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Editorial

I would be deceiving both the readers and myself were I to state that the CVA Newsletter has now recovered from all the problems involved in transferring the editing and production to Europe. Recent developments, however, seem to indicate that although serious problems remain, several obstacles have been removed.

Following a rather disappointing meeting of the Commission during the congress of the IUAES in Mexico (from which the editor has received nothing but brief verbal reports from a few friends), where very few visual anthropologists turned up, a number of changes seem to point towards a brighter future for the Commission in general and for the Newsletter in particular. First of all the serious problem faced by the Commission when Asen Balikci decided to resign as Chairman earlier this year seems to have been solved in a most satisfactory manner. We now have a new, dynamic and energetic Chairman in Dr. Antonio Marazzi (University of Padova), a letter from whom probably, when it comes to the future of the Commission, is the most important contribution to this issue of the newsletter.

One of the first steps of action taken by our new chairman was to set up an Advisory Board (which is the official term, the real term is **Work Group**) consisting of six anthropologists, actively involved in visual anthropology matters, including, of course, the chairman himself. To many of us it came as no surprise that six persons were needed to take over the work previously carried out by Asen Balikci! Fortunately Asen has promised to not only keep in touch but also continue to contribute actively in our particular field of interest and give 'fatherly' advice to the Advisory Board. The board will attempt to meet several times a year and, following a preliminary meeting of some of its members during the Göttingen International Ethnographic Film Festival in September, will meet again in Florence during the Festival dei Popoli (1 December). Needless to say, the board would discuss any matters suggested by visual anthropologists and readers of this newsletter. All you have to do is contact any member of the new board (see address list in the letter from the Chairman).

For various reasons, including the absence of the editor (who was working in Mozambique at the time), it proved impossible to set up a board of continental editors for the newsletter during the Mexico meeting. Following the advice of several people and talks during the meeting in Göttingen, the editor is currently contacting a number of people to set up a board of regional editors, several of whom have already been elected. The task of the regional editors is to act as representatives of the newsletter in their particular region, monitoring activities, soliciting information and reports, and making sure that relevant information reaches the pages of this publication. We hope to have covered the whole world in a network of regional editors within the next year, thus improving the spread of information and avoiding regional 'biases'.

The work load of the editor (and his 'biases') will of course be reduced once the board of regional editors exists. Already at this stage, however, editorial life has become easier due to the assistance of Linda Jonsen, who has typed and preliminarily edited most of the contributions to the present issue. Linda, who has an MA in Visual Anthropology from the University of Manchester, is currently completing her anthropology studies at the University of Aarhus. It goes without saying that Linda, although receiving minimal remuneration from Intervention Press, is not paid for her work which, as is the case with all the work of the Commission and its members, is voluntary.

The reason why Linda and others are not paid for their duties is simple. The Commission has no funding whatsoever of its own. This is perhaps one of the most serious remaining short and long term problems for both the Commission and the newsletter. I therefore, once again, feel compelled to ask for assistance from our readership. Approximately 200 (paid) subscriptions (or equivalent voluntary contributions) would be sufficient to print the newsletter twice a year, thanks to the generous distributional support provided by a number of institutions. The last issue - and to a certain extent this issue - was saved only by kind support from The Canadian Museum of Civilization. Although we do receive renewed or new paid subscriptions regularly it still seems to be a fight against the wall. I must remind you that hundreds of individuals and institutions in countries not so well off, rely on the newsletter as a vital source of information, contacts, and inspiration.

Speaking of subscription leads to the problem concerning distribution. If it were not for the extremely generous support of Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico of Nuoro, Sardinia, and the vital distributional assistance provided by the Society for Visual Anthropology of the American Anthropological Association, the Nordic Anthropological Film Association, and, starting with this issue, the Société Française d'Anthropologie Visuelle, you would not have received this issue at all. On behalf of the Commission I wish to express our sincerest gratitude.

Having mentioned this support, we are aware that distribution problems exist. Readers in North America (and some other persons) will receive the newsletter automatically with the Visual Anthropology Review. However, until the printing of the two publications is effectively synchronized, those readers will most probably receive the newsletter with a considerable delay. Apart from some readers receiving two copies (one from Nuoro and one from AAA), a problem we are looking into, there also seems to be some delay in the distribution in general, a problem which we shall do our best to solve. Until these problems are solved, the best way to get the newsletter is by paid subscription. You will then receive the newsletter by mail (normally airmail) when it arrives from the printers.

Without an up-to-date mailing list efficient distribution is impossible. One of the first enormous tasks undertaken, when the editorship was moved to Europe, was to update the ten year old mailing list. To complete this job we also, as mentioned in the last issue, need the assistance of the readers. All readers were requested to fill in the order form to confirm whether they wished to continue receiving the newsletter. I am sorry to say that only very few have done this before the present issue goes to press. Due to the mentioned distribution problems we have therefore decided to extend the dead-line for sending in renewal order forms. The new dead-line is **15 January 1994**. This applies to all readers who have not already sent in the order form in 1993 (including friends and close colleagues of the Editor, Chairman and former Chairman, and other persons who may feel they are bound to get the newsletter anyway!). Old addresses will be deleted after the 15 January 1994. Needless to say, you should also use the order form when changing address.

Still having to cope with these necessary but tedious problems leaves very little space to introduce the actual contents of the newsletter. It is my sincere hope that future issues will reflect 'what's going on in visual anthropology' around the world. The contributions to the current issue, I believe, reveal at least five fields that seem to attract attention at the moment. Firstly, the apparent *rapprochement* between visual anthropology on the one hand and cultural, film, media, and communication studies on the

other. Griffiths' valuable case study from Wales is one example and the recent interest in the 'Construction of the Viewer' another. Secondly, Kapoor's report clearly demonstrates a continued and consistent interest in gender issues and feminist approaches to cinematography and visual representations of culture. Thirdly, a number of contributions show that questions concerning 'indigenous film-making', a field towards which the Commission is particularly committed, are indeed receiving considerable attention in many parts of the world. Fourthly, the development of and rapid changes within visual anthropology and independent film- and video-making in Southern Africa are receiving continued concern, in a part of the world where the word 'concern' will hopefully spread in the future. Finally, it appears that information concerning the situation of visual anthropology in Eastern Europe is reaching the pages of the newsletter, a development we had expected would happen following the move from N. America to Europe.

Although you are the reader, you must realize that you are the one to provide the newsletter with the raw material from which it is built. If you have any news, reports, films, books, videos, reviews etc. from your part of the world, please contact your regional editor or the editor directly. We are still trying to 'catch up', so the next dead-line for contributions is the **15 January 1994** (the same date before which you are supposed to submit the order form, remember?).

Peter Ian Crawford
Editor

A Letter from the new Chairman of the Commission

Dear friends and colleagues,

Some of you may not yet know that last June Asen Balıkcı resigned from the Chairmanship of the Commission on Visual Anthropology and that the Executive Committee of the IUAES has appointed me as his successor.

During the past years, we could all appreciate Asen's untiring and generous efforts to promote activities related to our field of interest, around the globe. I am sure that you join me in expressing him our lasting gratitude.

In assuming this new position I am aware of the expectations, hopes, and desires of many of us, convinced that the potentialities of Visual Anthropology still remain largely unexplored and unrecognized. With your help I will do my best to promote and try to expand our presence in various directions, such as theoretical analysis and experimental research; production and diffusion of ethnographic films, videos and photos; didactics organization, seminars, meetings and festivals; and, promotion of media communication in indigenous communities.

To handle all these complex and diversified matters, I have felt the need to form an Advisory Board with whom to share the duties of the organization of the Commission. Although geographically dispersed, we intend to work as closely as possible as a team, each of us concentrating on the matters he or she is most involved in. I list the members of this Board in alphabetical order:

Paolo Chiozzi will follow projects concerning festivals, exhibitions, promotion of visual communication in schools and

various institutions, using his experience both in didactics and in the organization of the *Festival del Popoli* in Florence;

Peter Ian Crawford will be in charge of the Newsletter and all the publishing matters, needless to say a quite crucial task. We should all keep him informed of our activities and of what's going on around us concerning visual anthropology;

Faye Ginsburg will be supervising the local projects in indigenous media (the "transferencia" it is called in Castellano) on the American continent and elsewhere;

Rolf Husmann will support the organization of courses and seminars in visual anthropology, bringing (in)to CVA the glorious tradition of the IWF of Göttingen and their recent experience with the EASA summer school.

Claudia Menezes will be our ambassador and informant in the South American galaxy.

To all of them I want to express my gratitude for having accepted to be part of the Board. From now on you can contact any of us depending on your convenience and proximity, and be sure that your message will reach me and will be discussed by the Board.

While we are confident that we will keep in touch with every part of the world through the Newsletter and personal communication, we are at the same time aware of the need to establish closer links with Asia, Africa and the ex-USSR. We shall try to overcome problems, communicational and other, in order to give voice to everybody in the spirit of one real world community, no more thinking of first, second, third and fourth worlds.

All my best,

Antonio Marazzi

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Report and Review Articles

Welsh Television Audiences and National Identity: Intersections of Cultural Studies and Ethnographic Methods

Alison Griffiths, Department of Cinema Studies, New York University

Recent cultural studies audience research has been criticized by social scientists for its frequent failure to consider the media's role within the social topography of viewers' lived experiences and for a perceived lack of scientific rigor in its appropriation of the term 'ethnographic' to describe a research practice that many anthropologists consider to be only marginally informed by ethnography. Virginia Nightingale has criticized recent cultural studies research that, in her view, slights ethnographic rigor in favour of validating the mass audience and the scholarly study of popular culture, and argues that the term 'ethnographic' better describes the selective appropriation of methodological techniques, such as participant observation, than the work's philosophical premises (Nightingale, 1989, pp. 54, 61). For many social scientists and anthropologists, much recent cultural studies audience research offers more a masquerade of ethnography than an adequate critique of cultural practice or satisfying account of television as a social phenomenon in the lives of individuals.

The methodological credibility of cultural studies audience research has been challenged by James Lull, who is critical of what he sees as its lack of systematic data collection and interpretation. According to Lull,

Much of this work proceeds by first asserting particular (often fictionalized and misleading) theoretical premises that are followed by a construction of successive levels of reasoning, ultimately producing an autobiographical or psychoanalytical (or both) account that is far more traceable to the writer than to the audience, reifying the subjectivity of the research project along the way (Lull, 1988, p. 240).

The anxious reaction to the importation of ethnographic method in audience research - for Lull, 'ethnography' has become an abused buzzword - points to larger questions of how knowledge is constructed, how subjectivities are negotiated, and what interpretive strategies are available to the researcher. The debate also raises important issues about the justification of the term 'ethnographic', given the differences between the models of audience activity of cultural studies and those understood within anthropology. However, many of these social science criticisms fail to accredit sufficient recognition to the theoretical and political impetus that led to the appropriation of 'ethnographic' models of audience research within cultural studies; far more than armchair theorizing, cultural studies research grew out of a 'bottom-up' interest in subcultural groups as a direct response to the 'all-powerful' media effects model. While the above enumerations do represent serious concerns to the cultural studies ethnographer, I believe that such case-studies can be a useful starting point for re-consideration of these issues; precluding research that does not

stand up to 'scientific' rigor of sustained anthropological field work would prematurely close off useful debate and knowledge about audience activity. The status of audience data and the perceived use-value of audience research beg larger questions as to why such research is conducted, for whom, and with what results, and these issues are not restricted to the discursively fraught position between (Western) anthropologists in relation to their exotic 'othered' subjects.

These larger theoretical issues are raised in order to situate recent work I have conducted on television audiences, 'Welshness' and identity politics, and on the problematic intersubjective relationship between researcher and researched. The research is inductive in design, and forms a preliminary part of a new phase of a project initiated in 1989 (Griffiths, 1993). My research took place in Ysgol Gyfun Ystalyfera, a state-run comprehensive bilingual school in the Swansea valley in South Wales and in family homes in surrounding villages. Ysgol Gyfun is not strictly bilingual, as the school's administration and all subjects except science and mathematics are conducted in the Welsh language. The school has an excellent reputation within the community and the education authority; for some parents in Wales, sending their children to 'Welsh' schools is the next best thing to a private school, as Welsh schools have a reputation for good academic results, strict codes of discipline, and a stimulating learning environment with a strong focus on extra-curricular activities. Within this context, my own research was viewed positively; the traditional Welsh middle-class emphasis on the value of education helped legitimize my work which was seen as promoting a more nuanced understanding of Welsh culture within academic research.

The fact that my project was seen to embody this middle-class ideology and was generated primarily for consumption by an academic audience raises important questions about the 'desire to know,' what Walkerdine describes as a bourgeois voyeuristic preoccupation with 'the masses'. However, knowledge and mastery in this context are inflected by the fact that the researcher and informants share the same class and (to some extent) cultural background. I was brought up in a village in a neighbouring valley and attended the same primary school as one of the informants; my mother still lives in the area, and all the informants 'know of' my family. Although I am no longer a fluent Welsh speaker, I do have some command of the language and I can understand much conversational Welsh. I thus negotiated the three key determinants in my research, class, ethnicity, and language, in complex ways, as my own position was both determined by and determinate of the kinds of responses and views aired by my informants.

My multiple positioning as villager and young professional expatriate - equivalents in many ways to a working class sensibility and a middle-class professional life - affected the nature of the responses. Moreover, the strategies I employed to make sense of my subjectivity echo Walkerdine's concept of 'recognition', a Lacanian reworking of Althusser's 'mis-recognition'. Arguing that recognition positions the subject in the historical present, Walkerdine uses the term to account for her own subjective recognition of domestic practices and discursive models, and as a way of engaging with her respondents' 'unconscious and conscious relations of desire and the plays of anxiety and meaning' (Walkerdine, 1986, p. 191). For Walkerdine, this is a way of accounting for our privileged position as researchers rather than disavowing the interplay of power, knowledge and desire which she criticizes ethnographers for failing to do (Ibid., p. 192). Given the contextual specificity of this research, it is vitally important to find ways of 'writing in' the layers of cultural competencies and 'structures of feeling,' shared in the encounter,

and to perhaps note the 'Welshness' of the 'structures of feeling' formulation developed by the Welsh cultural critic Raymond Williams. How, for example, did my informants' expectations of my cultural identity affect what they said, and to what extent did what they say reflect what they really thought? If endless contemplation of these issues results in an intellectual quagmire, it is, nonetheless, productive to consider intersubjective factors and the non-transparency of research data.

An important theoretical aim of this research was to explore the role of television, especially Welsh language television, in affirming, dis-affirming, and complicating perceived ideas about Welsh cultural identity and notions of 'Welshness.' I was less interested in gathering data about patterns of viewing and program preferences (although these areas were touched upon in my general introductory questions with families) than thinking about television viewing as both a social and an isolating activity. Each household had two or more televisions (three out of the four families had four televisions) and one VCR. Television was thus viewed in a number of different sites and ways, with gender and age being the two main determinants of viewing habits. In addressing how 'Welshness' was mediated via the culture industries in the UK, I was interested in considering how talk about television could reveal salient ideas about Welsh ethnicity within a British framework.

The research can be broken down into two distinct though interconnected parts, school visits which included exercises with four teenage girls and weekend family visits. I will focus primarily on the school-based research, followed by a brief discussion of the family interviews. The selection criteria for the informants and families, which were out of my direct control, were influenced by the 'ambassador factor', the students' middle-class representativeness and their exemplification of approved scholarly and cultural values. The students were asked by their Welsh language teacher if they would like to take part in a research project which would involve the researcher visiting their home. The teacher selected four students, and permission was requested from their parents to allow them to be removed from classes to work with me. Perhaps as a result of this non-random self-selection and administered sample, six out of the eight parents who agreed to take part were in some ways involved in education; one of them was a head teacher; another a deputy head teacher; two of them were classroom teachers, one of them was a Plaid Cymru (the Welsh nationalist group) local councillor, and one of them worked as an advisor for the Welsh Education Authority.

I devised two collaborative in-class media studies exercises requiring problem-solving skills to research, complete, and present media products. I also screened an extract from an independently-produced tape about working-class women living in the Rhondda Valley (once a thriving coal mining valley in South Wales, now devoted to electronic manufacturing). The media studies simulations - producing a brochure for the Welsh Tourist Board and devising a new Welsh-language soap opera - asked the girls to imagine they were competing against other companies to win the production contract. Here I shall discuss only the first exercise and the group's responses to the screening. The first session involved planning the contents and overall style of the tourist brochure and assembling a mock-up using resources I had brought with me. I asked the girls if they would plan the brochure and work collaboratively in English (in the second exercise they could speak in either English or Welsh). The privileged status of involvement in the research were made explicit on a number of levels; the students were absented from their regular classes and worked with me first in a deputy head teacher's office and then in a restricted

study space called the 'BP' (British Petroleum) room. Commercial sponsorship is an increasingly noticeable feature in some high schools; the room is decorated in the company's colours and award certificates sponsored by the company are displayed on the wall.

The aim of the exercise was to elicit broad themes and ideas that the girls felt were representative of Wales; I also wanted to use the discussion to invite a reflexive response to the process and finished product. Not unexpectedly, the girls produced a very traditional brochure that had sections on the historic sites, countryside, the National Eisteddfod (festivals), and the Welsh language. Before introducing the exercise I explained my role to the students; I wanted them to understand that I was not assessing their individual contributions and that they should feel free to ask questions at any stage. The only questions they asked during the first visit was whether I was repeating the research in 'lots of other schools' and whether I worked for the BBC! Despite my suggestion, during the production stage, the girls found it very hard to discuss the aims of the exercise in English; they would constantly slip back into Welsh and as soon as they relaxed and had allocated tasks, they began to chat freely in Welsh. One of the girls adopted the role of language monitor and would constantly remind them all to speak English; in a discussion about language preference at the end of the day another girl, Sarra, pointed out: 'You put on the tape and then we started to speak Welsh and then one of us said "no you're supposed to speak English"'. They thus felt more comfortable socializing and completing group exercises in Welsh; they would gossip about boys they fancied, television programs, and subjects they were taking. As they knew I could understand Welsh, the language slippage was not a way of blocking me out; accustomed to speaking English as a second language, they were simply making the adjustment on an unconscious level.

The girls had approximately four hours to complete the brochure and half an hour to discuss it. When questioned about their choice of imagery and topics, they were all quite defensive; they drew upon familiar England versus Wales oppositions and decided that the best way to promote Wales would be via its culture industries (language, festivals, history) and natural beauty of the landscape. Their comments were not, however, free from irony; the following exchange is typical of peer negotiation and reinforcement. When asked why certain images dominated the brochure, the response was:

- Elizabeth: Because it's what's special about Wales.
 Rhianon: They're special because they're things you don't get in England that perhaps you can get in Wales.
 Sarra: People associate Wales as a very traditional country don't they?
 Elizabeth: Wales hasn't got as many cities as England has got.
 Rhianon: When you think of Wales you think of politics and cities and when you think of Wales you think of sheep and daffodils! (general group laughter)
 Eiry: ...and leaks! (more laughter)

The reference to sheep became a running gag. On a more serious note, Rhianon felt quite strongly that having a command of the language made an important difference to someone's appreciation of Wales: 'The only way you can enjoy Wales is if you're learning Welsh or you can speak Welsh...because if you can speak Welsh you can have all the activities, whereas if you only speak English, then you miss out on a lot of them.' Later in the discussion, the ironies of 'Welshness' and tourism evoke discourses of authenticity, an 'ethnographic pristine', and cultural essentialism:

- Elizabeth: We went into a little Welsh craft shop in Butlins in Pwllhelli [North Wales] and when we got in the woman serving was from England and couldn't speak Welsh.
- Sarra: You know the World Showcase in America, there was a stand and we went into the Welsh shop and all the people serving there spoke Welsh and they came from Wales and it was really good.
- Rhianon: I remember something that was on television... [this girl] was from Wales and she went to Disneyland; there's a Welsh shop out there apparently and she was serving. She was wearing the Welsh costume and everything.

At the end of the discussion I screened an extract from a Channel 4 documentary made by a Welsh feminist independent production company, Red Flannel. The tape, entitled *Otherwise Engaged*, focuses on three generations of Rhondda Valley women spending a night out and had been broadcast on S4C (the Welsh fourth channel). I chose to screen the tape on working-class women because it problematizes 'traditional' images of Welsh women, such as the pious Welsh lady and the asexual Welsh 'mam' (mother). In the tape, the film-makers talk to working-class women in social spaces such as a working men's club and a disco-pub. The film mixes *cinéma vérité* with participatory tropes; for example, the film-makers interview the women in club and pub toilets about 'girls' nights out,' the Welsh language, and what it means to be Welsh. Some of the film's participants use swear words and are visibly drunk. Ethnographically, the film makes an important contribution to understanding women's enjoyment of public spaces in which sex and alcohol are strong underlying motivators for both young women and women in their sixties. Attracting a man and having a good night out are celebrated as important aspects of these women's social lives as traditional generational boundaries are transgressed and blurred in the film.

Watching the girls watching the film (with one eye on the video monitor) I was struck by their facial expressions and whispered asides. They looked embarrassed, surprised, and exchanged 'knowing glances' which periodically recurred in our discussions. Whenever we touched upon issues of class or gender, the girls would express a viewpoint and then look for reinforcement from one or more of the others. For example, when we discussed why I had no male volunteers in the group, the girls responded that it was not surprising given that boys were so obsessed with their image. Taking part in research would thus be considered 'uncool' by boys and Rhianon argued that 'some boys [would] rather speak English because they think it gives a harder image if they went around the street'. The girls went on to voice their concern about boys and some girls who favour English over Welsh in the playground as a reaction to the Welsh language's perceived 'old fashioned' image and lack of street-credibility. When asked to describe in more detail who these boys and girls were, the students identified them by their class background; 'common' kids (euphemism for lower working class) rebelled against the school's Welsh ethos by speaking English during their free-time. These 'transgressive' boys and girls also teased and mocked those in the school who were active in Welsh cultural activities such as the Urdd (Welsh youth organization) and who were seen to support a broadly Welsh 'nationalist' ideology. The scale of the language 'problem' emerged in discussions with the girls' parents who informed me they had recently been sent a letter from the head teacher alerting them to the 'playground language crisis' and reminding them of the school's Welsh ethos. While it is

impossible within this context to unpack the polyphony of 'voices'/discourses at play in these scenarios, it is clear that the girls who took part in my research disassociated themselves from the working-class children whose self-image was invested in oppositional 'English' behaviour.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the students' responses to *Otherwise Engaged* reinforced these discursive positions; moreover, they distanced themselves from the documentary participants through 'othering' the working-class women. Here are some reactions following the extract:

- Eiry: It gave a bad image of Wales, of the young.
- Rhianon: They looked drunk.
- Sarra: You could see everybody in the last clip in the disco, you could see that everybody there was drunk and cheap.

The informants also offered several 'explanations' for the film's subjects' behaviour:

- Elizabeth: Because there are so many people there [in the Rhondda] and they live so close to each other so they probably know each other very well.
- Eiry: Since the coal-mines have closed down and the farmers have had to move...um *it's not like we live* [italics added].

The girls shared similar views about the 'otherness' of people from the Rhondda valley, though as one of them mistook the accent for what is locally known as a 'Swansea Jack' dialect, class was clearly more significant than geography as an othering principle. Justifying and naturalizing these views, the girls argued that the women in the tape were disinterested in the Welsh language (Eiry: '...they don't care what happens to the language'), although when I pointed out that one of the girls had said she was a Welsh speaker, there followed an awkward silence which was only broken when the same girl retorted sarcastically 'well she didn't give that impression'. At this point I asked the girls to be honest and tell me what they thought of the women in the tape; the response was:

- Sarra: They were cheap I think (group agreement, nods).
- Eiry: Without any education.
- Elizabeth: With people like that you kind of expect them to leave school at sixteen.
- Rhianon: ...like drop-outs just going to get drunk. They were just there to get drunk I think.
- Sarra: They looked very tarty the way they were dressed...yea the hair lacquer holding up the fringe.

The girls' disapproval and disavowal of the film's working class representations of Welsh people on national television was reinforced in individual interviews I conducted with them several weeks later. For example, Sarra felt that:

On television, they make out for (sic) Welsh women to be sort of miniskirts and everything and blond curly bushy hair and tons of make-up, and they make out the Welshman to be a lager-lout sitting in the pub all the time. I don't like that because it's not true of most Welsh people. I don't know anybody like that, so I don't know where they get it; they make us out to be common.

Representations of working class people thus jarred with the girls' 'ideal image' of how Wales and Welsh people should be represented to the nation; Elizabeth and Eiry felt that:

- Elizabeth: If Channel 4 did [the program] for the whole of England to see, then I think it gives a bad

impression of the people in Welsh (sic) having them shown like that.

Eiry: They should have done a video on people who respect the mountains and the wildlife and the traditions of Wales not the discos and things.

However, it is important to bear in mind both the timing of this discussion, which followed the tourist brochure exercise, and the research context itself, including the promotional rhetoric of the brochure and my authoritative role as teacher-researcher, although I made it clear that the screening was meant to be completely separate from the brochure project and it took place in a different location at the school.

While I tried to remain neutral in introducing and discussing the tape, offering only production and broadcast information, I sensed a definite tension in the girls' reactions to my questions. They were clearly sensitive to my own politics in selecting the extract for screening; what I sensed they found frustrating and confusing was my failure to endorse their views as they knew I shared their cultural capital and class background. In response to my silence and perhaps as a defensive strategy, some of the girls used the working-class-ignorance-of-the-Welsh-language observation to recount their experiences of harassment by English-speaking working-class kids who teased them for attending Welsh schools, accused them of being 'snobbish,' and imitated their strong Welsh accents. This view was, however, counterbalanced by more positive comments about children who were envious of their bilingualism.

The 'you know what we mean' factor - the intersubjective acknowledgment of my negotiation of our shared cultural competencies - was apparent in different degrees in the interviews with the girls' parents. The interviews took place at weekends and though I asked for the entire family to be present, this was only the case in two out of the four interviews. I should, therefore, like to briefly focus on these two occasions in this final section of the report. Interviews with the Philips and Evans families both took place on Friday evenings in their living rooms. I was clearly expected; the parents were dressed casually but smartly and served me tea and biscuits. During the awkward interval of setting up the tape recorder I chatted about the weather (somewhat of a Welsh preoccupation) and generally tried to break the ice. My questions were designed to be open-ended and began with 'Do you usually watch television together during the evenings? Would you describe what happens in a typical evening?'. I did not stick to a list of questions but picked up on informant comments; I did, however, steer the conversation towards their perceived notions of 'Welshness' and what being Welsh meant to them. Gender differences, especially between husband and wife were apparent from the outset; talking about television was not an innocent activity, and for the men it triggered complex emotional reactions. They were sensitive to the feminizing discourse surrounding television watching and were a little defensive about the (predominantly male) genres they enjoyed. Mr. Philips, for example, felt comfortable talking about watching the Welsh Rugby Cup Final with his nine year old son; however, when talk turned to the viewing of soap operas, Mr. Philips was embarrassed. When I asked him if he had ever been a fan of soaps his daughter jumped in with:

Elizabeth: He watches *Neighbours* [extremely popular Australian soap opera].

Mr. P: No I don't. If I watch *Neighbours* it's usually the last five minutes ready for the news.

At a later stage in the discussion, when Mr. Philips was discussing the merits of the popular rural Welsh language soap opera *Pobol Y Cwm* (People of the Valley) in contrast to the urban soap *Dinas* (City), his wife gently teased him about the amount of television he actually watched and as she laughed, he struggled to maintain authority in the face of his embarrassment in admitting liking soap operas, culturally coded as emasculating. Similarly, when Mr. Evans talked about watching *Neighbours* during his evening meal in the kitchen, he justified the activity through linking it to his work in devising teaching materials which draw upon popular culture, while his wife reassured him (and me) he only watched because 'it's your only time to relax isn't it and that's the only time you do relax'. The women would introduce topic headings, which the men would pick up and expand. The women would then reinforce what the men had said. The men spoke far longer without interruptions and would jump in to offer their own opinions. Mrs. Philips did, however, speak for a greater length of time than the other women, contradicted her husband, and adopted a slightly ironic stance to the interview on occasions.

Interestingly, the families did not identify class as an important differential in identity politics; this may be in part because it was not foreground as it had been in the *Red Flannel* screening, and because 'Welshness' was discussed on a more general level. Welsh identity was discussed in relation to English immigration to Wales, the representation of Wales and Welsh people on television, and the historical changes occurring in Wales in the last century. Despite the enormous scope of these areas, Mr. Philips was aware of the problem of essentializing Welsh identity, as the following response illustrates:

Mr. P: It's very difficult. If you ask someone in the Rhondda to define Welshness, they'd probably give a totally different answer to a Welsh person living in this particular area. And say if you go up to North Wales then you could get a different definition again. I suppose what I would say about [Welshness] is it's a lot of feeling of togetherness, feeling for the country, [and] having an identity.

Television was not considered an essentially 'good' or 'bad' object in any monolithic sense; instead it assumed multiple positions in relation to Welsh cultural identity. While everyone who participated in the research was sympathetic to S4C's efforts to cater for the diverse interests of Welsh viewers and enjoyed much current affairs and nonfiction programming, one news magazine program did generate contradictory responses. The program, called *Heno* (Tonight) is broadcast nightly from a studio in Swansea, and its demographic target audience is second language Welsh speakers and learners living in South Wales. *Heno's* remit also makes explicit its aim to attract Welsh speakers who speak a colloquial and 'street' Welsh, what's known pejoratively in South Wales as 'Swenglish', a linguistic mix of English and Welsh. While Mr. Philips was sympathetic to the program's aim to attract a specific audience (his wife expected better standards and admitted it annoyed her) the Evanses were less tolerant. This exchange between the parents and their daughter Eiry summarizes the program's aims and their negative responses:

Eiry: I think they could have someone who spoke clean Welsh instead of English in at all the time.

Mrs. E: Because it's just as easy to say it in Welsh as it is to put an English word in and if you want to say it in English, well say the whole sentence in English. Well people aren't stupid are they.

Mr. E: ...and what *Henno* tried to do was make it easier for the people down in the South to understand the Welsh because the other program, you know the big words, only the gogs [slang for north Waleans] knew what they were saying.

One of the reasons the bastardization of the Welsh language hits a raw nerve with many Welsh speakers is that language plays such an important symbolic role in affirming cultural difference and identity in the United Kingdom. Mr. Evans believed that the essentially cultural as opposed to nationalistic response to England's colonialist relationship with Wales resulted in the national media's failure to take Wales seriously: 'I think we're still a joke with them [the English] [chuckles sardonically]...we're still a joke. It came through in the Western Mail [national newspaper of Wales]; *Plaid Cymru* is still a joke with them...They take Scotland far more seriously'. The symbolic significance of S4C for Welsh speakers can only be fully appreciated in the light of the protracted political struggle that spawned the channel (including the *Plaid Cymru* President and MP Gwynfor Evans's hunger strike); despite the channel's shortcomings, Mr. Evans was acutely aware of the political (and personal) stakes involved:

Mr. Evans: You can't expect something to be good that will please most of the people all the time can you? But I think psychologically for us, it's been the most important factor in the preservation of the language since the translation of the Bible. That is the most important things that has happened really to me. You know as Welsh people, we're right to criticize it, but having said that, we're proud of it.¹

The research was thus affected by the informants' perception of the 'political' nature of audience research from previous encounters with researchers and television; several of the informants felt comfortable using the interview as a platform to convey their Welsh nationalist politics, and all of the informants indicated their support of broad, non-extremist Welsh nationalism. However, unlike the parents, the girls' responses in the familial space were under as much 'surveillance' as they were in the school; while they did contribute to the discussion, their parents' enthusiasm didn't allow them much space to contribute and I repeatedly had to invite responses from them. Fortunately, the girls were also interviewed individually and did relax in my presence and speak quite candidly. As part of the broader research I had planned to take them to a neutral space for the day, Swansea or Cardiff, and get to know them better. The effect of the girls' negotiation of an 'approved response', - what they thought I wanted to hear - was nevertheless apparent in Sarra's comment that there was one girl in her class who was really outgoing and would not care what other people thought (the implication being that these girls did care). Caring about what other people think of you shapes, deforms, enriches, and problematizes not only the responses of informants but also the ways in which researchers make sense of their own role and the status of their data.

Finally, in re-reading the transcripts of the interviews which took place over a year ago, I am reminded of my contemporaneous efforts to annotate them in an attempt to convey a fuller impression of what was going on during the sessions. Meeting the parents and family members for the first time after having worked with their daughters on several occasions, I had a single chance to invite them to talk about material which inevitably implicated their private lives and political affiliations. Thus, an important

consideration is the extent to which research of this restricted nature can say anything definitive about how people negotiate their identity through talking about television. Moreover, given Lull's (1988, p. 242) contention that 'what is passing as ethnography in cultural studies fails to achieve the fundamental requirements for data collection and reporting typical of most anthropological and sociological ethnographic audience research', can research that is broadly 'ethnographic' and small-scale such as this actually contribute to an understanding of Welsh identity?

I do believe that such pilot research can aid an understanding of the ways in which cultural identity is 'translated' for the researcher by her or his informants, because an intersubjective encounter, even among those who share a great measure of cultural capital, is a form of translation, a discursive site shaped by the social, historical, political, and economic realities of their lived experience. The partial, fragmented, even impressionistic findings often produced by cultural studies-informed audience research, while lacking the scale and rigor of long-term anthropological field work, may nevertheless offer valuable information about specific media audiences as well as useful theoretical reminders about the limitations of more empirical approaches to complex social realities.

Notes:

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¹ For background information on S4C see Angharad Tomos, 'Realizing a Dream', and Jonathan Coe, 'Sianel Pedwar Cymru - Fighting for a Future', in Simon Blanchard and David Morley (eds) *What's this Channel Four?: An Alternative Report* (London: Comedia, 1982), pp. 37-53, and pp. 54-61.

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TO BE SCREENED OR NOT TO BE

Southern African Initiatives in Independent Video Production and Distribution

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Apartheid, war, drought, famine and destabilisation. For a long time these were the only images of Southern Africa, more recently the mass media have shifted to an overtly optimistic view of the region, announcing peace, prosperity and democratisation. Few journalists or film-makers have tried to go beyond either disastrous or triumphant clichés. Fortunately, a new generation of Southern African Film-makers is starting to capture the men and women, old and young, who are laughing, fearing, fighting, dreaming, crying, building. The impact of these alternative voices is hampered, however, by the absence of matching alternative distribution networks.

It does not matter how good a video is, if no-one can see it. In Southern Africa, this problem is a complicated one. Video productions made by outsiders about Southern Africa are well aired. But impressive, locally produced material, reflecting the inside view of this region, is not getting properly distributed. Video-makers are starting to tackle this problem, which is preventing audiences from having more than a limited access to local productions and forcing producers to remain heavily dependent on funding.

Video distribution in Southern Africa

Distributing videos in Southern Africa is a challenge. There are no policies in the region to encourage or even cater for local production. Underfunded broadcasters are at the mercy of big international distributors, who can dump their products cheaply, having already made their returns elsewhere. This discourages our broadcasters from taking up locally produced programming. Local commercial distribution is still primarily concerned with importing European and American products here, rather than exporting local ones to international markets.

It is worse for production units who do not produce on a purely commercial basis but are also concerned with educational and informative material. Government support for film and video is limited and there are few national structures to assist public access to video. Lack of resources in production itself affects distribution capacities. SACOD members, for instance, mostly depend on their production funding to manage their entire operations, although some of them are also supported by some marginal development aid funds. A very small part of their income is generated through distribution. It is a vicious circle which can only be broken by committing resources to distribution initiatives so that both video production and distribution can become more self-sufficient.

Most important, there is a huge audience here whose needs and tastes are only beginning to be recognised. Strong evidence shows that, with effective distribution, locally produced videos would be in high demand. The markets are there and, besides broadcasters, a number of distribution channels already exist for foreign commercial and educational productions (home video distributors, educational institutions, audio-visual resource centres, community organisations, festivals and cine clubs, etc.) With appropriate

strategies and resources, distribution of local productions can take off.

These problems cannot be addressed in purely economic terms. Political decisions must be made, resources should be invested in local cultural products, and trust in local audiences must be developed. For video- and film-makers, this means a lot of work in strategising together, getting organised and lobbying local governments, broadcasters and the industry. Organisations such as the Film and Allied Workers Organisation (South Africa) and the Zimbabwe Film and Video Association are playing a central role in this regard. Here and there, some changes have shown that these efforts can be fruitful. However, there is still a long way to go.

New initiatives are undertaken

In the meantime, other initiatives have taken place. Film festivals in Zimbabwe, South Africa and, more recently, Namibia have established reputations and attracted attention from international buyers. Independent distribution centres such as the Film Resource Unit in Johannesburg are providing an increasingly valuable service. Broadcasters are beginning to acknowledge the value of local independent productions to the extent that co-productions between local producers and broadcasters are now on the agenda in Namibia and South Africa.

Among these initiatives are those of a group of independent producers who have created a network of support, the Southern Africa Communications for Development coalition - SACOD. Created in 1988, the coalition aims to support socially committed organisations involved in the production and dissemination of Southern African videos. Action-oriented and dynamic, the coalition is a rare experience of regional cooperation among Southern African independent organisations.

SACOD's members are producing and distributing Southern African videos that contribute to democracy, peace, popular participation, gender equality, development and the protection and promotion of local cultural identity. Its present members are Capricorn Video Unit (Zimbabwe), Ebano Multimedia (Mozambique), On Land Productions (Namibia), Video News Services (South Africa) and Video Tiers-Monde (Canada). New relationships are also being gradually established with a new production unit in Angola.

SACOD's main objective is to facilitate networking among its members and other video organisations in the region. SACOD also aims to develop links with other networks, associations and NGOs in the South and the North, to encourage cooperation which strives to generate, on the basis of equal partnership, new and alternative visions for communication and development.

Whilst SACOD's activities are organised by and primarily for member units, each of them is encouraged to share experiences, skills and opportunities with other independent production units in their respective countries. In this regard, the partnership is extended to other organisations such as Community Video Education Trust (South Africa), Zimmedia (Zimbabwe), Instituto de Comunicação Social (Mozambique).

SACOD's activities are directed at increasing member units' production and service capacities, assisting in training and skills development, supporting regional co-production and on-production cooperation, sustaining the regional dynamic created through the coalition, and assisting its members in their distributing efforts.

Videos to be seen

As distribution at national, regional and international levels often did not keep up with the development of the production capacities,

it is now becoming an area of priority to most production units in the region. More attention is given to developing ways to reach different types of audiences through different non-theatrical and commercial channels: community sector through the use of videos in popular education, television stations in the region and overseas, mobile festivals for isolated populations, commercial distributors and alternative distribution centres, etc.

Reflecting its members' concern, SACOD has also recently decided to concentrate more efforts on assisting distribution of Southern African independent producers. While SACOD's objective is not to become a substitute for existing distribution initiatives in the region, its members concluded that they cannot limit themselves to producing excellent videos. They must make sure that these productions are being distributed and, if very little exists to assist them, they feel they should undertake it themselves. In this regard, SACOD's achievements during the past few years are limited, yet promising.

In 1990, SACOD's first step was taken when a study was made of existing distribution activities in some of the Southern African countries. This study helped further planning of activities.

As a result a number of videos were dubbed into Portuguese and French, in an effort to make productions accessible to a broader audience both regionally and internationally. Initially made overseas, these versions are now being made in the region, by the producing units. One of these French versions won a prize at the Montréal African film festival "Vues d'Afrique" in 1990, and two others were sent to Burkina Faso for the film festival in February 1993.

New initiatives were also taken in 1992. A regional catalogue was first compiled, including details of videos made by SACOD's members and some other independent video producers. Units welcomed this tool - some of them never had their own catalogue - and benefited from the pooling of resources allowing for a catalogue of quality.

A regional mobile video festival was later organised and run consecutively in rural and peri-urban areas of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, and Mozambique. The festival was designed to bring locally made videos to people who, historically, have not had access to this informative and entertaining material. Documented in a video entitled *Of Jerrycans and Videotape*, the festival was received with great enthusiasm.

A distribution training workshop, held in October 1992, brought together a wide range of video-makers from the region and was facilitated by a professional distribution agent from the Netherlands. The workshop provided the opportunity to discuss the national and regional contexts for distribution, and to share ideas on strategies and means to overcome obstacles.

Following this workshop, SACOD also organised - in conjunction with the Weekly Mail Film Festival - a public seminar on Local and Regional Content in Southern African Television. Contributions from guest speakers, ranging from television stations to independent producers, were later published in a document entitled *What's On T.V.?*

SACOD owes the few achievements to the efforts of its members, and its donors. Being a non-profit, non-governmental organisation, SACOD is financially supported by various development aid agencies, among which is mainly Partnership Africa Canada, a coalition of Canadian NGOs. Without this international cooperation, regional cooperation would still be a difficult goal to achieve. However, this kind of initiative should also, as soon as possible, raise the support it deserves from more donors, including regional governmental and private bodies.

The audiences want more

Distribution initiatives within SACOD have revealed a huge demand across the region and internationally. About 500 non-theatrical orders were received in the first two months following the publication of the catalogue. We received a strong appeal for repeats of the 1992 mobile video festival and our entire collection of local productions dubbed into French has recently been purchased. Namibian audiences are discovering Namibian films, Zimbabweans are hungry for Mozambican productions, European broadcasters want to buy videos made in South Africa by South Africans.

However with operations already stretched in each production unit, the required attention cannot be given to distribution matters. In addition, personnel is under constant production pressure and not trained or experienced in distribution practice. The initiatives undertaken by SACOD, while allowing for basic training and essential promotional tools - and thereby contributing to increase the demand - are not sufficient to properly assist units in developing their distribution capacities. Although we are making emergency arrangements to fill current orders, we cannot sustain the demand we have generated on a long term basis.

Although resources have not yet been found to do so, SACOD is seeking to establish a well-structured regional distribution network, providing an effective and manageable service to all video-makers in the region whose work concurs with SACOD's aims and objectives. Such a network would be based on common guidelines for terms, contracts and pricing policies, a common stock control, accounting and data-base system, and the sharing of skills, resources and training opportunities.

It is strongly felt in the region that, with the appropriate strategies and resources, distribution of local productions can take off. With the reinforcement of their delivery and managerial capacities, SACOD members would be equipped to fulfil the demand for non-theatrical and commercial sales, could extend their services to NGOs and other community-based associations, and would be enabled to fill a gap in skills availability in the region - where distribution activities are presently handled by foreign distributors, much to their gain and our loss. On the medium and long term, the network would generate funds for production in the form of royalties, and funds for distribution in the form of handling fees. This would set our distribution activities on the path to self-sufficiency as well as contributing to local production in the region as a whole.

Ultimately, SACOD's initiatives in the distribution sphere, as in others, are based on encouraging a dynamic regional network among video-makers. It is not a panacea to all problems, but the main achievement is that a new vision of Africa is forcing its way onto the screens.

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What is *Etnofilm Čadca*, Slovakia?

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The festival of anthropological and ethnographical films and videos, *Etnofilm '92*, took place from 7 - 10 September 1992, in the foothill region of Kysuce in northwestern Slovakia. *Etnofilm* was not a 'newly born child'. Its history had begun in 1980 when a small group of enthusiastic ethnologists and documentary film-makers decided to open a discussion about Czecho-Slovak anthropological and ethnographic film production.

Since then the festival has taken place every other year at the same location. Initially the festival focused mainly on Czecho-Slovak anthropological film-making, evaluating its development, shortcomings and its role in scientific research as well as in the presentation of ethnographic and anthropological information to the larger public. From being a small 'family' festival it has become an important meeting of people who are interested in visual anthropology and who care for its future. In coming of age, it has begun to explore ways of extending its scope and contents, thus bringing new dimensions into its adulthood. The thematic range of the festival has been gradually widened by the non-competitive (but no less interesting and inspiring) presentation of foreign-produced films and videos, primarily from European countries.

Etnofilm has been going through many changes. Some of them are due to a new political and economic situation. The most recent festival had to cope with a unanticipated lack of funding, while other problems reflect the new needs in anthropological film-making in our countries. While the sixth *Etnofilm*, the first post-1989 festival, mirrored the swiftly changing political and social atmosphere of the society which had shaken off the shackles of the totalitarian regime, the latest *Etnofilm*, in 1992, was marked by the obstacles of the new economic rules and relationships. Fortunately, the problem with the uncertain existence of the seventh festival and all doubts about its continuity in 1992 were finally solved by the financial intervention from the State Cultural Fund 'Pro Slovakia', which provided the necessary financial support to cover the majority of expenses connected with running the festival.

The programme of *Etnofilm '92* covered the competition with both Czech and Slovak documentary films and videos and many other accompanying film screenings and festival activities. The festival jury, comprised of anthropologists as well as of film critics and film-makers, found the Slovak TV film *Vynárania* ('Emergings') by the young film-maker Tomáš Pašteka to be the most interesting. This film shows the meeting of the inhabitants of a perished village, flooded 40 years ago by a dam, after a long period of living apart all over Slovakia. Despite its relative short length (30 minutes) the film is able to show not just the actual meeting and the issues of social communication involved in it but, in the second layer of the film text, it speaks about the significance of the human coexistence, its general human values, and the sense and emotional contexts of social identity. The film was awarded the Grand Prix of *Etnofilm '92*.

The seventh part of the thirteen-part documentary series about Gypsies and their culture in Europe, *Deti Vetra* ('Children of Wind'), by the Slovak documentary film-maker and anthropologist Martin Slivka, won the first of two main prizes of the festival. The part, entitled *...verné tradíciám* ('faithful to traditions'), was a wide-spectrum comparative mosaic of the Gypsies' religious rituals and beliefs, shaped into a synthetic film-form of a highly informative standard.

The second main prize went to the film *Stěhování osady* ('Moving the Settlement'), by the Czech film-maker Viliam Polticovič, who has specialised in documentaries about the life situation of Gypsies in Czecho-Slovakia. The film presents life in the Gypsy settlement Žehra in Eastern Slovakia and the moving of its inhabitants into a new 'modern and civilized' housing estate, revealing their difficulties following the great transition from the old, traditional way of living to a new one.

The Prize of the Festival Jury was given to *Odsud-potial* ('From there to there') by Fero Fenič, a Slovak film-maker living in Prague. The two-word title of the film is composed of a Czech (*odsud*) and a Slovak (*potial*) expression, conveying the narrative dimensions of the film, which compares the everyday situations of the most western and the most eastern border villages in Czecho-slovakia not long before the elections in 1992 had determined the division of the Czecho-Slovak Federation. This report on people's life-style and thinking reflected the period of the present-day political and social changes, and how they are adopted and understood in the everyday lives of common people.

Evaluating the competition films in general, the most emphasised topics seemed to be ethnic or social minorities, encounters with different cultural environments and life-styles, and the adaptation and the cultural changes that these encounters result in (boundaries, contrasts, contradictions, mergings and links). There were thus films on Slovak minorities abroad, living in different European countries (Serbia, Romania, Poland, France), on a Czech minority group moving from the Chernobyl area in Ukraine to the home of their forefathers, and on the culture and life-style of Gypsies. *Iron*, a film about an old homeless man living in a basement on a housing estate, posing a question about the connection between two contrasting ways of life, also follows this line. This lonely, sympathetic man is portrayed with a special, loving humour, stressed by an inventive use of camera and sound.

As already mentioned the festival included events besides the main competition. The most important was the non-competitive international section, where thirteen films from Austria, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Switzerland were screened.

The organizers of the festival had been trying for several years to extend the scope of the festival to include international participation but their endeavours had very often been met with the barriers of the totalitarian regime. During the last two years the non-competitive international screenings have brought new blood to the festival programme and created space for a broader discussion. Although the number of participants from the Western countries has been limited, their participation has been highly appreciated after forty years behind the 'iron curtain' and given *Etnofilm* an opportunity to compare different approaches, concepts and analyses of film and video. The relatively modest international (personal) participation has to some extent been balanced by the quality of films screened such as *Seven Scenes of Plenty* by Michael Mascha, *Nuba Wrestling* by Rolf Husmann and Werner Sperschneider or *Imre in Israel*, a film which is part of a six-part series, *As far as Makó from Jerusalem* by the Hungarian film director János Tari. The latter film depicts the fates of some Hungarian Jews from the town Makó at present living in various countries throughout the world.

Among the 'non-film' events, the most remarkable was a thematic exhibition of photographs entitled 'Photography between Ethnography and Sociology'. The exhibition showed a representative sample of Czecho-Slovak photographers devoting their creative art to the lives and cultures of different ethnic or social

groups living in our territory or to the everyday activities of and communication between people.

Etnofilm strives not just to reflect the situation in anthropological film-making in the Czech and Slovak republics but also to anticipate its future development and to influence the course of visual anthropology in our area and under our conditions. Unfortunately 'conditions' must be stressed when speaking of visual anthropology in both parts of the former Czecho-Slovakia. 'Thanks' to the lack of financial means, followed inevitably by a shortage of basic technical equipment, only few scientific institutions can apply for visual media to use in their documentation and research. The anthropological film-making carried out by Slovak Television and some other private or governmental film-making companies and studios are oriented more towards the presentation of anthropological facts via visual media to a wider, not just professionally specialized audience. A very enthusiastic group, including both film-makers and anthropologists, is existing in, especially, Slovak Television, working on a long-term project of documentary films on ethnic minorities, emigrants and immigrants, and the life of people in the current era of changes.

Not many scientific institutions, which can afford using visual media in their work, are paying attention to the visual documentation of the subjects under their study. That is why, at e.g. the Institute of Musicology of Slovak Academy of Sciences, film documentation of traditional dances, music and various ceremonies connected with musical or dance expressions is made and preserved in archives. Similarly, the video studio at the Institute of Ethnology of Slovak Academy of Sciences is focused on ethnographic film-documentation of current Slovak culture and lifestyle. A few film records of local cultural phenomena are also being made in Slovak regional museums. But generally, the plans and endeavours are surpassing any current possibilities.

Nevertheless, ethnographic and anthropological film-making in Slovakia, the roots of which can be found at the beginning of the 20th century, is not on the decline, but it is trying to find new sources of development in its new situation. *Etnofilm* has always created ample space for speaking of current 'streams' in visual anthropology, of its future plans, and for searching for the best solutions.

The forthcoming film competition at the eighth *Etnofilm* in 1994 will be, for the first time, truly international. We believe that Čadca, lying at the centre of Europe, will be the best place for the opening of a new, wider visual anthropology dialogue between West and East.

ETNOFILM ČADCA 1992, FILMOGRAPHY:

CHILDREN OF WIND, part 3: Related with Metal
part 7: Faithful to Traditions
part 8: Celebrating Wedding

director: Martin Slivka
production: Slovak Television Bratislava and Schwarzwald Film Germany, 1991
colour, 16mm, 28 min (each part).
3 parts of 13-part documentary series about Gypsies and Gypsies' culture in different European countries from East to the western parts of Europe.

TWO PORTRAITS

director: Dušan Trančík
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1991.
colour, 16mm, 20 min.
Portraits of two representatives of the former Austro-Hungarian aristocracy whose lives were radically changed in the 'new era' of building communism.

THE BORDERLINE (Slovaks in Poland)

director: Peter Vrchovina
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1991
colour, 3/4' UMATIC, 23 min.
About the Slovak ethnic minority living on the Slovak-Polish borders.

THE FENECE-PALES, part 2.

director: Viliam Gruska
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1992.
colour, 16mm, 36 min.
Slovak emigrants living in France since 1930, 1948 and 1968-69.

ISLAND OF COMPATRIOTS

director: Milan Pribis
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1992
colour, 16mm, 36 min.
Slovak immigrants living in France since 1930, 1948 and 1968-9.

THE FIRST SLAVIK CENTURIES

director: Igor Dobiš
production: Slovak Film Studio, 1990
colour, 3/4' UMATIC 30 min.
Popular science and educational film about the beginnings of Slavic history and culture.

RUSSIAN STREAM - A Lesson in Democracy

director: Miro Smolak
production: Mirofilm Berlin/Praha/Sinha, 1991
colour, 16mm, 30 min.
An account of events in the village Ruský Potok (Russian Stream) in the eastern part of Slovakia where the Carpatho-Ruthenian minority lives, after the election in 1990.

MOVING THE SETTLEMENT

director: Viliam Poltikovič
production: Film and Sociology Praha, 1992
colour, 16mm, 45 min.
Life in the Gypsy settlement Zehra in Eastern Slovakia, and the moving of its inhabitants to a new housing estate.

THEY LEFT THEIR FEAR AT HOME

director: Vladislav Kvasnička
production: Short Film Praha, 1992
colour, 16mm, 38 min
The situation of the Czech minority settled in Ukraine during the 19th century. Now the worst afflicted region by the Chernobyl disaster.

TEMPUS ABIT

director: Milan Švehlík
production: Slovak Television Kosice, 1991
colour, 16mm, 29 min.
Meaning, evolution and characteristic features of the specific orthodox religious painting, (icons), in Eastern Slovakia.

YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

director: Tomáš Hučko
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1990
colour, 3/4 'UMATIC, 30 min.
'The switch' of inhabitants of today's town and former village Hrinová in Central Slovakia from villagers to townsmen.

RAIN-WASHED, WIND-SWEPT...

director: Fedor Bartko
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1991
colour, 35mm, 26 min.
Documentary on folk grave stones, grave posts and crosses in Slovakia

BROTHERS MUCHA

director: Marin Slivka
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1990
colour, 35mm, 28 min
Portrait of the brothers Mucha, famous Slovak folk musicians from the village Terchová in Northwestern Slovakia.

CARRYING ONE'S CROSS

director: Fedor Bartko
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1991
colour, 3/4 'UMATIC, 24 min.
About a carver of traditional folk grave crosses, typical of the region of Detva in Central Slovakia

SONGS OF HOME - THE GOLDEN GARDEN

director: Tomáš Hučko
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1991
colour, 3/4 'UMATIC, 30 min.
Documentary on the traditional culture in Southern Slovakia on the Slovak-Hungarian borders

EMERGINGS

director: Tomáš Pašteka
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1990
colour, 3/4 'UMATIC, 30 min.
Meeting of the inhabitants of the perished village Ústie, flooded by the Orava dam, after 40 years of living apart all over Slovakia.

FROM HOME TO HOME

director: Olga Sommerová
production: Short Film Praha, 1991
colour, 16mm, 46 min.
Atmosphere of the return of people belonging to the Czech minority in Ukraine, who have decided to come to the country of their forefathers, primarily to save their children from the dangerous radiation in the Chernobyl area.

GROWN TOGETHER WITH GROUND II.

director: Milan Pribiš
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1991
colour, 16mm, 27 min.
Second part of two-part documentary film about the Slovak minority living in the region of Vojvodina in Serbia for 250 years is trying to answer the question: What determines the high level of people's ethnic and cultural identity?

IRON

director: Pavol Mordáčik
production: Slovak Television Bratislava, 1991
colour, 3/4 'UMATIC, 28 min.
Portrait of an old, homeless man living on a margin of society...

FROM THERE TO THERE

director: Fero Fenič
production: FEBIO Praha film and TV production Ltd., and Short Film Praha, 1992
colour, 3/4 'UMATIC, 20 min.
Report on people's way of living and thinking, reflecting the present-time political and social changes. A comparison of the situation in the most eastern and most western border villages of CSFR (Nová Sedlica in Eastern Slovakia and Pomezí in Western Bohemia), not long before the election in 1992 that determined the split of the republic.

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Some comments on the First International Exhibition of Ethnological Cinema of America and Andalusia.

Claudia Menezes, Centro de Pesquisa Audio-Visual e Estudos Histórico-Antropológicos, Brazil

From 1-10 October 1992 the First International Exhibition of Ethnological Cinema of America and Andalusia was held in Granada, perhaps the most charming city in Spain. The event was organized by the Center of Ethnological Research Angel Ganivet, in cooperation with the Center for Visual Anthropology, University of Southern California. It was sponsored by the Quincentenary National Commission and other important institutions such as the University of Granada. The event was also associated with the IV American Festival of Indigenous People celebrated in Peru in June of the same year, with the participation of Indian representatives, during which the transfer of audio-visual skills to indigenous film-makers was encouraged. This report will present a general evaluation of the event and include comments on the variety of activities that took place.

The exhibition provided an opportunity to establish cultural and scientific communication between Spanish language countries and at the same time aimed at linking up audio-visual centres in Andalusia with independent producers in other parts of Europe, and particularly those of North and South America.

The meeting, taking place in 1992, was necessarily incorporated into the extensive programme of the Spanish government commemorating the five hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America under the slogan *Encounter of Two Worlds*. This leaves very little doubt as to the neo-colonialist ideology underlying the official version of the historical process related to the conquest of the American Continent.

The use of diplomatic linguistic skills is an ancient strategy. As early as 1556 words such as 'conquest' and 'conqueror' were legally forbidden and substituted by the terms discovery and colonialists, albeit conquering continues even up to the present date.

On the other hand, the slogan *Worlds in Contrast*, the title of the exhibition, reveals the organizers' critical attitude vis-a-vis the main theme of the event, namely ethnic diversity in the Americas. The subject includes not only the indigenous issue within the continent, but also the life conditions of Latin minorities and Afro-Americans in the United States.

The debate on the heterogeneity of human society is not new, a condition first manifested in the 16th century and throughout the colonial occupation of the Americas, Africa and Asia. It appears, however, that cinematographic language accentuates the importance of the topic.

The non-European societies' intellectual discovery of the diversity of behaviour, modes of thought and institutions governing social behaviour, questioned the philosophical and religious foundation of Western society. After overcoming ethnocentrism, the ideological reaction to this phenomenon, the heterogeneity of the world's population stimulated scientific advance, enabling anthropology to develop theories of unequal social and historical development through interdisciplinary research.

The programme of the meeting, however, demonstrates that nowadays, as much as in the past, the reflection of the 'other',

which forms a crucial part of anthropological knowledge, will inevitably lead to a discourse on the subject of 'ourselves'.

For the first time in Spain an exhibition has taken place bringing together anthropologists, scholars, theorists of communication and film-makers belonging to an international network of specialists using visual language to analyze social phenomena.

The event began with a session with Luc de Heusch, a well-known Belgian ethnologist and film-maker, on the origins of documentary cinema in Europe. It was followed by the screening of two classic films, *Les Amis du Plaisir* (1962) by Luc de Heusch himself and *Generique Simphonie Paysanne* (1942-44) directed by Henri Storck. Both productions integrate the theatrical and the documentary style, thus creating a rare and very successful synthesis between poetic and ethnological cinema.

The closing session of the event featured *Currito de la Cruz*, a classic of the Spanish cinema, by Alejandro Pérez Lugin. The film, one of the most precious historical and sociological records of the city of Seville at the beginning of this century, has been restored and preserved from destruction.

The non-competitive programme lasted nine days. It included the projection of ethnological documentaries during mornings and afternoons, followed by presentations and panel discussions in which film-makers and visual anthropologists participated as special guests. As I have previously pointed out, the main theme was ethnic diversity and the search of a common ground in the Americas. It was divided into six blocks with the following points to be examined:

Indigenous People of America concerned the political use of audio-visual resources by native people for the purpose of preserving their collective memory and defense of their rights, involving an examination of the reasons for environmental degradation.

African America explored the conditions of existence of the Negro slave descendants in different countries in South and Central America and in the United States. The documentaries focused on ethnic music, perhaps the most striking artistic and social expression of these communities.

The European outlook and America discussed the sociology of the Continent from the European film-makers' point of view.

Latinos in the United States approached the issue of the South-North migration and its consequences which has turned the American frontier with Mexico into a scenery of ethnic violence. It also looked into the mechanisms of preservation of Latino identity in a cultural universe where Anglo-Saxon tradition predominates.

Image and Stereotype was the category chosen to group distinctive realities and phenomena that had not necessarily been interlinked. Among these were included the documentaries about the Huichol from Mexico in search of the Peyote (a movement that dates back to pre-Hispanic times); the ritual to the gods of the Inca pantheon celebrating in the area of Cuzco in Peru and the pre-historic indigenous rupestrian art in Argentina.

Pluriethnic America was presented by a number of films that confirm the richness of American sociology, to which varied ethnic groups contribute i.e. the Jewish-Gauchos, the Italian-Americans and the Asian-indigenous populations.

The presence of North and South American producers was significant, comprising approximately thirty-two participants. Forty-eight out of seventy-two films were accompanied by authors or producers, providing a stimulating exchange of ideas and experiences. This exchange has usually been made difficult due to the isolation to which the Latin anthropologist and film-makers

have been relegated. Years of economic recession have not only reduced the volume of audio-visual independent output but also limited their participation in international forums.

Apart from the time for discussions offered by the programme, a significant number of people decided to use the lunch break to engage in lively debates on points that had been insufficiently covered during the presentations, thus enriching the intellectual atmosphere. This extremely positive initiative brought people closer together. Above all, it contributed to more in-depth reflection on subjects of common interest, especially on how to use audio-visual media at many levels of anthropology.

The participants concerned with the Amerindian issue presented the greatest number of works in the official programme and in the parallel exhibition, 'videos à la carte'. It became clear that 1992 marks a year of mourning for the native people of America, and not a year of celebration. A great number of societies were totally destroyed during the bloody Spanish conquest. In Las Casas' account given in *A Short Report on the Destruction of the Indies* there is a description of the first forty years of occupation of the islands in Central America, during which 'through Spanish tyranny and diabolical actions, more than twelve million people were unjustly killed'. At present, the populations which were able to survive are among the poorest and the most disadvantaged in society, living under the worst economic and political conditions imaginable.

The history of yesterday repeats itself in the collective or individual biography of indigenous persons such as Martin Llanque, an Aymara portrayed in a documentary entitled *Martin de las Crujias* by the Bolivian film-maker Eduardo López Zavala. The film approaches in a paradigmatic way the relationship of power and impunity, and the sophisticated means that kill thousands of Indians throughout the whole of America. It was granted the prize of best argument in the IV American Festival of Indigenous People.

Most of the documentaries deal with contemporary contexts, examining the present living conditions of ethnic minorities. In different parts of America indigenous groups are celebrating the Columbus Quincentennial by demanding the return of their sovereignty and land. The Inuits' recent victory in gaining ten millions of square kilometres in the Northwest Territories of Canada is an encouragement for the indigenous communities whose rights still have not been acknowledged. The first documentary showed in the section Indigenous People of America, entitled *Wiping the Tears of Seven Generations*, directed by Gary Rhine and Fidel Moreno, presents the Lakota version of the Wounded Knee massacre. It was awarded the prize of best cinematographic approach at the IV American Festival in Peru. The drama of the Hopi and the Navajos in the Northeast of Arizona is shown in a recent production, *The Black Road, an American Way* (1990), from the National Film and Television School in England.

The main focus of the Brazilian films was on different situations of confrontation between native and Western society, the latter represented by companies, banks, governments, etc. These have been promoting development projects that have destroyed the ecology and also profoundly disrupted indigenous societies not only in Brazil but worldwide. These problems are the theme of most of the documentaries presented by the Center of Cultural and Educational Production of the University of Brasília (*Boca de Ouro, Kikuió from Amazon, Marubo, Let live the Yanomami*). The section of Visual Anthropology of the Indian Museum was represented by *Xocó - A People who fight for their*

Identity, co-directed by this reporter and Renato Neumann. There was also a Columbian series entitled *Ecological and Cultural Messages*, directed by Hernán Dario Correa and Juan Gutiérrez, vignettes in which ecological messages formulated by Indians were conveyed.

Most of the documentaries demonstrate that indigenous people are increasingly exposing abuses, more aware of their rights to self-determination and promoting their own values, recognized as being of universal importance even in places where they are a numerical minority. This new attitude is clear in the Venezuelan film *Cultrun's Dreams* by Pablo Rosenblatt, part of a TV series that approaches the Mapuches' struggle in Chile to preserve traditional religious and medicinal lore. The only indigenous representative present at the Exhibition was Zulay Savarino, the main character and co-director with Jorge and Mabel Preloran of the anthropological documentary *Zulay facing the 21st Century*. The film has been edited in two parts for television. It analyzes, from a comparative point of view, Zulay's experiences when she leaves her village in Ecuador to share a new daily routine with a couple of Argentinean anthropologists in Los Angeles. The effects of the individual process of cultural change and its implications for her as a woman and as an indigenous person are examined throughout the dialogue with Mabel Preloran, in which her personal experiences of self-exile in the United States are also exposed.

A number of papers were presented. Peter Ian Crawford discussed the use of audio-visual resources by the Kayapo Indians in defense of their environment and political interests. There was a correlated presentation, by Gabriela Martinez, on the implications of the indigenous control of their image projected by the media.

The session concerned with Latins in the United States presented in *Cocolos and Rokers* a live picture of Puerto Rican descendants, analyzing the influence of their cultural origins in the construction of a new social identity. *Miles from the Border*, directed by Ellen Frankenstein and *Natives* by Jesse Lerner and Scott Sterling represent the point of view of the new generation of North-American documentarists. The latter, with its sharp humour, focuses on the growing violence in San Diego and on contrasting collective attitudes such as nationalism, racism and xenophobia.

An important objective of the event was to attract the interest of a general audience and of the student population (Granada is the third largest university center of the country) to the contemporary reality of the Andalusian region where distinctive ethno-historic communities live. Besides, Spain, like other parts of Europe, faces the tension and violence originated by the Basque movement, Muslim religious minorities and the Africans fleeing from the ex-colonies.

The European wing of the Exhibition, responsible for examining the Andalusian ethnological documentaries, formed a separate programme and became a forum for discussion of internal problems, hardly integrated in the initial part of the event. Consequently, the coordinated effort to provide an international meeting for the circulation of ideas pertaining to the field of visual anthropology had a specific target, that of reaching the local intellectual environment.

The part of the programme dedicated to the theoretical development, as well as possibilities and prospects of that discipline brought together Spanish historians and other scholars. Although these have collaborated with the production of documentaries mainly for the TV circuit as consultants, the theoretical and conceptual framework of audio-visual language is adopted in a preliminary manner.

Two panel discussions enabled Spanish ethnological film-makers to engage in further reflection: 'Visual Ethnology in Andalusia' and 'Andalusian Image and Television'. The former was held after a full day's programme dedicated to the regional popular celebrations with emphasis on religious festivals. The latter generated an intense debate and brought to light the latent tension between cinematographic languages and cultural products, and between low-budget research/educational films and documentaries produced by television channels and aiming at a general audience.

Aspects related to film audiences, to the international demand of quality standards and to systems of funding and distribution were examined in *Information Journey*, a session with representatives of the Media. Under the auspices of the European Economic Community, the purpose of this special programme is to encourage and support the audio-visual industry of the associate countries, by funding projects and creating a network of international cooperation. The participants then had a rare opportunity of becoming familiar with the services available and also with the actions that cover all the industrial functions required by this kind of productions.

Two complementary attractions related to the field of visual anthropology were the Electronic Encyclopedia of Andalusia, elucidating the educational potential of interactive media, and the Martin Chambi Exhibition, showing the work of undoubtedly one of the most important and unknown photographers of this century. Chambi (1881-1973), an Indian himself, produced an invaluable work of testimonial value. It portrays the society of Cuzco in all its richness and complexity from the early 1920s to the 1950s. Andean feudalism, the scenery of plantations and land owners with their servants and concubines, but also the miserable world of the destitutes and alcoholics. As an artist he turned photography into a poetic tool of reflection on the Peruvian social reality. The acute and merciless reading of the ones he has portrayed brings to mind the talent of another equally legendary American photographer, Diane Arbus.

As a whole, the event should be considered very successful, given the standard of organization and the quality of the audio-visual material presented. Nonetheless, the relations between Spanish documentary cinema and the cinema produced in the Americas rendered favourable by this initiative should be developed, especially through scientific, cultural and technical interchange programmes in visual anthropology.

THEY JUST WON'T GO AWAY...

The 15th International Women's Film Festival, Créteil May 26 to April 4, 1993.

Nita Kapoor, Journalist & producer, Oslo

"Ethnographic film may be documentary's most precocious and irritating subgenre: it won't stop asking impossible questions, and it won't go away."

Annette Kuhn's facetious description of ethnographic film¹ might just as well apply to the film industry's problematic relationship to women. Questions raised within the field of anthropology have been conducive to innovations within ethnographic film. This

tendency runs parallel to the questions women have been asking in relation to society at large, leading to radically altered forms of (re)presentation in the audiovisual media. The industry may well find itself paraphrasing the words of Alfred Hitchcock and concluding that: *The Lady Doesn't Vanish!*²

The fifteenth International Women's Film Festival held in Créteil outside Paris, although in no ways an ethnographic venue, does confirm important trends in women's self-representation, choice of subject matter and subject-crew relationships in the audiovisual media.

Though they have taken part in the industry as long as films have been made, women's participation has hardly been equal. But through the past years women have challenged all areas of film, video and television production and distribution.

Furthermore, and concurrent to developments within the feminist movement, women from the South and within black and minority groups in the North have been questioning both mainstream media and their white sisters. As often observed, there tends to be a shift in thematic focus, narrative techniques and motive for production when object turns subject. We also have witnessed the development from a reactive position (with predominant focus on re-defining self and identity) to a situation where women all over the world have been challenging supremacy and power relations, visualizing resistance and actively using film and video for radical advocacy as development and change agents.

This brief summary would perhaps seem to idealize women's participation in, and impact on, the film industry. Unfortunately, mainstream media is still full of stereotyped and prejudices - at best well-meaning - images of cultures and groups, especially when it comes to black, indigenous and Third World women. This may be true irrespective of which sex undersigns the productions - for women producers are not necessarily capable of (or given the scope for) greater sensitivity in thematic treatment. But although much still remains to be desired, there has been a positive shift within the media industries toward equalizing representation and participation, both between the sexes and between "voices" from the North and the South.

The annual International Women's Film Festival in Créteil is in many respects an elitist event, due to its requirement that contributions to the competing categories be produced in the *film-format*. This fact strongly reduces the number of eligible contributions from women directors in the South or even from any production milieu which does not have the financial blessings to support film production.

It has, however, been one of the major arenas for promoting innovative productions made by women. Parallel to its three genres in competition, feature films, (long) documentaries and short films, runs a wide and rich additional programme every year. Moreover, a major intention of the festival is to bring film-makers in direct dialogue with audiences and other professionals, often resulting in engaging debates during informal and improvised gatherings.

This year, a special theme of environment and development in a South perspective was one of the most interesting additions to the programme. This section also allowed productions made in the video format. Under the heading 'Rio-Créteil-Peking', more than 20 screenings portrayed a wide treatment of issues which women are concerned with - and to which they offer alternative solutions. The themes, varying from biotechnology and control of reproduction to economics, land and water rights, poverty, war, democracy and sustainability, frequently reflected interesting forms of 'partnership' between the film-makers and their subjects. Approximately half of the productions in the 'Rio-Créteil-Peking'

section were produced or co-produced by women of the South themselves.

Among the documentaries presented in competition over the last years, thematic choice has also tended to reflect a preoccupation ranging from the personal to the social and political. Apart from combining imaginative forms of treatment, sound and editing with traditional forms of documentation, it is increasingly more frequent to experience the lack of patronizing styles of narration (in some cases where narrative voice is omitted totally and the 'word' given solely to the subjects in focus). A noteworthy tendency also to be seen in the larger productions is the increasing amount of international co-production, in which the mode of collaboration may relate to the financial and the technical aspects of the production process.

The following are a few highlights from this year's festival, selected from the Rio-Créteil-Peking section (RCP), the longer documentaries in competition (LD) and the European section (ES). These descriptions are not intended as in-depth analyses or reviews of the films, but may hopefully arouse further interest in an undeservedly neglected area of production. In some cases, where it was possible to interview the film-makers, some background information has also been provided.

We can solve it (RCP)

Nafisa and Raju Barot
India, 1988, video, 22 min.

This is another Indian video which has evolved out of a political process of self-organising which started in Dhardooka, Gujarat in 1979. The grassroots women-led group Utthan ("upliftment") joined up with a group of activists from Ahmedabad calling themselves Mahiti ("dialogue"). This was done out of a need to find local, sustainable solutions to problems of cultivation and irrigation inflicting upon the whole ecosystem, problems which had started arising as a consequence of structural adjustment programmes and the World Bank funded introduction of a pipeline in the area.

'People had abandoned their own old technologies, resources and traditional modes of production in adjusting to this development', Nafisa Barot from Utthan-Mahiti explains. 'We realised that there was a vast divide between people's own understanding and the government's perception of both the problems and the solutions. This particular video was made out of the need to communicate to decision makers and argue in favour of the villagers' own experiences. Before 1987, we had been lobbying for many years. But after the video was made, it was shown locally and on national TV - we even took it to the World Bank and screened it there! Only then were the necessary resources provided to implement the people's plans, with tremendously positive results, not only for Dhardooka but also for many of the neighbouring villages'. The video has in its form been adapted to its specific target group. The villagers present their experiences and provide the emotional arguments whereas the commentary holds a distanced and informative tone, relating the factual developments and arguments.

Songs & Tears of Nature (RCP)

Marie-Clémence & Cesar Paes
Franco-Belgium-Brazil, 1992, video, 54 min.

This is a powerful and silently emotional 'meeting between oral and written cultures'. The film presents a number of expressive personalities among the Saamis in Norway/Finland and the Fulni-0 in Brazil. They speak to us directly on their coexistence with nature, their beliefs, myths, social relations and views of modern, urban development. One of the central themes is precisely the issue of survival between 'the old' and 'the new', portrayed through slow, poetic images combined with peoples' own recounts of legends and oral forms of expression. Though portraying what many term as 'a disappearing world', the interviewed representatives speak naturally and candidly, without sentimentality, nostalgia or pessimism. The producers shift (seemingly) freely between the two indigenous groups in the North and the South, the juxtapositions itself inferring an understanding of the similarities in life and attitudes among the two groups. This technique also stresses the explicit humour and implicit warmth in [the] portrayal, creates a viewer-empathy and even enhances the film's 'entertainment value' for broader audiences.

'Our intention has not been to make an anthropological film', says Marie-Clemence Paes. 'For us, this is also a film about Europe or the West, in showing the meeting between minority and majority cultures and the fatal consequences it will have if we allow the minorities' way of life to be destroyed'. Herself being from Madagascar and husband Cesar Paes from Brazil, one was curious to know how the producers came to select the Saamis as film subjects. 'At one point we met Matthis Hætta and he actually invited us to come and portray representatives from the Saami community. We ourselves didn't think we could ask a favour of such magnitude', she says, 'so in effect, we didn't choose them, they chose us!'

Green Streets (RCP)

Maria de Luca
USA, 1992, 16mm, colour, 87min

From Broadway to the Bronx...people in 'the Big Apple' simply took matters in their own hands and started greening the streets. This film documents a popular movement, in many respects even a protest action, where people across ethnic and cultural divides started getting together and growing gardens in their neighbourhoods. This communal activity became so popular that it spread all over New York, and later to other urban centres of the USA.

Maria de Luca recounts that the fact that she had little or no funding for the production led her into a process where she more or less voluntarily came to follow this urban movement over a period of ten years. Her having to do the camera work and most of the editing herself, in 'batches' and over a long period of time, has also influenced the narrative style of the film. It is fairly chronologically edited, where new additions seem to have been tagged on along the way. The occasionally shaking camera, at times poor sound quality, or when the film simply ran out and only the sound recording continued so that you get an extra long section of voice-over...such elements enhance the communal and optimistic spirit of the film and seem to add to the viewer's feeling of 'being there'.

VIDEO SEWA: Women's Alternative (RCP)

Video SEWA

India, 1990, video, 15 min.

Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is a trade union organising some of the most marginalised and economically least privileged women in India. SEWA can document a long list of achievements since its establishment in 1972. Some years ago, the organisation formed Video SEWA, a self-educated production group working to facilitate flow of information and training activities for urban and rural women within the organisation.

The video screened in Créteil was a self presentation of the production group, explaining how and why it was formed, its development and thematic coverage in the over 100 programmes that the group has produced. Cross-cutting between examples of their work, SEWA member Martha Stuart speaks directly to the audience, also explaining that the video is a collective product and furthermore an in-camera edited programme.



Photo: Video SEWA

The Good Wife of Tokyo (LD)

Kim Longinotto and Claire Hunt

United Kingdom, 1992, 16mm, colour, 52 min.

This fascinating and charming story of a mother-daughter relationship is also an interesting challenge to Western stereotypes

of Japanese women's lives and subcultures. Kazuko Hohki moved to England at the age of 15, in an attempt to escape from what she experienced as conservative Japanese standards of conformity for women. In England, she created *Frank Chicken*, a subversive rock group of three performing women.

The film, which was made on the basis on her own idea and in which she herself is the subject, follows Kazuko Hohki back to Japan to meet her parents. This turns into a thought-provoking voyage of discovery, both for herself and the audience. In Japan, she finds that her mother has become a priest who combines Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity, providing for rather original and humoristic practices. She realizes that not only is her mother a fascinating personality but also a woman who has learnt to spite the many conventions which Kazuko herself revolted from. The film gives us a peek into everyday family life and private celebrations, women's reality, their feelings and struggles - all interspersed with footage of *Frank Chicken* in live performance. The form and content of *The Good Wife of Tokyo* have resulted in an entertaining production, but one which clearly has been made with discreetness and patience, and a film which provides an intriguing insight into the traditional and modern challenges which Japanese women face today.

Something Like a War (LD)

Deepa Dhanraj

India, 1992, 16mm, colour, 53 min.

As women are attached a number-tag and sit waiting in line in an overcrowded operation hall, the camera moves to the doctor performing a sterilisation in the same room. We hear him bragging that he performs one hundred operations a day at the rate of 45 seconds per sterilisation, and adds with bitterness that he could easily have performed two hundred had only the government allowed it...

The powerful film examines India's official family planning programme which was launched in 1952, but does so from a perspective rarely encountered: through the eyes of Indian women. The practices of population control have through the years induced a number of abusive forms of coercion and brutality towards women. Simultaneously, one has seen the emergence of corruption and cynical 'incentive programmes', where the women themselves are forced to be sterilised or become guinea pigs for experimentation of new and lethal contraceptives.

Something Like a War shifts between the operation hall, clinics and insert(ed) titles with factual information on the family planning programmes, contrasting these to a group of Indian women who sit and talk freely amongst themselves about their own sexualities and attitudes towards family and child birth. We also meet villagers who recount the precarious methods used by officials to tempt the poor into getting sterilized. The women's own awareness and sensitivity is a strong and emotive contrast to the uncouthness by which they are met in the family planning institutions.

Deepa Dhanraj stresses the fact that the film has been made at the request of and collaboration with several Indian feminist groups working on family planning issues. 'Many obstacles were put in the way by official institutions during the production, and the film could not have been made without the active assistance of the women's groups', she says.

A Family called Abrew (EP)

Maureen Blackwood

United Kingdom, 1992, 16mm, colour, 40 min.

Using very simple and non-rhetorical but carefully structured narrative means, *A Family called Abrew* contributes to highlight a hidden section of British history from the turn of the 20th century. The film is about the contributions of black people in boxing and music hall industries in Britain, seen through the eyes of one family. Each character gives us his or her own accounts of how they first came to England, how they remember the other family members, their music, dances and art forms, the clubs etc. Their stories are elegantly cross-cut so that the characters supplement each other in telling a complete story without the use of an additional narrator. The interviews are interspersed with historic stills from family albums. The film is gentle, humorous and full of warm reminiscences, structured - in the directors words - as 'a jigsaw puzzle where each family member fills in some parts and where the individual personalities get a chance to come through'.

'The intention was not to make a document that explicitly outlines racism within British society', Maureen Blackwood explains, 'It was rather to give people who are now in their 70's and 80's and in the process of making sense of their lives a space to speak in their own words. For a lot of black people, our histories are something we are still re-writing', she says.

For further information:

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Notes:

¹ Annette Kuhn with Susannah Radstone (eds): *The Woman's Companion to International Film*, Virago Press, London 1990.

² Constance Penley (ed): *Feminism and Film Theory*, BFI Publishing, London 1988.

Brief Reports and Reviews

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE VIEWER, 14th NAFA Conference, Reykjavik, June 4-8 1993.

Between hot pools, snow-capped mountains, and colourful, corrugated iron-dressed houses the 14th NAFA conference took place in the continuous daylight of the Icelandic summer. Sleep was short, parties were long and the prices incredible (until we learned to calculate), and the schedule was tight; it was a NAFA conference. Papers were presented in the mornings, films screened in the afternoons and evenings, and on the last day was held a student seminar.

It was a valuable conference. I am a film science student from Denmark and a fan of NAFA conferences. I found the theoretical part of the programme, which focused on film-theory concerning film reception, most interesting. It led to questions such as 'What is the anthropological film audience?', 'How do we construct meaning in ethnographic film?', and 'Can film develop anthropological knowledge?'. As I see it, it is between construction of meaning and anthropological knowledge the main subject and conflicts of opinion lie. One opinion stated that the focusing on the audience as the main subject of research draws attention away from the anthropological work and ends up in mass-communication theory, which is not a proper or useful theory for anthropology. Visual anthropology or the practise of using film as an anthropological method is defended by the opinion that the film medium is able to represent the anthropological subject in an effective way. Using film as method has also the quality of offering a deeper understanding of a given population. Especially if the making and viewing of a film is discussed with the people who are filmed.

Film is a medium where 'construction of meaning' is very important in my eyes. Within this theoretical field there were discussions about audience-roles, discussions about preferred readings and open readings. I will let my thoughts fly in that direction from the impressions I have from the conference. My reflections will be of a film critical kind. I have selected some examples from my readings.

The film programme started with *Foutura* by Beate Engelbrecht. The film is constructed over a continuous interview with an old female potter after a short voice-over introduction. The local interviewer gave the film an extra dimension in showing the local style of speech. The step by step organisation of information in the storyline, from child to old woman, referring to other aspects of life than pottery-making, I found most interesting. The cinematographic style provided us with a good combination of long shots and close-ups in continuity cutting. The combination conveyed to the film a transparent way of showing the potter's way of life.

The word 'transparent' here defines the extent to which interference is caused by the media. The almost 'natural' way of approaching the culture was followed as a principle throughout the film, and an excellent camera-man made it possible to follow the principle. The audience is released from the disturbance of (consciously) having to analyze the picture in the frame to get an idea of what information the image contains. The 'data-

processing' by the audience is helped by imitating an experienced way of processing data information in the physical life of the subjects. The next help to the audience's perception of the content is the gradual building up of concepts. The audience is 'taught' pottery-making as the film runs along the tight storyline from child knowledge to adult knowledge. The space around the storyline is filled with aspects around the pots, again in a speed that helps the audience's perception. Through the film the perceptive capacity of the audience increases, the film constantly emphasising its points of reference.

The points of reference or the way the film links the experienced knowledge of different audiences exist in a personally experienced 'world'. In any particular world many things interfere with the reading of a particular film. The strongest point of reference, I believe, is that of the audience's own cultural horizon and the physically experienced contact with the 'other' world through use of the senses. Perception goes through cultural horizons and filmic representations in a trained way. This means that cross-cultural communication - films - must go through a double set of horizons: the filmed horizon of a people and the audience's own horizon. *Futura* shows that this is not necessarily as problem, as do other films with less strict narrative structures.

Other films I should like to mention are *Valencia Diary* by Gary Kildea, *Taiga Nomads* by Heimo Lappalainen, *In and out of Africa* by Lucien Taylor, and *Look at Death* by Lasse Westman. These films had a quality similar to fiction film, which is to bring the audience into a place and keep them on the spot until the film is over. The films gave me the impression that the audience is a natural element of the situations shown in the film, in other words, there is 'room' for the audience in the films. I think the phenomenon is created by two main principles:

- 1) The film-makers had become natural elements in the environment through long time spent in the filming situation (perhaps excepting *In and out of Africa*).
- 2) The everyday life story-lines which are shown through talking in natural settings, like a friend paying a visit and talking about how things are.

The 'friend-paying-visit' film style (my definition) gives me the impression that people have something in common everywhere. People are demystified by showing their everyday worries, joys, practical activities and political conditions. This is important to me because I have the chance to use more of my private reference points. This makes the film more interesting and deeper to me. An additional important aspect is the quality of filming and cutting (especially in *Taiga Nomads*). Good filming and cutting turns the film into 'gentle speech' which gives me the chance to meet people.

Turnim Hed by Jeremy Bates also exposed a good feeling for images and informative qualities but the film as a whole becomes unnecessarily exotic, because the story-line is interrupted by too many 'waiting' shots of nature scenes, which makes me feel like a potential tourist. The tourist feeling, in my reception of the film, overshadows the actual story about singing, negotiations of bride-prices, and the wedding. This imposes a distance between me and the people in the film. Films with many 'beautiful' shots are seductive and, combined with a voice-over, the distance between the filmed and the audience increases. The attention of the viewer (me) is in a seductive way transferred from story to beauty and the exotic in itself.

Tadzhik Buffet by Knut Ekström and Erik Strömdahl presented a 'nervous camera style' in the 'accidental' filming of a society undergoing political unrest. The fact that the film-makers landed

unawarely in the middle of a civil war gives the film its content. The 'home video' recordings, which were not intended to be a film, were nevertheless edited together and the film stands as a sort of situation report. The nervous camera style gives the audience the impression of being on the spot, in the middle of the action. To me, however, it was too much like news reportage. The mixture of visiting/interviewing people and the recordings of people in the streets, without a 'plan' in mind, supported the feeling of the chaos to which the interviewed people referred.

In my opinion the selection and programming of films at a conference are important aspects. At this conference it was revealing but perhaps too striking to see *Valencia Diary* followed by Jennie Livingston's *Paris is Burning*. In *Valencia Diary* people have problems with physical survival and political security. In *Paris is Burning* people have problems with surviving mentally and with personal security (accidental crime). To me, showing the films together, shows a very contrastive picture of 'selling out' of human qualities in a world already dominated by 'images'.

Another 'accidental' case in the film programme, which in a very striking manner showed the effect of a patronising voice-over compared with the 'friend paying visit' film style, happened on the Saturday. We were for a long time immersed in the soft filmic 'speaking' (cutting) of *Taiga Nomads* and suddenly we heard an almost cruel voice-over in *Weavers of Ahuiran* by Beate Engelbrecht. I must confess that I was shocked by the effect - it was a jump cut. I was thrown from the *Taiga* back in my cinema chair.

The NAFA Conference is not only watching films and listening to the latest theoretical discussions, at this event through presentations by Marcus Banks, Peter Ian Crawford, Beate Engelbrecht, Alison Griffiths, and Jay Ruby. It is also the floating experience of being present in a place, in a time, in your own story. We also experienced the organisers' nightmare technical problems with missing machines, missing tapes, and missing people. We also missed a place to gather socially, especially on the last night of the conference, for the final everlasting party. Some of us took the consequences of the lack of social arrangements. We ran away. Deserted into the magic Icelandic wonderland in a rented car. From the geysers we searched out into the wild nature until the hard fact of an airplane ticket ended our visit in the Blue Lagoon, the hot pool where white steam makes time endless and the last haiku poem was said:

*The contradiction in the hot blue water and the cold rain
expresses the feeling of the moment*

Edith Rose Laursen
Copenhagen

The 7th Pärnu International Visual Anthropology Festival 1993

The Pärnu Festival started out as an important event in 1987. I received much pleasure from the privilege of being able to participate in the first three meetings, which quite naturally took place under circumstances quite different from those of today. The festival's main achievement was to link eastern and western scholars and film-makers under the framework of visual anthropology. There were representatives from many of the (now) former republics of the USSR, from Europe, Australia, and from

North America. At least two different sets of conditions for film production met, reflecting differences in technical capacity and in the use of filmic strategies.

The 7th festival had changed location to the art centre *Chaplin* in Pärnu. The programme comprised round table conferences in the mornings and competitive screenings, and special presentations ran from noon until midnight. The festival was open to the general public and additional screenings, featuring retrospectives of the work of Stefan Jarl and of Estonian documentary, took place in the city centre. 'Cultural Traditions, Influences and Clashes', 'Violence and Mercy in Different Cultural Contexts', and 'Indigenous Peoples under new Cultural Influences' were some of the topics discussed during the event.

The film programme consisted of a wide spectrum of political-journalistic, historical, and personal films, as well as more traditional ethnographic films. A special presentation of two rare films, *Ainu: Village life in Shiraoi* (filmed in 1925, restored in 1992) and *Ainu: Exorcism Rites Uepotara in Nibutani* (filmed in 1934, restored in 1992), had a profound impact on the audience.

The public paid continuous attention to the films in competition such as *Hau Mipela Save Wokim Sol* from Papua New Guinea, and received the films *Black Harvest* and *The Lights on Mykines Island* with spontaneous applause. The latter film was given the special Kihnu Island Prize. Political statements made by *The Eighth Fire* and *Accompong - Black Freedom Fighters in Jamaica* about political oppression, the fight for independence and native revitalization, with an indigenous perspective on nature in terms of fishing rights, were supplemented with an east European chronicle of a global political and cultural blind alley in *Theatre of 8th Day*.

Visualised detailed processes of dyeing and weaving techniques in *Restoration of Tokorozawa Kasuri*, and hypnotising basket weaving in *Master of Yasumatsu Basket, the Work of Taizu Matsuda*, led the willing viewers into a trance-like state. *The Holocaust of the Gypsies* shocked the spectator with eye-opening horror.

Although excitement rose during the screening of *The Journey Back*, the final applause it was given clearly indicated that it had won the hearts, and the prize, of the general public. At the award ritual the counting of votes intensified the electrical atmosphere and finally revealed that *The Journey Back* had outperformed the few other films in that particular competition, even *Taiga Nomads*, which received the First Prize of the 'proper' jury.

Taiga Nomads received the prize because it presents to the audience an inside and genuine ethnographic portrayal. It documents the past and present conditions of three different generations of the ethnic minority, the Evenki of Siberia, a group facing acculturation and oppression.

Another strong presentation with a public appeal was *Madame L'Éau*, a Chinese puzzle of a film, fixing ethical and strategic standards. It was the last film of the programme, suitable to complete the circle of the screenings and, perhaps, to ease the members of the jury in their attempts to form a correct estimate of the films in competition.

Approximately twenty international guests had shared the festival with a large local audience.

Knud Fischer-Møller

Department of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen

[This review was revised and shortened by the editor]

PROJECT ON THE COLLECTION OF VISUAL MATERIAL ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' SELF-GOVERNMENT

Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Law, University of Amsterdam.

Willem Assies

Introduction

The proclamation of 1993 as the year of the Indigenous People by the UN is an indication of the increased attention to the plight of indigenous people in recent years. This development is related to the ways indigenous people have managed to manifest themselves politically over the past decades, particularly on the international scene. Their contemporary political activity was partly triggered by the occupation of the last frontier regions of this planet during the post-war period. The search for industrial and energetic resources as well as geo-political considerations have led to the incorporation of areas hitherto considered of marginal interest, and constitutes a threat to the ways of life and the very livelihood of inhabitants of such regions, often indigenous people who found a last refuge in these areas.

The mobilization of indigenous people and their support groups has contributed to a questioning of the, until now, widely accepted idea that their option was assimilation and integration into the national society. Instead, the notion of self-government has gained acceptance. In its fullest sense, following international law, this would imply the right to freely determine their political status and institutions, and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. The notion of people's rights might be evoked to justify attempts of secession but in fact indigenous people most often do not aspire to such a form of autonomy. Rather they search for a form of autonomy or self-government, which would allow them to preserve their ethnic identity within the national state, into which they have been incorporated. They demand that diversity and pluriformity be respected and argue that pluralism within a national state is possible. Such claims include the devolution of decision-making powers over traditionally occupied territory.

In recent years a number of governments seem to have become more responsive to such arguments. Often cited examples of self-government arrangements are the Comarcas in Panama, the Resguardos in Colombia, the home-rule arrangement between Greenland and Denmark, The Sami Advisory Councils in Finland, Norway and Sweden, the Inuit self-government of Nunavut in Canada, the autonomy arrangement for the Atlantic coast region in Nicaragua and the cooperation between the regional government of Eastern Bushmen land in Namibia and a local Bushmen organization.

Information on these contemporary developments is scattered, however, and quite often it is limited to the formal features of the arrangements. Furthermore, while spectacular clashes over infringements on territory traditionally occupied by indigenous people or large-scale manifestations in which they claim a form of self-government are often documented, little is known about the way things work out in the practice of day to day life in existing arrangements for self-government. Given that territorial claims are at the heart of self-government arrangements for indigenous

people within national states, various questions are relevant in this respect:

- What is the effective extent of rights to land and what are the indigenous institutions involved in managing such rights? How are decision-making powers distributed?
- Under what economic and financial conditions do such systems of self-government operate? How is access to economic and financial resources for the self-governing territories brought into effect?
- What are the political features of self-government? Which political institutions are prescribed and which political institutions are left to the device of the indigenous population, and what are their competencies? How do they relate to the institutions of the national state and what mechanisms for conflict regulation do exist? How do they work?
- How do indigenous legal systems relate to the legal system of the national state? How are competencies divided and what are the mechanisms of conflict regulation?

An answer to such questions will provide important cues to an assessment of the qualities and limitations of contemporary systems of self-government for indigenous people and thus will contribute to the discussion on the forms a 'new partnership' between states and indigenous people might take.

Project description

In view of the scant and often scattered and recondite informative material on such issues, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Law of the University of Amsterdam has taken initiative to bring together **visual documentation and accompanying written material on experiences with systems of self-government for indigenous people within national states.** The aim of the collection of existing visual material is to assemble a video-film accessible to policy-makers, students and other involved with the issue of indigenous self-government. Through a visual presentation of diverse arrangements and the practical problems involved, the project seeks to promote a broader discussion on the feasibility of systems of self-government within national states. A short manual accompanying the visual presentation will provide a more systematic discussion of some of the issues.

During the second half of 1993 the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Law will carry out preliminary research as to the feasibility of a broader project that eventually might include the production of an independent new documentary film on the advantages and disadvantages of various arrangements of self-government. In this preparatory stage the aim is to collect existing visual material and, eventually, produce some complementary material.

In the context of this preliminary research project we would like to ask you:

1. If you know of the existence of any relevant material on the daily practice of systems of self-government for indigenous people, illustrating and/or analyzing questions as referred to above.
2. If you can inform us about how and where it can be acquired for preview purposes.

3. If you can inform us about the way relevant material can be acquired for incorporation into a documentary video film (e.g. whether copy rights are involved, etc.)

Of course we welcome any further suggestions.

It is our intention to dedicate part of the project time to visits to persons and locations to be visited, in order to review locally available visual and documentary material and to establish contacts that may serve the further progress of the project.

Since the outcome of the project strongly depends on cooperation from institutions and people in various parts of the world we look forward to hearing from you.

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REGULUS ETHNOGRAPHIC MEDIA PRODUCTIONS

Mikhail Peppas and Wanna Fourie

South Africa's violent racial history and its fruitless political attempts at constructing an open and free democracy reflect sadly on the astuteness of its film-makers. Their films have usually assisted the apartheid propaganda machine or rebelled against it. On either side it became an all-consuming task. Exhaustion in the face of yet another dragon is a close reality, and a recipe for disaster.

Calling yourself an 'independent producer' in South Africa can raise serious problems. Every production is a balancing act on a tightrope between interested parties, each with its own hidden agenda. This is certainly a truism in most parts of the world, but if you live in a terribly violent, politically unstable country populated with many diverse ethnic groupings the problem is grossly magnified. Suspicions become accusation, accusation becomes execution.

The 'independents' hide the camera and, from behind institutionalised desks continue the battle in learned meeting after learned meeting, learned book after learned book. The camera, that instrument of almost pure objectivity, becomes mere toy in an endless and dangerous game of one-upmanship, another banned instrument, too powerful for the pro- and anti government ruling demi-gods.

In South Africa scientific film-making focusing on ethnic groups leads the producer into a labyrinth of philosophical debate. What is the value of ethnographic films which record a rural society with age-old traditions but which is fast disappearing under the onslaught of Western culture and the big city? What traditions will escape the ravages of AIDS? Should traditions be encouraged - or are they just a stumbling block towards progress into the first world?

From the perspective of the ethnographic film-maker there are serious questions to be asked. Such as: do we REALLY have an audience? WILL we have an audience in ten years time? And - eventually - will the video game kids of today ever go to the natural history museum to watch our films? What is the level of involvement of the film-maker in the actual preservation of an endangered culture of ritual?

The various routes into the realm of visual anthropology followed by Mikhail and Wanna can best be described in the form of short personal sketches. The preferred style is audience engagement through dramatisation through which informed and scientific information are presented.

Mikhail Peppas was born in Durban, South Africa. His Irish mother became the first lady veterinarian surgeon in Southern Africa when she was stranded in Durban on her way to Australia. In Durban she met a Hellenic Air Force pilot and gourmet chef based in Alexandria, Egypt, who was visiting Durban while taking his leave in the former Northern Rhodesia.

Wanna Fourie was born in the Orange Free State. His grandfather fought under General Christian de Wet against the British Empire. His father fought under General Jan Smuts against the Third Reich. After the war his father retired to a small fishing village and surfing community in the Cape.

Mikhail studied for four years under the legendary Prof. Elizabeth Sneddon. His final thesis was on animal communications, obviously prompted by his mother, Dr. Mary McCreanor. Wanna completed an honours degree in history and then attended the Pretoria Film School. Mikhail completed his articles for chartered accountancy and then lectured information theory at the University of Natal. He founded the Free Film School and the African Setting Poetry Festival for local township residents.

Wanna joined the South African Broadcasting Cooperation as a film editor and cameraman, after which he became a freelance film-maker. Mikhail and Wanna have now combined resources and experience to form Regulus Ethnographic Media Productions. They are developing a series of documentaries on ethnographical issues in Southern Africa. They have two productions presently available for the international ethnographic viewing audience, namely:

LIFE STORY OF AN AFRICAN INYANGA: Filmed on location in the rural and urban areas of Natal, South Africa. The film dramatizes rather than documents key events in the life of the controversial Inyanga or herbalist Mhlahlo Mlotshwa. From a little boy apprenticed to his famous Grandmother the Inyanga moves from a tribal setting to the big city where he becomes an influential herbalist and father of many children. The film identifies a number of herbs, their preparation and use, and journeys briefly into the Sangoma and the Inyanga/ Tribal and Urban highlighted in the film places it in a special category of its own. (28 min)

NECKLACE: A short docu-drama on the circle of violence engulfing South Africa - even presently. The title refers to a specific method of execution during which a motorcar tyre is placed around a victim's (or government collaborator's) neck, dosed with petrol and set alight. Today the practice continues. The film, set in a squatter camp in Amanzimtoti near Durban, contains some real footage. The film was made under great stress and is not for the soft-stomached viewer. (37 min)

For further information please contact:
Regulus Ethnographic Media Productions
P. O. Box 10372
4056 Marine Parade, Durban, South Africa

Book Reviews

VISIONS OF AFRICA: Anthropology on Film - Jean Rouch, John Marshall and Other Film-makers

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Keyan G Tomaselli, Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal

Peter Loizos

Innovation in Ethnographic Film: From Innocence to Self-Consciousness, 1955-1985. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993. 224pp. Short index. Photographs. Index. ISBN 07190-4007-8 (Pbk) 07190 3910 X (Cloth).

Jay Ruby (ed.)

The Cinema of Jean Rouch. London, Harwood Academic Publishers, 1989. 355pp. Photographs. ISSN 0894-9468.

Jay Ruby (ed.)

The Cinema of John Marshall. New York, Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993. 282pp. Photographs. Index. ISBN 3-7186-0557-0 (Cloth). ISBN 3-7186-0558-9 (Pbk.)

Paul Stoller

The Cinematic Griot: the Ethnography of Jean Rouch. Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1992. ISBN 0-226-77548-8 (Pbk). ISBN 0-226-77546-1 (cloth). 247pp. Photographs. Index.

Visual anthropology is a rapidly growing sub-field which draws on anthropologists, film theorists and documentary film-makers, archivists, museum personnel and photographers. One of the first international conferences in visual anthropology was held in 1973. The proceedings were published in Paul Hockings, **Principles of Visual Anthropology** (The Hague: Mouton, 1975). Now, such meetings occur almost as regularly as do those of its parent discipline. Yet, visual anthropology, the study of patterns of culture through representation - or ethnographic film-making and photography - the production of films on cultures - both date back almost a hundred years. Yet little was systematically written on this endeavour until the mid-1970s, though books and journals too numerous to mention here have appeared in the last five years or so.

In my review I shall deal with four of the most recent books to have been published. In all cases, there is a degree of overlap on discussion of particular films and film-makers. Though these books deal with films made all over the world, I have concentrated on those works and experiences which reflect an African orientation.

Jean Rouch (1917-), the French ethnographic film-maker, has made most of his films in Africa. So much so, that he is often referred to as the 'Father' of African cinema. Yet, while Rouch and his films are seminal in discussions on documentary film and

visual anthropology, his work has little purchase in anthropology itself.

Apart from his early anthropology in the form of a Ph.D thesis, Rouch wrote little on his film-making and its relationship to anthropology. Most information on this relationship has come through interviews with the man published in a variety of mainly film journals.

Three earlier books on Rouch's work have been published: Mick Eaton's (ed.) *Anthropology - Reality - Cinema: the Films of Jean Rouch* (London, British Film Institute, 1979); Rene Prédal's (ed.) *Jean Rouch, un griot gaulois* (Paris, CinémaAction, No 17) and *Jean Rouch: une retrospective*, a co-publication between the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and CNRS. These were aimed at cineastes, and concentrated on questions of materialism, ideology, method and documentation. They offer detailed filmographies, comments on selected films, interviews and/or short articles by Rouch himself.

The Cinema of Jean Rouch was originally a special issue of *Visual Anthropology*. The text, fortunately also available as a book, is one of the first anthropologically inflected tomes to appear in English. Steven Feld writes on 'Themes in the Cinema of Jean Rouch' with regard to ethnographic practice. He shows how Rouch's film-making draws on the styles of Robert Flaherty's revelatory cinema and Dziga Vertov's Kino-Eye method of materialist newsreel. Rouch's synthesis of these two styles resulted in his method of 'direct cinema', filmic ethnographic fiction, reflexivity and 'shared anthropology'. Paul Stoller discusses 'Jean Rouch's Ethnographic Path' - the multiple influences on Rouch, but especially that of his mentor, anthropologist Marcel Griaule, of Musée de l'Homme in Paris. But Rouch was equally influenced by the mysteries of Songhay cosmology, one of the societies in which he worked in Niger. An extensive interview with Rouch by Enrico Fulchignoni offers valuable information about Rouch, his films, his personal experiences and how he adapted his film-making practices to the situations being documented. This is as close as one gets to a description of Rouch's cinematic method.

Jeanette DeBouzek focuses on the 'surrealist' aspects of Rouch's work. Rouch was heavily influenced by the European surrealist movement of the 1930s, particularly in his use of camera, choice of subject matter, narration and relationship to his subjects. Surrealism defies linear or logical explanation, and this code gave to Rouch a method to record Songhay cosmology - the 'unreal' of the unconscious mind.

Responding to accusations that he only filmed the exotic in faraway places, Rouch teamed up with Edgar Morin to make a film in France. A close textual analysis of editing structure of the resulting seminal reflexive film, *Chronicle of Summer* (1960), is offered by Barry Dornfeld. A detailed Filmography, 1946-1981, by Jay Ruby, completes the book.

With the exception of Ruby who is an anthropologist and who has written extensively on visual anthropology and documentary film, and Paul Stoller, an anthropologist, the other authors in *The Films of Jean Rouch* are mainly drawn from film scholarship, criticism and production. This disciplinary bias is indicative of Rouch's lack of influence on anthropology, the discipline under whose auspices he made all his films. This paradox partly results from conventional anthropology's emphasis on written ethnography and the problems of filmed documentation in relation to writing. Agreement on the meaning of words occurs in lexicons. Pictures offer no such possibility.

Paul Stoller's well written, engaging and fascinating *The Cinematic Griot* is an attempt to redress this lacunae in

anthropological practice and theory of Rouch's life-long contribution.

Stoller as an anthropologist followed Rouch's tracks to the Dogon and Songhay in Mali and Niger. He became known as the 'son of Rouch', just as Rouch had been named by the Songhay as 'the son of Griaule' and was initiated into a number of indigenous practices and rituals. Stoller therefore brings actual participatory ethnographic experience to bear on his analysis of Rouch's films and practices.

Stoller's biography of Rouch is simultaneously an exposition of Rouch's film and anthropological work, cinema and theories, how they developed, what they mean for anthropology, and what they meant for Rouch's African subjects and Stoller himself. A crucial element of Stoller's empathetic narrative is his questioning of Western cartesian rationality, which cannot explain the 'scientifically unthinkable', the para-normal and the unexplainable. Where industrial societies have separated the Subject from the Object, oral cultures retain this ontological integration. Rouch's cinema is geared to understanding this integration in a way that conventional written anthropology could never hope to do. This resulted in Rouch's method of 'shared anthropology', 'ethnographic surreality', and his notion of 'cine trance' (being 'possessed' while filming) which meshed the camera with the organic patterns of rituals and other kinds of ceremonies.

The reference to the *griot* in the book's title refers to Rouch being accorded the status of bard by his African subjects. Through Rouch's films, the people, rituals, social practices and cultures of now long gone activities remain in film documents for the descendants of Rouch's original subject communities. As such their spirits live on in film.

The Cinematic Griot is an important book for anthropologists, ethnographic film-makers, theorists and producers, and media studies. In many ways it builds on (and certainly complements) the more specifically detailed information and analyses grounded in film theory that underpin analyses in *The Cinema of Jean Rouch*. However, Stoller has very little to say on film theory itself, or Rouch's contribution to that theory.

As a film-maker myself who has gone through some extraordinary experiences in some ways similar to those described by Stoller of his own and Rouch's encounters with the Songhay, I found the book a refreshing attempt to break out of the constraining cartesian and historical materialist frameworks imposed on so much anthropological work in recent times.

The Cinema of John Marshall, who is best known in Africa for his films on the Kalahari !Kung, is an excellent source book. Marshall offers a startlingly candid autobiographical account of his film-making in the Kalahari and the United States. This autobiography, entitled 'Filming and Learning' is followed by a number of short contributions by other authors who have worked with Marshall.

Marshall has an innovative pedigree bar none. Following his 1950s expeditions to Africa he worked with the seminal documentary film-makers of the period: Robert Gardner, Ricky Leacock, etc and pioneered the use of new, lighter and portable technologies, in the field.

Basically, the book is about two related struggles confronting Marshall in his long and very close relationship with the !Kung. The first, as Marshall puts it, has been his effort to 'reduce the fantasies' he projects through the camera lens onto other people. The second, has been to oppose the dispossession of the !Kung. In some ways, the latter effort has become Marshall's consuming passion since 1978. This was the year he was allowed to return to

the Kalahari, having been deported from there by the South African occupying government in the late 1950s. The deterioration of the !Kung groups that had occurred in the interim is starkly captured in *N!ai, the Story of a !Kung Woman* (1980), a reflexive documentary which reveals the social and individual breakdown of that band in the era of modernism and apartheid.

Throughout his autobiography, Marshall laces threads of his documentary film theory as it developed over the years. In this he often suggests sensible and useful concepts; at others, he shows an extraordinary naivety in terms of current theories of film and representation. He is impatient with critics who study film as film rather than with the perhaps undesirable conditions of those 'in front of the camera'. This is linked, of course, to his sincere and total concern for the !Kung as people rather than only as images.

The value of *The Cinema of John Marshall* is his honesty, his self-effacing narrative, his experience in numerous contexts, and the background information now made available to commentators of his films. As such, Marshall has put to rest the many rumours that circulated for years on how he 'cheated' on *The Hunters*. What Marshall does not tell us is why he took so long to reveal his cinematic misdemeanours on the film. It was, after all, the most frequently viewed film about Africa at American colleges and universities until the release in that country of *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (1983). Both project the !Kung as a stone-age relic trapped in time.

Other chapters in this highly readable and thoroughly engaging book are adhered to by Sue Marshall Cabezas who provides a photographic essay on the early Marshall expeditions, while Clair Ritchie and Megan Biesele offer critical commentaries on current developments. A fascinating interview with Marshall, in which he largely debunks (academic) anthropology, is published. An essay somewhat critical of Marshall's theories by Nancie Gonzalez cautions against some of Marshall's less sophisticated ideas and reminiscences. Indispensable to archival researchers is John Bishop's guide on how to use the Ju/'hoan Bushman Archive at the Smithsonian Institution.

Innovation in Ethnographic Film differs from the above books in that anthropologist and film-maker Peter Loizos offers a compendium of engaging and useful critiques of a variety of documentary films. He is primarily interested in the how four particular innovative dimensions have impacted documentation in ethnographic film-making: production technology, subject matter, strategies of argument, and ethnographic authentication. While Loizos deals with films made all over the world, he includes numerous titles on Africans. One of his case studies, '... From Innocent Realism to Self-awareness', examines the Marshall !Kung San films. Though *The Hunters* (1958), a romanticised narrative of the Bushman myth on the back of which *The Gods Must Be Crazy* films rode to international financial success, drew much from Robert Flaherty's 'man vs nature' theme. The sequence films he developed with Tim Asch on !Kung activities provides the seminal model for descriptive case histories of ethnographic events. *N!ai* was Marshall's coming to self-consciousness about the sometimes devastating effects of anthropological and commercial intrusions into previously pre-modern social formations. This film is also discussed by Loizos in his section on 'Biographies and Portraits'.

A later chapter on 'Documentation Realism' discusses two of Rouch's films made in the Ivory Coast. Loizos shows how Rouch created for audiences a sense of 'being there'. But his real point is to signal the extent to which other younger film-makers are indebted to Rouch.

Two further chapters concentrate on East African ethnographic films. The first deals with American David and Judith MacDougalls' rural East African films (1971-76) under the heading, 'Complex Constructions with Subjective Voices'. The MacDougalls' films were landmark contributions which broke with the more conventional and distanced objectivity of fly-on-the-wall observationalism. They were exploratory and inquiring rather than privileging the didacticism of the expert voice-over. Instead of knowledge being imposed by the film-maker, here it comes through the voices of the answering subjects themselves. This is a personal and experiential mode of address which develops the idea of shared anthropology. The next chapter deals with films on the Masai made for Granada TV's Disappearing World Series. This genre Loizos calls 'Televised Culture'.

The innovations discussed by Loizos have resonance for Africans as 'actors' in films in that all of the directors he writes about have tried to overcome the distancing and often patronising power relations that govern conventional film-making which delineate 'Them' from 'Us'. These are attempts to facilitate partnerships and empower subject voices, to reveal indigenous stories from 'inside' cultures. As such, these practices and partnerships have fundamental implications for the notion of an 'African cinema'.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM

Editors: Rolf Hushman, Ingrid Wellinger, Johannes Rühl, and Martin Taureg

Published by: LIT-Verlag, Hamburg/Münster, Germany. 1993
310 pages, ISBN 3-89473-352-7, Price: DM 38.00, \$ 25.00

It has been on its way for some time, and now it is here. It is a rather ambitious work of reference, which will be of a considerable help in the future. Especially students of visual anthropology who need an introduction to the discipline will benefit from this book. Now you no longer need to use half a term searching for the existing and relevant literature.

The bibliography consists of five main sections: 1) a comprehensive list of books and articles on visual anthropology; 2) reports on conferences and festivals; 3) lists of film catalogues, filmographies and bibliographies; 4) lists of film reviews; and finally 5) a section indexed five ways on ethnographic film. It has more than 3,000 references, including some 1,000 film reviews, which makes it '... the most comprehensive guide to all kinds of written material on ethnographic film(s)'. An impressive work, indeed.

In the brief introduction and manual to the book, one finds some editorial considerations regarding one of the traditional problems within visual anthropology: how to define the ethnographic film. The editors agree with most visual anthropologists that: 'Ethnographic film is still a term that up to date has not been defined in a satisfactory way'. Even though the editors do not try to add their own definition in words, the listing, and with it, the selection of ethnographic films represents perhaps one of the most thorough attempts to define the ethnographic film: either it is mentioned in this bibliography or it is not.

Searching for books and films, and who-wrote-what-about-them, the bibliography quickly becomes a handbook for information retrieval. But to fulfil the purpose of a handbook, and

here comes the only complaint, one does miss a heading on each page as a quick guidance to the different chapters and indexes.

Beside this minor technical problem of knowing one's way around in the bibliography, it rapidly becomes an indispensable book to have on the shelves.

Hans Henrik Philipsen & Birgitte Markussen
University of Aarhus, Denmark

Film Reviews

The Journey Back - The Earth is Our Mother Part II

16mm, 50 minutes

Directed by: Peter Elsass

Distribution: National Film Board of Denmark

Box 2153, 1016 Copenhagen K, Denmark

Phone: +45 33 13 26 86. Fax: +45 33 13 02 03

- (Elsass): 'What do you think about this film?'
- (An Arhuaco indian): 'It's OK, but we could have made it better ourselves.'
- (Elsass): 'Would you be so kind as to repeat it a little bit louder?'
- (the Arhuaco-Indian): 'Louder?'
- (Elsass): 'Yes, please.'

The Journey Back is a film about a film. It is a description of a Danish film crew returning to Columbia to show their first film, *The Earth is Our Mother*, to the people involved. The film crew wants to ask the actors about their opinion of the film and if they can make any use of it. The main characters are the Arhuaco indians living as an ethnic minority in the Sierra Nevada of Columbia.

The story of *The Journey Back* is given by the chain of events as they take place during the journey. The film is opened by the director, Peter Elsass, asking the Arhuaco indians about the film; subsequently, the story turns towards the question of how the Arhuacos want to use the present film. In this way the film tries to combine the role of being a messenger of the Arhuaco indians transmitting their world-view to the surrounding society, as well as being a self-reflection on film as a medium for such kind of communication.

When the director asks the Arhuaco indians about their opinion of the film, it is difficult to get an answer. When he finally gets it, it is straight forward: the film is OK, but it contains a lot of mistakes, and for this reason the Arhuaco indians believe they could have made it better - in the sense: more accurate and more true from their point of view. On the other hand they admit that the films are understandable representations of their culture in Columbia, as well as in the rest of the world. Both films (*The Earth is Our Mother* and *The Journey Back*) are, in other words, alternative ways for the Arhuaco indians to communicate the need of the Arhuaco indians for land and for political recognition.

By reflecting on what the film itself is used for outside the cinemas and television sets, *The Journey Back* is a contextualization of film as a narrative media. Related to anthropology in a broader sense, this film is an important and interesting development of the discussion of advocacy and the debate on representation of the 1980s.

While shooting the film three of the local *Mamu*-leaders were killed, probably by the Columbian military, and the crew decides to stop shooting, and stop advocating, because they fear their presence is doing more harm than good to the Arhuaco indians. They find themselves involved in the local power structure which should not be of any surprise to anybody. Being a representation, film will always involve rules of speaking and listening. Some people possess the power to speak while others are sentenced to silence. One of the local principles of such a power structure becomes explicit in the film itself. Elsass creates this situation asking the Arhuaco indians about the film. The question is spontaneously followed by an almost painful silence, until he asks the people who are capable of speaking.

Elsass concludes his film by saying: '*Our journey with the film will soon be over. The indians didn't have a lot of comments to our first film. It seemed as if we needed the film much more than they did.*' This conclusion might be a misunderstood interpretation of the silence of the Arhuaco indians; they speak only when they think it is appropriate to do so. But as soon as the Arhuaco indians address the camera, we are told they want the film, and that they can benefit from it.

The question concerning the disastrous unintended side effects of the filming: the possible connection between the presence of the film crew and the murder of the three *Mamu*-leaders, has to do with the unescapable moral aspects of advocacy. A moral of being present and acting in a conflictive region of the world. If there is some-body to be blamed for the killings, is the blame on the film crew, or is the militant and violent regime to be blamed?

Moral dilemmas like the one Elsass and his crew express, and which make them stop their project, are to some extent present in all anthropological film-making. The question is whether we, the anthropologists and film-makers, possess the knowledge of knowing when to stop the camera, stop the representation, and sentence the involved people to silence. It is obvious from the film, that suppressed people like the Arhuaco indians know perfectly well how dangerous their messages are, they know it might be fatal to raise their voice. But do they have any choice? Their culture and their way of living might not survive if they are unable to communicate with the surrounding society in one way or the other. And who are we to stop that communication? Once this journey has started it is a moral question to go back as well as to continue.

Birgitte Markussen and Hans Henrik Philipsen
University of Aarhus, Denmark

ADVENTURERS AND AMATEURS

- A review of: *Rouch's Gang*

16mm, 70 minutes

Directors: Steef Meyknecht, Dirk Nijland and Joost Verhey.

Production and distribution: MM Produkties, Van Hallstraat 52, 1051 HH Amsterdam, Holland, Tel/fax: +31 20 686587.

Jean Rouch is already a highly valued person within ethnographic film-making. His works are well-known and his style and method - cinema direct - appreciated and pursued by many schools and institutions of documentary and ethnographic film-making. His own production of 140 films, the tons of articles written about him, and recently a book of tribute, what more attention can we give this person, who always asked for it? Has this man and his works indeed not received enough appraisal and cherish?

Perhaps. But after having seen *Rouch's Gang*, a film by a gang of Dutch film-makers, Steef Meyknecht, Dirk Nijland, Joost Verhey, I have a renewed appetite for venturing into the universe of Rouch, and exploring his 'method', which this film so clearly reveals to us, a method which is far too fabulous and adventurous to be called only a method. The 'secret' of Rouch's films is far more than method. It is rather that of spirit, which could never originate from one man alone, but precisely needs a gang of playful and adventurous guys. *Rouch's Gang* seeks to explore this spirit which characterizes and pervades their films, having its source of origin in a loving, joking, and long-lasting friendship.

The film, although being also a portrait of Jean Rouch (the gang leader), has its clear strength in rather being a portrait of a relationship. A bunch of friends, a gang including Lam, Damouré, Tallou, Moussa and Jean, who found each other many years ago in Niger, in their youth (about 50 years ago), where they made their first films together, and who have managed to keep in contact ever since. Now they have decided on yet an adventure, i.e. a new film 'event', *Madame L'eau*, and this becomes the obvious narrative (structure) of *Rouch's Gang*, namely the preparations for, and making of, *Madame L'eau*. Call it a meta-film (a film about a film) and yawn, but getting to know the gang in the middle of one of their adventures, i.e. in the process of making a film and not just through interviews, is simply crucial for an understanding of this special relationship, and for the success of the film. Needless to say, *Rouch's Gang* is itself filmed in the style of *cinéma direct*.

The film begins by introducing the five members of the gang with minimal and formal information - name, age, position in life and in the gang, and for how long they have known each other. This is nicely done via superimposed intertitles through a sequence in which the gang leader, Jean Rouch, goes to the airport to pick up the rest of the gang. While he is waiting, or so it feels, the persons to arrive are being introduced to us through short intercuts, from the Paris international airport to their home surroundings in Niger. Firstly, Lam Ibrahim Dia, farmer and actor, coming out of his farmer's hut, and then we see Jean receiving Lam in the airport. Secondly, Moussa Hamidou, 'oral chronicler and sound man', in his local sound studio and then at the airport in Paris; thirdly, Damouré Zika, health worker and actor, and finally, Tallou Mouzourame, carter and actor. When all five, Lam, Moussa, Damouré, Tallou, and Jean, are gathered, we get the final 'formal' piece of information: The gang has been making both ethnographic and feature films together. Now they are arriving for *Madame L'eau*, a new film, in which they will be 'searching for

windmills that can help supply water in the Sahel'. In this arriving scene we already get a sense of their joking relationship, the 'spirit' of play and acting silly. Jean Rouch brings them all to Amsterdam where a luxury house-boat has been booked for them. Across the channel, on the ferry, Jean Rouch has a further introduction to his gang, 'Just like Flaherty we are all amateurs', he begins, and then he gives a description of each gang member as being both an amateur and an adventurer. This is somehow the common characteristic of all five members. 'In other words', he concludes, 'we are all adventurers and amateurs'.

In a sequence a little further on, their relationship is analyzed by the gang members themselves. The occasion is a panel discussion in connection with a cinema-screening, 'Retrospectief' in Amsterdam, of the gang's earlier films: *Jaguar* (1954-67) and *Cocorico, Monsieur Poulet* (1974). 'With Jean we are all cousins ... he isn't our boss and it isn't just friendship', says Lam, 'because we can insult him ... we can say anything to him. He knows what people from Niger are like. They love making fun of people. That's why I feel like a cousin of Jean Rouch'. Damouré finds it more like a father-son relationship, as they have always been able to ask Jean for help, he would always be there, etc. While Jean himself does not approve of the father role and is more attracted to the idea of Cousinage - 'a cathartic alliance, a joking relationship' - the truth could be somewhere in between. At least the portrayals of *Rouch's Gang* seem to suggest that, although it is a gang of jolly cousins, the gang has its leader/patron/engineer. Jean Rouch invites his cousins to join him on an adventurous voyage. He may be the paymaster/provisioner but without his cousins there will be no adventure. The framing is there, but the content is still unknown and will be decided as they go along, collectively.

Choice of location is most crucial. In a lovely scene from the wind-swept Dutch dunes, where Jean, Lam and Tallou have placed themselves to carry out a prediction as to the right location, and somehow brought the filming crew into a bit of wonder about what is really going on here (or so it seems), a question arises which somehow imposes itself onto the scene: 'They want to know how we make our films'. And from our jolly cousins Lam and Tallou we receive, of course, some very sincere answers! Such as, 'Everytime we make a film we first visit the location. We choose a spot, talk about it and try it out', and 'If we're working on a film we become completely obsessed. We try and think until it is good. And the result is beautiful'.

In the following sequences, the gang and the film crew for *Madame L'eau* go searching for locations as well as for the type of windmill that would be appropriate to build along the banks of river Niger in Sahel. Joined together with a longer clip from *Cocorico, Monsieur Poulet*, this part of the film explains to us how elements of unpredictability, inventiveness, 'bricolage', and a bit of magic have always been granted great significance by Rouch's gang.

Rouch's Gang has given me appetite for *Madame L'eau*, for future Rouch 'n gang films, and for those I still haven't seen. I expect *Madame L'eau* will, like other of Rouch's films, remind me, fellow anthropologists, and hopefully some persons in the business of development aid, of the importance of joking and 'cousinage' relationships, 'even' in exchange relationships as serious, and sometimes awkward, as development aid.

Linda Jonsen
CVA Newsletter, Aarhus

World Events

Margaret Mead Film Festival, 4-10 October, 1993.

This year's festival includes a number of special sessions such as Jean Rouch films, a retrospective on the films of Timothy Asch, and a celebration of indigenous video and film-making. These three topics also form part of a conference, *Revisions/Revisits/Realities*, which is held in conjunction (4-7 October) with the Margaret Mead Film Festival. The conference is organized by the Department of Anthropology and The Center for Media, Culture, and History of New York University and consists of five different sessions:

'Shared Anthropology' focuses on the films of Jean Rouch. Screenings and discussions will consider Rouch's commitment to collaborative cinematic work in relation to the emergence of African cinema and new understandings of anthropology and ethnographic film.

'Shared Histories' will address Rouch's work in relation to the post-colonial period in West Africa, a time of changing self-consciousness for Africans in respect to their own past and in relation to their former colonizers.

'Indigenous Interventions' will explore the work of Frances Peters, an Aboriginal media-maker, as interventions in the dominant culture's stereotyped portrayals of indigenous lives, cultures, and histories.

'Indigenous Realities' looks at the work of Igloodik Isuma Productions in relation to the emergence of film and video work by indigenous media-makers as a way to reclaim history and culture on their own terms.

Finally, 'Revisits/Revisions' addresses the film work of Timothy Asch which set the stage for a new vision of ethnographic film, combining the observational approach of direct cinema with a collaborative and reflexive method.

Conference of the German Association for Ethnography, Leipzig, 4-10 October 1993. AV-Media in Ethnographic Museums

The basic idea of the symposium is to discuss current trends in the use of audio-visual media in the exhibitions of ethnographic museums. The symposium, which is part of the conference of the German Association of Ethnography, is organized by the German Work Group on Visual Anthropology and will consist of presentations by Dr. Michael Faber (Vice Chairman of AVICOM), Dr. Andreas Meyer (Ethnographic Museum, Berlin), Marc Isphording (Ethnographic Museum, Rotterdam), Dr. Torben Lundbæk (National Museum, Copenhagen), Klaus Krieg (AV Digital, Stuttgart), and Dr. Sharon Macdonald (Keele University, UK). For further information please contact:

Martin Prösler, Am kleinen Ämmerle 13, D-72070 Tübingen, Germany.

THE FORMAN LECTURE 1993: CULTURE AND MEDIA: A MILD POLEMIC

to be given by Professor Faye Ginsburg, New York University

at The Medical School, Oxford Road, Manchester
on Monday 8 November, Lecture 5PM
Followed by a reception

Anthropology has paid remarkably little attention to the most widespread means of culture production in the world today: film, television and video. Many anthropologists view such media as disruptive, if not corrupting the small-scale, non-Western societies with which the subject is still identified. Even the field of "ethnographic film" has focused on visual media as a mode of documentation rather than as part of the social process. This lecture will argue for an expansion of the field to include research into the creation and consumption of visual media in different cultural and national contexts.

Faye Ginsburg, a former producer of television documentaries, is Associate Professor of Anthropology at New York University where she is Director of both the Graduate Program in Culture and Media, and the Rockefeller Center for Media, Culture and History. Her anthropological work includes the film *Prairie Storm* and an award-winning book *Contested Lives: The Abortion Debate in an American Community*. She is currently researching the development of film, video and television by Aboriginal Australians.

The sponsorship of the Forman Lecture reflects Granada Television's continuing support for ethnographic film-making established through the series *Disappearing World* and the funding of the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology.

For further information please contact:

The Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology
University of Manchester
Coupland II Building
Manchester M13 9PL
UK
Fax.: +44 61 275 2529

6 DAYS ON THE 4TH WORLD, INDIGENOUS PEOPLE - A WORLD APART, November 23-28, Cinema Theatre of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

The National Group: Denmark at IWGIA (International Work group for Indigenous Affairs) and the Centre for Education at the National Museum in Copenhagen announce one week of films about the Fourth World. The event is organized on the occasion of The 1993 International Year for the World's Indigenous People launched by the United Nations General Assembly.

While the overall theme suggests a common situation for different indigenous people, and the films to be shown raise several of the same questions concerning self-government and rights to land, life and culture, differences will be elucidated as

well. Each day's programme focuses on one part of the world, including from three to five film examples of different situations for different indigenous people of the same continent.

For further information please contact: IWGIA, Fiolstræde 10, DK-1171 Copenhagen K., Tel.: +45 33 124724, Fax: +45 33 147749.

The History of Ethnographic Film, Hamburg, 4-6 February 1994.

The Ethnographic Museum of Hamburg will be the venue for a weekend featuring 'The History of Ethnographic Film'. A number of classical ethnographic films, including works by Pöch, Haddon, Flaherty, Edison, and Lumiere, will be shown combined with paper presentations. More recent ethnographic films will be presented by a number of anthropologists from Germany and elsewhere. For further information please contact:

Dr. Gerd Becker, Institut für Ethnologie, Universität Hamburg, Rothenbaumchaussee 64a, D-20148 Hamburg, Germany, Fax.: +49 40 41232449

10th Days of Independent Film

Augsburg, 16-20 March, 1994

The *Days of Independent Film* will as usual feature an international festival for documentary and committed feature films by independent film-makers. There will also be special sessions with national selections and retrospectives of renowned documentarists. An international conference of film students forms part of the event.

For further information please contact:

Days of Independent Film
Attn.: Dieter Rieken
Schroeckstrasse 8
D-86152 Augsburg
Germany
Fax.: +49 821 155518

GÖTTINGEN INTERNATIONAL ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM FESTIVAL

May 12-15 1994

Organized by Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film
Göttingen

In September 1993 the **Göttingen International Ethnographic Film Festival** took place for the first time. Some 180 film-makers and anthropologists interested in film from 16 different countries met in Göttingen and watched and discussed 24 recent films from East and West, from *Volkskunde/Folklore* and *Völkerkunde/Anthropology*. The great success of this festival and numerous

enthusiastic comments from outside have resulted in the IWF's decision to make the **Göttingen International Ethnographic Film Festival** a regular event to be held every second year in May, starting from 1994.

The festival will be open to film-makers as well as anthropologists in a wide sense of the term. It aims at screening new film productions made in a variety of styles and from as many different countries as possible. Organized as a Central European event, films from that area will be accepted with particular interest, so that the festival can successfully act as a forum for film-makers and anthropologists from East and West. Furthermore, special emphasis will be placed on students' entries by organizing a competition in which a "Students Award" is given to the best student film. Entries for this competition must be made by film-makers who were students at the time of the film's production.

From all the films submitted for screening at the festival an International Selection Committee will select the final programme. This committee consists of the following scholars: Rolf W. Brednich (Germany), Peter Ian Crawford (Denmark), Steef Meyknecht (Netherlands), Colette Piauxt (France), Hans-Ulrich Schlumpf (Switzerland), Janos Tari (Hungary).

Deadline for film submissions: 20 January, 1994

Festival fee: 80,-DM (students 40,-DM). With registration and payment until 15 March, 1994, a 25% discount on the fee becomes effective.

For inquiries, detailed information on regulations, submission of films, and registration for participation, please write to:

Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film
C/o Göttingen Festival
Nonnenstieg 72
D-37075 Göttingen
Germany
Tel: +49 551 202219
Fax: +49 551 202200

VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

15th NAFA Conference, Stockholm, 26-29 May 1994

The 15th Nordic Anthropological Film Conference will take place 26-29 May 1994 at Folkens Museum - Etnografiska, Stockholm. The main theme of the conference is Visual Anthropology and New Technologies - Explorations into interactive electronic media, visual databases, multimedia as tools for teaching and presentation. More information will be sent out during autumn and winter, but should you already be interested in participating and/or have experience and good ideas as to the conference theme, then please contact:

Knut Ekström, Assessorsgatan 18B, S-116 58 Stockholm, Sweden
Tel: +46 8 412189, Fax: +46 8 7203032

and/or

Ulla Edberg, Folkens Museum - Etnografiska, Djurgårdsbrunnsv. 34, S-115 27 Stockholm, Sweden.

Tel: +46 8 6665000, Fax: +46 86665070

ARCTIC FILM FESTIVAL

The 4TH INTERNATIONAL ARCTIC FILM FESTIVAL will take place in Holte, Denmark, 16-18 August, 1994.

The first Arctic film festival took place in Dieppe, France, June 1983, the second in Rovaniemi, Finland, September 1986 and the third in Ferno, Italy, May 1989.

The aims of the Arctic film festivals are:

- to promote knowledge of Arctic films
- to allow exchange of information and different points of view
- to promote the distribution of arctic films by awarding prizes
- to stimulate the need of new arctic films

The 4th International Arctic Film Festival under the honorary presidency of Professor Jean Malaurie is organized by the city of Søllerød in cooperation with Centre d'Etudes Arctiques (CNRS-EHESS), Paris.

The festival will be held at: REPRISÉ TEATRET, Øverødvej 12, DK-2840 Holte, DENMARK.

Films submitted to the Arctic film festival should be related to the arctic and/or sub-arctic from any perspective: human, environmental, geographical, industrial, political, historical, touristic, adventure... We call for films of all genres, produced after 1974, by both private persons or by public bodies. About 30 films will be selected to enter the festival competition.

The festival also includes a non-competitive screening of a number of arctic films, produced before 1974.

For information on submission criteria, registration and final dates, etc. please contact:

4th International Arctic Festival
General secretariat
Fonds Polaire
Att. Sylvie Devers
Bibliothèque Centrale de Museum
38, Rue Geoffroy Saint Hilaire
7500 Paris
France
Tel: +33 1 4079 3647
Fax: +33 1 4074 3656

or the Danish Festival Secretariat:

Eva Rude
Ved Furesøen 12
DK-2840 Holte
Denmark
Tel: +45 42 421768

World News

A Letter from Muzeul Civilizatiei Populare din Romania

Messieurs,

En 1992, à Sibiu, le Musée de la Civilisation Populaire-ASTRA-, a fondé le premier Studio de films au sein d'un musée. Ce fut une première sur le plan national.

Nos projets sont complexes. Nous nous proposons de réaliser des films documentaires ethnologiques, des films artistiques mais aussi des documentaires - essais en images - où le discours présente une problématique appartenant au domaine de la philosophie de la culture.

Nos productions ont été présentées dans des manifestations culturelles comme le 'Festival International de Poésie' de Sibiu en 1992 ou au CNRS en France où nos films ont reçu le qualificatif 'd'Avant Garde'.

Bien que nous ne prétendions aucunement nous substituer à une Ecole de Cinéma, notre conception du cinéma étant plutôt attachée à un point de vue anthropologique et/ou philosophique, nous vous proposons pour un enrichissement mutuel, de collaborer avec notre Studio en vue d'un échange d'opinions et d'expériences dans le cadre de stages de perfectionnement.

A présent, nous sommes en train d'organiser un Festival du Film Documentaire (ethnologiques et artistique) dans l'espoir de mobiliser nos collègues et de bénéficier d'un échange d'opinions et d'expériences.

C'est pourquoi, nous vous demandons de nous mettre en contact avec des spécialistes qui seraient intéressés à prendre part à une telle manifestation.

Nous vous communiquerons toutes les informations pratiques utiles (dates, voyage, frais, etc..) dans une prochaine lettre.

Films proposés par notre Studio

1. *La force de demeurer* (13')

Un film documentaire-essai qui veut décrypter l'essence spirituelle d'un groupe ethnique ayant conservé intact des rites et des comportements archétypaux: la religion, la danse, conçue comme intégration cosmique, l'acte ludique, le travail, la conception philosophique de la mort sont quelques éléments permettant de comprendre le message du film.

2. *Camp de vacances* (10')

Un documentaire tourné à la suite d'un camp de vacances de plasticiens: 100 élèves des Lycées d'Art Plastique ont passé deux semaines dans le Musée, choisi pour être un lieu d'inspiration.

3. *Sucre du Bois* (12')

Partant d'un événement, un symposium de sculpture monumentale en bois, le film est un véritable discours esthétique sur le sens du sacrifice et de l'art. L'arbre sacrifié devient transcendance concept, idée, objet d'art, statue.

4. *Museum vivum* (20')

Un documentaire présentant le Musée en plein air et toutes ses activités au cours d'une année: Festivals, Fêtes, Foires, Symposiums, etc..

Tous les films sont traduits en plusieurs langues: français, allemand, anglais.

Dans l'espoir de recevoir de votre part une réponse favorable concernant notre intégration au circuit des studios internationaux de films documentaires et la possibilité pour nous d'entrer en contact avec nos collègues, nous vous prions, Chers Messieurs, de recevoir nos salutations distinguées.

Dimiotru Budrala (Chef de l'audiovisuel)

Simona Bealcovschi (Scénariste)

M.c.p.-ASTRA

Studioul de film - ASTRA

2400 - Sibiu

Roumanie

Brief summary in English (by Colette Piaux, SFAV, Paris)

The Museum of Sibiu in Roumania has created a Studio for the production of documentary films. The films are anthropological, artistic, and philosophical. The Studio would like specialists to benefit from exchanges of experiences and opinions and is organizing a documentary film festival to which people interested are welcome. They invite anybody interested in this work to get in touch and will provide further information about the festival in a future letter. The films in the Studio (see list) exist in French, German, and English versions.

Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis. European Center for the Study of Humanities, Ljubljana.

The Postgraduate Programme for 1993/94 of the recently established European Center for the Study of Humanities in Ljubljana features a number of courses relevant for students interested in visual anthropology. Apart from a specific programme concerning media and spectacle studies, which includes e.g. a module on 'Film Theory and Analyses', the postgraduate programme in 'Mediterranean Studies' consist of a number of modules pertinent to anthropology in general and, due to the visit of Dr. Peter Loizos (London School of Economics), a series of ethnographic films will be shown and discussed (April/May 1994).

For further information please contact:

Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis,
European Center for the Study of Humanities,
Stari trg 11a,
SI-61000 Ljubljana,
Slovenia,
Fax.: +3861 125 338,
E-mail: ish@uni-mb.si

48th International Congress of Americanists, July 1994

'Emic/etic perspectives in anthropological film-making'

Call for videos of indigenous film-makers

While there is a growing interest in the subject of Visual Anthropology, approaches have changed over the past 40 years. It is unanimously agreed upon, however, that emic and etic perspectives should both be recognized as valuable and different approaches in visual anthropology. Especially American Indians have been most active in using video recording for documenting their own culture. The ICA organizers have therefore decided to set up a video library during the conference containing such films. Video films are therefore invited to be sent in which are examples of these emic films made by people about their own culture, as well as films made by such film-makers portraying themselves and their work.

For further information please contact:

Beate Engelbrecht, IWF, Nonnenstieg 72, D-37075 Göttingen, Germany, Fax: +49 551 202200 or

Elizabeth Weatherford, Nat. Museum of the American Indian, Broadway at 115th Street, New York, NY 10032, U.S.A., Fax.: +1 212 4919302 or

Penelope M. Harvey, Dept. of Social Anthropology, Roscoe Building, Brunswick Street, Manchester M13 9PL, England. Fax.: +44 61 2754023.

FORTHCOMING

A report by Vincent Carelli and Dominique T. Gallois on the 'Video in the Villages' project in Brazil

A report by Judit Csorba on the Göttingen International Ethnographic Film Festival

A report by Peter Ian Crawford on a video project among children and youth in the province of Niassa, northern Mozambique

A report by Asen Balicki on present and future projects in the Balkans

Reports concerning the activities of the Commission

Reviews of films, videos, and books

Reports and reviews from festivals, conferences and projects

World news and future events

New publications and film/video productions

New publications and films/videos

Yaray Yesso. Der Weg nach vorn

88 mins., 16mm, colour, German translation. Director: Sophie Kotanyi, Camera: Fritz Poppenberg, Günther Heidrich, Sophie Kotanyi, Ingo Kratisch, Sound: Annegret Fricke, Horst Zinsmeister, Editing: Eva Oudova, Eva Schlensag, Production: SO-36 Film, ESON-Film, Year of release: 1991, Distributor: Verleih der Filmemacher München, Zentnerstrasse 11, München 40, Germany, Fax.: +49 89 524274.

Set in Boé in Guinea-Bissau the film explores how concepts such as 'development' and 'progress' are perceived by the local population. The film shows the impact 'development' has for the local community and the changes it imposes on everyday life. (The film will be reviewed in the next issue of the CVA Newsletter)

Djarama Boé. Danke, Grüsse Boé

80 mins, 16mm, colour. German subtitles. Director: Sophie Kotanyi, Camera: Fritz Poppenberg, Günther Heidrich, Sophie Kotanyi, Ingo Kratisch, Tamara Wyss, Sound: Annegret Fricke, Horst Zinsmeister, Editing: Eva Oudova, Eva Schlensag, Production: SO-36 Film, ESON-Film, Year of release: 1991, Distributor: Verleih der Filmemacher München, Zentnerstrasse 11, München 40, Germany, Fax.: +49 89 524274.

The film portrays the life of Julio Djaló and his family in the village of Béli in the savannah landscape - or Boé - of Guinea-Bissau. The film concentrates on everyday life which is undergoing change due to the existence of a development project. (The film will be reviewed in the next issue of the CVA Newsletter)

La Musica é quattro

55 mins, 16mm, B/W. Sardi/Italian (English version available). Director: Rosali Schweizer, Camera: Victor Zenputzu, Sound: Anastas Mancini, Editing: Nina Ehtagang, Dolly Kuhn, Musical consultant and production manager: Dante Olianias. Year of release: 1993. Distribution: Rosali Schweizer Filmproduktion, Frühaufstraße 6, D-80999 München, Germany.

The triple clarinet *launeddas* has an unbroken history of 2500 years in Sardinia. 77-year old Aurelio Porcu is the last representative of the old-fashioned style of playing. His experience enlivening village dances, accompanying processions and singers, gives him the flexibility to deal with varied musical contexts. A comparison with Sard music in the 1960s is offered by the use of footage shot in Sardinia by the Danish ethnologist A. Fridolin W. Bentzon. (The film will be reviewed by Peter I. Crawford in the next issue of the CVA Newsletter)

YEARBOOK OF VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Published by the Institute of Anthropology, University of Florence, with the academic sponsorship of the Commission of Visual Anthropology.

Editor: Paolo Chiozzi
Associate Editor: Allison Jablonko

The yearbook intends to be a forum for reflection and debate on questions concerning visual anthropology and the anthropology of visual communication. Each issue will present a number of contributions (papers, film and book reviews, commentaries, etc.) focusing on specific subject.

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Both theoretical and methodological perspectives on the subject will be welcome. Thus contributions on research experiences and on outstanding theoretical issues will be published, as well as papers discussing the interaction between visual anthropology and "mainstream anthropology".

The yearbook intends to emphasize a cross-disciplinary approach, and therefore will accept papers from other human sciences dealing with visual research, such as Sociology, Psychology, Human Ecology, etc.

Vol.1 - 1993 *1942-92: Visual Anthropology Fifty Years after "Balinese Characters"* (September 1993), Papers by: M. Canevacci, R. Chalfen, P. Chiozzi, T. de Bromhead, A. & M. Jablonko, R. Kohn, H. Larson, V. Lattanzi, L. Operti.

Vol.2 - 1994 *Appearing Worlds*, CALL FOR PAPERS:

Migrations, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Identity, Cross-cultural dynamics,... Please submit papers to the editor directly or to the member of the Editorial Board of your own country.

Subscription rates: Lit. 50.000 (+7000 for airmail outside Europe)

Address: Angelo Pontecorboli Editore
Via S.Slataper 10
I-50134 Florence
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Fax: +39 55 473164

For any other information please contact the editor:

Paolo Chiozzi,
Institute of Anthropology,
Via del Proconsolo 12, I-50122 Florence, Italy,
Fax: +39 55 2398065

A HANDBOOK ON VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Paolo Chiozzi, *Manuale di Antropologia Visuale*.

An introduction to Visual Anthropology for under-graduate and graduate students.

Part 1: History, Theories, Method

Part 2: Problems and Trends

Appendix 1 & 2

Published in 1993 by:
EDIZIONI UNICOPLI
Via Soperga 13 - 20127 Milano (Italy)
Fax: +39 2 66986492

CLASSIFIED

Life Story of an African Inyanga - A 28 minute documentary video on the life story of a Zulu herbalist, Mhlahlo Mlotshwa, son of a famous rain prophetess. The video is dramatic as well as scientific in identifying several herbs, their preparation and use. Available on all video formats from VHS to broadcast. Price list from: Regulus Ethnographic Media Productions, PO Box 10372, 4056 Marine Parade, Durban, South Africa.

Agents outside North America welcome.

Necklace - A 37 minute docu-drama on the violent struggle in South African township. Two gangs clash and spiral into a circle of violence with tragic consequences. Warning: real footage of necklace executed victims included. Available on all video formats. Regulus Ethnographic Media Productions, PO Box 10372, 4056 Marine Parade, Durban, South Africa.

Agents in all areas welcome