of the Warlpiri Media Association have since expanded to include the operation of a local low-power TV station since April 1985. What is happening at Yuendumu reflects other developments -- in Perth, Sydney, Darwin, Aurukun, Ernabella -- where Aboriginal people in both remote and urban settings are beginning to create their own media production units.

The Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA)

CAAMA, one of the most successful of Aboriginally-controlled media projects, was established as an FM radio station in 1980 and quickly became known as one of the most popular radio stations (for both blacks and whites) in the Northern Territory. Its format combines country western, aboriginal rock, call-ins and discussion of news of concern to Aborigines in 6 native languages and English for 14.5 hour/day. Since then, it has expanded to AM and shortwave

broadcasts, educational programming, a recording studio for Aboriginal rock bands, and retail sales of a Aboriginal music and crafts. A video unit has been established, producing a series of "television newsletters" on VHS tape, distributed to remote communities since the early 1980's. When it became clear in 1985 that the Australian government was launching a communications satellite, AUSSAT, CAAMA set up Imparja Television. It saw that satellite TV was inevitable and that it could have a terrible impact on traditional Aboriginal languages and culture. Originally, its bid for the downlink license was meant as a symbolic assertion of the presence and concerns of Aboriginal people in Central Australia, but their proposal was taken seriously.

Imparja

After a prolonged battle against commercial competitors, CAAMA acquired, in August of 1986, the government license for a commercial television satellite downlink to the Central Australian "footprint". The commercial television station they now run, Imparja, (meaning "tracks" in Arrernte), began broadcasting in January 1988, serving approximately 100,000 viewers in Central Australia, over a quarter of them Aboriginal (although some put that figure as high as 40%).

Thus far, in addition to public service announcements, logos, wraparounds and the like which are directed to Aboriginal concerns, Imparja initiated two regular Aboriginal programs in 1988: "Urrpye", which means messenger, a "magazine and current affairs style program helping to promote awareness about the concerns and issues of Aboriginal people" (in English); and "Nganampa - Anwernekenhe", which means "ours", a news show in different Aboriginal languages (Arrernte, Luritja, Pitjantjajara, Warlpiri) with English subtitles - intended to help maintain Aboriginal language and culture through art, music, stories, and dances. (A Language Service Unit was set up to deal with translation).

There have been complaints, especially from other Aboriginal people, that two half hours a week, even at prime time, is insufficient Aboriginal programming out of seventy hours a week. In addition, a stress on "broadcast quality" has limited Imparja's use of material produced by Yuendumu and other local Aboriginal media associations, as well as CAAMA's ability to produce its own programming because of the costs involved. Recently, disputes between CAAMA and Imparja have focused over these issues and the economic efficacy of selling commercials vs. programming: the yearly rent on AUSSAT is \$4.5 million, a figure that would be hard to meet for any station serving at most 100,000 people since income from commercials is based on numbers of potential viewers.

Still, whatever the problems, Imparja is the only large-scale commercial television station owned and operated by Aboriginal people. In an effort to correct the homogenizing top-down flow of commercial television, provision is being made for "local windows" which would allow the insertion of locally-made video programs in language for local broadcast. And, most recently (1988), CAAMA & Imparja made a three-year training agreement with the Dept. of Employment Education and Training (DEET) to train Aboriginal people in a range of production, administrative and management skills for broadcasting. All trainees are supposed to be taken on as permanent employees when they finish their training, in order that Imparja take steps to be run and staffed by Aboriginal people.

Each of these media groups - Warlpiri Media Association, CAAMA, and Imparja (and there are more of course) - is exemplary of how video/television might be integrated at very different levels of social, political, and economic organization. Together they might instruct us as to the costs and benefits of different responses to the introduction of media technology. While small organizations such as Warlpiri Media Association have maintained community control artistically and politically (e.g. by setting up a "pirated" TV station) and developed a production style (both in aesthetic and work relations) that is embedded in local concerns and traditions, such groups are fragile economically and because they rely heavily on a few individuals. For example, it is significant that Francis Jupurrurla Kelly and Andrew Japaljarri Spencer at Yuendumu hold particular inter-generational positions, able to juggle and use European and traditional Aboriginal knowledge; they have the motivation, skills, and legitimacy to graft this western form onto local sensibilities and concerns.

At the other end of the spectrum, Imparja is a large multi-million dollar commercial interest. While it is owned and operated by Aboriginals and has initiated a three-year training program for young Aboriginal people, it still looks "white/European" in its staffing and most of its

program for young Aboriginal people, it still looks "white/European" in its staffing and most of its programming. In between these two falls CAAMA (considered apart from Imparja). It originally formed in the early 1980's to broadcast radio programs (including some prize-winning educational innovations such as "Bushfire") in local Aboriginal languages; it has since then expanded to video and TV production, and the training of Aboriginal people in all of the technical aspects of media work. Perhaps it presents the golden mean between flexibility and sensitivity of local-level needs, but with sufficient institutional infrastructure to withstand the vagaries of funding, personnel, etc.

Eric Michaels' 1986 report, The Aboriginal Invention of Television for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, on the Warlpiri Media Association at Yuendumu suggests the possibilities and limits of these sorts of innovations. Making a case for the local control of media, he argues that not only the substance and formal qualities of the tapes have a distinctly Warlpiri sensibility, but, of equal if not more importance, are the ways in which the tapes are made, shown and used.

Following on his point, what is striking to me about the formal qualities and use of indigenous media I have been viewing is its concern with mediating across ruptures of time and history -- to heal disruptions in cultural knowledge, historical knowledge, and identity between generations due to the unfortunately familiar litany of assaults: taking of lands, political violence, introduced diseases, expansion of capitalist interests and tourism, unemployment coupled with loss of traditional bases of subsistence, and so forth. Unfortunately, these apply equally to the three most active centers of indigenous media production - native (especially Arctic) North Americans, Indians of the Amazon Basin, and Aboriginal Australians. Whether it be Inuit, Yup'ik, Hopi, Nambiquara, Kayapo, Warlpiri, or Pitjanjajara (to name a few groups) - almost always, the first activities with the camera are both assertive and conservative of identity: documenting injustices and claiming reparations, making records of the lives and knowledge of elders who witnessed the often violent destruction of life as they had known it -- from recording food gathering and hunting techniques, to dramatizing dreamtime stories, to recreating historically traumatic events for the camera.

Such work is not about recreating a pre-existent and untroubled cultural identity "out there" but is itself a document of the processes of identity construction, based not on some retrieval of an idealized part. Rather, the work itself creates and asserts a position of the present that accommodates the inconsistencies and contradictions of contemporary Aboriginal life, from the powerful relationships to land, myth, and ritual, to the fragmented history of contact with Europeans and continued threats to language, health, culture and social life.

Rosemary Kuptana, president of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation succinctly summed up the ambivalent position of indigenous media makers in this newsletter in 1988.

As you know, the history of the Inuit people is a history of adaptation; to climatic change, to cultural threat, to technological innovation. Television had clearly arrived to stay; a way had to be found to turn this threat to our culture into a tool for its preservation. (CVA/ Newsletter, May 1988, p. 39).

In central Australia, Imparja's aboriginal program, "Urrpeye" and "Nganampa" borrow the studio interview format of dominant television; yet, Aboriginal people, news, and languages are heard and seen twice weekly on commercial television in Central Australia. Do the format conventions of western TV turn off more traditional Aboriginal viewers, or reduce them into watching other non-Aboriginal programs? Or conversely, are more European viewers inclined to attend to things Aboriginal when they appear in the "flow" of broadcast?

What are we to make of MTV-inspired Aboriginal video productions with well-known native rock groups. These are perhaps the meta-language, the poetry of indigenous media, telling us what is implicit in other kinds of productions that might follow more expected lines. At first viewing, the apparently western "contemporary" mass media form, and MTV style with fast editing and manipulation of the image, might be interpreted as contradicting the message.

Look at us, Look at the price we have paid.

Keep your culture, keep your land.

Will you stop before your ways are dead?

But from another perspective, such an unexpected bricolage, borrowing freely from a range of available expressive resources in the service of Aboriginal cultural assertion, is perhaps better understood as the condition of the construction of contemporary identity of 4th world people.

Most young Aboriginal people who are or will be entering into production did not grow up in a pristine world, untouched by the dominant culture. They are juggling the multiple sets of experiences that make them Aboriginal Australians in the late 20th century and want to engage in image-making that offers a face and a narrative that reflects them in the present, connects them to a history, and directs them toward a future as well.

For further information on these groups, contact:

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Yuendumu nia Alice Springs
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THE VIDEO REVOLUTION

SOME SOBERING THOUGHTS

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Comparing to the usual standards of the professional film industry, filmmaking in visual anthropology is a hopeless failure. We work on budgets that any film producer worth his salt would not even consider adequate for the catering, we work on time schedules that would end up in an apoplexy for your standard TV director, and generally speaking the amount of audience we attract would induce a grandfather with a home movie camera to start looking for a different hobby.

But also in terms of our own host disciplines (among our non-visual colleagues, so to say) we tend to be academics that for some reason never acquired the skill to read and write - illiterates rather than visual experts. Just think of the amount of non visual anthropologists who show up at festivals where anthropological films are shown, and you see what I mean.

Let's face it - this is where we stand, after almost three generations of hard work in anthropological filmmaking. Whenever necessary, an anthropologist can be hired by a TV company or a professional filmmaker, just like the dolly pusher or the script girl. But often we are not wanted by filmmakers, not even in the field of ethnographic subjects. And on the other side of the spectrum one has to almost bribe fellow anthropologists to even come and look at what we are producing - let alone having them consider films as a medium equal to the written word.

But since we now have a video revolution going the future starts looking bright again. Video analysis has become a firmly established academic discipline, last summer an international

conference in Marseille was devoted to the field use of light video equipment, at Amsterdam University we have hundreds of applicants for our video based visual anthropology courses, and my latest video will be screened at the Margaret Mead festival - so who's complaining?

Now before we all get too excited, it might be useful to position filmmaking in visual anthropology precisely on the crossroads of verbal anthropology on the one hand, and the professional filmmaking industry on the other.

To start with anthropology - maybe it is only natural that so few films in the field of ethnography and anthropology have been made by anthropologists. Like a dog gradually taking after its boss, anthropologists have developed a way of working that reflects to a certain extent the tradition of the hunters and gatherers that form such an interesting studying material. Careful and multi-faceted empirical plodding has always formed the core and backbone of anthropological work. For generations we have been collecting, jotting down, recording, measuring, preserving, listening.

And sometimes filming.

But when using film we tend to be filming as researchers rather than filmmakers - we are not production oriented at all. That is why so much of our material ends up in archives - at best, since a lot of material simply sits in closets, waiting to be kissed to life. Now this attitude to work has not prevented a fair number of anthropologists to become well known writers, both to the trade and to the public at large. But nothing similar has ever happened in visual anthropology. Why is that? What is the difference between the typewriter and the camera? There is a wealth of rather sophisticated analysis in this respect - mainly based on a mixture of semiotics and linguistics - that I do not claim to have digested to its full depth. For the present purpose however, we can focus on just two simple practical points.

The first is (as we all know), that words and ideas can be condensed, and pictures once taken can not. You film somebody and you are stuck with that particular expression on the face, and with questions and answers that reflect the state of your research at that particular moment. Your ideas might change as your research proceeds, but your pictures will not - they will be forever staring you in the face, reflecting all the mistakes you have later learned to overcome. If I interview ten old accordion players in Texas, condensing the text material will in some way or another add to my generalized knowledge of accordion players, Texans, musicians, grandfathers or whatever else I have in mind. I can use quotes, life stories and anecdotes whenever and wherever I please, using a gradually condensing version of the source material to the buildup of a more generalized analysis. Had I been filming during those interviews, I'd be hard put to later condense the materials with the same efficiency - the first five interviews would probably be left out because at that stage my questions were not yet precise enough, and at least one would be useless because a crucial informant was picking his nose the very moment he made a breathtaking and very useful remark - not even mentioning battery problems or running out of material when it got really interesting. When working with pen and paper, you will of course forget the nose picking completely - it will never stop you from using what the informant said. And human nature being what it is, you will probably tend to forget, at the comforts of the writing desk, how shallow your questions still were during those first interviews. All in all, for all practical purposes visual material cannot be condensed.

Secondly, film is a much more linear medium than the written word. Hardly anyone will ever browse through a film, look at the footnotes and references or start with the summary - which is, of course, what any sensible reader will do for a start when reading a book. Compared to the linearity of film, a book is a random access medium. The pace of reading a film, so to speak, is dictated by the filmmaker, who must try to compromise between the sluggish and the quick minded, between the specialist and the generalist, between the public at large and the community of scholars. The pace of reading a book, on the other hand, is entirely in the hands of the individual consumer.

Put in slightly different terms: when collecting ethnographic material in its verbal form, one does so with the aim of creating a reality - a reality that makes sense in terms of anthropology, and this to a great extent can be done - and is done - afterwards. When we are making a film we also aim at creating a reality - in the editing room. But compared to writing, the flexibility we have in this process of recreation is very small. Anyone trying to use visual field material as the basis for a film, is in the same position as an anthropologist who tries to write a book exclusively filled

with his coffee stained and tobacco smeared crude field notes. These so-called source books do exist of course, but not surprisingly within mainstream anthropology they get about as little attention as the products of our own trade.

On the other side of the spectrum there is the world of the real filmmaking industry - professionals who produce documentary products for a mass audience, usually for television. As I said before, we have never been strong in this field. Many of us will draw a safe and stern line between film as an instrument of research or preservation on the one hand, and film as a device for instruction or entertainment - which is what a documentary film basically is - on the other. 'We' - the scholars - are strong on research and preservation, and 'they' - the professional filmmakers - are strong on making a movie. Therefore, to us it does not matter if no mass audience will bother to look at what we have made - after all we are scholars, not a factory of documentary film products. We have our methods of work, and they have theirs. These of course are very much different methods. For any type of professionally made documentary film it is imperative to work with a preconceived plan - which means, that the research stage (the stage that forms our stronghold) must be finished by the time the shooting starts. Time is money, funding is scarce and hard to come by. Usually, it is not even possible to raise any money at all before one can submit a detailed scenario - where will you film, what will be the atmosphere, what will the informants say. Many a documentary film for Dutch television is based on informants who have to memorize a text written by the director, and who are simply replaced by other informants if they don't put up a proper job quickly enough. Very good films to look at, incidentally. Won prizes at respectable anthropological film festivals.

So there we are, stuck between the Scilla of our non-visual colleagues and the Charybdis of professional filmmakers. And now I come back to the interesting question, to what extent the video revolution of the past five years will change all that.

There is not one answer to that question - there are two answers. One from a technical, and one from a socio-professional point of view.

Technically, video is in many ways a superior medium for anthropologists. Not only is it cheap and light, not only does its quality improve by the year, but even more important it has precisely the playback and review possibilities that are so crucial to anthropological work, and that are so sadly lacking with the cinema technique. Just think how much Mead and Bateson would have benefited from a video camera, or Gerbrands, or Worth and Adair - video is the quantum leap in anthropology. The fragility of the medium - the tape - will be overcome by the extreme sturdiness of video disks within a few years, a superior medium that at last offers us random access next to an unlimited life span. From a technical point of view, I predict that video will outclass and outmarket the cinema technique within the next generation of filmmakers - as is already happening in the professional world. Ethnographic film festivals where video cannot be shown will become as obsolete as the horsecart in contemporary Paris.

But will this help us, as visual anthropologists, to improve our position toward mainstream anthropology and the film industry? Will it change our socio-professional status? I'm afraid that this will not occur automatically - as, incidentally, technical progress has never in human history lead to automatic adaptations in status or class positions. We might like to think that our position in relation to mainstream anthropology will improve once we have cheap and sturdy video equipment at our disposal - but why on earth would anthropologists that do not consider present-day ethnographic filmmaking as an important contribution to anthropology all of a sudden become interested in our video 8 material? The amount of tape material produced will no doubt increase - since before long anyone can afford a camera - but if anything, this will at first tend to weaken rather than strengthen our position within anthropology. Only if we develop research methods and filming techniques that explore the interactive research possibilities of the video technique, can we hope to make an impact on anthropology, and then again only in as far as the results are interesting enough to be written about.

In terms of the documentary film industry, we have to realize that professional video editing - on a 1 inch machine - is very expensive, and that saving a few thousand dollars on material is easily offset by the staggering cost of shaping your footage into a professional film product. The introduction of video 8, or professional VHS, or whatever cheap video system there might appear in the near future, will not change this situation a bit. We make a big mistake if we think that a cheap video camera will have a dramatically cost reducing effect - in professional

documentary filmmaking, camera and material together account for no more than a quarter of the total cost. Only those of us who are in some way affiliated to big institutions like universities or academies that already possess the editing facilities needed for making a professional documentary, and who moreover do not have to worry about their salary, will be able to come up with cheaper documentaries. But getting these shown on television will even then be a long and uphill battle.

DOCUMENTAIRES ET FILMS D'ETHNOGRAPHIE EN CHINE

by
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Pendant 30 ans, de 1949 à 1979, la presque totalité des documentaires chinois ont été produits par les Studios d'Actualité qui dépendaient directement du Comité central du Parti communiste. Au même titre que les actualités, ils étaient tournés en 35 mm et largement diffusés dans tout le pays, notamment sous la forme d'un magazine intitulé *Aujourd'hui la Chine*. Il y avait également une production de films "scientifiques et éducatifs", à Pékin et Shanghai dans les studios du même nom. L'anthropologie était très peu développée (comme les autres sciences sociales, on lui refusa même le droit d'exister pendant toute la durée de la Révolution culturelle), et il n'y avait aucune production de films dans ce domaine.

Beaucoup de cinéastes avaient été formés par les Soviétiques, et leur technique, notamment au niveau de la couleur, était impeccable. La structure de ces documentaires, très semblable à ce que l'on trouvait en URSS dans les années 50, était immuable: n'utilisant qu'exceptionnellement le son direct, ils étaient obligatoirement assortis d'un commentaire idéologique, renforcé par un accompagnement de musique symphonique. Tous donnaient de la réalité une image dichotomique répondant à une vision préétablie et stéréotypée de la société: avant la Libération, un monde sombre et malsain (inévitavelmente représentée au moyen d'images en noir et blanc), après la Libération, une atmosphère d'euphorie, que seule la couleur pouvait légitimement dépeindre.

Depuis la fin de la Révolution culturelle et l'instauration d'une politique "d'ouverture et de modernisation", au début des années 80, il n'est pas de domaine de la vie chinoise qui n'ait subi de profonds changements, y compris celui du cinéma. Néanmoins, on est obligé de reconnaître que, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, les films documentaires n'ont pas encore réussi à sortir de leur carcan et, à fortiori, à entrer dans le courant de la production mondiale.

Actuellement, les Studios d'Actualité ne dépendent plus du Comité central. Ils ont également perdu leur quasi monopole sur les documentaires qui sont désormais produits librement par une multitude d'organismes comme la télévision, divers centres de recherche ou agences de presse, ainsi que de nombreuses sociétés privées à caractère commercial ou culturel. Mais, malgré cette prolifération, ils ont conservé la même structure que par le passé, sans doute du fait des habitudes acquises, mais aussi parce qu'on est là dans un domaine que le pouvoir continue à contrôler étroitement. En réalité, il n'y a pas de différence intrinsèque entre les documentaires des années 50 ou 60 et ceux d'aujourd'hui. Les sujets traités sont plus éclectiques, mais, au fond, la manière de les aborder n'a pas changé. C'est toujours le commentaire qui prime: à cela rien d'étonnant, puisque la finalité de ce type de cinéma, aujourd'hui comme hier, reste d'éduquer le public, le terme d'éducation s'entendant dans son acception politique et idéologique.

En même temps, on ne peut qu'être frappé par le fait que le contrôle des autorités s'exerce sur le texte (écrit) du commentaire, tandis que l'image (et accessoirement le son qui l'accompagne) sont considérés comme si peu importants, qu'il leur arrive même parfois de se trouver en complète contradiction avec le propos qu'ils sont sensés illustrer. L'utilisation de plus en plus fréquente de la vidéo, notamment dans le domaine des actualités, accentue ce décalage. En vidéo, l'image, renforcée par le son enregistré simultanément par la caméra, jouit d'une autonomie bien plus grande, et le commentaire, ajouté sur une autre piste, n'est plus aussi omniprésent que lorsqu'il était illustré par des images muettes, orchestrées par de la musique. Mais de cela la propagande ne semble pas avoir vraiment pris conscience.

A titre d'exemple, je citerai la scène, diffusée par toutes les télévisions du monde, lors des récents événements de Pékin, du passant qui tente d'arrêter la colonne de chars. On retrouve ces images dans le film du département de propagande de l'armée chinoise sur l'écrasement du "soulèvement contre révolutionnaire". Mais, malgré le commentaire ad hoc, la séquence, montrée dans toute sa longueur, a sur le spectateur un effet totalement opposé, car cette fois l'image parle beaucoup plus fort que le commentaire!

Si les documentaires restent très contrôlés, par contre les films de recherche, que ce soit dans le domaine des sciences exactes ou des sciences humaines, jouissent d'une plus grande liberté. C'est le cas, par exemple, des films produits par l'Institut central des nationalités. N'étant destinés qu'à une diffusion interne, parmi des spécialistes, ils ne sont pas astreints au même discours idéologique que les films destinés au grand public, et peuvent se limiter à un commentaire informatif. A titre exceptionnel, un de ces films: *Les Yao en culotte blanche (Bai kuzi Yao)* de FU Jinsheng, tourné en 1986 en vidéo, a pu être projeté à Paris, au Centre Pompidou, lors du Festival du Réel 1987.

A l'époque, l'Institut prévoyait de produire au moins un film sur chacune des 50 nationalités qui sont de son ressort. Malheureusement, il dispose pour ce faire de moyens dérisoires, si bien que le programme n'avance que très lentement. C'est d'autant plus dommage qu'en Chine l'anthropologie est un domaine d'une incroyable richesse. C'est depuis quelques années seulement que les régions montagneuses de la périphérie, jusque-là sous le contrôle de l'armée et totalement interdites d'accès, sont devenues accessibles. Pendant des décennies, tenues à l'écart de toute influence extérieure, elles ont conservé des genres de vie qui ont souvent disparus partout ailleurs dans le monde, et que les progrès de la modernisation risquent de mettre rapidement en péril.

L'exotisme de ces régions longtemps interdites attire de plus en plus d'équipes de tournage, principalement chinoises, du continent ou de Hong Kong. Mais la plupart des films réalisés sont uniquement touristiques, et offrent peu d'intérêt pour les spécialistes.

C'est ainsi que plusieurs documentaires ont été tournés, au cours des dernières années, sur les Mosuo qui vivent dans une région montagneuse difficile d'accès, aux confins du Sichuan, du Tibet et du Yunnan, et ont conservé, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, une organisation sociale de type matriarcal. Citons d'abord le long métrage de DU Yu, réalisateur aux Studios de Pékin, *Terre des femmes (Fushen de guxiang)*, dont le projet était commandité par le journal *Clarté*. Tournés avec soin, en 35 mm, au cours de six mois de séjour dans la région, les rushes, en son synchrone paraissaient si prometteurs que le film fut sélectionné pour le Festival du Réel 1987. Mais le montage définitif, revu et corrigé par les hautes instances du journal, n'amena que déception: le son synchrone avait été recouvert par de la musique symphonique, et le commentaire avait un ton de propagande qui parut inacceptable aux spectateurs du Centre Pompidou. La famille matriarcale, jugée immorale, était décrite comme une séquelle de l'ancienne société, heureusement en voie de transformation grâce aux efforts du Parti communiste chinois! Soumis à l'assaut des critiques, DU Yu eut du mal à faire comprendre que les pressions exercées sur lui avaient été trop fortes pour qu'il puisse s'y soustraire.

Très différent de celui de DU Yu, un autre film sur les Mosuo a été réalisé par SONG Jichang pour la Télévision de Shanghai, et présenté, avec un commentaire anglais, lors du festival international organisé par cette chaîne en octobre 1988. Dans cette version (je n'ai pas vu la version chinoise qui est peut-être différente), le réalisateur utilise presque uniquement le son direct et, sans s'encombrer de discours idéologique, s'efforce de fournir une véritable information sur les genres de vie des Mosuo. Comme le film de FU Jinsheng sur les Yao, il montre que les réalisateurs chinois sont parfaitement capables, quand on leur en donne la possibilité, de réaliser des films ethnographiques d'un bon niveau.

Suite à l'ouverture des années 80, les tournages en collaboration avec des étrangers sont devenus fréquents. Le système est le suivant: quand il s'agit d'une véritable co-production, sa mise en place est toujours longue et contraignante. Mais le plus souvent, on se contente d'un système de prestations de services qui laisse à chacun son indépendance. Bien sûr, il faut obtenir préalablement les autorisations de tournage, qui sont accordées après le dépôt d'un scénario détaillé auprès du ministère Radio-Télévision-Cinéma. Le tournage lui-même est organisé, soit par la compagnie cinématographique de co-production, soit par une chaîne de télévision, soit par un organisme touristique ou culturel, etc. En général, une fois qu'elle a acquitté les frais

correspondant aux prestations fournies (y compris les droits demandés localement pour pouvoir filmer certains sites), la partie étrangère reste propriétaire des droits de diffusion hors du territoire chinois.

La plupart du temps, les étrangers préfèrent, ne serait-ce que pour des raisons linguistiques, travailler avec des techniciens venus de leur pays. Mais il est évident que pour des films documentaires, et à fortiori pour des films ethnographiques, le fait de ne pas connaître la langue locale est un inconvénient majeur. En ce qui me concerne, après avoir tourné mon premier film sur l'Opéra de Pékin avec une équipe française, j'ai préféré, pour les autres, faire appel à des techniciens chinois. Cette solution me semble de loin la meilleure, à condition de parler soi-même la langue. A condition aussi de savoir qu'en Chine, il y a très peu d'ingénieurs du son qui travaillent selon les mêmes critères que nous (en général, ils se contentent d'enregistrer des interviews et des sons seuls; la synchronisation se faisant non sur les rushes, mais seulement lors du montage final, après le montage de l'image). Les tournages en vidéo ont peu modifié ces données, car, souvent, le son enregistré en même temps que l'image est remplacé par autre chose. Par ailleurs, les interviews sont presque toujours doublés dans un pékinois de studio, car la règle est qu'on n'emploie jamais de sous-titres pour transcrire les dialectes et langues locales si nombreuses sur l'immense territoire chinois.

Si l'on recrute une équipe locale, il faut donc prendre en considération qu'elle n'a pas l'habitude de tourner en son synchrone, et lui imposer dès le début de faire silence quand on tourne! Il faut aussi faire comprendre qu'aux scènes trop préparées, presque fictionalisées qu'affectionnent de nombreux "documentaristes" chinois, on préfère des scènes prises sur le vif avec des interlocuteurs que l'on choisit soi-même au hasard des rencontres, au lieu de se contenter des rendez-vous organisés par les autorités. Les jeunes cinéastes que j'avais recrutés à Pékin en 1986, et avec qui j'ai à nouveau travaillé en 1987, s'étaient vite pris au jeu de cette façon de faire, et le résultat de notre travail d'équipe, même s'il n'était pas toujours à la hauteur de nos espérances, nous a néanmoins apporté des satisfactions en même temps qu'un encouragement à poursuivre notre expérience. Autre avantage de cette méthode: j'étais seule responsable du contenu de ces films, et en tant qu'étrangère, j'avais une liberté de manoeuvre supplémentaire à celle qui est en général accordée aux réalisateurs chinois.

Les événements de juin 1989 ont fait ressurgir des fantômes que la politique d'ouverture avait un temps exorcisés, et quelques jours ont suffi à remettre en cause des années de progrès. Evidemment, cela affecte directement les cinéastes chinois qui, plus que jamais, ont les ailes rognées. En ce qui concerne les films faits par les étrangers, le système mis en place ces dernières années reste valable dans le cadre de la politique d'"ouverture" officiellement toujours en vigueur. Désormais, les autorisations de tournage seront sans doute plus difficiles à obtenir pour les sujets historiques ou sociologiques, mais les films concernant la culture traditionnelle ou l'ethnographie ne devraient pas être trop affectés. Malgré le gel, à l'échelon gouvernemental, des relations avec la Chine, il faudrait aussi tenir compte de la volonté des chercheurs chinois eux-mêmes qui souhaitent que les échanges avec leurs collègues étrangers continuent à se développer, et craignent par dessus tout de retomber dans l'isolement dont ils ont tant souffert dans le passé.

Liste des films de M.C. Quiquemelle:

Fleur de scène (1987), 30 minutes
Les Disciples du Jardin des poiriers (1987), 56 minutes
Les tréteaux en plein vent (1988), 41 minutes
Le retour des bateleurs (1989), 16 minutes

En préparation: *Zaytoun, mémoire d'un passé oublié*.

**PAUL MYBURGH TALKS ON PEOPLE OF THE GREAT SANDFACE:
AN INTERVIEW WITH KEYAN TOMASELLI**

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I came out of Submarines - the ocean - when I was 18 years old. I worked underground in the mines, I lived in the bush doing hydrology, I was a rose farmer, and then I went into the desert. I was into fundamental elements as a human: deserts, oceans, big things - things bigger than myself. I went into the Kalahari desert in Namibia with only a knapsack, a camera and two spools. I'd sold my motorbike to get the two spools and the camera. I was obsessed with going to see the Bushmen. I didn't know where they were. I knew nothing about them other than what I'd read, which turned out to be mostly untrue anyway. I began to pursue Bushmen and the Bushman in myself, and for another ten years went right through Namibia. I lived with the Kung, the Hei om, the Tgaiekwe (the people who walk on stones), the Xo and finally into Botswana where the last wild people lived - the Gwike. (Gwi means Bush and kwe means People).

What called you to this odyssey?

I studied anthropology and communications by correspondence at the University of South Africa between the ages of 18 and 28. It was then that I became angry about the amount of media misrepresentation. In my early naive years I had been inspired by the writings of van der Post, but through my own experience soon realized that he too was only perpetuating that same romantic myth found in most media and anthropological misrepresentation. He was a white colonial imposing his own lost ideals on other people. They were the ideals that van der Post was looking for in himself. It's not right to do that. Like so many writers who recreate the "Noble Savage" for the sake of their own conscience. I wanted the people to speak for themselves, as I would speak for myself about the "wind" in my own head. You know, when I first went into the Kalahari the feeling of the "wind" inside my head was the same as the feeling of the "wind" outside my head. I felt like I had come home. Home is an intangible qualitative place, that feeling of familiarity within.

Where does the title "People of the great sand face" come from.

The Gwike call the earth *Guam tge*, which means "sand face", hence The People of the Great Sand Face.

While studying communications I learned about Robert Flaherty and *Nanook of the North* and John Grierson's *Coalface* - and these were men who seemed to care about their fellow humans. What it was said they had done inspired me. It was then that I wanted to make a film, that one day when they wrote about films and they wrote about documentaries and they wrote about Nanook and they wrote about *Coalface* then they would write about *Sandface* in the same way.

How did you relate your academic studies to the production of your film.

My academic studies were incidental while my real anthropological experiences were fundamental. I studied film, anthropology, and worked in the industry as a cameraman and editor in order to become totally versatile as an instrument. I know that the only way that I could make this film was alone. Too many conflicting objectives if I used a whole crew. I had to be a one man interpretation. I had to become a Bushman, a Gwike in order to speak for the Gwike. I had to be able to speak the language. I criticize people like van der Post here because he allows himself to be set up as the commercial figurehead in this subject. Capitalizes on being regarded as the expert while he doesn't speak a word of the people's own language, of Bushman. If I made a film on Afrikaners and I couldn't speak Afrikaans it would never be accepted, but because they are Bushmen and non-white it is accepted. It's that same old romantic patronising trap which van der Post has set for himself.

As a documentary maker I learnt that you don't make value judgements. You either participate with something with total respect or you don't do it at all. I have had to put my spear through a Gemsbok - the killing is not what is important, it's the process.

You mentioned Flaherty. But unlike Flaherty who excluded scenes detrimental to his romanticism, you went to the sand face and included the elements of life which are detrimental to the romantic experience.

I think in this case these elements were not really detrimental to the romantic experience. They were the reality and served thus to enhance the whole story. To have edited these elements out in order not to disturb a preconditioned audience would have been to lie. We must stop underestimating the human response of audiences. Whatever the fact or element, if communicated in the right context, it is acceptable to people. In Flaherty's case perhaps he was just dealing with what actually existed. I don't know, I wasn't there. Perhaps for romantic reasons he was recreating what it had been like before the changes came. To make judgements on this level is an academic pursuit. I'm always scared of that because words can destroy the real meaning of everything somehow. "Sandface" is heart-full, no head. Heads discriminate. I ran with the Gwikwe, I hunted with the Gwikwe... I was the first white man they knew of who had lived with the Bushmen according to their own ancient manner.

You criticize van der Post for romanticism. But your own film lacks reflexivity, the ethnographic presence. How did you deal with your own subjectivity in the making of the film?

If Sandface lacks the ethnographic presence or reflexivity it is because these qualities are too often an imposed and misunderstood standard. I think I'm talking about the honest reflection of what actually exists, and not the reflection of what I would like to exist. The thing simply is the way that it is. In terms of my own subjectivity I believe that I was immersed beyond the point where my subjectivity could have been a limitation to the truth. Before I thought or presumed to talk for the Bushmen I had to become a Bushman. This wasn't so much a romantic desire as a practical necessity in terms of the role which I had undertaken. I could have made the film 8 years before I did, because even then I had more access than any of the current filmmakers in that area, with the exception of John Marshall. I could have made the film in three months and I could have made a lot of money a whole lot quicker -- but I was doing it for other reasons too. I was doing it for myself, for the Bushman in me, and for the Bushmen around me.

How did the last band of bushmen depicted in the film come about?

In Botswana, in the central Kalahari, there had probably once been between a dozen and eighteen bands, each of 24 to 30 people. That area of the Kalahari is very barren and could not support larger groups of people. Gradually the members of all those bands had some of them to drift towards the settlement or the farms on the edge of Kalahari. This left the bands smaller and therefore more vulnerable and less viable as a group in that environment. So two bands might then join up, and then again some people would drift off, and so all that was eventually left were a few extended families, all of whom knew each other. There were three main family groups.

Bushmen are not nomadic by choice or preference, as is implied in most textbooks, they are nomadic out of necessity only. In olden times when these people lived in areas with permanent water supply and food sources more abundant they were much less nomadic - there was less need. When living in these more abundant environments they had more leisure time, with more time therefore for art and creativity. Because of the pressure of movement in the last five hundred years brought on by the invasion of more purposeful peoples into their territory, there has been very little art - I believe as a result of this pressure brought to bear on the whole Bushman organism. Art in the natural context is more often the result of a people having more leisure time. For these people now life has become only a quest for survival. So Kgoutwe became our place, my place too -- I had found the Gemsbok under the "old man's tree". It was the end of that long journey which I had been on for eleven/twelve years, five of which I had been constantly with these ancient peoples. Of the following three years I spent with the Gwikwe, two years were dedicated to the making of this film.

Could you tell me something about how you went about filming? Was the equipment intrusive? How did it effect the behaviour of the band?

I didn't film all the time. Most of the time I was trying to survive. I had to feed myself and play a part as another hunter in the band. Sometimes the camera came to my hand and then I would film.

Where did you hold the mike?

I had a good rifle mike. I could generally just put it down and point it. I was working in an area where the natural acoustics were phenomenal - like being in a perfectly balanced studio. In the kind of culture that these people manifest everything repeats itself sometime or other, so there was no real continuity problem. People would wear the same skins for a long while, until they wore out, and then they would make new ones which would look just the same anyway. The scenery didn't change radically either, so I could film a dance, and then this dance would take place 2 weeks later and then 2 weeks later again and I would just keep on filming, each time adding that little extra. Each time I would film whatever inspired me - and the life continued thus, these different events always repeating themselves.

Are you referring to some kind of macro sound/visual continuity?

Yes, that macro sound/visual continuity existed because we were one ecosystem.

We each sat around our own fire, and it was one fire. One child crying was all the children crying - one was for all the others in that time. It was absolute, and we were a completely closed ecosystem going around in itself.

This kind of continuity hides relationships, the difference between events, and the actual presence of the crew. How was the sound macro-continuity constructed in the film? How did this effect the macro continuity of the film?

A lot of the sound track was post-synced, and the accompanying additional effects were fed in afterwards. The tape recorder always just ran, even when I wasn't filming I would just switch on and let it run. I believe I didn't have to think much about the repetition and the difference, I knew it so well. I was fully immersed in that culture, fully conversant with all the subtleties of every different voice and dance and the reasons why, the times and the personal feelings involved at that time - because they were my feelings. I too would initiate a dance at times when I felt a need to release my own confusion or insecurity; so instinctively I could differentiate when listening back to tape. To consciously differentiate very different sound and breath and voice I heard was very very easy, it was all within me. I didn't have to think about and analyse behaviour and write copious notes - it would have diminished the parameters of the event. All the music heard in *Sandface* was played by people in that actual band. It wasn't music from other places, it was music that we had shared, and I touched and played those same instruments around the same fire at the same time, and the musicians were my brothers and my sisters.

What excited me about the item broadcast on SATV was that we saw you and Anita, the outsiders in a sense. Whereas in people of the Great Sand Face we didn't see you who was making the film.

But you heard my voice on narration. The aim was not to make a film about some white "hero" living with the Gwíkwé, but rather to tell the story of the people themselves. Although there was huge commercial viability in myself as the white Bushman, it would have been just another imposed ego trip. Another producer could maybe pick up on that story.

We didn't see how the people reacted to the camera. How did they react to the technology that you brought in?

They were so familiar with the camera, an old hand crank bolex that I had constantly carried around for two years that it had long ceased to be important to them. This camera never had film in it anyway. I had this thing about familiarising them with regard to me and my camera, which is sort of naive but it works.

Edgar Morin describes this as "intensive sociality", where the anthropologist or filmmaker immerses him/herself in the community, getting them used to you and your technology, did they notice the camera?

No, it meant nothing to them. I was just another hunter with a black thing on his one shoulder in addition to my hunting bag on the other shoulder. It did not affect their daily lives in any way so it ceased to be important. Just once, because I was always looking through this thing, this camera - someone wanted to look through this thing as well, and then they all wanted to look. And they all had a look, but because the camera was either zoomed in or out of focus, they couldn't see too well or not at all, because you know how if your eye is not properly lined up with the eye-piece you can't see through anyway. From this day, they called the camera "The thing that cannot see is looking at you" That was its name.

So believing that when I was looking through the camera that I could not see too well perhaps gave me access into certain sensitive scenes like the woman's puberty dance - which no man may normally attend. The women said that I as a man could attend the dance so long as I kept my eyes in the camera, because then they said, I wouldn't see them and that gamama - the great God - could not be angry.

Didn't filming the puberty scene raise ethical questions for you. You knew you could see, even if they didn't?

On one level yes, and on one level no. You see, there were two parallels here. On the one hand they needed to justify communally, that it was okay for me to be there by saying that Paulau (myself) could not see. On the other hand they knew full well that I could see, otherwise I would not be looking. It was okay, I was their brother, spiritual father of their children. I had children who slept with me, there were women whom I loved, and who loved me, and I had men who were my fathers and brothers. We had hunted together, we had been wounded together, we had thirsted, we had hungered together. We had developed bonds which far surpass the kinds which could be formulated through an existence in the city. They knew me - it was okay.

How did you follow ethical considerations through during editing?

I once filmed a scene with the women which was very intimate, very childlike, very beautiful. It was a whole washing scene, like watching 6 little girls in the bathtub, all discovering themselves, inspecting themselves and trying to figure out how all the different parts worked. They were having such fun, total innocence, absolute innocence. It was an astonishing scene, and I got some remarkable footage. When I got to see the footage - from the context of our "civilized" Western world - I destroyed it, leaving only a few innocent scenes. From the point of commercial anthropology that scene was worth a fortune. I destroyed that scene because they were my sisters, mothers - they weren't just some people, some commodity, but my family. In a case like this I had to exercise the choice for a people who were not able to comprehend the alternative choices themselves. I mean, in the name of film or anthropology, could you allow your mother or sister to be seen and misinterpreted like that?

Certainly not by the film industry.

Ja, and this voracious grey mass out here who gobble and demand so much to be entertained at any cost, to be fed figurative hamburgers by a pimp whose only ethic is quantity. So no. So look, I had throughout to question my integrity, to question my influence, my power in the group. I had at times to reduce my power, because I know things, I have learned a technology and other things which could have made my life much easier. Although I never did have the desire to impose myself in this way, I still had to direct myself originally so that I didn't influence what was coming out of them - the Gwikwe. I had to be just another hunter.

Have you shown the film to the group?

No, it would have been wrong to do so. Perhaps I could do it now that they have been in the settlement for some time already. I would film them looking at the film, see their response and use this as motivation to go into their lives now, and then flashback through their own memories back to how it once was. A personalised comparison. It would then be a valuable record which no one else has done.

What did they think you were actually doing?

They didn't know, they couldn't know what I was actually doing. I was just doing this a lot of the time and that was one of my characteristics. I was just looking through this black thing. They couldn't conceive of film or picture or the end result of all my doings, so they lost interest in a sense.

Towards the end, during the time we were seriously contemplating living in the settlement of !xoi !xom somebody came upon three polaroid pictures which I had taken for reference. They were clear pictures of Gining !u, the Healing Man, a wide shot, a mid shot and a close up. Nobody in that entire band could see from the pictures who it was, let alone what it was depicted in the frame.

When I pointed out that it was a person they all started guessing who it might be. Not even his wife, not one person in the band could recognize him, and they were all saying; Oh look, its the old man, No, its the old lady, or No, No, its this or that child. They had not at this stage ever been exposed to a two-dimensional image of this nature - their brains had not yet learned how to correctly interpret a two-dimensional image. Organic natural perspectives verses inorganic recreated perspective.

Anyway, there were more important things to do: we were surviving, we were hunting, gathering, dancing. We were quarreling, we were making decisions about going to the settlement. With the filming they were totally oblivious. When you see the film you know that there was no setting up, there was no evident camera awareness, no reaction to the camera. This was only possible because I was so immersed in that life that I could through my access to !Gwikwe language and just through knowing what would be the next instinctive response to any situation I was always able to be there when I should be.

How did the group decide to move into the settlement?

It was a decision which we all came to together, we were too hungry, we were too thirsty, and it had been like this before, but this time there were differences, there was an alternative which had not been there before - the settlement. When my journey first started I knew that this day would come - they didn't, they couldn't. The hunters from the settlement were coming with horses further and further into our territory and chasing away the Eland and killing all the antelope which had before been there for us, and it was a dry time anyway - it had been a long dry time, and now there was this alternative again - of water in the settlement, and food - mealiemeal. They sat around our fires and the children would be crying for water or for hunger. Three months before the end - the exodus - I went with Sema!nua and Gining !u to go and see the settlement. We were hunting near I'd been there before. I showed them the taps, they drank. We stayed there a couple of days. They didn't like it, but they did too - it was a nemesis. They knew that we would go there, it was the course of things.... and when we all left for the settlement that day there was a pain in the silence. That was the exodus of a people, the final exodus of the last wild !Gwikwe from the Great Sand Face, from Guam !tge. We were together in what will one day even now be seen as an historical event.

What has happened to those people?

About two-thirds of our band are in the settlement. The Kalahari ecosystem cannot support that many animals living in one place. Maybe 400 people in the settlement, and they have used up all the veld food around for a 7-80 km radius. Only a man with a horse is a viable hunter now, so if you don't have a horse your social status declines. If you have a horse then you're somebody.

Before this time there had never been any difference in status between people. Some of the others live a little way out of the settlement, but they visit occasionally because they have family there. Each time they visit they stay a little longer. They are not a band anymore. They have tasted their nemesis.

What do they do for food?

Some food is brought in by the Government of Botswana - mealiemeal, and otherwise they try to go on as before. Settlement people become sick and old very quickly - it is the mealiemeal. Never before have they eaten grain as a staple diet, it rots in their stomachs, it won't digest. Settlement Bushmen live to 60 maybe 70 years - not likely. Wild people live to 100 years

and often more, I know many who are older than 100 years. There is one man who is over 115 years and he still walks 20 kms to visit me when I stay at Xolo - away from the settlement.

And Dzero O, he's now very close to 100, and when we did that long giraffe hunt three years ago in the film we did about 240 kms in 4 days, and that's a long way in that kind of heat, with no water and a little food found along the way, and he did that, that man, and he still danced when we got back to the shelters that night. We danced for Geruma, we danced for the ostrich. That's a man of 97-98. He was 94 at the time.

How did he/you know he was that old?

Through knowing intimately their history, where they came from each one and who they were related to, and how they were related. Gining !u had lived in Komchoro (which means 'the place of dead locusts') during the two years of serious locust plagues. He has scars on his back, one big scar which was from a sore caused from the locusts. He was just starting to walk then, he was about two years old, so I know therefore that he is about 50 years now. When Dzero O was a young hunter first shooting (about 14) he remembers !Tguikwe as a young child being carried on her older sister's back, !Guikwe's sister was going into puberty, and !Tguikwe was about 2 years, and so and so was related to this one and this one to that one, and they all remember clearly the time and the relationship. And this whole family tree was thus constructed, and we got to, I'm quite sure with most people, within one or two years of the actual date.

Van der Post's testament to the bushmen was much more structured than Sandface.

Those techniques are so easy, I can go and do that any time. But its a question of choice and integrity, what are you trying to do. Are you trying to make money and be clever and famous and serve a market which doesn't know the difference anyway, or are you trying really to make a film about a people and their reality. Van der Post made no testament to the Bushmen, he endeavoured only to make a testament to himself.

INTIMACY, RECOGNITION AND NAUSEA: REFLECTIONS ON THE PERCEPTION OF ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM BY NORWEGIAN YOUTH

by
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On the presentation of Hillary Harris' film on the Nuer to an audience of 14-15 year old school children at a Norwegian school, unexpected reactions were shown by the children. During the presentation a number of children left the room; some were found vomiting, one crying. The next lesson was spent in discussing the event. Among the comments made by the youth, several were repetitive. The scenes were described as "disgusting"; "They were so much like us", said others. The last remark was made to explain the disgust. "They were so grey" said others, "so frightening".

It should be made clear that the film was shown as part of a sequence; including such relatively exotic pictures as "Dead Birds". The children were thus conditioned to see naked bodies, strange scenes and scenes bordering on violence. Certainly, television and pictures have conditioned youth of this age/class to see sequences far more dramatic than could be found in the ethnographic films. These, in general, were perceived as exotic, but fun.

The reaction to the Nuer film, therefore, stands out as an exception. Why, we must ask, does this particular film evoke such reactions?

The film is largely devoid of commentary, and the films were presented without prior introduction. The film, in a slow, almost languid rhythm, presents daily-life sequences; it does not

contain dramatic action. It does not particularly focus on ritual or productive activity. The photography is superb; the dusty atmosphere of the semi-desert habitat comes through. An observer is wont to say that "You can almost smell the cows".

Author Waage, who has considerable school experience, observes that children tend to be much more influenced by the "daily-life" occurrences in film, the recognizable and familiar, than by the exotic and foreign. While the latter may be seen as exciting or fun, the former results in a much more moving experience. One might have expected that the closeness of the film to its subject, its intimacy, would make an impression. Equally, the languid rhythm of the film might have been expected to be perceived as dull. What is unexpected in the children's reactions is that the intimacy of the film should prove such an unsettling experience.

The reactions of the children prompt us to consider why this very film should prove so unsettling. We attempt no generalization from this single case but try to use the event as a base for constructing a hypothesis concerning the relationship between the visual medium and other media in ethnographic film.

The reactions of the children indicate that they perceive the images of the film as close, intimate ("They were so much like us") and yet disconcerting or frightening ("but they were so disgusting"). Thus the problem seems to lie in this very intimacy. The age of the children may be a factor; while bodily contact and intimacy comes naturally to small children, it is certainly common in early youth to find bodily odours and other intimate perceptions disgusting. Yet quite intimate sequences in e.g. an Netsilik Eskimo film did not produce similar reactions. If we accept that "intimacy" is at the core of the problem, then we must ask why it is evoked so strongly by this particular film.

We assume that the particular quality which distinguishes this film from the other ethnographic films seen by the children is the relative independence of the visual medium from any oral comment. Only brief "headlines" interspersed between the sentences convey any message in words. Though we cannot assume that Norwegian children at this age are sufficiently proficient in English to understand fully the spoken commentary of other films, we believe that this almost exclusive reliance on the visual medium makes a difference. Probably, the very presence of the commentary "frames" the experience and creates a certain distance to it. It becomes a "species" of "some foreign culture" and therefore, we believe, both less direct and less threatening as an experience.

Confronted with the bodies, the behaviour and the strange doings of people who are not acting, not following up any perceived goal, not "presenting themselves", nor "framed" by a commentary, the Nuer are presented in the film simply as people "like us", in the very nakedness of the human condition, if such a paraphrase be allowed. There is no escape from its familiarity. At an age where intimacy touches a number of pre-adult taboos, such intimacy is blankly conveyed.

The visual images of the film thus convey a message, transferable only by the commonality of the human condition, and the message is received and taken in by the youth in our example. But the message goes straight to the "stomach"; it produces nausea rather than a conscious impression. Thus, in Freudian terms, the message becomes subconscious rather than registered by the mind; the lack of commentary offers no means of creating a conscious distance to the perception.

As a hypothesis, then, we believe that the nausea and the emotional reactions this film produced were due to:

1. Successful transmission by images of something so intrinsically basic to the "human condition" that it becomes immediate, intimate, and familiar.
2. This very intimacy, rejected by the "taboos" of Norwegian youth at this age, is relegated to the subconscious, producing a feeling of nausea or disgust.

In discussions concerning ethnographic film, a recurring theme is whether or not films and written or spoken description convey the same message. We feel that the experience described here indicates the capability of the visual image to go beyond words. Our argument here is that the nausea experienced by the children is at variance both with the content of the "ethnographic message" of the film, and - we assume - any intention by the producers. Bluntly, there is something in the film beyond these intentions, and this "something" can only be found in the visual images.

It is certainly not our intention to criticize the producers for conveying messages beyond their intentions. Viewed by a conditioned audience, the intimacy of the film must be seen, in our view, as its forte. Precisely in this lies the greatness of the film as an attempt at transmitting human experience. But, if this is so, what does the present discussion tell us about ethnographic films?

We believe that the film invites to a certain humbleness when shooting and editing ethnographic film. Is it really possible to predict what the audience will see; or may part of the images rest as much with the subconscious of the producers as with the audience? After all, even with the most culture-conscious of anthropologists, we must assume the presence of the subconscious.

Thus to convey - "intimately" - the quality of human life in another culture, shooting and editing of ethnographic films should perhaps allow for "unprogrammed" events and sequences. In short, to achieve strength in this kind of message, we should not be bounded to strictly by what we, as anthropologists, have come to see as relevance. But the authors do not wish to give the impression of favouring one particular way of making ethnographic film. Technical processes, ritual procedures, political meetings all call for documentation and usually for comment. We believe, however, that anthropologists might do well to consider the message and audience they have in mind, while considering the possibility that the film resulting from their work may contain more than they are - consciously - aware of.

SEEING YOURSELF AS OTHERS SEE YOU

by
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While the literature on how certain ethnographic films were made is growing (see, for example, articles in the journal *Visual Anthropology* or the contributions to Rollwagen [ed.] 1988) there are fewer discussions on the response to ethnographic films. One could designate two broad categories of such discussions: those that concentrate on the responses of the intended audience (see, for example, several of the papers in Hockings and Omori [eds.] 1988) and those that address the responses of the subjects of the films themselves (see, for example, the film by Asch et al., 1981). In this article I would like to take the second category of discussion a stage further and consider my own analysis of and involvement in the subject's responses.

In the summer of 1987, I went to India to shoot an ethnographic film, *Raju and His Friends* (Banks 1988b), which I edited the following year. In December 1988, I returned to India to show the completed film to its subjects and to investigate their responses to it. What follows constitutes a preliminary assessment of the data I collected. I have not had time since I returned from India either to listen to the tape recordings of interviews I conducted or really to consider the material I have in my fieldnotes and my own responses to the data. Instead, I am using this article as a framework upon which I hope to build in the future.

Raju and his friends

The film was produced as part of my training at the National Film and Television School (UK) on a scheme organised by the Royal Anthropological Institute, funded by a grant from the Leverhulme Trust. I acted as director and sound recordist for the film, while an NFTS documentary student operated the camera.

I have described elsewhere some of the circumstances of the shooting and offered an assessment of this in anthropological terms (Banks 1988a). For the purposes of this article all I wish to point out is that Raju, the main subject of the film, had been a friend of mine long before the idea of making a film about him occurred to me. He and his family were among the subjects of more traditional anthropological fieldwork I had conducted in the area five years earlier. Indeed, with the exception of one or two minor characters who appear briefly, I knew all the subjects of the film well.

It would be helpful at this point to offer a brief synopsis of the film:

Raju, an unmarried man in his mid-thirties, is first seen riding a motorbike through the streets of Jamnagar, a small city in the Indian state of Gujarat. A section of commentary describes how I came to know him and how I feel his life revolves around the twin conceptual poles of friendship and duty. There then follows the title sequence, after which we see Raju opening the shop he runs with his father. Here, he performs a small act of worship, wafting the smoke of incense sticks over the stock (suitcases and tin trunks) and over the cashbox. He explains that while he has no time for the showiness of organised religion he does believe in God.

After a brief scene where we see them unsuccessfully trying to sell a suitcase to a customer, Raju and his father talk to camera about their affection for Jamnagar and how they would not like to move to Bombay (the nearest major city) where two of Raju's brothers are now settled. Raju's father complains of the 'hubhub' (*dama*) of Bombay. We then follow Raju onto the roof of the shop where, after pointing out the variety of mosques and temples that can be seen, he explains that he and a Muslim woman (Raju is a Jain, behaviorally like a Hindu) had wished to get married, but that this had been against the wishes of their parents. They had thus sacrificed their desires out of a sense of duty towards their parents.

Raju then attends a relative's wedding and the commentary speculates that he might be wishing that it were his own wedding to the woman he loved. Afterwards he and his cousin take us to visit the family shrine in a nearby village and demonstrate the ritual that is performed there after marriage. He then returns to his home in the city where his domestic life is shown to be happy and contented.

Raju is next seen on a rooftop, where he says that he feels his life depends on his friend. He then introduces one of these friends and they describe how they order tea from a nearby tea stall. Raju then goes to meet another group of friends, teachers from the private Muslim school where he first met his ex-fiancée. The final scene of the film shows Raju, his tea-drinking companion and his cousin at a local beauty spot, where they chat about friendship and Raju says that it has been his pleasure to help with the film.

This was the film that I took with me to India (on VHS cassette). Several months prior to this I had sent over a couple of cassettes containing a roughly edited assembly of the rushes (which contained a lot more material) and a copy of the first rough cut (which contained most of the above material in longer form). I had also corresponded with Raju during the cutting of the film, informing him of my progress and the decisions I was making and asking him for his opinions. While he replied promptly to my letters, he offered no specific comments on the film.

From my point of view, as the director and editor of the film, the rooftop scene where Raju describes his lost love is the key scene and it was around this scene that I organised the rest of the material. However, I also knew that from Raju's point of view it was the most sensitive scene; it includes, for example, a plea from Raju asking me to remove the name of the woman from the soundtrack so that she might not be identified. While he was prepared to bear his own soul on film he did not feel he had the right to involve anyone else. As I go on to describe below, it was after we had shot this scene that Raju was forced to reassess his ideas of why I was making the film at all.

While this was for me the major intersection of my view of Raju and his view of himself, a variety of other divergent perspectives emerged from the screenings I held of the film in India and from my discussions with the subjects. Some of these I discuss below, grouped for convenience under thematic headings. I held one screening in Bombay and two in Jamnagar. In both places those who watched the film (men, women, adults and children) came mainly from the urban trading classes and were used to watching television in their homes or in the homes of kinsmen. Almost all had either been filmed by me or had observed parts of the filming.

The Photograph Album

From roughly the time of Indian independence (1947) it has been common for the Indian middle classes to hire a photographer to document major life cycle and other rituals, especially weddings. As in the west, the photographs are then pasted into an album and shown to visitors. In the last ten years or so it has also become common to hire a video cameraman (often the old photographer wearing a new hat) to record the proceedings on tape, at least in the major urban centers of India. The role of the photographer was (and is, as the videos currently supplement and

do not replace the photographs) to take a photograph of everyone present and of every detail of the ritual. Although there is often a rough chronological progression to the sequence of photographs as they are arranged in the album, it is clear to me that the photographs are not to be read in a strictly linear way with one following another in strict sequence (I think the same is probably true of western photograph albums).

The new videotapes follow the same rule of content as do the photographs - that is, that everyone present must be recorded - but now a stricter linearity is imposed upon the reading, a linearity which people attempt to bypass by making frequent use of the preview and review functions of their video recorders.

While we were shooting *Raju*, passers-by and those involved invariably referred to our 16mm Aaton camera as a 'video' (a fact which greatly irritated my cameraman) and it occurred to me that the nearest parallel experience that lay in their lives was of the local photographer wielding his video camera. (The world of the Bombay film industry is too far removed from their experience to provide a model, I think). Thus, there was an expectation on the part of many that *Raju* would resemble a wedding video, that it would be totalising in its scope and exhaustive in its documentation.

The assembly tape I had sent contained far more people, particularly members of Raju's family, than the final version, and I was struck on the occasions I screened the film by the preference many showed for the assembly over the show print. Some, for example Raju's elder brother in Bombay, pointed out that while he preferred the show print as a film (I suspect he was merely being polite in saying this), the assembly roll would be more useful as a kind of family archive, something to show one's grandchildren. He mentioned particularly the case of his grandmother who I had cut out of the final version of the film.

Doordarshan

In the languages of North India *durdarsana* (or *doordarshan* as it is usually written) is the word used for television; it is the name of the state TV company, for example. It literally means 'distant vision' and serves my purposes as a useful metaphor for the perception of the visual representation of the other. When we in the west see an ethnographic film we are at once distanced from, yet involved in, the lives of other people. The distancing become even more imperative when the film is of people physically or culturally close to us; such ethnographic films strive to render the familiar strange as the tired old adage has it.

In the case of *Raju* I noticed a similar distancing taking place. For example, when I showed the film to Raju's brothers and their families in Bombay they took great amusement from the scene where Raju and his father explain that they prefer the peace and quiet of Jamnagar to the bustle and hubbub of Bombay. Jamnagar represented all that is backward and parochial to these people, used as they are to the sophistication of Bombay. The irony is, however, that ten years ago they were themselves living in Jamnagar and that their lives in cosmopolitan Bombay are bounded by the enclave of other Gujarati migrants within which they live.

Even when I screened the film in Jamnagar, various members of the family were at pains to distance themselves from Raju himself, joking amongst themselves at the perceived eccentricity of his behaviour: he lives a life that is alien to them, mixing with Muslims and Hindus of other castes. They rendered him exotic, at the same time worrying that western viewers of the film would take his behaviour as normative - a feature I discuss next.

One For All and All For One

While we were shooting the film I constantly met the view of others that what I was trying to do was to document the life of an 'ordinary' man. In this explanation of our activities, my previous ethnographic fieldwork had been too narrow and specialised and that I had therefore returned with a camera to record daily life and show my western friends, colleagues and students what life was 'really' like in India. I had chosen Raju as the subject simply because he was my best friend and it was therefore easy to work with him.

Raju himself was of this opinion for the first week or so of the shoot. He would arrange events, for example a trip to the factory that produces the tin trunks he sells, so that I would have a record of a complete process. It was only after the rooftop scene, where I led through a series of

questions to asking about his relationship with his ex-fiancée, that he began to change his opinion. 'I understand now', he said, as we came down from the roof, 'You don't want to film me because I'm an ordinary man, but because I have done and thought different things to other people'. Precisely.

Others continued to take the 'representative' view, however. Raju was everyman, or at least, every young trader. For example, a press reporter to whom we showed the film (and who I discuss below) praised the film for this very quality. It was realistic, he said, and lacked the unreality of, for example, Bombay movies. I found this view less well expressed by members of Raju's family. For them, involved as they had been in the process, their own images could not be universalised, their particularity was too evident. Phenomenological knowledge of the events depicted meant that they read the images indexically rather than iconically (to borrow C S Peirce's terminology of signs). It also meant that they tended to ignore form in favour of content.

Spot the Join

What I mean by favouring form over content is that Raju's family and close friends seemed to perceive little if any difference between the first assembly and the final show print (beyond the obvious difference in length). For them, events that happened in the film were far more important than the way these events were structured. The episodic nature of the film - shot in a roughly 'observational' style - means that in some respects the show print has no obvious superiority over the first assembly. From my point of view, however, there were two very obvious differences and I was surprised that they did not appear to see them.

Firstly, the quality of the image: the assembly tape was a rough and ready telecine of an ungraded rush print, complete with dust and scratches; the splices were joined with tape and hence jumped in the gate, and the sound-track was the unmixed sync sound. The show print, on the other hand, is graded, mixed and clean, and was telecined professionally.

Secondly, although the episodic nature of the film makes it difficult to see any necessary connection between one episode and another (the sequencing of the episodes is with relation to the film as a whole), the cuts in the final version are still carefully considered. In the first assembly I simply spliced sequences together and paid no attention to cutting points. In the final version, I watched each cut over and over again, adding a frame here, removing two frames there.

The biggest barrier to their seeing the film as I saw it (and thus to seeing that there was an essential difference between the assembly and the show print) was that the show print contains a small amount of commentary in English. This commentary to some extent (certainly to a greater extent than I had realised when I wrote it) guides an English speaking viewer towards a certain way of reading the film. As very few members of Raju's family speak any English whatsoever an essential structuring element to the film was lost to them.

There are other possible explanations also. For example, the styles of shooting and cutting in the film are, by the conventions and standards of the Indian film and television industry that they are used to, completely alien. The 'improvements' that I brought about through fine-cutting are not improvements at all from their point of view. Furthermore, the technical deficiencies characteristic of the rough cut (poor visual quality, jump cuts, flash frames, etc.) are more common on Indian television than in the west. For example, at the same time that I was in India, the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, was visiting China. The TV news bulletins of his visit would frequently jumpcut between near-identical shots of Gandhi shaking hands with yet another Chinese leader. Television reception in Jamnagar is also not perfect so that Raju's family are used to seeing programmes through interference. (I offer these remarks not as a criticism of the Indian broadcasting system, merely as comments upon it and the ways in which it might affect the perceptions of the viewer).

In fact, I feel most of these 'technological' explanations to be weak given that I consider the gulf between those who are used to reading cinematic or televisual images and those who are not to be greater than any minor misunderstandings arising out of the misreading of certain editing styles and such like. My own preference would be for the explanation I offered in the preceding section - that the reading of cinematic or televisual images which represent events of which one has experiential knowledge is qualitatively different to the reading of images which represent non-experiential otherness.

Wrapping It Up

Shortly before I left for India last winter I wrote to Raju telling him that the film was completed and that its premiere would be held shortly after I returned to the UK. As a sentimental flourish I expressed a wish that he could return to England with me for the premiere. To my surprise, Raju took this casual suggestion very seriously and began applying for a passport and visa. (I later discovered that while he genuinely wished to come to England, he also had his own reasons for wanting to leave India for a certain period). By the time I arrived in India, however, it was clear that he was not going to be able to obtain his papers in time and that I would be returning to England alone. I was saddened by this, as I had begun to look forward to playing the host for once and being able to repay some of the kindness and generosity that Raju has shown me over the years.

It was apparent, however, that Raju viewed the premiere of the film very seriously, as a contextualising device that would mark the film's passage from a private arena to a public one. He frequently asked me questions to reassure himself that the film was now in its final form and could not be altered. I was worried at first that he wished to change something, but no, he merely wanted to be sure that he had understood the process.

As he was denied attendance at the British premier, Raju decided to mark the completion of the film himself. Because of the sensitive nature of some of the material in the film, a public screening in Jamnagar was out of the question. Raju had noted my disappointment that the rest of his family had not really appreciated the difference between the assembly and the show print, and it was therefore apparent that the screenings we had held for members of the family and close friends had failed to mark the film's completion (several members of the family initially declined to watch the tape of the show print on the grounds that they had already seen it - i.e. the assembly roll tape).

Raju thus took it upon himself to arrange for me to present the tape of the finished film to the city's Mayor and for a press photographer and journalist to record the event for posterity. (One of the reasons that Raju and I became friends and that I later choose to make a film about him, is the fact that his imagination ranges freely and that he is, more often than not, able to realize his dreams). I should stress that from my understanding Raju arranged this entirely for my benefit and for that of the film; he certainly had no intention of glorifying himself in any way.

A couple of days after he made this suggestion, I arrived at his shop to find he had purchased some gift wrap and ribbon from a neighbouring shop and was already wrapping the tape, ready for the presentation. He and the journalist (to whom we had already shown the film) had made an appointment with the Mayor's office for that afternoon and they were just about to go out and hire a local photographer. It was at this point, when I realized that what I had taken to be an idle suggestion was fast becoming a concrete reality, that I tried to veto the project. My objections were based on the argument that I would be jeopardising the trust on which I hoped to base future fieldwork relations in Jamnagar if I were to be seen handing over the results of my research (in this case, the film) to the representatives of the state. I wanted it to be clear that I was independent of the local and national state and that no one need ever fear talking to me. I also had a subsidiary argument that I had never met the Mayor before, that he had nothing to do with the film and that I did not see why I should present it to him.

Raju tried hard to understand my argument, but I could see that he was hurt, thinking that I was just being stubborn and ungrateful. I tried to compromise, saying that I would willingly go through with the presentation (silly though I found it) but that I did not want to be photographed. Raju thought this a ridiculous suggestion and pointed out, quite astutely, that the Mayor had probably agreed only for the sake of the publicity the photograph would bring him. In the end, we cancelled the meeting; instead, the journalist interviewed me and the photographer took a picture of Raju and myself. The interview and picture were printed in the local paper a few days after I left India and Raju dutifully sent me a copy. My abiding memory of the affair is of Raju carefully unwrapping the tape and smoothing out the paper, to be put away for some future gift.

The ironies, of course, are apparent. I had subjected Raju to the scrutiny of the camera for six weeks, jeopardising, if not his reputation (about which he did care), then the reputation of the woman he loved. Yet here was I refusing to be the object of his vision. It is only in writing about the affair now that I realize that it was about more than this. It was Raju's attempt to claim back some of his autonomy, and autonomy that I had removed from him by showing him different representations and interpretations of his life, interpretations that were under my control. In gift-

wrapping the film he was seeking to contain and bound it, to return it to himself (he pointed out that the presentation to the Mayor would be 'only for the photograph'). Through this act, the meaning of the film would be closed, the discourse turned in on itself.

I regret that I seem to have ended this piece on a negative note. During the course of my discussions with him, Raju expressed many positive opinions about the film and made a variety of suggestions for further films that I could make in Jamnagar. In fact, it is only because Raju's responses to the film were so complex and multi-stranded that I have refrained from drawing upon them further in what is, after all, a preliminary assessment. On this occasion, I have chosen to fill in the background, in the form of the responses from family and friends, before turning to the main subject of my investigation.

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NOTES ON THE USE OF VISUALIZATION TECHNOLOGIES IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

by
Denise DRESNER

The success of the Blackfeet Indians in the fight to regain the bones of their ancestors from a Smithsonian Institution storeroom (reported in the NY Times 10/23/88) prompted the following reflections.

The importance and uses of visual media such as film and video as tools for research and analysis, for communication and education, and for the documentation of vanishing cultural traditions and skills, are being increasingly recognized and applied in countries around the globe. Reports of these activities are creating a written corpus of material documenting the formative days of visual anthropology. Here, I would like to note in brief some applications of computer-assisted visual technologies in archaeology and anthropology, both in research and in the presentation of these fields to the public.

Data bases and statistical analyses have proved vital tools in the sorting, retrieval and interpretation of vast amounts of data. But increasingly, and with ever greater emphasis, it is the graphics capability of computer programs that determines their success and sets the pace for advances in the technology - that is, the power of the machine to create, manipulate, store and transmit visual images in combination with computing power. This area, encompassing what are broadly termed the "visualization technologies", is revolutionizing research and analytical methods in all the sciences and making a strong impact in the arts, humanities and education. In the forefront of the technology, computer graphics represents the most novel development in visual media since the Renaissance rediscovery of perspective, stimulating our cognitive and intellectual

faculties in fresh directions. The technology has given us a new looking-glass with which to apprehend our universe, from the inner workings of molecular chemistry to the farthest boundaries of the galaxies. Worlds previously invisible take form before us, revealing yet further the intricacy and complexity of nature's design. Visualization helps to clarify scientific subject matter, and allows arcane data to be translated into a universally understood language. We stand on the threshold of another visual media explosion, the early explorers and benefactors of a technology which will become an everyday methodological and communicational tool.

In the field of archaeology, computer graphics is a perfectly matched technology, of particular value in the interpretation of data. Archaeological method rests on cross-referencing material from horizontal layers (representing geographical space) and from vertical sections through layers (representing time), allowing us to put together a picture of what happens when and where, and for how long; a program combining the computational power of data bases with the illustrative power of graphics provides an effective tool for quickly sorting, cross-referencing and identifying patterns in such complex material. For example, such a program would allow the researcher to call up a map showing the distribution of a certain category of artifact for a particular period; or the varying distribution of such artifacts over time; to overlay site plans corresponding to different phases of occupation; to narrow in on a particular feature; to code chronological phases and categories of artifact for type and pattern identification, and so forth.

In the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania Prof. Harold Dibble and his colleagues have developed a computerized system for data acquisition, storage and retrieval which they have applied to their study of Paleolithic sites in France. Here, the provenience of artifacts is determined by measurements of 3-dimensional coordinates taken by an electronic theodolite equipped with an electronic distance measuring device (EDM). These results are transmitted to a computer, and additional field data are added later in the lab, such as information on faunal and lithic remains, measurements of artifacts taken by electronic calipers, and video images of artifacts, maps, site plans and photographs, which are digitized and stored in the central data base (see Dibble, 1987). Results stored in data bases are most effectively understood when translated into graphics displays which can include a variety of formats, from a simple color-coded distribution chart to multivisual displays which integrate both computer graphics and images from photographic, film, video and animation sources. In short, all these visual elements contribute to a clearer understanding of archaeological material, particularly with reference to its original context and to the specific questions being asked of it.

The application of computer-aided design (CAD) software (used primarily in the design, architectural and engineering professions) to archaeology has huge potential and will certainly become a standard part of archaeological drawing and drafting. In the Department of Classical Archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania, the AutoCAD program is being used by Dr. David Romano and his students in mapping and reconstructing architectural features discovered in excavations at Corinth. The program allows for the 3-dimensional rendering of ancient structures, and for projecting, reconstructing and scaling them. Furthermore, the structures can be viewed from any angle, perspective and elevation. By studying a computer graphics-generated model of a Roman temple, archaeologists at Oxford University could simulate a walk through the temple precinct and as a result observe the effects of the architecture on the viewer according to where one stood in the precinct. The York Archaeological Trust, a regional archaeology unit in England, has almost 600 drawings on AutoCAD which represent the distribution of finds from one of its major excavations, providing a visual library of valuable information that would have been beyond the resources of its manual drawing department. As computer graphics technology develops and becomes increasingly affordable, it will bring within range of many more researchers and institutions such techniques as 3-D image rendering, animation, the combination of images from a variety of media, and a greater degree of interactivity between the researcher/user and the computer program.

"Interactive" is a key concept in the development and use of optical disc technology, which will become a common feature in schools, museums and other learning environments. In the U.S., video disc technology is being widely implemented in schools and colleges. Growing out of the audio CD technology, optical discs can accommodate a huge amount of text, sound, graphics and images from any photographic, film or audio source, making this an ideal medium for the storage and transmission of archival and reference material such as encyclopedias, directories,

dictionaries, etc. Picture libraries on CD will be a standard format of the future archive. Institutions will be able to communicate such information and images instantly, and the end user or researcher will have a wealth of information literally at his or her fingertips. The Palenque Project developed by Bank Street College in New York is an innovative archaeological program using interactive video disc technology, which allows the viewer/student to take a self-guided tour of Mayan ruins, choose an itinerary through the exhibits of a museum, visit a rain forest room, and so on.

Increasingly, museums are looking to the new technology to aid in both the collection and storage of material (as for example in the case of SAMDOK, the Swedish national system of collection and documentation), and in making this material accessible to their public -- in the latter area especially, the emphasis is on the use of visual elements such as video and graphics in combination with interactive computer programs. At the American Museum of Natural History in New York a number of exhibits incorporate audiovisual displays, ranging from short videos illustrating a particular exhibit, to an interactive display in the Judaica Hall. Here, the visitor can point to the name of a location on the on-screen map, and then request information on a particular area of society in greater depth, again by touching a word on the screen. This kind of interactive environment heralds the shape of things to come. A new hall on Evolution and Human Biology, scheduled to open in 1991-92, will feature about 20 separate audiovisual entries, including computer games, interactive sections, video displays.

In the South American Hall at the Museum of Natural History, an exhibit of musical instruments is complemented with an ongoing soundtrack of the instruments being played -- as each one is played, the corresponding instrument in the exhibit case is lit up. The integration of sound with the static display of instruments not only increases the visitor's enjoyment of the exhibit but offers a further dimension of appreciation of the culture which fashioned the music -- by allowing us to hear as well as see our understanding is enriched. John R. Hensley, assistant curator of technology for the St. Louis Science Center, believes that the marriage of technology and museums will benefit people because it will better educate them, and better equip them for understanding and making choices in the Information Age; but that at the same time museums must continue to fulfill their traditional role as havens from the stresses of everyday life "by providing humanizing environments for a population in need of a respite" (Hensley, 1988).

Museums will not only have to keep pace with their audience's increasing technological sophistication and expectations but, as centers of specialized knowledge, will also need to employ the new visual technologies to communicate such information to scholar and layman alike. Furthermore, with the decline and disappearance of oral and written traditions, film and video will prove to be the most valuable medium for preserving our global heritage, for our own education and enjoyment and for that of future generations, and museums must play a growing role in this process of preservation and communication.

Imaging technologies such as the CAT-scan (computerized axial tomography) and MRI (magnetic resonance imaging), used primarily in hospitals as diagnostic tools, are proving to be of great value to archaeology and anthropology. Recently, the application of MRI on 7000-year-old skulls retrieved from the Windover pond site in Florida revealed, to everyone's astonishment, the presence of intact brains. Scientists were then able to extract and analyze much of the original DNA material from the brain tissue. Imaging technology was also applied to an unidentifiable piece of organic material recovered from the same site. By using a video enhanced microscope and digitizing and enlarging the image, the researchers discovered that the material was a piece of finally woven cloth, the most complex sample of fabric of such an early date discovered in the Americas. The detail of the image allowed for the reconstruction of the weave, which revealed a hitherto unknown level of sophistication and skill for this period. A scanning electron microscope showed that the fabric was composed of palm fronds which were chewed and pulled through the weaver's teeth. The wealth of information gleaned from the artifacts on the society and lives of these early Americans was made accessible to the researchers only through the use of visualization technologies.

But back to the Blackfeet Indians. One of the objections made by museums against returning artifacts and remains is that those who claim them are often not able to preserve them, and this threatens their continuing scientific and educational value. In the case of skeletal remains, computer graphics and related imaging technologies can eventually contribute to resolving the

conflict. By employing such techniques, bones can be rendered as 3-dimensional objects with a far greater degree of precision than would be possible by any other means, including seeing the object with the naked eye. The apparent visual solidity, clarity and degree of detail of such images is remarkable (the closest comparison is the effect produced by a hologram), as are the many ways in which they can be manipulated and examined. Besides such costly techniques as CAT-scanning and MRI, bones can be recorded photographically and then stored on disc via scanning and digitising the image; this allows for image manipulation such as rotation, zooming, scaling, etc. This kind of digital photo-processing technology is now available in software packages for the PC. Besides image storage, all the data relevant to the skeletal remains would be recorded as well - measurements, condition of remains, evidence for medical or health problems - making the information more accessible to the scientific community at large. In this situation the technology could allow us to satisfy our research and archival requirements, and return the actual remains to their rightful owners.

(Since this article was first written, the debate on returning bones and funerary material has come to a conclusion, with the Smithsonian Institution agreeing on September 12, 1989 to return all Indian remains whose tribal origins can be identified, to present-day descendants.)

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CONCLUDING REMARKS ON PAST MEETINGS

REFLECTIONS ON EVENTS AT THE HUMANITIES RESEARCH CENTRE

30 June - July 6, 1989
Australian National University, Canberra

by
David MacDOUGALL
Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

We are witnessing among anthropologists and filmmakers these days an increasing convergence of interest in theories and strategies of representation. This was borne out at two events held in early July as part of the Humanities Research Centre's year on *"Film and the Humanities"*.

The first was a four-day *Documentary Film Festival* organised by Bill Nichols and Julianne Burton entitled *"Documentary: A Fiction (Un) like Any Other"*. It was followed by a three-day conference called *"Coming to Terms with the Photographic Image"*. Although neither was devoted explicitly to visual anthropology, there was a lively interest throughout both events in alternatives to the conventional ways in which anthropological writing and film have represented human social experience.

Unlike most film festivals which tend to program films on the basis of what is currently available, the *Documentary Film Festival* (30 June - 3 July) was based on a series of commentaries by Nichols and Burton on documentary film style. The films were carefully chosen to accompany different stages of their presentation. The session headings give some indication of the ground covered:

Story/Telling/Truth: Autobiography and Authenticity
Fictionality in Complicity with the Real
Proximity and Participation: Defining the Ethical Space of
Documentary
Viewing the Unviewable: The Limits of the Documentary Gaze
Constructing a Text Constructing a Self
Turnabout: Reappropriation by the Displaced Other
Gender/Language/History: (Re) Constructing the National
Subject

Julianne Burton (University of California, Santa Cruz) has a major interest in the sociopolitical aspects of cinema in Latin America and is the author of *Cinema and Social Change in Latin America*. Bill Nichols (San Francisco State University) has written extensively on film structure (in the two volumes of *Movies and Methods* and in his book *Ideology and the Image*) and has had a continuing interest in the relationship between film and ethnography. Much of their discussion addressed questions which could apply equally to documentary film or anthropological writing. What sustains the filmmakers/anthropologist's authority in a work? How much validation is to be found in internal evidence? What is the dividing line between reportage and reconstruction/reenactment? How do we justify the exposing of private lives to public view, and what part does eroticism and voyeurism play in the pursuit of knowledge? How can works incorporate in formal and rhetorical terms a commentary on how they speak to their audience, rather than merely providing a metacommentary upon it? How do films (and other works) address questions of magnitude: the extent to which the subject exceeds its representation, or in which significant aspects of the subject "escape from the text"?

The festival presented films which pushed at the limits of conventional representation in an effort to grasp that which had previously been inaccessible, or to comment on their own status as texts. Among the key films shown were *Some of These Stories Are True* (Peter Adair, U.S.A., 1982), *The Thin Blue Line* (Errol Morris, U.S.A., 1988), *Patriamada* (Tizuka Yamasaki, Brazil, 1985), *Hard Metals Disease* (Jon Alpert, U.S.A., 1983), *Act of Seeing With One's Own Eyes* (Stan Brakhage, U.S.A., 1971), *Great Events and Ordinary People* (Raoul Ruiz, France, 1979) and *Our Marilyn* (Brenda Longfellow, Canada, 1988).

In the conference which followed the festival (4-6 July), the relevance of some of these questions to visual anthropology was made more explicit. The two papers that addressed the potential of archival photographs for social research did so in quite different ways. Ross Gibson (Australian Centre for Photography, Sydney) gave a paper entitled "The Keen historic spasm of the shutter -- rhetorical uses for the archival photograph" in which he attempted to develop a program for using photographs as a focus around which other kinds of texts could be situated. In effect (in James Agee's terms) photographs needed to be "fertilised" because in themselves they usually revealed little. The photograph could serve not so much as a piece of evidence but as a specific embodiment of other kinds of knowledge which (as Bill Nichols might have put it) lacked "a body".

Nicolas Peterson (Australian National University) took the opposite tack of attempting to derive insights from a specific corpus of photographs in his paper "The construction of aboriginal femininity and the family in early twentieth-century photography". Peterson's material was photographic postcards from the turn of the century, when postcard-buying and sending was an international craze. In Australia huge numbers of postcards were used, amounting in one year to ten cards per man, woman and child. A certain number of these cards carried photographs of Aboriginal people, and Peterson was interested in what photographs (of the many kinds available) were selected for this purpose and what they expressed about white Australian perceptions of Aboriginal social structure and gender relations. He based his analysis on the photographs themselves (what genres they formed), the captions often added to them by the publishers, and the comments of correspondents which made reference to the photographs.

Implicit in both Gibson's and Peterson's approaches was the point that photographs should not be used simply as "transparent" illustrations of past reality, as is often the case when films employ photographs or archival film footage in a naive, positivist way. By extension, of course, modern photography and film footage deserves comparable critical attention.

Two papers addressed film and anthropology. George Marcus (Rice University, Houston), in "Borrowing from film and photography in the writing of ethnographic narratives", extended his examination of ethnographic texts to ethnographic film. He concluded that although modern novels and some anthropological writing had incorporated "cinematic" approaches, ethnographic films had tended to be conservative in formal terms. (One possible reason: that ethnographic filmmakers are anxious to appear academically orthodox, and reluctant to appear "artistic", to anthropologists). He urged everyone involved in the enterprise to acknowledge that film and anthropological writing were fundamentally different, and that conceptions of correct scientific method (in themselves now being reexamined by anthropologists) could not necessarily be transferred to a visual medium. Film offered other epistemological and structural models, and until this was recognised ethnographic film would be unable to make its fullest contribution to newly-emerging conceptions of ethnography. He advised filmmakers to look again at the potential of montage as a means of constructing meaning, as an alternative to linear argument and narrative.

Peter Loizos (London School of Economics), one of the few anthropologists equally at home in writing and filmmaking, was to have delivered a paper analysing Melissa Llewellyn-Davies' and Chris Culing's films: "The Loita Maasai films: an appraisal of culture on television". When he was delayed in London, Timothy Asch (University of Southern California) and this writer endeavored to fill the gap with discussions based on Llewellyn-Davies' film, *The Women's Olamal*. Asch made a strong case for an event-based ethnographic film method and cited Llewellyn-Davies' film as exemplary in this regard. Informed by extensive ethnographic knowledge of the Maasai, the film allowed us to understand important aspects of Maasai culture and social organisation as they worked themselves out in the resolution of a conflict.

My discussion was directed towards those "other cases" in which social and cultural factors did not reveal themselves in events, or in which the cultural style of a society was such that an approach based on conventional documentary techniques was unlikely to yield much insight. This made it difficult to advocate any single approach to ethnographic filming. However, much one admired The Women's Olamal (as I certainly did), were there not "complicities of style" between Maasai discourse and documentary film as it had developed in the West which made such an event-based strategy work? I compared my own experience of filming in East African pastoral cultures with subsequent work in Australian Aboriginal society. Approaches that favored one seemed quite inappropriate to the other. This inherent ethnocentrism of film conventions meant that in the future ethnographic filmmakers (Western and non-Western) would have to be more willing to depart from standard cinematic structures and explore alternative ways of construction meaning -- a process which was also being actively explored in ethnographic writing.

One further event in the Humanities Research Centre year should prove of even more interest to visual anthropology. This is a conference specifically devoted to "*Film and Representations of Culture*", scheduled for September 25-28, 1989. Among the participants are Barbara Creed (Cinema Studies, Latrobe University, Melbourne), Paul Willems (British Film Institute), Mihaly Hoppal (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), Gary Kildea (Australian filmmaker), Jorge Preloran (University of California at Los Angeles), Marc Piau (CNRS, Paris) and Faye Ginsburg (New York University).

CONFERENCE REPORT: EYES ACROSS THE WATER
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON VISUAL STUDIES OF SOCIETY

June 21-24, 1989
Amsterdam University, Holland

by
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Sociologists and anthropologists interested in visual communication have long sought a conference form in which films, videos, slides, and still photographs could be presented as well as discussed. It is not as easy as it sounds. For example, I recently gave a paper at the American Sociological Association meetings which required a simple slide projector. After three letters, and, on the day of the conference, two phone calls, the projector was secured - for the rental fee of one hundred twenty dollars. It is easy to see that compounding this problem thirty or forty fold to simply arrange for presenting visual material for an entire conference is indeed a big challenge. There is, as well, the feeling among many of us that the conventional conference form - sessions of four to five half-hour papers (often not limited to their allotted time slots) briefly introduced and formally discussed by an individual or a panel - has not worked in visual conferences. (Whether they work for more typical academic conferences I will leave for others to decide!). The conference "*Eyes Across the Water*" was designed to bring together the four major academic organizations dealing with visual information and to do so in a way that encouraged dialogue rather than presentation, and, in the meantime, to make it technically possible to present visual information in virtually any form necessary.

The sponsoring organizations for the conference included the Commission on Visual Anthropology which publishes the comprehensive *CVA Newsletter*. The newsletter is distributed widely but the CVA does not, to my knowledge, regularly support academic conferences. The European Association for the Visual Studies of Man (EAVSoM) has, for several years published

the *EAVSoM Newsletter* and been closely associated with the Festival Dei Popoli (held yearly in Florence) and several other conferences. The Society for Visual Anthropology is a fully incorporated section of the American Anthropological Association, has short meetings and film screening just prior to the regular meetings of the AAA, and published the *SVA Newsletter* through the parent organization. Finally, the International Visual Sociology Association (IVSA) has, for seven years, organized a yearly conference and published the *Visual Sociology Review*. While these small groups have had energetic pasts, they have not, until *Eyes Across the Waters*, cooperated in any meaningful way. The 1989 conference was to be a first.

Before turning to the conference itself I would like to add that it was with some trepidation that officers of the smaller organizations accepted the idea of a co-sponsored conference. The small yearly conferences held by the IVSA, for example, had become almost familial in character. Furthermore, we wondered if the scholarly activities, theoretical orientations, and practical interests of the four groups would have sufficient overlap to produce a coherent conference. For example, the primary intellectual work of many members of SVA and EVASoM and those associated with the Commission on Visual Anthropology has been anthropological film production, largely in the third world. Their concerns range from the role of anthropological theory in film, to nuts and bolts of production strategies and the politics and ideologies of first world/third world projects. The IVSA, certainly the most eclectic of the groups, includes scholars interested in such diverse topics as the sociology of mass communication, semiotics of visual representation, visual ethnography, and the relationships between visual sociology, documentary photography and photojournalism. For reasons that remain unclear to me, visual sociologists have seldom made films and videos and have not, for the most part, been involved in the discussions of film meaning, theory, and form. Thus there was concern, from the beginning, that the conference could establish a meaningful common ground. Finally, we hoped to construct a conference which would lead to genuine dialogue between anthropologists and sociologists, filmmakers and photographers, European, Americans, people of the third world, and between students and professionals.

Each day of the conference began with General Sessions which introduced themes we expected would be of interest to the entire conference. In the first day General Session, "Anthropological and Sociological Film: Productive Strategies in the Next Decade", Colin Young, Stephen Lansing and Jack Rollwagen exchanged views on the relationships between anthropologists and filmmakers in the process of anthropological filmmaking. The conversation was spirited, and profound disagreements remain as to the appropriate scholarly and practical divisions of labor in the practice of ethnographic filmmaking. Much of the discussion was directed toward Jack Rollwagen's recent *Anthropological Filmmaking*, in which issues regarding "ethnographic" versus "anthropological" (interpreted to mean "positivist" versus "constructed") definitions of ethnographic filmmaking are debated by several authors.

The General Session of the second day, entitled "The Analysis of Visual Documentation: Still Photography in Social Analysis", included presentations by Paolo Chiozzi of the University of Florence and myself. The focus on four presentations was on the role of still photography in conventional field work, both as data, and as a part of the process of dialogue between subjects and researchers. I'll pause for a moment to illustrate how extraordinarily adept the staff of the conference was at solving the kinds of problems that have sabotaged many visual presentations and conferences. I had failed to notify the conference staff that my paper relied upon a slide presentation only to learn, upon arrival, that the General Session room was a greenhouse which could not be darkened. In a few hours the conference staff had transferred slides to video, and on the morning of the presentation arranged several video monitors throughout the room to make the slide/video easily viewable by the entire audience. What would have been a lost opportunity to share research (because of my own oversight) was, due to the skill and energy of the conference staff, a successful visual presentation.

The final day Generalist Session concerned the role of narration in sociological and anthropological filmmaking. Colette Piauxt, Dirk Nijland and Jeanne Geronnet extended the dialogue begun in the first General Session with practical and theoretical debates about how the construction of ethnographic film contributes, whether intentionally or not, to film meaning.

Specialist sessions, which ran in the afternoons of each day, provided a forum for a wide range of papers. Presentations were limited to fifteen minutes (with the assumption that papers might run to twenty), and all sessions were scheduled to include as much time for audience discussion as for the presentations themselves. The specialist sessions for the three days included Visual Studies of Rural Life, Urban Anthropology and Urban Sociology, Visual Ideology: The Analysis of Visual Material, Studies of Music and Dance, Visual Studies and the Public, Native Participation in Visual Studies, Filing and Retrieval of Visual Documentation, and Visual Ideology: Problems of Subjectivity. Several of these sessions continued over a two day, two period session. The abstracts of these papers are available from the University of Amsterdam, and many of the conference papers will be co-published by the University of Amsterdam and the International Visual Sociology Association. Three programs ran simultaneously which, of course, limited any single individual's participation to one third of the sessions. I will not, therefore, discuss the sessions I attended in detail for they would necessarily be incomplete. I will say that every session I attended address a packed and active audience and, while the quality of the presentations varied tremendously, there was enough common ground for meaningful exchange.

Several programs of both student and professional films and videos ran throughout each evening in order not to compete with paper presentations. While the conference ran from nine in the morning to midnight, the schedule and setting also provided for informal dialogue in the common lunch room and a happy hour each afternoon in which participants imbibed two free conference drinks and began the kibitzing that usually gets jammed into brief encounters in hallways.

How well did we achieve the conference goals?

First of all, we were gratified to attract over two hundred fifty preregistrants, of which nearly all attended. The participants came primarily from fourteen European and American countries. While there were a few visual scholars from third world countries, there were unfortunately not enough to create a sustained first world/third world dialogue. On the other hand, the participants crossed the disciplinary boundaries of anthropology, sociology, communications, journalism and visual communications and much of the conference boiled down to the exchanging of perspectives and approaches as tempered by the experiences of our larger disciplinary contexts. In addition, the officers of all participating organizations were able to get to know each other and have already planned future meetings and possibly publications. We felt that the basic goal of bringing visual scholars together from several disciplinary backgrounds was successful, indeed.

We felt that the conference achieved a great deal of the dialogue we had hoped to encourage. The General Sessions most resembled conventional conference presentations, but even the large room and audience did not entirely discourage spirited exchanges between presenters and audience. Most of us felt that the Specialist Sessions achieved their intended purposes when the session chairs limited speakers to their allotted times. In these sessions a lively exchange between the audience and presenters carried the sessions into an unusually reflective form. In sessions where chairs did not keep the presentations on schedule, a few presenters used their colleague's share of time and the audience was excluded from a meaningful role.

For those who prefer conferences organized around carefully defined subjects, developed in long papers which precisely interrelate, "Eyes Across the Water" would have been a frustrating experience. For these who attend conferences to build bridges and consider radically new viewpoints, "Eyes Across the Water" was a delight. The conference was perhaps least successful when the subject matter was simply too broad to appeal to the diverse audience. Those who do not make films, for example, were not able to participate in ongoing arguments about film meaning and some complained that the conference had become esoteric for their interests. Visual sociologists did have a forum for discussion of such topics as the semiotics of mass communication, visual ideology, and visual field work, but some may have felt that there was really insufficient attention to these subjects in the conference program. On the other hand, if one judges the success of a conference by the participation of its members, "Eyes Across the Water" was certainly a success. Conference participants denied themselves the pleasures of Amsterdam to fill both Generalists and Specialist sessions. In fact, the rooms were filled to over capacity for virtually all specialist sessions, and even the film programs, running until nearly midnight, were well attended. The conference staff, overseen by Robert Boonzajer-Flaes of the University of Amsterdam, was a remarkably dedicated group of twenty or more students and professionals from

the University. The staff created a data base for the conference which made it extremely easy to locate one's various activities and conference obligations and to communicate with others. The conference had skilled technicians and technical resources to facilitate all visual presentations. The staff even arranged housing for conference participants in modest hotels and hostels throughout the city. Several members of the staff remained on duty at all times and were able to solve all conference problems with expediency and good grace. Finally, while the conference offered a fifteen hour per day schedule, the scheduling of a leisurely common lunch in the university facilities, the daily happy hour, and sufficient free time for dinner paced the days nicely. I do not remember a conference which seemed to capture the commitment of its members so successfully.

NORDIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL FILM CONFERENCE

May 8-12, 1989
Viborg, Denmark

The 11th conference of the Nordic Anthropological Film Association, organized mainly by the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Aarhus, took place at Hald Hovedgaard, Denmark, between 8-12 May 1989. The theme of the conference concerned development communication defined as the purposeful use of communication processes, techniques and media to inform, motivate and educate with social change as the finality. The conference organizers assumed that form and content go always hand in hand. The electronic revolution provides us with a whole new range of communication possibilities that should be analysed and appropriately used by visual anthropologists. A number of films were screened dealing specifically with various issues related to social change in the Third World. Several papers were presented. Santiago Funes, an FAO communication specialist in Mexico presented a progress report on PRODERITH - the Integrated Rural Development Programme for the Humid Tropics in Mexico. Communication experience in PRODERITH has been considered as an innovative and successful operation, both in reinforcing peasants involvement in the process of their own development and in providing information for situation analysis and technological change. Tony Williamson, director of the Don Snowdon Centre for Development Support Communication spoke on development communication as participation. In some rural areas of Newfoundland, film and video has been used as a catalyst for change through what has become known as the "Fogo Process". Marginalized people produce their own films with the help of a facilitator. The process can enhance self-confidence, stimulate consensus, assist in conflict resolution, and prompt strategies for action. Heimo Lappalainen presented an evaluation of the video 8 workshop held in Vientiane, Laos, during the period October 88-January 89. The workshop aimed to create possibilities for the production of documentary films on Laotian society by Laotians themselves through the provision of equipment and basic training to selected group of Laotian students.

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II FESTIVAL LATINOAMERICANO DE CINE DE PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

El "III Festival Latinoamericano de Cine de Pueblos Indígenas" se realizó en Caracas-Venezuela en la casa "Romulo Gallegos" del 12 al 16 de Octubre.

Una retrospectiva general de antropología visual del 9 al 11 de octubre en la cinemateca nacional, mostrándose clásicos como Nanook y también hubieron películas venezolanas.

Con la participación de invitados internacionales, venezolanos e indios del continente todos los días desde las 9 de la mañana hasta las 11 de la noche estuvimos en las salas de la mencionada Casa de la Cultura. Un lugar muy bien equipado con dos salas, en una se proyectaron películas, en la otra los videos; en el sótano se realizó una exposición etnográfica de las diferentes etnias indígenas de Venezuela. El montaje de la exposición estuvo dirigida por el director del Museo Amazónico de Puerto Ayacucho Alejandro Signi. Durante las mañanas hubieron testimonios indígenas (9-12 am), que demostraron una vez mas con sus relatos los abusos y atropellos que se realizan con ellos en diferentes zonas de Venezuela, así como la falta de asistencia que reciben. También participaron Indios de Colombia, Ecuador y Costa Rica haciendo un recuento de la situación en sus países, se noto que los problemas en todas partes eran muy similares.

En las tardes después del almuerzo de 3 a 5 se realizaron los foros, básicamente fue un intercambio de experiencias de los diversos participantes tanto venezolanos como foráneos, todos ellos en su mayoría cineastas y/o antropólogos. En general coincidieron en el trato del tema antropológico tanto en el acercamiento filmico como en la aspecto ético.

Con comentarios y preguntas participó el público complementando las experiencias de los expositores. Se llegó a la importante conclusión de que se debe asistir a los indígenas de las diferentes etnias del continente en el uso de los medios audiovisuales, para que de esta manera ellos realicen trabajos mas objetivos y de su propio interés, de esta forma lograr refuerzen sus culturas e identidades étnicas.

Participaron 40 películas de las cuales 35 fueron hechas en video. 8 fueron realizadas por Europeos, 3 por Estadounidenses y el resto por Latinoamericanos. Venezuela con 8 y Bolivia con 5 videos batieron el record de participación.

Estuvieron presentes la película "Watunna" 24; realizada en dibujos animados por el Estadounidense Stacey Steers y el video animación Venezolano "El mito de Peribo" 8; producida por Alonzo Toro. Estuvieron admirablemente bien hechas cada una en su género, manteniendo la tensión y espectación del mito.

Los ecuatorianos mostraron un tipo de trabajo diferente, dando la oportunidad a las comunidades de intervenir en el guión y representar ellos mismos los papeles, haciendoles pruebas previamente de actuación y fotogenia. Ambos videos fueron presentados en versión Quechua con subtítulos en español. La película de Vicent Carelli "Pemp" filmada en el Brasil nos muestra la lucha de los Gavião contra los grandes proyectos de desarrollo de la Amazonia y contra el desarraigo cultural.

Una de las películas mas exitosas del festival fue la Mexicana "Peñas de Tigres" (una petición de lluvias Nahuatl) 60; su autor falleció recientemente; en la cinta vemos a dos comunidades vecinas que buscan la fertilidad de la tierra, se disfrazan con máscaras alegóricas representando tigres y se golpean entre si hasta que la sangre llegue a la tierra, así lloverá y el próximo ciclo de siembra les sera favorable. Intervienen en el rito diferentes aspectos de gran riqueza cultural de origen prehispánico. Una gran cantidad de videos tocaron el tema de los Yanomami.

El medio metraje de Howard Reid "El Brujo y su Aprendiz" se desarrolla en el Amazonas Peruano. Los cantos ejecutados por el shamán, este los traduce simultaneamente escuchándolos en un walkman. La prueba de iniciación también puede ser apreciada en el film.

La película ganadora fue "Ete indien à Genève" del realizador Suiso Volkmar Ziegler. Su cinta duró 52 minutos, es el montaje en video de varios años de trabajo, en el que vemos al comienzo de esta una serie de fotos en blanco y negro hechas desde el aire por un helicóptero o avión del ejército brasileño que sobrevuela un campamento Yanomamo que hoy en día ya no existe. A continuación se nos muestra el primer congreso Indio, realizado en Ginebra.

En Suiza en otoño las hojas de los árboles dejan de ser verdes para adoptar el color rojo, a este fenómeno biológico los Suizos lo llaman "été indien" (verano indio). De ahí el título de la cinta "Verano indio en Ginebra". En el congreso realizado se encontraron muchas etnias indígenas, que hicieron escuchar sus denuncias y peticiones.

Luego vemos la difícil situación de los indios Guatemaltecos. Una de las dirigentes indias relata que el problema mas grave para sus compatriotas indígenas reside en que el ejército ve en todo indio del país a un guerrillero y por lo tanto la vida de los indígenas está amenazada en su propio territorio. Muchos de ellos han tenido que emigrar y se encuentran del otro lado de la frontera esperando una pronta solución. También se muestra en la película que en un campamento de guerrilleros tienen enrolados a indígenas de diferentes etnias del país y se ve su modo de vida.

Volkmar Ziegler cerró magistralmente su película mostrándola al grupo Hawaiano, a quienes el Estado los desalojaba hechando abajo con tractores sus casas construidas al borde del mar. Volkmar Ziegler presentó una película documental-testimonial sugiriendo una línea a seguir, por ser ética y moralmente ejemplar. El contenido oral de la película es superior a la imagen que simplemente se limita a complementar lo verbal con la imagen informándonos visualmente. Esta película demuestra que el problema de despojo y represión no es un fenómeno aislado y que no debe permitirse este tipo de situaciones.

El autor en realidad compartió el primer puesto con otras dos películas, no hubieron ni segundo ni tercer lugar, pero opinó que "Été indien à Genève" fue la mejor película del festival. También recibió el premio donado por la Comisión Andina de Juristas del Perú al mejor film pro-derechos humanos. Igualmente recibió una mención honrosa y un caballo tallado en piedra azabache por su película "Hablan los Yanomami de Brasil" (6).

El "III Festival Latinoamericano de Cine de Pueblos Indígenas" fue muy rico en intercambio de experiencias y desarrollo de ideas. Desgraciadamente el seminario que se tenía programado del 9 al 11 de Octubre no llegó a realizarse por no llegar a tiempo los ponentes invitados.

El último día el 16 de Octubre desde las 6 de la tarde hasta poco antes de la clausura que fue cerca de las 10 de la noche fueron exhibidas películas fuera de concurso.

Los últimos días en los pocos ratos libres los invitados y presentes fueron agasajados por grupos folklóricos indígenas con bailes, música, cantos y un grupo de teatro narró varios cuentos para niños basados en mitos indígenas.

Beatriz Bermudez directora del festival sacó adelante este encuentro con el apoyo de las hermanas Mayte y Pili Galán. En este festival al igual que los anteriores que se realizaron el Iro en México dirigido por Alejandro Camino, el 2do en Brasil dirigido por Claudia Menezes, hubo gran interés y participación del público local. De este encuentro salieron muchas ideas positivas para el futuro. El comité Latinoamericano de Cine de Pueblos Indígenas decidió que el IV festival se realizará en el Perú dentro de dos años.

El III Festival es el último en ser denominado Latinoamericano, a partir del próximo que posiblemente se realizará en Cuzco y/o en Lima en 1991 será intitulado "IV Festival Interamericano de Cine de Pueblos Indígenas".

Beatriz Bermudez (Venezuela) fue nombrada Presidenta y Alejandro Camino (Perú) Secretario del Comité Latinoamericano de Cine de Pueblos Indígenas.

Durante la sesión del comité se planteó la necesidad de realizar festivales netamente nacionales durante los próximos años pares (1990, 92, 94, etc) teniendo en cuenta que los festivales interamericanos se realizarán durante los años impares (1991, 93, etc). También la de crear una junta directiva permanente que se ocupe del funcionamiento del comité, para el efecto se reunirán en un futuro cercano los miembros del comité.

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FUTURE MEETINGS

IUAES INTERCONGRESS:

Lisbon, Portugal
September 5th - 12th, 1990

The 1990 IUAES intercongress will take place at the Faculdade de Ciencias Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Avenida de Berna 24, 1000 Lisbon, Portugal. The dates are: September 5th-12th, 1990. The 150 US\$ registration fee is inclusive of 1 daily meal plus courtesy dinner but exclusive of hotel cost. The general theme of the intercongress has been established as: The social roles of Anthropology.

The Commission on Visual Anthropology has decided to focus on one specific issue within this broad general theme.

This central issue for Lisbon is: Anthropology on the Air.

Relations between public broadcast systems and visual anthropology have not always been as cordial as they should be. A number of excellent anthropological documentaries have never been shown on television (or only in an abridged and often mutilated form), and on the other hand a great number of films within the broad field of anthropology have been produced without any assistance of professional anthropologists, let alone visual anthropologists.

On the other hand, the number of TV outlets has increased dramatically over the past few years - in many countries we suddenly find cable networks outside the strict public TV system, college networks, local and educational TV, commercial television and Pay-TV. Some of these might provide new outlets for visual anthropological work.

It is suggested, that in Anthropology on the Air we discuss this issue from a practical point of view - to get insight into the scope of cooperation with the broadcasting system, both in its more traditional and in its newer forms. The Commission would highly value reports and papers on: experiences with cooperation (both successful and abortive), new broadcasting outlets per country or region, work currently in progress, financial arrangements, division of responsibilities and control, the use of new technology and prospects for future developments. This is not a limitative list however; anything that can be considered useful for the general theme will be considered for inclusion in the session.

Also, the Commission would value (excerpts of) films and videos related to these matters, preferably in the presence of the filmmaker or cooperating anthropologist.

The Commission will publish the proceedings of the session in a way yet to be decided, and reserves the first right to publish the contributions.

As there is no local organizer for this session yet, please send a 100 word abstract before February 1, 1990 to:

Dr. Robert Boonzajer
Amsterdam University
Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185
1012 DK Amsterdam - HOLLAND
Phone: 31 20 5252626
Fax: 31 20 5252086 (note: this is a new fax number).

Sending an abstract does not automatically register one for the conference - registration forms will be published in all major journals and newsletters, and Amsterdam will forward any new information immediately to anyone who has sent in an abstract. For questions relating to the practical aspects of the Intercongress, please contact Prof. Dr. A.C. Mesquitela Lima at the Universidade Nova in Lisbon.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM

Manchester, England
24-29 September 1990

The RAI will hold its Second International Festival of Ethnographic Film in Manchester, England, from 24-29 September 1990. The first Festival was successfully held in London in September 1985.

Among the highlights of the Festival will be:

- a competition for the Institute's two biennial Prizes, the RAI Film Prize and the Basil Wright Film Prize;
- the Sir Denis Forman Lecture;
- sessions on ethnographic film and television;
- 'master-class'-style intensive analysis of some individual films;
- sessions on ethnographic film training, and the showing of student work;
- a programme of anthropological film classics;
- technical presentations on the latest in film and video, etc;

Fuller details will be published in the December 1989 issue of *ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY*, in the 1990 Spring issue of *CVA REVIEW*, and elsewhere. In the meantime, please note the dates.

The 1990 Festival will be supported by Granada Television.

Travel funding: The Institute has no funds of its own for funding travel from overseas to the conference, but some strictly limited funds are likely to be available for selected qualified persons from Less Developed Countries and for members of indigenous minorities within industrialized countries. Persons so qualified are invited to write to the RAI's Director, especially nationals of the following countries: Angola, India, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, Vanuatu, Zimbabwe. Preference will be given to those who have acquired skills in both anthropology and film. Anyone overseas may enquire about the possibility of travel funding at the British Council Office in their own country.

For more information:

Jonathan Benthall
Royal Anthropological Institute
50 Fitzroy Street
London W1P 5HS, U.K.
Tel: 01-387-0455

1989 MARGARET MEAD FILM FESTIVAL

American Museum of Natural History, New York
4-7 December 1989

From Monday, December 4 to Thursday, December 7, 1989, The American Museum of Natural History celebrates the 13th annual Margaret Mead Film Festival, the nation's premiere forum for anthropological films.

This year there will be 48 films with 37 premieres. Among the outstanding documentaries on the opening night are:

*DUST AND ASHES about the great Kumbha Mela Festival, a Hindu religious gathering that takes place in India every 12 years, drawing 15 million people over 3 days. Holy men are seen,

including one reputed to be 150 years old. The magnitude of the Kumbha is made evident in startling images - during the final 2 days of the Festival, people arrive at a rate of 600,000 an hour.

*THE LOST ARMY documents a zany expedition led by a controversial figure who searches upper Egypt for remains of a Persian army.

Sex, love and marriage are explored in 4 films which will also be shown on the opening night: AL HAJJI AND HIS FOUR WIVES about a Muslim husband in northern Cameroon; GREEN TEA AND CHERRY RIPE, Solrun Hoaas' most recent work about Japanese war brides who look back on their lives in Australia; MY FIRST TIME where American men and women recall their first sexual experiences; and THE BEACON AND THE STAR about the friendship between two eccentric middle-aged men in rural England.

Other film-highlights during the week include: PICTURES OF THE OLD WORLD by Czech filmmaker, Dusan Hanak. Elderly peasants contemplate life and death in this acclaimed film which was banned in Czechoslovakia for 16 years. Also, the latest work focusing on the Mead/Freeman controversy "Margaret Mead and Samoa" will be presented.

Many of the filmmakers will be present to talk about their works. Among them, Jorge Preloran will present his recently completed film ZULAY, FACING THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, which is about an Ecuadorian Indian woman who, introduced to the filmmaking world and Los Angeles, faces her decision about her future.

SEMINAR

In addition to the four evenings of public screenings, there will be a two-day seminar for the professional film/anthropology community. The seminar will be held at the Museum on Tuesday and Wednesday, December 5 & 6 from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. The topics for the two days are the following: Editing for Television: this session will focus on three works which have been produced for the BBC and for Dutch Television. The Wednesday session will be devoted to the issue of Filming in Closed Communities. The films which will provide the basis for discussion are "Vienna is Different: 50 years After the Anschluss" a recent production about a young generation of Austrians who probe the role of their elders during the Nazi takeover, and "Who Will Cast the First Stone?" about 3 women accused of adultery in Pakistan.

For more information:

Elaine Carnov
Margaret Mead Film Festival
American Museum of Natural History
Central Park West at 79th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024-5152 USA.
Tel: (212) 769-5305

SOCIETY FOR VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Tom Blakely wishes to remind SVA members of the 5th Annual Conference on Visual Research that is scheduled for Tuesday and Wednesday, November 14 and 15, in Washington, DC, just before the AAA meeting. This informal conference allows participants to present and discuss their work in a more extensive and complete manner than is generally allowed in 15-minute time slots of the regular scientific sessions.

For further information:

Tom Blakely
Dept of Folklore and Folklife
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA

FESTIVAL IMAGES ET SCIENCES

Aix en Provence, France
du 4 au 19 novembre, 1989

Images et Sciences. Dans le cadre des Etats Généraux de la culture scientifique, technique et industrielle, un Festival se déroulera du 4 au 19 nov. prochain à Aix en Provence à l'Espace Culturel Méjanès, rue des allumettes, organisé par Emmanuelle Ferrari, Institut de l'Image, et par Monique Haicault, sociologue au LEST-CNRS. Plusieurs intervenants de disciplines scientifiques diverses, interrogeront avec le public et sur la base de leurs documents filmiques, la place et les enjeux de l'image dans la production scientifique.

Pour tous renseignements s'adresser à :
E. Ferrari: 42 27 15 09 ou a M. Haicault: 42 26 59 60

THE THIRD FESTIVAL OF VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Rome, Italy
November 22-24, 1989

The Third Festival of Visual Anthropology, organized by the Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari (M.N.A.T.P.) and the Italian Association of Scientific Cinematography (A.I.C.S.), will be held on November 22-24, 1989 in Rome, at the Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari.

The Festival will be divided in four sections:

- a) Uniconceptual Films: Films and videos should be 10 to 11 minutes long and relate to an event or a feature of an event concerning aspects of the ethno-anthropological research.
- b) Extracts: (by A.A.V. and M.N.A.T.P.): the most significant scenes (from research point of view) of ethnographic documentaries that have been shot in Italy from 50's on.
- c) Research Material: exploratory filming aimed at research, involving one or more disciplines. Since the films showed can't last more than 30 minutes, the Scientific Committee in collaboration with the film director will agree on the scenes to be showed in the case of longer productions.
- d) Author films for the research: nightly screenings of author films.

For more information:

The Organizing Secretary
The Third Festival of Visual Anthropology
Associazione Italiana di Cinematografia Scientifica
00161 Roma, Via a. Borelli 50, Italy
Tel: 490.820

"ISLANDS"

Ve INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL & ANTHROPOLOGICAL FILMS

Nuoro, Sardinia, Italy
1-5 October 1990

The Fifth International Festival of Ethnographical & Anthropological Films organized by the Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico of Sardinia (Italy), will be held from 1-5 October 1990 in Nuoro.

This event which takes place every two years focuses on a particular theme each time: Shepherds & Their Image (1982); The World in Reverse: Carnival & Transgression Control (1984); Marriage in Traditional Society (1986); Women and Work in Traditional Society (1988). The theme for the 5th International Festival will be "Islands". Its aim is to present an overview of anthropological films dealing with both the condition of people living on islands - in a strict geographical sense - and of those peoples or social changes who are 'isolated'.

Films which may be included in the Festival program are:

- Films focused on the social organization, the economy, the mentality of island inhabitants related to anthropological & ethnographical studies and research.
- Films analysing in a wider territorial context, the manner of subsistence of peoples or social groups who, due to language, socio-family organization or norms and values, form a world apart and as such can be considered "cultural islands".

The program and its related activities will be prepared by an international scientific committee composed of representatives of organizations working in the visual anthropological field.

Along with the screenings there will also be discussions and debates with the participation of cinema and television experts from Italy as well as from other countries.

Entries in the Festival may be films made for television or cinema shot in either 16 or 35mm (optical or magnetic sound or double track) or videotapes in 3/4 inch U-Matic PAL, high or low band.

Films must be spoken, dubbed or subtitled in Italian, English or French. If the original version of the film is in another language, a complete filmscript in one of these three languages must be provided. An international committee will select the films. For selection purposes, videocassette copies of films should preferably be sent (VHS or U-Matic PAL format).

The authors of the films selected will be invited as guests for the Festival.

An International Jury will award a prize of Lit. 10.000.000 (about 7,400 US\$) to the best film and a prize of Lit. 6.000.000 (about 4,400 US\$) to the best videotape.

For further information (sending of films for selection, travel, accommodation, choice of Committees and Juries, deadlines, etc.), please contact:

Dr. Paolo Piquereddu
Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico
Via A. Mereu 56
08100 NUORO (Italy)
Tel: (0784) 35561/31479/37484

THE NEUVIEME BILAN DU FILM ETHNOGRAPHIQUE

will take place in Paris between March 19-23, 1990. For information, contact:

Françoise Foucault
Comite du Film Ethnographique
Musee de L'Homme
Place du Trocadero - 75116 PARIS (France)
Tel: 33 (1) 47043520

30TH FESTIVAL DEI POPOLI

Florence, Italy, November 24 - December 2
For information: Festival dei Popoli
Via Castellani 8 - 50123
FLORENCE, Italy

WORLD NEWS AND REPORTS

THE MERIDIAN TRUST

BUDDHIST FILM AND VIDEO ARCHIVE

The Meridian Trust is a charitable foundation established in 1985. The aim of the foundation is to provide both Buddhists and the general audience with a wide access to teachings from all Buddhist traditions as they are practised today. Towards this end, the Trust has set up a project which includes:

- a) Archival documentation of Buddhist philosophy and news and information related to Tibetan culture and other related activities.
- b) Video programmes of teachings by Buddhist masters and documentaries of Buddhist cultures, principally that of Tibet.

The Lama Project

The project was initiated in 1986 by His Holiness the Dalai Lama as a step towards documenting and preserving the rich religious and cultural traditions of Buddhism and that of Tibet in particular. The Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959 forced thousands of Tibetans to flee into exile to India. In its new foster home in that country, the Tibetan people found a free and untrammelled haven to live and practice their religion and culture. It has since continued to thrive and spread throughout the world.

The need to initiate the Lama Project was felt as a matter of urgency by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in view of the passing away, in recent years, of many of the great Buddhist teachers and scholars, thus depriving the world of their great wisdom and unique understanding of Dharma. The aim was, therefore, to document the teachings of the remaining older Lamas and scholars, living in India and the west, and make available their knowledge for future Buddhist scholars to study and research.

The Project will cover video recordings of the teachings of masters of the four Tibetan Buddhist traditions, including the masters of the ancient Bon tradition, as well as significant Tibetan cultural events and ceremonies.

The Lama Project in India is directed by Thubten P. Wangchen, a monk from the Namgyal Monastery in Dharamsala. Wangchen is assisted by three monks who coordinate and carry out video documentation in specific areas in south India.

The Lama Project has the full support and cooperation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Private Office and the Council for Religious and Cultural Affairs of the Tibetan government in exile.

Suggestions and donations are urgently needed to up-grade the video equipment being used to record this precious cultural and spiritual heritage.

We need your help. If you want to assist in this vital documentation project, please write to or contact:

Thubten P. Wangchen
Namgyal Monastery
P.O. McLeod Ganj
Dharamsala - 176219
District Kangra (H.P.), India.

or our head office in London:
The Meridian Trust
330 Harrow Road
London W9 2HP
Tel: 01-289-5443

With my very best wishes, may peace and happiness be always with us in every corner of the world!

Wangchen
Tibetan monk

LES ATELIERS VARAN

Autoportrait

Angervuotta vuolta garra oasege.
("L'enthousiasme facilite une
tâche difficile", proverbe Sâme).

A- Les objectifs

Les buts des *Ateliers Varan* sont les suivants:

- a) stimuler l'expression cinématographique dans les pays en développement, et dans les groupes ethniques et sociaux minoritaires;
- b) permettre l'accès au langage audiovisuel pour ceux qui n'envisagent pas une carrière dans le cinéma commercial (universitaires, travailleurs sociaux, militants, chercheurs, archivistes...);
- c) élaborer une forme de travail audiovisuel qui facilite la constitution, fragment par fragment, d'archives de mémoire populaire (archivage des pratiques, des gestuelles, observation des situations sociales et ethniques); et cela par les groupes directement concernés par la constitution et la conservation de ces images;
- d) provoquer l'occasion d'échanges véritables dans l'observation audiovisuelle des cultures (la façon dont les cinéastes du Tiers-Monde décrivent la société française, par exemple, a quelque chose à nous apprendre);
- e) promouvoir, aussi bien auprès des professionnels et des étudiants de cinéma et de télévision, un cinéma documentaire de terrain, dans la lignée du Cinéma Direct.

B- L'institution, les méthodes

- 1- Depuis 1980, nous organisons des stages de formation à la réalisation documentaire, à raison de deux ou trois par an à Paris. Parallèlement, nous avons créé et animé des ateliers de formation/réalisation dans les pays suivants: Mozambique, Mexique, Brésil, Portugal, Philippines, Kenya, Bolivie, Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, Norvège, Afrique du Sud, Laos. Le recrutement de nos étudiants pour les stages à Paris s'est fait, à ce jour, dans une quarantaine de pays différents, mais, de façon prioritaire, dans les pays où existe un atelier Varan, ou dans ceux où l'ouverture d'un atelier paraît souhaitable. Telle est, sans doute, notre plus grande particularité: nos efforts ne tendent pas principalement à former des étudiants isolés, que nous réunirions pour le seul temps d'un stage; nous tentons d'insuffler un esprit de groupe autour d'un style (le Cinéma Direct), et d'une institution (ce réseau d'ateliers que nous aimerions voir fonctionner non seulement comme cellules de formation, mais aussi comme organisme de production et d'échanges).
- 2- Chaque stage de formation en France (de même d'ailleurs que les modules de formation à l'étranger) dure de deux mois et demi à trois mois, à temps complet. Nous accueillons à chaque session à Paris une quinzaine d'étudiants, de nationalités différentes. Cette diversité d'origines, et souvent de langues, a son importance: un stage est aussi un lieu de rencontres entre cultures, où, sur une même pratique, les étudiants se confrontent, de façon intense, à l'occasion du travail collectif, à des modes de pensée parfois extrêmement dissemblables. Qu'un Bolivien collabore avec un Kenyan, ou un Papou avec un Norvégien, est à nos yeux une partie de l'apprentissage d'une des vertus essentielles du documentariste: la curiosité. Un stage Varan comporte deux parties: dans une première période (environ trois semaines), l'étudiant, à l'occasion d'exercices articulés sur des cours théoriques, se familiarise avec les outils (image, son, montage) et leur bon usage, et, dans le même temps, est déjà confronté aux problèmes de "terrain", dans la mesure où ces exercices nécessitent une enquête et des contacts.

L'essentiel, ensuite, consiste pour chacun en la fabrication d'un film (ou d'un vidéogramme), dont l'étudiant est le réalisateur-caméraman, tandis qu'un de ses camarades l'assiste à la prise de son. Au montage, l'étudiant est aidé par un monteur professionnel.

Les études sont donc organisées autour d'un cursus pratique, chaque phase cherchant à "capitaliser" les connaissances en fonction d'une expérience concrète et particulière.

- 3- Les enseignants évitent systématiquement d'accompagner leurs étudiants sur leurs tournages, ce qui, à notre avis, comporte deux avantages:
- les apprentis-cinéastes sont interlocuteurs de plein droit avec les personnes qu'ils filment;
 - ils sont responsables de leurs propres échecs et succès.

Par contre, au cours de séances collectives, nous critiquons les rushes que ramène chaque étudiant, et celui-ci, sauf exception, n'a le droit de tourner à nouveau que lorsque son tournage précédent a été analysé. Pour nos stagiaires, avoir une très large responsabilité dans le tournage d'un film qu'il signera semble être un excellent stimulant: la réussite de son film devient pour chacun une affaire personnelle, et, dans cette perspective, l'apprentissage technique prend une dimension de nécessité.

Nous pensons que, quelques sophistiquées que puissent et doivent être les connaissances d'un technicien de cinéma, l'essentiel est d'appréhender ce qu'est un projet de film, sa mise en oeuvre, sa réalisation. Les connaissances techniques, alors, s'acquièrent au fur et à mesure des besoins, voire se mettent à les précéder, dès lors qu'a été éveillé un véritable intérêt pour l'outil et les possibilités qu'il offre.

La critique collective périodique du travail permet aux étudiants d'être continuellement au courant de l'avancée de leurs camarades, ce qui provoque une saine émulation, et leur permet de "capitaliser" plus que leur expérience personnelle. La tâche des enseignants, à ce titre, est de mettre en lumière en quoi les méthodes, les difficultés, les échecs et les succès de chacun sont exemplaires pour tous.

En outre, se crée ainsi un esprit de groupe, et surtout l'on évite que l'étudiant se prenne pour un Jeune Auteur ayant son Monde Intérieur bien à lui, et qui n'a de comptes à rendre à personne. Nous enseignons que la "subjectivité" d'un cinéaste ne s'affirme pas dans une telle attitude, mais plutôt dans un maximum de curiosité sur le "terrain", d'intelligence d'approche des réalités, d'inventivité et de rigueur dans les méthodes de travail; nous insistons particulièrement sur la notion de "point de vue documenté", selon l'expression de Jean Vigo.

- 4- Nos étudiants ont absolument, comme dans toute vraie école, le droit à l'erreur: l'essentiel n'est pas que chacun fasse un bon film à tout prix. Nous considérons comme réussie une formation où le stagiaire, ayant raté son film, est capable d'analyser les raisons de son échec, et, au lieu de se décourager, déclare son envie de ne pas en rester là, et de réaliser d'autres documentaires à la lumière de cette première expérience.

Mais d'autre part, puisque l'activité principale d'un stage est la fabrication de films, nous jouons à dessein d'une "double casquette", nous présentant auprès des étudiants comme des sortes de producteurs, ce qui les oblige (toutes proportions gardées) à défendre leur projet de film au sein d'une simulation de situation professionnelle, et les stimule à donner le meilleur d'eux-mêmes.

En neuf ans d'activités, tant en France qu'à l'étranger, nous avons formé environ cinq cents étudiants, qui ont presque tous réalisé un film-exercice. Nous avons, depuis 1985, accueilli à Paris une cinquantaine de ces étudiants pour des stages de perfectionnements, dits aussi de "second niveau", où ils reçoivent un enseignement technique plus spécialisé.

Comme ces deux formules de stage, malgré leur intensité, ne permettent pas d'explorer toute la variété des situations et des styles du cinéma documentaire, nous envisageons maintenant de mettre en place un cycle de formation plus long (neuf mois).

C- Les rapports à l'anthropologie visuelle

Ce qui s'enseigne et se pratique au sein des Ateliers Varan n'est pas officiellement mis sous le signe de l'anthropologie visuelle: nos objectifs de travail nous placent plutôt dans le cadre du documentaire en général.

Cependant, une partie de nos stagiaires est constituée d'anthropologues (étudiants et chercheurs), et, tant par le choix des sujets que par les méthodes que nous proposons pour la réalisation des films, nous croyons avoir, avec les questions de l'anthropologie visuelle, une très grande proximité. Pêle-mêle, quelques remarques:

- 1- Pas plus qu'un ethnologue sur son terrain, nous ne pensons que le documentariste ait à se bercer du confort illusoire de l'invisibilité: sa présence dans un milieu social transforme celui-ci; le cinéaste doit trouver ou créer sa "place", faire en sorte que son activité soit intelligible et acceptable.

Ce, pour deux raisons. La première est déontologique (le respect des personnes filmées), l'autre est méthodique: pour autant que la présence de la caméra transforme une situation de façon inéluctable, autant utiliser cette dynamique dans ce qu'elle a de productif: solliciter, auprès des personnes, une attitude participative, où ce qu'elles désirent montrer ou dire de leur mode de vie deviendra un élément moteur.

- 2- Tout comme l'ethnologue, nous nous méfions des situations d'interview, en tout cas sous leur forme la plus directive: les personnes interrogées auront toujours tendance, soit à se défendre par l'utilisation d'un langage standardisé (par exemple par les habitudes télévisuelles), soit à dire n'importe quoi pour faire plaisir à l'interviewer. Nous préférons donc que les prises de parole soient suscitées par le désir des personnes d'expliquer ce qu'elles sont, ce qu'elles pensent, ce qu'elles veulent. (Bien sûr, il y a des méthodes pour stimuler ou solliciter ce désir.) Au résultat, on obtient, au mieux, une parole qui, véridique ou mensongère, juste ou leurrée, s'inscrit de toute façon dans la vérité d'un désir.

- 3- Nous portons particulièrement nos efforts à éviter que nos stagiaires réalisent des films qui soient une illustration des idées ou connaissances a priori qu'ils peuvent avoir sur le milieu social considéré. Un film n'a pas à être la mise en images et en sons de conceptions abstraites, dont le tournage ne serait jamais que la mise en exemples. Il s'agit au contraire de prendre des risques: risque de découvrir que les réalités sont différentes des idées préconçues, que le "terrain" résiste, que le profil du film à venir en vienne à être modifié. L'aléa devient une dimension productive et dynamique du travail au lieu d'y apporter une contrainte gênante. La théorie prend le risque du terrain.

C'est pourquoi, même si nous concevons la nécessité, dans d'autres formes ou d'autres styles, de prévoir, sous forme de scénario, ce que sera le film terminé, nous n'encourageons pas nos étudiants à s'en fixer dès le départ une opinion trop rigide: nous souhaitons au contraire qu'ils soient, selon la leçon de Vertov, continuellement en alerte, et capables de modifier leur point de vue.

Notre méthode est celle du tournage fractionné, qui permet, dans une série de rushes, de trouver des pistes imprévues qu'il s'agira de suivre lors du tournage suivant.

Bien sûr, nous n'en faisons pas un dogme: un cinéaste chevronné est capable, pendant un tournage unique, de répondre instantanément à l'inattendu. Mais, dans une situation d'apprentissage, le tournage fractionné est sans nul doute un principe de travail très fructueux. Il donne le temps de vérifier les hypothèses et de les prolonger. L'enquête, alors, se fait avec et par les moyens du cinéma, et le film, en ce sens, raconte une progression vers le concret d'une découverte.

- 4- Le film et la vidéo sont de formidables outils pour l'ethnologue qui désire "prendre des notes audiovisuelles" en enregistrant un événement, qu'il pourra ensuite revoir et réentendre à loisir, pour appréhender ce dont il n'a pas pu saisir et comprendre immédiatement tous les détails. Mais il y a tout lieu de penser que, même très bien monté, un tel matériel ne fera que difficilement un bon film, car la façon de filmer du cinéaste est bien différente: pour lui, il s'agit, simultanément, pendant qu'il tourne, de voir, de comprendre et de prévoir ce qu'il va donner à voir. Ce en quoi les rushes d'un documentariste sont autre chose que les notes écrites de l'ethnologue: ce dernier, au moment de rédiger son article ou son essai, aura toujours la possibilité d'extrapoler, voire de faire appel à la masse des souvenirs qu'il n'a pas d'abord consignés. Un tel recours est impossible au documentariste, qui doit "faire avec" le matériel d'images et de sons qu'il a récolté. Ainsi interprétons-nous la distinction classique entre document et documentaire.

Le présent "autoportrait" n'est pas le lieu pour argumenter si un film anthropologique est "scientifique" ou "artistique" (ou autre...). Nous n'avons d'ailleurs pas, à Varan, la compétence pour le faire: aucun d'entre nous n'est anthropologue. Dite en bref, notre hypothèse de travail est la suivante: si un documentaire est susceptible de produire et de transmettre des connaissances, c'est à la manière d'un mythe. Ce qui nous libère de la hantise du modèle du texte écrit, et nous incite à porter notre attention sur ce qui fait récit, narration.

A moins qu'il s'adresse à un public spécialisé, un film qui ne serait que descriptif aurait toute chance d'être ennuyeux. La production des connaissances, elle aussi, se met en scène: nous encourageons nos étudiants à prendre en compte la nécessité d'une dimension dramaturgique de leur travail: que le film ne dise pas tout depuis le début, qu'il ménage des mystères, des suspenses, des surprises, des renversements, qu'il laisse place à l'émotion...

Pour tout renseignement

Varan, 6 Impasse Mont-Louis

75011 Paris, France, tél: (1) 43.56.64.04

NEWS FROM THE HUMAN STUDIES FILM ARCHIVES

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON

News of the Human Studies Film Archives last appeared in the *CVA Newsletter* in January 1987. However, the lack of news in recent editions of the *Newsletter* was not for lack of activity. During the last two years, the Film Archives has continued to support a full-scale moving image archives program devoted to collection, preservation, and research of ethnographic film and video. More importantly, recent acquisitions and program initiatives have further fortified the program and placed the Smithsonian Institution's Human Studies Film Archives in a position to serve as a center for anthropological moving image research nationally and internationally.

In 1988, more than one million feet of film created by the National Anthropological Film Center (aka National Human Studies Film Center) under the direction of E. Richard Sorenson, was formally transferred by the Smithsonian Institution to the Human Studies Film Archives. This material is currently being organized, processed, and safeguarded as monies to finance the work become available through grant and administrative sources. As of November 1989, two of the projects are available for research use at the HSFA -- 200,000 feet of Newari Film Project, 1978 and 1980] and nearly 360,000 feet of film that comprise Film Studies of Traditional Tibetan Life and Culture. The Film Archives recently received a grant with which to process Film Studies of the Lifestyle of the Western Caroline Islands, Micronesia] and anticipates being able to make this available for research use by June 1990.

The HSFA collections have continued to grow with the addition of several other significant collections including the films of ethnomusicologist Laura Boulton, the outtakes from Long Bow Film Project, Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton's examination of rural Chinese village life, a copy of John Collier, Jr.'s Hacienda Vicos, 1954-55, and numerous historic travel films documenting various expeditions through Africa. In addition, the HSFA is serving as the archival repository for the University of Florida Video History Project, a comprehensive video oral history project documenting the history of anthropology through interviews with noted anthropologists. Finally, the HSFA has begun a systematized effort to locate, with an eye toward acquiring and preserving, the A & B rolls for important edited films of anthropological interest.

To keep current with our expanding collection and to encourage research use of the collections, the Film Archives has published the second edition of the *Guide to the Collections* which reflects the recent acquisitions as well as the increased number of collections for which reference copies are available. For example, in addition to the aforementioned Film Center project, viewing copies of Yanomamo Film Project 1968 and 1971, Laura Boulton Film collection,

Eduardo the Shaman: A Case Study of Culture and Hallucinogens, and Omaha Macy Pow-wow, 1988 are now available for research viewing.

Because the acquisition and preservation aspects of the film Archives' program are firmly established, the staff can now concentrate on increasing the research use of the collections, thereby firmly establishing the HSFA as a center for research on anthropological film. To that end, staff members continue to participate in a wide range of professional activities in an effort to publicize the collections and programs as well as demonstrate potential research approaches to the collections materials. Staff anthropologist John Homiak has presented papers at the XII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, the Visual Anthropology Seminar at UC Fullerton, the Conference on Culture and Communication, and the American Anthropological Association. HSFA staff have also participated in the NYU Symposium on New Technologies and Cultural Film and Photo Archives and the 1989 Robert Flaherty Seminar in addition to active involvement in the Film and Television Archives Advisory Committee.

During the past few years, the Film Archives has hosted several visiting scholars and fellows. A number of interesting research projects based on the film Archives' collections have resulted from their efforts. One ethnographer who has worked extensively with the Huichol was able to draw a number of inferences from footage shot in the early 1930s among Huichol groups adjacent to his field locale. Analysis of this footage enabled him to make conclusions about the rate and extent of acculturation and variations in ritual practice which were previously obscured. Another researcher drew upon footage shot by travelers and explorers among native peoples to interpret how such tourist film reflected prevailing attitudes towards race, class, and gender. Still another researcher used video and filmic records to reconstruct, in consultation with a traditional dancer, dances that are no longer practiced. This provided additional evidence in support of her theories regarding the symbolism and historical meaning of the dance forms. Another research fellow will begin a residence at the HSFA in January 1990, using collection materials to examine gender issues as evidenced in anthropological film. The staff continues to seek additional research proposals by anthropologists, film scholars, historians, and others interested in the collection.

Finally, the HSFA is increasingly involved with public programming and other avenues for providing greater access to the collections. In February 1989, the HSFA joined with the National Museum of Natural History Office of Education to sponsor "Changing Views: Filming the Peoples of the North Pacific Rim", a two-day film program presented in conjunction with the landmark exhibit Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska. Stock footage use of collection materials is bringing the collection to wider audiences as an increasing number of documentary filmmakers are including HSFA footage in their productions. Recent films that have included HSFA footage are National Geographic Explorers' THE RHINO WARS, episode one of THE PHILIPPINES which aired on PBS, DISTANT LIVES, a series currently in production, and the exhibit film which accompanies the exhibit Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska. All stock footage use is done with permission of donors and thorough review by HSFA staff.

For more information about the Human Studies Film Archives, its programs and collections, research opportunities, and to receive a copy of the HSFA *Guide to the Collections* please contact:

Wendy Shay, Human Studies Film Archives, NHB E307, Smithsonian Institution
Washington DC 20560, USA, tel: (202)357-3349.

SAVAN

A New Perspective in Dutch Visual Anthropology

By bringing together a group of persons (documentary filmmakers or photographers, etc.) as well as institutions (ethnographic museums, departments of anthropology) in the Netherlands - in one way or another involved with Visual Anthropology - the foundation named SAVAN (Stichting Audio Visuele Antropologie Nederland) does not only aim at producers of films or

photographic essays, but also at those in need of these products. Linking supply and demand in this field is an important objective of SAVAN.

SAVAN was founded as a tribute to Dr. D.J. Nijland, a specialist in Visual Anthropology and filmmaker, on the occasion of the presentation of his thesis - "Schaduw en Werkelijkheid" (Shadows and Reality) - which took place on March 9, 1989 at the Leiden University. It was Metje Postma, the now President of SAVAN and Assistant to Dr. Dirk Nijland (Dept. of Ethnocommunication, Faculty of Social Science, Leiden State University) who took the initiative.

Although SAVAN is a Dutch initiative, we would like to establish international contacts. Therefore, if you share our objective (i.e., the promotion of Visual Anthropology), please contact us. We will then send you more information. We look forward to learn of your specific proposals on co-operation. A well organized international network will, in our opinion, contribute to the appraisal of Visual Anthropology.

As stated above, the main purpose of the foundation is to promote Visual Anthropology. More precisely and quoting the objectives as formulated at the inauguration:

To promote Visual Anthropology by way of:

1. Supporting audiovisual productions based on anthropological knowledge and stimulating the use of its products.
2. Researching the relationship between Anthropology and the application of audiovisual media, to the benefit of both.
3. Stimulating contacts to achieve an exchange of ideas and products.

Three fields of interest in relation to Anthropology and the use of audiovisual media are defined as follows: production, research and exchange of ideas.

Since the inauguration of SAVAN monthly meetings have taken place. On the one hand lectures were given on subjects concerning Visual Anthropology while on the other hand practical realization of its various objectives was initiated.

At this moment four committees are at work:

1. A "Newsletter" which serves the communication between members of SAVAN. Apart from informing on activities the "Newsletter" offers authors the opportunity to voice their views on subjects concerning Visual Anthropology in all its facets.

2. Fund raising.

Members of this committee have begun to bring about an inventory of institutions to be approached for financial support regarding, for example, an anthropological film production or seminar.

3. Evaluation.

SAVAN seeks to present a yearly evaluation of the output of its members. In February 1990 the first "Bilan" is planned at the ethnographic museum of Rotterdam.

4. Assessment.

Each member was asked to fill out a questionnaire describing his or her skills, audiovisual productions, equipment, etc. Thus if, for example, a set of photos on a special subject is required, a database can easily establish which member fulfills this demand.

Committees on production, research and publicity are under consideration.

Since March 1989, SAVAN has, not without success, strived towards its objectives. However, as stated above, we are interested in international contacts.

For more information:

SAVAN, P.O. Box 11209
2301 EE Leiden
The Netherlands

VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN URUGUAY

Between July and November 1988, a series of ethnographic film and video presentations were organized by Prof. Wilder Melgar of the Ministry of Education and Culture and representative of the *Comite Latinoamericano de Cine de Pueblos Indigenas* in Montevideo, Uruguay.

From the 25th to the 28th of July, the VIth cycle of anthropological film was held at the *Alianza Cultural Uruguay-EE.UU* as a tribute to Margaret Mead. The C.E.A. (Center for Archaeological Studies) presented the 4 chapters of a video production directed in 1982 by anthropologist and film maker Hubert Smith about the life and culture of a Maya family in a small Chican community located in Yucatan. The projection was followed by a debate between anthropologists, sociologists, film critics and other specialists.

From the 14th to the 18th of November 1988, the "3rd cycle of ethnographic film" was presented at the *Alianza Francesa*, sponsored by the C.E.A. and the *Comite Latinoamericano de Cine de Pueblos Indigenas* together with the embassies of Mexico in Uruguay and Argentina. The program included 7 films produced by the *Archivo Etnografico Audiovisual* of the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista de Mexico*: 1) "Quitate tu pa ponerme yo" by Francisco Chavez, about the Chinanteco, Norwest of the State of Oaxaca; 2) "Con el alma entre los dientes" by Jaime Riestre, about the Totonaco and the Pantepec in the State of Puebla. 3) "Jicuri Neirra: La danza del peyote" by Gonzalo Martinez, about the Huichol from San Andres Cohamiata in Jalisco. 4) "Brujos y curanderos" by Juan F. Urrusti, about the Mestizo, Nahua and Zoque-Popoluca from the Tuxlas zone in the State of Veracruz. 5) "El dia en que vienen los muertos" by Luis Mandoki about the Mazateco from San Jose Independencia in the State of Oaxaca. 6) "El papel de San Pablito" by F. Weingartshofer about the Otomi from San Pablito Pahuatlan in the State of Puebla. 7) "Mitote Tepehuano" by Gonzalo Martinez, about the Tepehuano from La Candelaria in Durango.

From August to November 1988, the Ministry of Education and Culture sponsored the "Anthropological film and video-Peoples and Cultures" tour, a project inaugurated in 1987 at Paso de los Toros. 15 films and 3 videos projections were organized in a total of ten provinces visiting museums, cultural centers and highschools. The potential role of these institutions for the use and application of visual anthropology as well as didactic possibilities provided by anthropological film-making were discussed with the audience.

For more information:

Wilder Melgar

Montevideo

C. Correo 6436 Uruguay

FILM REVIEW

THE BITTER FRUITS OF TAYLORISM: TRACKING AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL DECLINE

by
Greg TEAL
Université de Montréal

Collision Course: Labor and Management at the Crossroads, 1987;
Director: Alex Gibney; Manufacturing Miracles: A Japanese Firm Reinvents
Itself, 1987; Director: Alex Gibney; Clockwork, 1982; Director:
Eric Breitbart. Available through California Newsreel, 149, 9th Street #420,
San Francisco, CA 94103 (415)621-6196, FAX (415)621-6522. Available in 16mm and video.

The films under review address the reasons for the industrial decline of America and, in the case of Manufacturing Miracles, for Japanese industrial ascendancy. The primary concern of each of the three films is the nature of industrial relations systems and the role they play in industrial growth and decline. Clockwork examines the development of Taylorism in American industry, from its earliest practice by Frederick Winslow Taylor through its modern applications and adaptations. Collision Course documents the industrial relations crisis plaguing Eastern Airlines throughout the 1980s and the failed efforts to change the course of those relations. As a counterpoint to these two documentaries, Manufacturing Miracles explains Mazda's success in terms of the corporation's participatory approach to its workers.

Together these three films present a cohesive and convincing argument that American industrial decline lies largely in antagonistic industrial relations and management's refusal to trust and encourage the creative abilities and potential of the workforce. This thesis which is inspired by Harry Braverman's Labor and Monopoly Capitalism (1974) which argued that the degradation of work in Twentieth Century America was based largely on management's incessant drive to control the labour process, by deskilling workers and limiting their role to the execution of increasingly simplified tasks. Braverman's work has also inspired a host of workplace ethnographies (Burawoy, 1979; Holzberg and Giovannini, 1981) whose common thread has been the depiction of management control over and deskilling of labour. These three films fall within this ethnographic tradition of exposing the human costs of management's effort at control, without falling into a good-guys-bad-guys syndrome. They also pose an alternative which is seen as overcoming the inevitable economic decline that such a system brings upon itself: an alternative that could loosely be termed participatory management or worker participation.

Clockwork focuses on the development of Taylorism in America. After initially seeing workers punching in at a time clock and tending to automatic machines under the watchful eye of surveillance cameras in a contemporary electronic circuits factory, we jump to archival footage of a nineteenth century factory. At that time, as the narrator tells us, the actual planning of production was largely decided upon by the most skilled and experienced workers, so that management's role in planning and controlling the speed at which workers worked was limited. As such, the nineteenth century American factory was inefficient, unruly and disorderly, at least by management standards. Enter Frederick Winslow Taylor and his vision of an industrial utopia functioning like clockwork.

Taylor, born in 1856 into the wealthy Philadelphia Quaker elite, went to work in a pump factory when his poor eyesight prevented him from entering Harvard. He quickly became a foreman and earned an engineering degree in his spare time. However, Taylor found it intolerable that his authority did not give him control over workers' output. Taylor's systematic, obsessive concern to control the labour process and labour is succinctly brought out through a number of short but pithy passages from his writings, such as the following: "*Hardly a competent workman can be found who does not devote a considerable part of his time to studying just how slowly he can work and still convince his employer that he is going at a good pace*" (F.W. Taylor, 1903).

We are then treated to recreations of Taylor's experiments to increase labour productivity. Of particular and continuing importance in these experiments was the stop watch, with which Taylor times workers' movements. He spent 26 years conducting time and movement studies, narrowing the tasks which workers performed and setting standard time rates within which they were supposed to perform them. Out of such studies there developed a new division of labour in the American factory and a new system of running the factory. Under Scientific Management, as it became known, all planning and conception was removed from the shop floor. The film does mention workers' resistance to such a reorganization of production, but, like Braverman, this is lightly treated.

We then switch back to the modern factory and a robotics display in which Taylorism has been taken to its logical limits. In the modern factory system skilled labour is generally replaced by less skilled labour, and even the menial tasks, largely performed by women and immigrants, can be replaced or further deskilled by automation. The human costs of such a system are evident: unemployment, loss of job satisfaction, anxiety, work degradation, the destruction of a skilled and creative work force.

Collision Course addresses broad concerns of the limits of Taylorism and particularly of the adversarial industrial relations system characteristic of U.S. industry, through a compelling case study of the crisis of Eastern Airlines in the 1980s. The well integrated combination of narrative, interviews with management, union representatives and workers, commentary by journalists and academics and archival material give us a comprehensive sense of why Eastern arrived at its decrepit state. The film traces the company's self-destruction to the origins of the wage system in the United States, in the process presenting scenes of the Lowell textile factory in the 1820s and passing through Fritz Lang's Metropolis as a vision of the nightmare of the new industrial order of the Twentieth century. The thesis is that management viewed workers as little more than factors of production and workers in turn had little interest in the companies they worked for. American union leaders left the running of the factories to management prerogative.

As Robert Kuttner and David Halberstam explain in the film, this kind of social contract worked as long as there was steady economic growth. Footage from the 1950s and 1960s shows how the affluence of the times had the effect of both covering over the problems and creating the illusion that American economic prosperity was a permanent condition. But then came the 1970s and 1980s, when American economic dominance took a nosedive. Eastern's own descent began in 1978 with the deregulation of the skies. Within a short time there were over a hundred new non-union carriers. Eastern steadily began losing money, from \$65 million in 1981 to \$83 million in 1983.

In September 1983, as Frank Lorenzo was putting the axe to Continental by firing 8,000 workers and cutting the wages for remaining workers by half, Frank Borman, ex-astronaut and head of Eastern, demanded that Eastern workers accept a 20% wage cutback. The film goes on to explore the conflict between Borman and Charles Bryan, the anti-cutback president of the International Association of Machinists. Eastern was eventually obliged to accept a deal in which, in exchange for the union agreeing to wage cuts, productivity increases and changes in work rules, employees were to acquire 25% of Eastern voting stock, seats on the board, access to the books and the right to organize work. This deal signalled a significant attempt to change the rules of the old social contract between labour and management and the hierarchical, authoritarian organization of production in American industry. (Here the film brings in archival footage and commentary on the development of Taylorism, much of which appears as well in Clockwork).

This new deal worked well, for a time. Workers who are interviewed talk about how they began to like coming to work and that their level of commitment rose dramatically, because they and not the supervisors were now planning and organizing most of their activities. It is impressive to watch a blue-collar worker who previously did nothing but handle baggage plan the loading of planes and co-ordinate information with flight control in another city. *"Now I feel its my airline. The more I do for Eastern, the better it is for me"*. As for the company it benefitted as well. Productivity improved, costs were cut, and the financial picture turned around.

This happy marriage didn't last long. As soon as new fare wars began in 1985 Borman was demanding more wage concessions and threatening to sell the company if workers didn't comply. When the machinists refused, Eastern was sold to Frank Lorenzo, who immediately laid off 2,000 employees. The crisis and sale led to the termination of the experiment in worker

participation and participatory management, and a return to management neglect of workers' potential to help solve the problems of the company. Dorman's reflection on the change reveals just how the leopard doesn't change its spots so easily: *"Management can now take a rational approach to labor. The marketplace rules"*.

The marketplace rules in Japan as well. Yet management, at least in some sectors of the economy, especially in large corporations, has a much different approach to labour relations and the organization of production than their American counterparts portrayed in Clockwork and Collision Course. Manufacturing Miracles takes us through the post-World War Two history of one such company, Mazda, and the evolution of its brand of a participatory workplace. Like the other videos reviewed here, Manufacturing Miracles combines archival footage with on-the-scene shots, interviews with management, workers and American scholars (Robert Cole, David Halberstam) to create a dynamic picture of the workings of the company and the connections between the pattern at Mazda and the larger Japanese economy and society.

Like Eastern, Mazda was hit by a disastrous economic crisis in the mid-1970s. And by 1985, Mazda too had turned it around, in part by relying on the skill and creativity of its workforce. However, this reliance had deeper roots than the mere opportunism practiced by Eastern management, and this explains why Mazda has continued to develop and evolve and why Eastern has devolved.

As with Collision course, Manufacturing Miracles documents Mazda's corporate culture through a focus on its president, Kenichi Yamamoto. In 1945, Yamamoto was production worker at Mazda which, at that time, was making little else than three wheel trucks. The film briefly yet succinctly describes the devastation of the War and the changes wrought by the U.S. Administration in purging leading executives and creating American-style unions. And we see footage of scenes that observers of contemporary Japanese industrial relations tend to forget - the intense popular and mass mobilizations of Japanese workers in the early 1950s, confronting industry and fighting for workers' control.

The young Yamamoto comes across as something of a Japanese Samuel Gompers. The elder Yamamoto tells us that as a worker he fought against these strikes, believing that unions should fight for the economic betterment of workers, a task for which they needed the economic success of the company. He became a vice-president of the Mazda union and later worked his way up the company hierarchy.

The militant workers' movement was eventually broken, but in the aftermath a Japanese New Deal or social contract was worked out. David Halberstam, a sensitive observer of American and Japanese industrial culture explains in the film that this social contract differs considerably from the now battered American social contract. It involves a two-way responsibility in which workers agree to flexibility in job assignments and in productivity, and in turn are guaranteed life-time employment and participation in the organization of production. Under the propulsion of this arrangement Japanese industry rebuilt rapidly. By 1960, the Hiroshima-based Mazda was producing its first passenger cars and its exports grew.

Then came the first Oil Shock in 1974, and Mazda found itself saddled with gas guzzlers that nobody wanted to buy, a \$1.6 million dollar debt and 37,000 employees on its payroll. With its major stockholder, the Sumitomo Bank, it developed plans to retool and introduce new designs. And, unlike Chrysler, it treated its workers as partners, not laying off anyone or demanding wage cutbacks. Over 3,000 workers were reassigned as travelling salesmen for lengthy periods. Interviews with these workers shows the personal and familial hardships they went through, but shows equally their commitment to the company.

The crisis showed Mazda that its competitive edge would be the company's adaptability and increasing the value of its labour force. Mazda introduced quality circles in which workers' ideas were sought. And Mazda workers, having fared well by the company under the crisis, seem to have increased their commitment to the company. They began suggesting ways to improve productivity. We see the office of the Suggestion Processing Department which claims to receive 11,500 suggestions per working day. A joint union-management forum was also instituted in which the company regularly tells workers of its plans. Joint meetings at various levels are important, according to the Union president, because they continuously renew the sense of mutual understanding. Yamamoto explains that it is important that employees develop their full potential. And the development of workers' potential contributes to the growth of the company in such ways

as designing the operation of new technology. This in turn leads to workers being able to adapt rapidly and easily to changes.

Manufacturing Miracles does not entirely neglect the other dimensions of Mazda's success. Male managers are the clearest winners in Mazda's corporate organization, having steady promotions and increasing responsibilities. While 90% of managers stay at the company, almost half the production employees voluntarily leave after ten years. As Robert Cole explains, there is a tremendous amount of pressure for workers to participate in Japanese corporations' programs. There are often quota systems for suggestions, and there is little tolerance of dissent. Discrimination against women is very strong. Yet the film ends with a scene of joint labour-management participation in a Shinto ritual to bless a new model, and ominously counterposes American management's strategy of cutting wages and laying off workers to Japanese management's tapping the skill and creativity of labour.

One of the weaknesses of these films is a feature they share with much of the sociological and anthropological literature on the labour process. Worker's resistance to the way production is organized is treated rather weakly and marginally. In that sense the worlds of the factory and of the worker are robbed of their multi-dimensionality. Another problem is the prescription for the remedy to the crisis of American industry. It is all very well to pose workers' participation and participatory management as an alternative. But as revealed in Collision Course, the obstacles to the development of such an alternative are numerous and have profound roots in the social structure of (American) capitalism. Despite the failure of just such an experiment at Eastern, the illusion that labour and management can be equal partners persists among many who would like to see a reformed workplace and a rejuvenated American industrial economy. Finally, Manufacturing Miracles can be criticized on different yet similar grounds. Although it does touch on some of the problems underlying the apparently cohesive and co-operative Japanese workplace, the potential awareness of these problems, and therefore of the totality of the workplace, is overwhelmed by the largely positive depiction of Mazda's brand of workplace participation. Yet, as the film itself shows, workers' participation and their off-praised loyalty to the company contains a strong element of coercion. Likewise, as some authors have pointed out, portraying these collaborative industrial relations as an extension of feudal Japanese culture is questionable (Bernier, 1988, 1985).

On the whole, however, these films are excellent source materials for courses such as industrial anthropology, the anthropology of complex societies, or social inequality. They treat themes with which industrial anthropology is preoccupied: deindustrialization, the labour process, Taylorism, the social organization of work, and labour-management relations. They are well constructed, each using a variety of ethnographic and documentary techniques to develop their stories. The unifying thesis, that the decline of American industry is due largely to the system of antagonistic industrial relations and the dominant mode of organizing production in which labour is excluded, is generally supported by the anthropological literature, taking into account the criticisms expressed above, this thesis, and the dynamics of the culture of labour-management relations in America and Japan, are convincingly and sensitively treated in these films.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

GRANADA CENTRE for VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY University of Manchester

MA (ECON) IN VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Applications now invited for the academic year 1990-1991. The course covers a broad range of topics including the anthropology of visual representation, theory and practice of ethnographic film, visual anthropology in the public domain. It also included basic "hands-on" instruction in video and (to a lesser extent) film production. In addition to coursework, students are required to produce a short video-film supported by a written dissertation. The minimum period of study is 12 months.

Applicants will normally have studied social anthropology as a major component of a university degree (British BA (Hons) or equivalent). No previous practical experience is required though aptitude or interest will be an advantage.

For further details and application forms (to be returned by **January 15th, 1990**) write to:

Granada Centre, Roscoe Building, Brunswick Street, Manchester, UK - M13 9PL

THE USE OF WRITTEN ETHNOGRAPHY AND FILMS IN TEACHING ABOUT THE !KUNG SAN/JU/WASI OF NAMIBIA

This note is a call for support from members of the profession who uses materials about the !Kung San in their anthropology courses. For those who use any of John Marshall's twenty excellent films on the Ju/Wasi !Kung San Bushman, Lorna Marshall's book, *The !Kung of Nyae Nyae*, would be an excellent accompanying resource were it available in a less expensive paperback edition. As it is, the book now costs \$30.00 and at that price I find it impossible in good conscience to assign the book to students. But the Press have said that if there was enough support from the profession they would put out a paperback edition.

I am asking people to write to me (address is printed below) with letters of support for this idea and to tell me, if possible, approximately how many students a year would be asked to purchase the book for their course. I would appreciate if you would send a copy of your letter to: Mrs Maud Wilcox at: Harvard University Press, 79 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

Timothy Asch, Department of Anthropology
University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0661, USA

VIDEO TAPES ON HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

A set of 25 video tapes have been made on the history of anthropology through a joint project of the University of Florida Department of Anthropology and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The tapes have been produced in a way that captures the informal influences, experiences and issues that have shaped the discipline through the use of interviewees who are good friends and colleagues of the interviewees. Some of the completed tapes include George Foster interviewed by Charles Wagley, William Fenton interviewed by David Sapir, Frederica de Laguna interviewed by Norman Markel, and Lauriston Sharp interviewed by Paul Doughty. The project is under the direction of Russell Bernard and Allan Burns of the University

of Florida. This spring Bernard and Burns worked in Mexico to produce interviews with four generations of Mexican anthropologists as a part of the project: Daniel Rubin de Borbolla, Fernando Camara, Andres Medina and Manuel Gandara. This "living archive" of the discipline is housed at the Smithsonian Institution's Human Studies Archive under the direction of Wendy Shay. A brochure describing the ways to obtain copies for classes or research will be available by the end of the year. In the meantime colleagues who have suggestions for people to interview or who have general interest in the project can contact Bernard or Burns at the University of Florida Department of Anthropology.

D.E.R. ANNOUNCES NEW AWARD WINNING RELEASES

First Contact

by Bob Connolly & Robin Anderson

Academy Award Nominee 1984; First Prize, Festival dei Popoli 1984; Grand Prix, Cinema du Real 1983; Best Documentary, Sydney Film Festival 1983; Best Feature Documentary, Australian Film Festival Awards 1983; Silver Sesterce, Nyon 1983; First Prize in Sociology, San Francisco Film Festival 1983; Red Ribbon in Anthropology, American Film Festival 1983; Best Documentary, Australian Teachers of Media 1983.

1983, color, 54 min., 16mm sale \$850/rental \$85, video sale \$400/rental \$60

Joe Leahy's neighbours

by Bob Connolly & Robin Anderson

Grand Prix, Cinema du Reel 1989; Earthwatch Award 1989; Award of Excellence, Society for Visual Anthropology 1989.

1988, color, 90 min., video sale \$600/rental \$80, inquire for special 16mm rental

Amir: An Afghan Refugee Musician's life in Peshawar, Pakistan

by John Baily, Camera by Wayne Derrick

Award of Excellence, Society for Visual Anthropology 1989; Prix Special de Jury, Bilan Ethnographique, Musee de L'Homme, 1986

1985, color, 52 min., video sale \$375/rental \$50, a study guide

Lessons from Gulam: Asian Music in Bradford

by John Baily, Camera by Andy Jillings

1986, color, 52 min., video sale \$375/rental \$50, a study guide

Peter, Donald, Willie, Pat

by Mike Majoros & Jim Kaufman

Outstanding Social Documentary Award, New England Film & Video Festival 1989

1988, color, 48 min. (shorter version also available), video sale \$300/rental \$40

Sharing a New Song: An Experiment in Citizen Diplomacy

by Chris Schmidt

1988, color, 58 min., 16mm sale \$1000/rental \$95; video sale \$400/rental \$60

Available from: Documentary Educational Resources, 101 Morse Street, Watertown, Massachusetts 02172, Telephone: (617) 926-0491, Fax (617) 926-9519

STUDENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Is there an ethnographic film you would like to produce? Graduate student in an MFA filmmaking program interested in collaborating with an anthropologist on a documentary that will be of interest to a general public audience. I have prior professional video experience and extensive experience living overseas. Contact: Dan Levitt, 4443 Spruce St., Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 222-5041

N.E.A.A. 30th ANNUAL MEETINGS FILM PROGRAM

The Commission on Visual Anthropology will organize a film program for the 30th annual meetings of the Northeastern Anthropology Association, which will be held at the University of Vermont from March 29-April 1, 1990. There will be sections devoted to native and student productions respectively and anyone interested in submitting her or his work should do so preferably before the end of January (16mm or video). For more information, please contact:

Patrick Dionne
Commission on Visual Anthropology
Département d'anthropology, Université de Montréal
C.P. 6128, succursale A, Montréal (Québec) Canada, H3C 3J7

PUBLICATIONS

DIRECTORY OF VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Editors Tom Blakely (Penn) and Pamela A.R. Blakely (Penn) have announced that the *Directory of Visual Anthropology* is now ready for distribution. Contents include an introduction, an essay entitled "PIEF, SAVICOM, SVA: North American Visual Anthropology Organizations, 1968-89", followed by 177 pages of contributors (names, affiliations, addresses, etc), filmographic and bibliographic references, and index. All current SVA members will receive this directory free of charge as part of their membership. Individual copies are available for \$5.00; write to SVA Directory, AAA, 1703 New Hampshire Ave NW, Washington, DC 20009.

SOME NEW BOOKS ON VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY -1988

- BOHL, Michael: Entwicklung des Ethnographischen Films. Pp. 200. DM 25 - Alano Verlag/Edition Herodot; Kongressstrasse 5 - D 5100 AACHEN (West Germany)
- CHIOZZI, Paolo and HALLER, Franz eds: Issues in Visual Anthropology. Pp. 225: DM 38 - Alano Verlag/Edition Herodot; Kongressstrasse 5 - D 5100 AACHEN (West Germany)
- HOCKINGS, Paul and OMORI, Yasuhiro eds: Cinematographic Theory and New Dimensions in Ethnographic Film - Senri Ethnological Studies No. 24. Pp. 242; National Museum of Ethnology - Senri Expo Park; Suita, OSAKA 565 (Japan)
- HOHENBERGER, Eva: Die Wirklichkeit des Films. Pp. 387. DM 48 - Georg Olms Verlag; Hagentorwall 7 - D 3200 HILDESHEIM (West Germany)
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LA PAROLE DANS LE FILM

Réseau National Pratiques Audiovisuelles en Sciences de la Société
Actes de la Deuxième Rencontre - Avril 1988 - Aix-en-Provence
(260 pages, format 15x21)

Après une première rencontre à Nantes en avril 1987, le réseau s'est donné pour thème d'analyse et de réflexion: la parole dans un document filmique.

Explorer les mécanismes et les différents procédés de réalisation utilisés pour donner la parole, la maîtriser, la prendre soi-même ou la déléguer à un commentateur par exemple, ou bien au contraire l'éviter et transposer ses fonctions dans d'autres procédés, revient en quelque sorte "à apprendre à lire le procès de travail d'une représentation".

Avec des professionnels du documentaire et du scénario, les sociologues audiovisuels ont confronté dans des ateliers ciblés leurs analyses et dégagé quelques principes pour leur pratique. Une analyse sociologique de l'image s'attachant moins au sens ou au signe qu'à ses conditions sociales, concrètes de fabrication (du terrain au montage) émerge des communications (1ère partie) des exposés et des débats (2ème partie). Une filmographie des documents travaillés et une bibliographie sur le thème font de cet ouvrage plus un outil de travail qu'un seul compte-rendu de colloque. Une fiche des équipes et des membres du réseau figure en 3ème partie.

Prix unitaire: 65 F (TTC) à l'ordre de l'agent comptable du CNRS (envoi de facture sur demande). Bulletin de commande à retourner à Monique Haicault, LEST-CNRS, 35 avenue Jules Ferry - 13626 Aix-en-Provence CEDEX, France.

NEWSLETTER BACK ISSUES AVAILABLE

The visual anthropology community in the USA is growing stronger and networking well, if the sale of back issues of the Society for Visual Anthropology's newsletters are any indication. The increase in sales was greatly facilitated by the formation of a complete archives of issues by Joanna C. Scherer at the Smithsonian, by the index of selective newsletters compiled by Richard Chalfen and Anja Daldenup of Temple University (published in SVA Newsletter, Fall 1988) and the increased interest in the newsletter created by its impressive issues since 1987 by editors Daniel Marks and Timothy Asch.

Newsletters in Society for Visual Anthropology Archives as of 9/1989

PROGRAM IN ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, no.1 (March 1970), no.2 (May 1970); Vol. 2, no. 1, (Sept 1970), no. 2 (Nov 1970), no. 3 (Jan 1971), no. 4 (March-May 1971); Vol. 3, no. 1 (Fall 1971), no. 2 (Winter 1972), no. 3 (Spring 1972); Vol. 4, no. 1 (Fall 1972), no. 2 (Winter 1973), no. 3 (Spring 1973)

SOCIETY FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF VISUAL COMMUNICATION NEWSLETTER

Vol. 5, no. 1 (Fall 1973), no. 2 (Winter 1974), no. 3 (Spring 1974); Vol. 6, no. 1 (Fall 1977), no. 2 (Winter 1977), no. 3 (Spring 1978); Vol. 7, no. 1 (Fall 1978), no. 2 (Winter 1979), no. 3 (Spring-Fall 1979); Vol. 8, no. 1 (first appearance of abbre. SAVICOM in title), 2,3, 1980; Vol. 9, nos. 1,2,3, (1981); Vol. 10, nos. 1,2,3, (1982); Vol. 11, nos. 1,2, (1983),no. 3 (1984)

THE SOCIETY FOR VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, no. 1 (April 1985), no. 2 (Sept 1985* - see note), no. 3 (Nov 1985), no. 4 (April 1986); Vol. 2, no. 2 (Dec 1986), nos. 2,3,4, (Spring 1987); Vol. 3, nos. 1-2 (Summer 1987), nos. 3,4,5, (Fall 1987); Vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1988), no. 2 (Fall 1988); Vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring 1989)

Copies or photocopies of past issues are available for \$3.00 per issue for SVA members, \$5.00 per issue for non-members. Checks or money orders should be made out to "The Society for Visual Anthropology" and sent to:

Joanna C. Scherer,
Secretary-Treasurer, SVA
c/o Handbook of North American Indians Project
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560

*Note: Issues of Society for Visual Anthropology Newsletter series starting with Vol. 1, no. 2, Sept 1985 can be ordered directly from American Anthropological Association, 1703 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Attention Richard Truax.