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COMMISSION D'ANTHROPOLOGIE VISUELLE

# CVA NEWSLETTER

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## Editorial

There is good news and bad news. The bad news is that the CVA has not yet recovered from its financial difficulties. Although an increasing number of subscriptions reveal a faint light at the end of the tunnel, the tunnel seems, at times, to be endless. With the serious situation in mind the new Advisory Board of the Commission met during an otherwise enjoyable Festival dei Popoli in Florence in December 1993. We agreed that, whether we liked it or not, the newsletter could no longer ignore the facts of life of market economies. This unfortunately, dear reader, means that we have been forced to introduce paid subscriptions starting with this volume (1994). Details are given in the order form on page 52.

It means that if you are one of the lucky persons to have received this newsletter by mail and have not paid for it, it will be the last issue to reach you unless you take out a subscription. I am afraid this also applies to those readers who at least have - as requested - submitted information (by the 15 January) that they wished to continue to receive the newsletter. I am sorry to have to bother those readers again and ask them to subscribe and send in a new order form. If you have not received this issue by mail it may be because you have not submitted the information you were requested to submit before 15 January.

Looking at the bright side of the 'new order' it implies that we will no longer be sending out costly issues of the newsletter to people who have not asked for it. It also means that we are in the position to improve the services of the newsletter. Most significantly it will imply that subscribers will receive the newsletter as soon as it is published and not weeks - or in some cases - months later. It also means that we shall be able to provide a more up-to-date news service, especially with the introduction of two intermediary 'news and announcements' issues to be distributed by e-mail or fax (or air mail). These issues will be produced twice a year based on information received on the dead-line dates of the 'proper' newsletters. Ideally this will result in the following annual schedule for the CVA Newsletter in the future:

15 February:	Dead-line for first issue
February:	First intermediary issue (e-mail/fax/air mail)
April/May:	First issue printed
15 August:	Dead-line for second issue
August:	Second intermediary issue
October/November:	Second issue printed

Reports and review articles, and other matters sent on disk will be accepted up to a month later than these guiding dead-lines. And, please, do try to submit material on disk. The newsletter is produced with no salaries or professional typing assistance whatsoever and disks do (although they can be a nuisance) save lots of time.

The gloomy financial situation and other matters will be discussed again by the Advisory Board at a meeting to be held during the Göttingen International Ethnographic Film Festival in May 1994. If you have any matters you wish the Advisory Board to attend to please feel free to contact any of the members (addresses in CVA Newsletter 1/93).

The good news is that you have this issue in your hands. It was turned into a double issue for various reasons, some of which are related to the difficulties described above. The more positive

reason is that we all of a sudden realized that we were receiving an increasing amount of interesting material from around the world. We thus received a number of unedited papers from the conference on the Americas held in conjunction with the Royal Anthropological Institute Film Festival in Manchester in September 1992. Several of these interesting papers are now being revised and we are pleased to be able to include Barbara Keifenheim's paper in this issue. Other revised papers will appear in the next issue.

Keifenheim's paper confirms the interest of the Commission in issues concerning 'indigenous film-making', an interest also revealed in Galloix and Carelli's contribution to this issue. Faithful readers will have realized that their report updates accounts given in this newsletter some years ago, providing new information about the important work done by the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista in the *Video in the Villages* project.

Keyan Tomaselli's report article supplements a number of reports and information from South Africa published in the most recent issues of the newsletter. As this issue goes to print the democratic elections in the country are imminent and hopefully our next issues will contain reports that testify that positive changes have indeed taken place.

Jesikah Ross introduces us to a field which, outside the U.S., has received fairly little attention from visual anthropology. The 'culture' of

community and public access TV most definitely appears to contain all the ingredients for a sustained visual anthropological interest. The scene she describes seems to transgress a distinction between 'our voices' and 'their voices' in its apparent attempted catering for 'all voices'.

Heinz Nigg has saved us from the silence emanating from the sessions held during the IUAES Congress in Mexico last year. His report concerning the project 'Inner Voices' includes the discussion that took place during the meeting in Mexico.

Finally, thanks to the initiative of Sigurjon B. Hafsteinsson, we are able to include an interview with one of the 'pioneers' of the Commission and a substantial contributor to the development of visual anthropology. Jay Ruby's commitment to the development of the discipline - and the account of it provided by the interview - in many ways provides us with a more general account of a particular and very significant era.

For those who are in the fortunate position of having access to electronic mail, it is worth mentioning one of the most recent results of Jay Ruby's efforts. VISCOM (see page 45) is a new e-mail service concerning visual communication in general with considerable potential for visual anthropology debates and exchanges of information and experience as well. We may be using VISCOM for the distribution of the future intermediary issues of the newsletter.

Although we seem to be receiving an increasing amount of (unsolicited) information and material from all over the world, please do not use this as an excuse for not sending your contribution. Send it either directly to the editor or through one of the regional correspondents. The dead-line for the next issue is 15 August (or 15 September if on disk - which it is of course!). By that time we hope to have sufficient material to produce a newsletter which contains both good news and bad news. If you do not subscribe and contribute, however, we cannot.

Peter Ian Crawford  
Editor

## Report and Review Articles

### LE CONCEPT D'IDENTITE ET D'ALTERITE ET LA THEORIE DE REPRESENTATION CHEZ LES INDIENS KASHINAWA

Barbara Keifenheim

#### Introduction

Si le *cinéma ethnologique* constitue idéalement un genre issu de la rencontre de deux disciplines: l'*ethnologie* et le *cinéma*, il me semble indispensable de l'interroger à partir des concepts clés de ces deux disciplines mêmes.

Dans cet exposé, je proposerai donc quelques réflexions en évoquant deux notions qui se trouvent au coeur de l'ethnologie, respectivement de l'audio-visuel:

1. Le problème de l'Autre ou le concept d'identité et d'altérité.
2. Le problème de la représentation.

Si le cinéma ethnologique se fonde donc sur la rencontre de deux disciplines, sa réalisation matérielle se fonde sur un processus d'interactions multiples entre sujets filmés et sujets filmants. La nature et le résultat filmique de ce processus d'interactions dépendent largement de la manière dont les deux questions évoquées entrent implicitement ou explicitement en jeu.

Tout film ethnologique, quelque soit son sujet explicite, révèle le caractère de cette rencontre à travers les moyens spécifiques de son écriture cinématographique.

L'écriture cinématographique date tout film et le renvoie à la théorie et la pratique aussi bien de l'ethnologie que de l'audio-visuel de son époque. Le choix de l'objectif par exemple permet de révéler le degré de proximité réelle ou feinte, voulue ou échouée entre les sujets filmants et les sujets filmés et on pourrait évoquer longuement un par un tous les moyens utilisés (du tournage jusqu'au montage) d'un film et analyser leur rapport avec les notions évoquées plus haut.

Il me semble que des deux problèmes posés, celui du rapport à l'Autre est probablement le plus consciemment vécu par les chercheurs-cinéastes. Ceci vraisemblablement à cause de leur implication personnelle dans le vécu du terrain et à cause de la réflexion inévitable sur l'influence modificatrice de l'observateur et de ses instruments d'enregistrement sur la réalité observée.

Le concept de l'Autre et de la relation qui en découle a profondément marqué l'évolution de la recherche ethnologique. Nous retrouvons ce problème au niveau cinématographique comme rapport entre sujets filmants et sujets filmés et l'évolution du film ethnographique doit beaucoup à la force stimulatrice de cette question.

L'appropriation unilinéaire des images de l'Autre a peu à peu fait place à d'autres concepts plus interactifs en modifiant le rapport sujets filmants - sujets filmés. Cinéma vérité, caméra participante, anthropologie partagée, retour du regard, retour des images, cinéma indigène etc. sont des termes qui témoignent de l'évolution conceptuelle à partir d'une réflexion sur la relation à

l'Autre. Notons quand même que la progression conceptuelle représente essentiellement un processus de réflexion unilatérale des chercheurs-cinéastes. Autrement dit, il s'inscrit dans la pensée occidentale et occulte en général les concepts indigènes dans ce même domaine. Redonner ou donner la parole aux indigènes, rendre compte de la perspective des autres, leur redonner les images prises, leur passer l'outil cinématographique etc. sont des formules conceptuelles qui risquent alors de porter la marque ethnocentrique de ceux qui les ont pensés. Prenons par exemple la phrase de "donner la parole aux indigènes". Comme s'ils avaient besoin qu'on la leur donne. Ils la possèdent déjà pleinement avant même que nous nous affairions devant eux avec nos appareils d'enregistrement. Ce que traduit la formule avant tout, c'est une réaction à une époque où l'on ne se souciait guère d'une pratique de vol d'images. Un vol qui fut souvent renforcé par un commentaire qui rendait l'indigène littéralement muet. C'était un être aliéné puisque coupé de ses paroles que les chercheurs-cinéastes n'ont pas voulu ou su entendre ou dont ils ne sélectionnaient que des morceaux d'illustration pour leur propre discours. (Ceci explique d'ailleurs l'ennui que dégagent d'innombrables films ethnologiques où l'on peut prévoir dès les premières images que la seule fois où un indigène ouvrira la bouche sera pour "cracher" un mythe).

Un certain malaise existe aussi quant aux tentatives de créer un cinéma indigène. Certes, on rompt par là le processus unilatéral entre ceux qui manipulent les outils cinématographiques et ceux qui sont toujours sujets filmés. C'est tout à fait louable. Mais il ne faut pas se donner à l'illusion que cet inversement résout tous les problèmes. Le cinéma est un médium issu de notre propre histoire, de notre sur-valorisation du visuel et de notre fièvre d'archivage dans un monde où tout devient éphémère avant même de s'établir. Rien de tout cela renvoie au monde indien. Ils voient différemment et ils montrent différemment. Ils ont donc leur propre rapport au visuel et leurs propres théories de représentation. En leur apprenant à utiliser nos outils on risque de leur inculquer également notre regard, nos méthodes et nos a-priori culturels. On risque de faire produire des films ethnologiques de deuxième main!

Pour revenir au sujet principal de mon exposé, je répète donc que la réflexion sur la relation à l'Autre a relativement progressé jusqu'à nos jours, mais - et c'était ma critique - largement sans prendre en considération les concepts indigènes quant à cette même question. Ceci est encore plus flagrant pour le deuxième problème.

Nous avons dit que le cinéma ethnologique se réalise dans un processus d'interactions. Il faut préciser maintenant que ce processus est spécifique puisqu'il s'agit d'une interaction médiatique et médiatrice où le concept de représentation et le rapport culturel au visuel sont éminemment impliqués.

Le traitement de ces deux aspects a beaucoup moins stimulé l'histoire du cinéma ethnologique, me semble-t-il, que le problème de l'altérité. Ils semblent plutôt constituer des éléments du bagage culturel des chercheurs-cinéastes sans entrer dans une pratique cinématographique consciente et active. Le traitement de ces questions est plutôt laissé aux théoriciens de l'audio-visuel. A eux le soin d'élaborer comment le cinéma et les instruments/outils lui appartenant s'inscrivent dans la culture occidentale et comment ils sont produits par une évolution historique qui a mené vers la prédominance du visuel. A eux d'élaborer aussi comment cette même évolution a brouillé la frontière entre les notions de représentation et de réalité etc.

Pourtant, nos propres concepts dans ce domaine sont loin d'être universels. Les sujets filmés possèdent très souvent une

théorie de représentation très différente de la notre ainsi qu'une relation au visuel qui lui n'attribue aucunement la place prédominante qu'il occupe chez nous. Le cinéaste-chercheur attentif ne manquera pas de constater qu'il n'obtient finalement des sujets filmés que ce qu'ils sont prêts à montrer. *Ce que* ceux-ci donnent à voir d'eux-mêmes, *comment* ils se montrent, *ce qu'ils* croient révéler d'eux-mêmes *si et quand* ils se montrent renvoient fortement à leurs propres concepts dans ces domaines.

Par ailleurs, il faut une fois de plus rappeler la vieille expérience de terrain, à savoir que l'on ne peut observer que les vagues que l'on provoque par le fait même de sa présence. Donc, ce que l'Autre dit, ce qu'il montre a inévitablement un rapport à son propre concept de l'Autre-étranger dont le chercheur-cinéaste n'est qu'un représentant en chair et os. Et ici se ferme la boucle du problème d'identité/d'altérité et du concept de représentation.

Il serait à mon avis extrêmement important et fructueux de se rendre compte de cette part de l'Autre afin de pouvoir s'ouvrir et progresser dans l'écriture cinématographique.

J'aborderai maintenant le problème d'identité et d'altérité ainsi que celui de la représentation à partir de mes expériences avec les indiens Kashinawa en Amazonie péruvienne.

Entre 1977 et 1983, j'ai effectué avec mon collègue Patrick Deshayes six séjours de terrain chez les Kashinawa qui vivent du côté péruvien très en retrait de la civilisation occidentale. Le village de Balta sur le rio Curanja, affluent du rio Purus, représentait à l'époque le village le plus éloigné et le plus traditionnel parmi toutes les communautés Kashinawa.

## IDENTITE ET ALTERITE

Un système classificatoire hautement élaboré structure et ordonne tous les domaines de la culture Kashinawa. Il détermine les concepts d'identité et d'altérité et les modèles relationnels qui en découlent.

Sans pouvoir entrer ici dans les détails, je voudrais seulement pointer que leur vision du monde repose sur un principe de deux polarités: le Soi et l'Autre. Le Soi et l'Autre sont deux pôles identitaires opposés et disjoints par une large zone intermédiaire représentant à la fois le non-Soi et le non-Autre. De là découle un modèle relationnel ternaire et non pas dualiste. Le Soi et l'Autre possèdent un ordre spécifique et opposé, l'ordre du Soi versus l'ordre de l'Autre. L'ordre du Soi est de nature réflexive: il exprime le désir de n'être en relation qu'avec soi-même. Pourtant, les Kashinawa sont bien conscients que l'exclusivité impliquée dans l'ordre du Soi est difficile à maintenir, que le rêve d'autarcie se brise à l'existence incontournable de l'Autre dans ses différentes figures: d'autres humains et même d'autres êtres comme les morts ou encore les Esprits de la forêt. C'est pourquoi un deuxième pôle existe, définissant un ordre spécifique à l'Autre. Le Soi et l'Autre sont plus que disjoints, ils sont non-complémentaire. Aucun contact direct n'est recherché. S'il a lieu, il ne peut se jouer que dans la zone intermédiaire.

Un premier exemple:

Appliqué au domaine du gibier, le système catégoriel distingue deux pôles clairement définis: l'ordre du Soi définit les animaux exclusivement mangés par les humains et l'ordre de l'Autre définit les animaux exclusivement mangés par les Esprits de la forêt. La zone intermédiaire est représentée par le gibier mangé aussi bien par les humains que par les Esprits. Chaque catégorie de gibier comporte un risque différent: chasser un gibier classé comme nourriture exclusive des humains n'implique, bien sûr, aucun

risque. Chasser un gibier classé comme nourriture exclusive des Esprits entraîne un conflit sûr avec les Esprits et chasser un animal de la zone intermédiaire implique un certain risque conflictuelle.

En ne mangeant idéalement que des animaux délaissés par les Esprits, les Kashinawa évitent toute confrontation conflictuelle avec ceux-ci et n'ont, en ce sens, de relations qu'avec eux-mêmes. C'est ce que j'appellais l'ordre réflexif.

L'autre, dans le domaine du gibier sont alors les Esprits de la forêt. On ne cherche pas leur contact. D'ailleurs, les humains et les Esprits habitent deux territoires opposés: l'espace social des humains est marqué par un défrichement total. A l'opposé, les Esprits habitent la forêt profonde qui ne comporte plus aucune marque d'intervention humaine sur la forêt. Pour chasser, humains comme Esprits quittent leur espaces propres et se rendent dans la zone intermédiaire, les territoires de chasse. Si un contact a lieu "matériellement", c'est que chasseur et Esprit s'y rencontrent parcequ'ils sont en train de traquer un même animal, un de la catégorie qui est à la fois nourriture des humains et des Esprits. La rencontre "physique", pourrait on dire, se joue dans cette zone intermédiaire, zone qui est à la fois d'ordre territorial que d'ordre catégoriel.

L'autre moyen de rencontrer les Esprits sont les prises de drogues hallucinogènes. Cette rencontre spirituelle se joue également sur un terrain hors Soi, il est médiatisé par les visions qui permettent de voir et d'entrer en contact avec l'Autre sans se déplacer.

Un deuxième exemple:

Appliqué au domaine de l'humanité, le système catégoriel distingue deux pôles clairement définis: Les Kashinawa eux-mêmes qui, bien sûr, représentent le Soi, et l'Autre représenté par l'Inca et ses descendants les Blancs. La zone intermédiaire est représentée par les autres indiens de leur famille linguistique, les Pano. Chaque pôle est caractérisé par un attribut spécifique: les Blancs par la richesse du métal, les Kashinawa par la richesse de gibier. Les indiens de la zone intermédiaire, non-Soi et non-Autre à la fois, n'ont aucune particularité propre. Ils sont intermédiaires, pas plus. C'est d'ailleurs par eux qu'ils ont connu le métal. En conséquence ils les nomment indistinctement "Yaminawa" ce qui signifie "gens de la hache de métal".

Ce qui est intéressant à constater, c'est la figure de l'Autre externe dans le domaine de la connaissance. Les sources du pouvoir et du savoir sont pensées à l'extérieur; ce sont des éléments de l'Autre, qu'il s'agit de ramener à l'intérieur pour le profit du groupe entier. Ainsi l'Autre: Esprit de la forêt peut - par la pratique hallucinogène - devenir un allié/maître enseignant pour la chasse.

Dans le domaine de l'humanité, l'Autre irréductible est Inca, le maître du métal. Il est habité d'une force vitale spécifique qu'il importe de ravir pour la transmettre aux enfants lors du rite d'initiation. D'ailleurs, en langue Kashinawa 'immortalité' se dit 'métal': *mane*.

Dans l'exemple du gibier comme dans celui de l'humanité nous voyons donc que le contact avec l'Autre n'est possible que par une voie médiatisée: soit sur le territoire de la zone intermédiaire, soit par la prise de drogues hallucinogènes, soit par le rituel: il s'agit toujours de s'approcher de l'Autre sans se confondre avec lui, sans quitter l'espace protégé du Soi. La zone intermédiaire est donc une notion beaucoup plus large que seulement territoriale, elle est aussi bien relationnelle que "médiatique": c'est pourquoi les visions de drogues sont si importantes pour la connaissance des Esprits comme pour celle de l'homme blanc.

Je vous ai présenté de manière extrêmement condensée le concept d'identité et d'altérité Kashinawa pour élaborer la manière dont il sous-tendait notre rencontre et notre travail cinématographique.

Par rapport aux indiens Kashinawa, je me trouvais avec mon co-réalisateur Patrick Deshayes dans une situation précaire puisque nous étions des représentants de l'Autre irréductible et associés avec tous les attributs de l'homme blanc. Le Blanc est par rapport à sa propre identité avant tout maître du métal, mais par rapport aux Indiens avant tout porteur de mort et cannibale. On peut qualifier ces deux attributs comme images de la distance maximale, comme chiffres de l'altérité absolue. Les Kashinawa nous considéraient doublement comme dangereux messagers de la mort puisque nous n'étions pas seulement des blancs mais aussi des faiseurs d'images et qu'ils avaient déjà vécu une expérience dramatique avec la caméra.

Lorsqu'en 1951, après un demi-siècle d'isolation totale, ils furent redécouverts par un chercheur allemand, Harald Schultz, celui-ci réalisa un court document filmique. Pendant le tournage, une épidémie de rougeole éclata et réduisit la population de 450 à 90 personnes. Les Kashinawa considéraient la caméra de l'homme blanc comme la cause de leur malheur. Ils avaient remarqué que les personnes apparaissent en miniatures lorsque l'on colle l'œil au viseur. Toute transformation, comme la miniaturisation, mène indubitablement à la mort. Schultz a dû arrêter son travail. Quand, 26 ans plus tard, nous arrivions pour notre premier séjour, l'épisode n'était nullement oublié et les craintes étaient toujours aussi vives.

Nous décidions de ne pas bannir ce sujet de notre rencontre, mais, au contraire, de l'intégrer de manière active et dynamique.

Dans la vision des Kashinawa, nous étions donc associés d'avance avec les images de Blancs, maîtres du métal, porteurs de mort. Puisque ces images s'étaient forgées au cours d'une longue expérience de l'Histoire et sur le fond culturel de concepts d'identité et d'altérité spécifiques, il fallait tout d'abord assumer que nous n'y pouvions changer quoi que ce soit. Mais nous n'étions pas seulement des Blancs. Nous étions aussi des faiseurs d'images, plus précisément d'un type d'images que ces indiens n'avaient encore jamais vues (Ils avaient vu la caméra de Schultz mais pas ce que cette "boîte" produit). Nous considérions alors que justement ici, dans le champs du visuel, pouvait se trouver notre clé d'ouverture et de rencontre puisque la pratique visuelle spécifique des Kashinawa possède des analogies de médiation. Pour tester la validité de notre hypothèse, nous apportions aux Kashinawa des images filmiques de notre propre monde. Ils cherchaient à reconnaître dans ces images ce qu'ils pensaient et disaient depuis toujours de l'homme blanc. Ainsi s'ouvrait un échange communicatif qui aboutissait en 1983 à la réalisation du film "NAWA HUNI - regard indien sur l'Autre monde".

Autrement dit: au départ, nous nous affrontions en tant que Autres irréductibles: Blancs et Indiens, séparés par la distance d'altérité maximale. Le travail filmique s'offrait comme une tentative de créer une sorte de troisième "dimension" afin de dépasser l'antagonisme figé de ceux qui s'observent, se mesurent et se jugent mutuellement par rapport à leur seule auto-référence. Ce que j'appelle la troisième dimension était conçu comme un terrain correspondant au concept de zone intermédiaire dans lequel pouvait se déployer quelque chose propre des uns comme des autres afin de créer une présence d'échange: ludiquement, tâtonnant, cherchant forme expressive. Partant de cette vision, il ne pouvait plus s'agir pour nous de nous installer dans l'opposition sujets filmants-sujets filmés et de croire que l'enregistrement par caméra interposée transmet des images objectives de la réalité des

Autres. La réalité dont nous enregistrons des images était décidément une réalité de regards croisés, une confrontation d'images et d'imaginaire, quelque soit la scène filmée.

En conséquence, plus le travail cinématographique progressait plus la rencontre devenait sujet explicite de nos films. Mais nous découvrons aussi bien vite que les Kashinawa possédaient des concepts de représentation bien différents des nôtres, ce qui nous fit repenser la question de l'écriture cinématographique.

La révélation des concepts de représentation indigènes fut déclenchée par leurs réactions face à deux types d'images que nous leur avions présentées: la photographie et les images filmiques. Toutes les images, photographiques ou filmiques furent interprétées par rapport à leur propre pratique d'images. L'image chez les Kashinawa (images fixes codées ou encore l'image hallucinogène) renvoie au problème de l'apparence et de la réalité. Dans la pensée Kashinawa, ce problème occupe une place importante et tous les discours: mythologiques, métaphoriques ou cryptographiques témoignent que la condition humaine est caractérisée par le fait que tout semble constamment basculer entre la réalité de l'illusion et l'illusion de la réalité. Toute image, quelque soit sa nature renvoie à cela.

### REPRESENTATION ET REALITE: UN DILEMME DE LA CONDITION HUMAINE

A l'origine, tous les êtres communiquaient et pouvaient se transformer l'un en l'autre. Mais les Kashinawa racontent, comment, à la suite d'un avatar, cette création première s'est différenciée en trois catégories: les jaguars, les animaux et les hommes. Depuis, chaque être possède la forme fixe de son espèce, le condamnant d'autant plus à une existence emprisonnée qu'il a perdu la faculté de communication universelle. Les animaux sont condamnés à pousser des cris et les hommes sont enfermés dans un langage trompeur. Avec le langage sont nées les maladies. Les jaguars, eux, puisqu'ils sont à l'origine de cette aventure, seront toujours l'image des premiers êtres.

Ainsi cette séparation marque l'apparition simultanée de la parole et des maladies, de la communication trompeuse et du problème de l'apparence et de la représentation.

Dans l'acte de la création verbale, l'homme trouve la possibilité d'atténuer la perte tragique de la communication universelle en se servant de la métaphore. En elle, des choses s'unissent de nouveau, ce qu'elles ne peuvent plus dans le monde de la réalité matérielle. Ainsi, la métaphore est à la fois expression de la rupture et lien des éléments rompus.

De même, toutes les productions visuelles Kashinawa sont des expressions d'une grammaire visuelle qui ne vise pas la reproduction d'une réalité matériellement perceptible, mais qui renvoie à travers ses métaphores visuelles au contexte de sens esquissé plus haut.

Dans les processus de représentation, on peut distinguer deux mouvements différents. D'une part il s'agit de retracer comment la différenciation a engendré les choses telles que nous les connaissons aujourd'hui. Ceci est la spécificité des productions narratives comme les mythes, les chants ésotériques etc.

Dans le sens inverse, il s'agit de défaire les choses de leur aspects extérieurs et matériels afin d'accéder à l'essence originare de leur être. Ceci est le propre des visions hallucinogènes et des dessins d'identité sur les corps humains ou les objets.

Toutes les productions visuelles témoignent d'une mise en question et même d'une mise en doute de la réalité formelle: en tant que forme et fonction perceptibles elle est chaque fois détruite

dans la mesure où l'image est construite. Je cite Patrick Deshayes: "L'image chez les indiens n'est qu'une perversion de son objet, détruisant à mesure qu'elle se construit". Dans le rejet de la forme existante la métaphore visuelle se sert du plus haut degré d'abstraction.

La rupture/brisure de la création première qui se répercute jusque dans le problème de réalité/représentation, marque la condition humaine du temps actuel. Dure à supporter, mais référence commune de tous les Kashinawa, et, par ce fait même, communicable et symbolisable, ce qui, en fin de compte, contribue à une définition de valeurs sûres quant au sens de l'existence humaine.

Néanmoins, la vie se déroule dans un dangereux champ de tension puisque tout semble osciller entre la réalité de l'illusion et l'illusion de la réalité. Si les rituels de drogues hallucinogènes témoignent particulièrement de ce problème, celui-ci ne concerne pourtant pas exclusivement le domaine du visuel. En conséquence, le visuel n'est pas traité comme un problème distinct, comme nous le trouvons dans l'histoire de l'Occident avec l'apparition de la dominance du visuel. Pour les Kashinawa, toutes les perceptions et toutes les productions humaines en sont touchées pareillement.

Et ici se rencontrent le problème d'identité et d'altérité et celui de l'apparence et de la réalité: Dans la pensée Kashinawa, l'être humain court toujours le risque de perdre l'identité dans une perception trompeuse de la réalité et de se perdre dans l'illusion ou encore dans la fascination/attirance de l'Autre. Parfois, on utilise ces mécanismes de basculement à son propre profit, par exemple lors de la chasse. Ainsi les chasseurs se frottent le corps avec des feuilles dont leur gibier est friand: *sempa* signifie en même temps "sentir bon" et "se faire passer pour un autre": ici pour un congénère de l'animal traqué. Dans le même but, ils imitent les cris des animaux. Ils se mettent des substances aveuglantes dans les yeux afin d'aiguiser leurs autres perceptions sensorielles pour la détection de la présence de gibier. "Moins" homme, mimétiquement plus "animal", ils deviennent cependant attaquables: par le jaguar, le meilleur chasseur parmi les animaux de la forêt profonde, mais aussi par les Esprits chasseurs qui pourraient les confondre avec un gibier.

Tous les rituels Kashinawa utilisent des dramaturgies visuelles qui renvoient à l'existence de l'Autre (morts, Esprits, Blancs...) ainsi qu'aux dangers de la séduction/fascination et de la perte d'identité.

Quant aux prises de photos, nous remarquons que tous les Kashinawa se présentaient automatiquement dans une attitude figée, s'ornant en priorité d'attributs blancs comme lunettes de soleil, cahiers, couteaux etc. Jamais on ne souriait. Le seul sourire fut provoqué par une blague de notre part. La personne en était si furieuse que nous devons refaire la prise de vue. Sans analyser ici en profondeur la question de la posture, je voudrais simplement pointer que les photos furent associées par les Kashinawa avec le domaine des peintures corporelles et les dessins identitaires sur leurs objets personnels. Ceux-ci ont en commun qu'ils représentent des images fixes et codées, obéissant aux règles d'une grammaire visuelle qui *ne vise pas* la reproduction d'une réalité extérieurement perceptible mais qui révèle à travers ses métaphores visuelles un sens dont s'approche au niveau verbal le discours mythologique (La différence consiste dans la dimension temporelle).

Les Kashinawa ne cherchaient pas à se reconnaître sur les photos, ils s'altéraient par rapport à leur quotidien en se fondant dans un dessin figé avec des attributs étrangers de telle manière

qu'ils devenaient plus métaphoriques que duplication du réel. Et cette cohabitation métaphorique du Soi et de l'Autre renvoyait à un fond de sens qui se trouve au delà de l'apparence extérieurement visible.

Le rapport des Kashinawa aux images cinématographiques était bien différent. Celles-ci furent sans hésitation décodées comme des visions hallucinogènes. Tout d'abord au niveau formel: comment les images vont et viennent, se succèdent. Mais aussi à un niveau plus complexe. Pour le comprendre il faut brièvement rappeler ce que signifient les pratiques hallucinogènes dans cette culture. Au niveau du sens on peut constater que les hallucinations suivent la direction inverse du discours mythologique qui, lui, retrace le chemin de la différenciation des choses jusqu'à leur apparence actuelle et qui pose le problème de la juste perception. Dans les visions, cette apparence se déforme, le monde des objets est détruit dans sa forme et sa fonction pour retourner à son essence première. Ainsi nos images ne furent pas seulement comprises comme fluctuations formelles, mais aussi comme flottement de sens. Lors des projections de nos films on n'a jamais confondu les images sur l'écran avec la réalité. On n'a pas non plus douté de l'existence réelle de ce monde dont on rapportait des images. Tous les commentaires soulignaient seulement qu'on était conscient que ce qu'on voyait n'étaient que des représentations. A la fin de notre tournage un homme résumait l'expérience filmique en disant:

Les images de films sont comme nos visions de drogues. Quant aux images, c'est tout à fait pareil. Mais quand nous buvons le jus de la liane nous pouvons vomir les images trop fortes, ce qui n'est pas possible avec les images de film. C'est pourquoi elles rendent malades.

## Conclusions

J'ai postulé au début de mon exposé que le cinéma ethnologique doit se mesurer à partir des notions clés des deux disciplines que le fondent: l'ethnologie et le cinéma. J'ai essayé de montrer comment la question éminemment ethnologique de la relation à l'Autre est un puissant stimulateur pour la progression conceptuelle. J'ai essayé aussi de montrer que le concept d'identité et d'altérité est indissociable de celui de la représentation. L'expérience avec les Kashinawa révélait que ces indiens possèdent dans les deux domaines leurs propres concepts fort différents des nôtres. Se confronter avec ceux-ci force à repenser tous les niveaux filmiques, que ce soit le rapport sujets filmés-sujets filmants, le contenu thématique ou encore l'écriture cinématographique.

On peut espérer l'expérimentation plus audacieuse avec d'autres formes d'écritures. Rappelons que l'innovation de la Nouvelle Vague était de placer la caméra sur l'épaule et de découvrir par là le monde à partir d'un oeil collé sur l'épaule. Aujourd'hui, cette perspective est devenue convention uniforme. La confrontation avec les concepts indigènes nous aide peut-être à dé-centrer le regard uniforme. Pourquoi ne pas raconter le monde de la perspective des pieds, du ventre, des mains? Pourquoi ne pas inverser la hiérarchie générale entre son et image et tenter de servir le son par l'image quand nous découvrons qu'il y a des cultures qui ne se définissent pas dans une "vision du monde" mais dans une "écoute du monde"? Il n'y a certainement pas de recettes uniques. Mais le défi du cinéma ethnologique est une aventure passionnante et ouverte.

### ENGLISH SUMMARY

My starting point is the assumption that ethnographic cinema is the meeting of two separate disciplines, anthropology and cinema. It must therefore be evaluated according to key conceptions of these two disciplines.

My paper concerns two fundamental notions of ethnology and the audio-visual:

First, the problem of self-identity and Otherness

Second, the problem of representation.

Beyond the obvious subject matter, each ethnographic film reveals, implicitly, how these two problems have been addressed.

The problem of Otherness, I think, has been a powerful force in the conceptual evolution of the ethnographic film. In cinematographic terms, it defines the relationship between the film-maker and the filmed subjects. Cinéma vérité, participating camera, interactive anthropology, indigenous cinema and other terms attest to the evolution of the concept of Otherness.

My criticism with this evolution is that it concerns itself exclusively with the ethnographic film-maker, the western researcher, and does not consider the perspective of indigenous people in this domain. The absence of indigenous concepts is even more apparent in theories of representation.

In the main part of my paper I discuss the concept of identity and otherness as well as the theory of representation among the Kashinawa Indians in the Peruvian Amazon. The Kashinawa concept of Otherness relies on an extremely elaborate system of classification. This system defines a tripartite model of otherness in which the Self and the Other constitute opposite poles completely disjoined one from the other. They are separated by a large intermediary zone, the third part of the model. Contact between Self and Other is only possible in this zone, a concept which goes far beyond a simple territorial idea. I show how we choose film-making as a preferred means of contact by virtue of its analogies with the Kashinawa notion of the intermediary zone, including their hallucinogenic practice.

In the second part of the paper I analyze the Kashinawa concept of representation and reality and look at the mythological and hallucinogenic responses to the problem. Their dilemma is that human existence seems to oscillate between the reality of illusion and the illusion of reality. It concerns not only the visual domain, but all of the senses. The human being always runs the risk of misperceiving reality and losing his identity. We see that the problems of identity and representation are intimately linked.

In my conclusion I call for a serious look into indigenous concepts in a way that obliges us to rethink all levels of ethnographic film-making.



## VIDEO IN THE VILLAGES: THE WAIĀPI EXPERIENCE

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*It was hard before we had television. We had to travel far to meet other people. Today, it's easy because television brings us the person and his way of talking... It's good to know other people through television.*

*Show them the pictures of us! In the cities they'll wonder where we live and they'll say: "Hey! those are the Indians that don't want trespassers on their land... those are the ones who take care of their land" If you don't show these pictures, they'll never get know us.*

*Chief Waiwai, February, 1990.*

Over the past few years, participants in the *Video in the Villages Project* of the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI) have gone into remote areas of Brazil to meet various native groups. These peoples' subsequent encounter with their own image, and with images of others, has given rise to extremely amusing, informative and creative moments, during which they could observe the image they were projecting to others, and use this documentation for their own cultural projects<sup>1</sup>.

Clearly, the unique culture and historical experience specific to each group produce different reactions and interests in relation to video. In this article, we will attempt to illustrate how the Waiāpi Indians of the Brazilian State of Amapá have interpreted the information they have received through video, and what they achieved from this experience.

### WAIĀPI VIDEO CENTRES

Due to frustrating experiences they had had with commercial and ethnographic film and video shoots in their villages, the results of which they never saw, the Waiāpi had formulated demands regarding the use of video in their communities. Their concerns initially focused on the issue of recording the traditional aspects of their life, *iane reko* (our way of being) to be shown in other regions as a means of asserting their own cultural identity within the sphere of inter-ethnic relations. At this stage, the Waiāpi idealized their self-representation through this kind of video 'document', in the same way they constructed their demands for land demarcation.

CTI's Project, *Video in the Villages*, started among the Waiāpi in January, 1990. We had arranged to bring video equipment and to return with tapes produced the year before, when Waiwai, Chief of the village of Mariry, asked us to show footage of his recent trip to Brasília during a visit he was going to make to several villages in the area<sup>2</sup>. Then, we documented how Chief Waiwai was going to use video for his political campaign, and what Waiāpi reactions to it would be<sup>3</sup>.

During the screening in five villages of Waiāpi land, we showed programs and unedited footage of numerous native groups (Nambiquara, Xavante, Kaiapó, Gavião, Guarani, Enauenê-Naue,

Krahô, Parakanã, Zoró), selected from the video archives of CTI, as well as television newscasts about the Yanomami and the Zo'ê of Cuminapanema.

Following this initial experience, the first video unit (generator, VCR, monitor and several videotapes) was left at Mariry, under the Indians' care. This equipment is now installed in a house Chief Waiwai had built in his yard. The CTI continues to supply materials to be shown in the village, and more recently supplemented with material made by Kasiripinã, a Waiāpi of Mariry who was trained in the use of a camera in São Paulo in July, 1992. A second video unit was installed in Aramirã in May, 1992. Aramirã is a focal point for relations among the reservation's thirteen villages because of its location by the Perimetral Norte highway and the Funai post there.

Collective screening, normally at night, when everyone returns to the village, frequently occur in the two villages' 'TV houses'. They also take place when visitors come from other villages or when new material arrives. At this time, the 'TV houses' became meeting places, conducive to political discussions that take place before, during and after screening. The Waiāpi often serve their visitors *caxiri*, a fermented manioc drink. We have recently observed that individual of family access to television has been established during time off from daily activities, especially to view scenes that displeased the majority during collective sessions. Appreciation of individual screening is very different from the others; during these, the tone of the commentaries, oriented and to a certain extent monopolized by older members who talk loudly to one another, prevents others from hearing the documentaries.

### ETHNIC AFFIRMATION: THE IMPACT ON POLITICAL STRATEGY

The situation the Waiāpi currently find themselves in has stimulated them to draw from their experience of *Video in the Villages*. For example, the government's threat to reduce the territory they currently occupy in order to create a 'National Forest' has been followed by the increasing attempt of invasion of the area by *garimpeiros* (gold and mineral prospectors). In this context, more and more Waiāpi representatives have been forced to go to Brazilian cities like Macapá, Belém or Brasília. It has likewise intensified the need for collective discussions concerning land rights and other types of assistance.

The introduction of the *Video in the Villages* project created new space for reflection and joint decision-making. It has also greatly increased the Waiāpi's initial attempts to use video documents in conveying messages to the Whites. The Project has led to the addition of new modes of discussion in relation to traditional ways of decision-making and disseminating information. Within these formats, the restrictive forms of dialogue, where hierarchical positions are clearly established and members of the audience do not participate directly (though they may indirectly pass on the information they obtain in other dialogues) remain intact.

Simultaneously, the video sessions promote a form of collective reflection which is very different from the dynamic when Waiāpi representatives meet to discuss questions of collective interest. For example, at indigenous assemblies at Macapá or Oiapoque, or at meetings held at National Indian Foundation / FUNAI post, the form and duration of discussion are determined by Whites. On these occasions, the Indians are forced to adopt White rhetoric, a form of argument completely unlike the patterns of discourse they use among themselves, when they plan

strategy on their own terms and, therefore, create arguments for 'dealing with the White man'.

During successive meetings with authorities of the State of Amapá in 1990-1992, Waiãpi leaders adapted their appearance to enhance the dynamic power of their discourse. Using elaborate ornamentation and body-paints, they asserted their cultural identity, while brandishing *bordumas* clubs to reinforce their arguments. Older chiefs made no effort to state their demands in Portuguese. On the contrary, they held forth, one after another, with long discourses in their own language, all of which started by casting the blame for the 'Indian' plight onto the White men, before launching into a series of supposed threats emphasizing their strength and autonomy. The responsibility of translating inevitably fell to the younger generation, who had a tendency to dilute the elder's demands and revert back to a more familiar form of argumentation claiming rights for native people.

By means of these performances, largely inspired by images of the Kaiapó and other people they know through video, have enabled the Waiãpi to attract the attention of authorities and journalists, who consider them representatives of the 'true' Indians of the State of Amapá, as, for example, has been the case in televised newscasts. The profile of the Waiãpi is such they have received preferential treatment, compared to other Indians in the region. Thus the aid they received from governmental agencies has increased.

The Waiãpi's comportment and orations have also led them to assume a position as representatives of other indigenous groups in the region (Karipuna, Galibi, Palikur, Wayana, Aparai and Tiriyo) whose representatives' participation in collective assemblies is generally very much more discreet, primarily because they do not assert their cultural distinctiveness. As a result of the Waiãpi's success, other groups have requested them to intervene on their behalf with authorities, and have solicited their help in other matters.

The collective debate that has taken place as a result of their interaction with video has considerably enriched their political arguments and led them to develop a new rhetoric for 'dealing with the White men'<sup>4</sup>. This style integrates elements from their own contact and cosmological experiences, with aspects of the 'fierceness' that the Waiãpi have seen other groups use when dealing with outsiders.

Today, the Waiãpi do not limit themselves to just one style. A recent incident confirmed that their interventions were having a stronger impact on the control they exert over their land, specifically due to the greater information brought to them through video. *Garimpeiros* had invaded the eastern boundary of their land. Two of them were captured, forced to explain their presence in an Indian zone, and identify who they worked for. The Waiãpi discovered that the *garimpeiros* were part of a recently arrived group that had worked among the Yanomami. The first impulse of the Waiãpi who executed the ambush was to kill the intruders, but the chief who was present preferred to use another strategy, forcing the *garimpeiros* to talk for several hours. During this conversation, all of the arguments the *garimpeiros* presented (e.g., that they had 'helped' the Yanomami; that they had not cut down much of the forest) were refuted with highly detailed accounts of the tragic results that prospecting activities had caused among the Yanomami. They used, with tremendous impact, the video images they had seen. According to those who participated in this episode, this was much better than if they had 'wasted' the *garimpeiros*, as was their custom in such cases. According to them, these intruders would never come back because they understood that they could

no longer fool the Waiãpi, and because the *garimpeiros* now realize that the Waiãpi knew their artifices for infiltrating Indian lands.

These examples of how the Waiãpi availed themselves of the possibilities video offers and used them as a means of political strategy, demonstrate the catalytic role played by the reflection that accompanied and followed the first phase of *Video in the Villages* project. Not only does video contribute to a new position in inter-ethnic relations, but engenders reflections at various other levels. Now we are going to analyze the cultural conditioning that underlies this appropriation of video by the Waiãpi.

### THE SPIRIT OF TELEVISION

In some of the villages where the TV circulated, everyone painted themselves with *annatto* before watching it. In one village, a woman who was living in seclusion because she was in mourning could not resist her curiosity, and approached the TV house. Over the next few weeks, she experienced successive anxiety attacks and suffered a great pain, which her parents and the village shaman attributed to the spirits of distant people who had 'passed' through the television.

The experience of inter-personal approximation which television fosters was immediately perceived by the Waiãpi as a real physical contact. When they assert that the television 'brings the person', they are alluding both to the non-material manifestations present in the portrait (*-a'anga*) and in the discourse retransmitted by television, and to the substantial part of the life-principle (*-a'*) that is contained 'within' everyone's image. Furthermore, the Waiãpi clearly differentiate between the two aspects of representation: the copy (drawing, symbol, etc.) that bears no vital element of the thing or person represented, and the image itself, that represents the person in his totality. Photographs and video are complete reproductions that permit physical proximity. For the Waiãpi, as for most indigenous societies in South America, contact with Otherness constitutes a constant danger against which one must protect through prophylactic practices (such as body painting) and specific rules of conduct.

So, given that television transports the 'spirit' of the people portrayed to the village yard, everyone positioned themselves in such a way as to avoid the physical aggressions which might result from the screening. This became particularly evident during the successive showings of scenes of Guarani shamanism in Mariry. The first time the Waiãpi saw these tapes, they immediately connected the ritual performance (with songs and rattles signifying the arrival of auxiliary spirits) with the 'passage' of those spirits through the TV screen. The sparkling, flickering colours that appear on the screen when the TV is turned on or off were interpreted as the substances that the shamans manipulated in their rituals (substances that can kill people who are unprepared). For instance, in his dreams the following night, a man felt the presence of aggressive forces which he could not fight against unless he stayed awake in a state of vigilance. During subsequent screening and following comments made at the first session, women continued to identify the presence of these aggressive substances; to protect them, a young shaman placed himself in front of the screen, declaring that he would serve as a shield.

As this episode unfolded, the Waiãpi, exonerated the Guarani shamans who, although 'relatives' (see below), could not be aggressors. However, they continue attributing television with the power to transform what, in their view, is the image's essence.

The emotions that this feeling of physical proximity via TV provides is, undoubtedly, a momentary impact. But even after several months of routine at Mariry 'TV house', we observed that people in liminal states always stayed away from the monitor and watched it from a distance. This fact did not go unnoticed by the Waiāpi from French Guiana who were visiting the Amapari villages. Accustomed to Western forms of image reproduction, having demystified their significance, the visiting group found their relatives' reactions strange, and made fun of the 'fear' they still demonstrated. Among themselves, several Waiāpi resumed the discussion that had surfaced several months earlier (during the first screening of Guarani shamanism) and concluded they would 'get used to' the presence of television.

At that point, they drew an interesting parallel between this and their shift in attitude toward photography and the use of proper names. If they are still ashamed today to see their own image on television (several times we observed that persons whose image appeared on the screen lowered their eyes in order to 'not see themselves'), this feeling corresponded closely to the affront they had previously felt when they heard their names spoken out loud. Just as use of proper names was demystified and restrictions on the circulation of photographs were lifted, this experience allowed us to document that television and video were being integrated in accordance with traditional interpretations of images.

## THE WAIĀPI AND THEIR IMAGE.

### The Register for Themselves

The access the Waiāpi gained to their own image, even if initially limited, confirmed their expectations concerning video documentation. According to them, video recording should encompass 'all' villages, 'all' festivals, the spoken-image of 'all' the elders, etc. The aim being not only to conserve the memory of their current situation as an ethnic group for future generation, but also to appreciate, in an entirely new way, the panorama of the totality they represent.

We have already described how video suggested approximation between villages, and we have stressed its educational aspects. Considering how different local groups are dispersed throughout the Waiāpi territory, everyone could use video to get acquainted with distant villages, where most young people, and even certain adults, have never set foot; everyone would also be able to attend certain festivals where only specialists performed and are, therefore, not accessible to everyone.

After the initial experience in 1990, developments confirmed Waiāpi interest in using video to reestablish an image of the totality they represent in their own cultural terms. They also attempt to show the specificities of the various Waiāpi local groups. In late 1991 they invited us to tape a very rare festival, the *Pakuasu* ritual, which would bring together people from practically all of the villages for this 'filmed' event. During the festival, participants turned toward the video crew to comment on all of its stages, as if to secure a memory of not only the ritual motives, but of different individuals and/or groups' specific knowledge regarding this fundamental festival. Kasiripinā, a cameraman of Mariry, is carrying out the same purpose today. Following the elders' expectations, he is taping small, rarely conducted rites of passage. These are explained on camera in an interesting way that links recreational performance to the 'spoken-image' of the group's sages.

But, while watching tapes, the Waiāpi demonstrate more interest for films involving other indigenous peoples than seeing

unedited material with scenes recorded in their villages. Among these, they prefer performances and orations of the chiefs. Such scenes had repercussions on their internal politics, both in the act of filming and later, as a consequence of the images' return.

We have already mentioned the key role played by Chief Waiwai. He considers himself one of the rare leaders with an extensive knowledge of the history of his people and concern for their future, to the point that, to maintain this role, he declared that '*television alone does not help*', and that a good chief must be permanently involved in transmission of traditions. This is because, during the first documentation phase, when we basically presented images of the village and of Waiwai speaking, chiefs of other villages insisted on talking on television and recording long speeches; after which, they evaluated and compared themselves according to the force of their arguments and the postures they assumed during taping. As had happened in other natives groups, the assimilation of video has intensified tensions that have traditionally characterized relations between Waiāpi local groups.

By the same logic, the images of the Waiāpi chiefs' visit to Brasília were judged from two perspectives. Firstly, according to the curiosity of the women, children and adolescents who rarely go to the city and were seeing planes, cars and streets full of people for the first time. Secondly, chiefs expressed interest in listening and evaluating the discourses their representatives presented in Brasília, emphasizing the educational function that screening such speeches allows, as well as the competitive effects it provokes among leaders. The leaders have demanded that all their speeches addressed to Whites be preserved, at least in the form of audio recordings, wherever they are made, whether in their villages or elsewhere.

### The Image for Whites

The Waiāpi told us what they primarily expected from using video to benefit external politics. Their first request, mentioned above, was to have a 'film' in which a White man presented them to other Whites.

They did not gauge the implications of such a presentation until they had seen, for example, the sequences in which everyone was singing, drunk, at a *caxiri* festival in Mariry. This image was immediately censored by Chief Waiwai. According to him, the *garimpeiros* must not have access to these images because they would see in it an opportunity to attack the village while the Waiāpi are drunk. The different positions of the older and the younger members of the village were clearly apparent in the discussions about 'what' should be shown. Less committed to the traditional parameters of opposition to Whites, the younger people did not always respect the suggestions of the elders. For these elders, all forms of weakness facilitate aggression from the outside. Nevertheless, many young people think the images of these drinking festivals should be shown, because they are 'pretty' and show the Waiāpi's cultural specificity.

During the first phase of the *Video in the Villages* Project, it was evident that the presence of the camera encouraged the Waiāpi to direct their attitudes and discourses toward listeners who were acknowledged, though not always defined at the time of the documentation. For the Indians, it was obvious that these images would be shown to authorities and to the FUNAI. While watching the tapes, they chose specific targets, detailing the destination of the arguments contained in their video speeches; this argument is for the *garimpeiros*, this one for the FUNAI, that one for the government in Brasília, etc. Furthermore, the Waiāpi pay a lot of

attention to the reactions their messages provoke. They want to know who, among the categories of Whites for whom their 'spoken-images' are intended, has seen them and what the responses were.

The Waiāpi now agree, more or less, on the content of the image that should be presented to Whites: scenes and discourses that show their strength (*iane pojy*, we are dangerous) and demonstrate that they are numerous (*iane atyry*, we are many). The importance of this line of argument finds its origin in its historical and political significance: it represents the vitality of this people (showing many children), the characteristics of their political and social organization (showing many villages) and has a decisive weight in the political question of land demarcation. The impact of videos showing other tribes, particularly those that associate warrior strength with populous groups (like the tapes on the Kaiapó and the Zoró, which the Waiāpi commented on and greatly appreciated) heavily influenced their choices.

### Images for Other Indigenous People

While they discuss what images of themselves will be presented to other native groups, the Waiāpi also imposed restrictions that affect selection of the groups they will be shown to, rather than the content of those images. They basically have proposed an 'exchange': the Waiāpi images were to be shown to groups they had already 'met' through video.

Within these restrictions, the concepts (mentioned above) tied to the danger of reproducing images were also important. Thus, when we asked them to which groups they wanted to show their tapes, several of them - including Chief Waiwai - ruled out the Aparai, whom the Waiāpi of Amapari held responsible for most of the sickness and death diagnosed by their shamans.

Several alternatives were proposed during these discussions. One was that the Aparai could see video on the Waiāpi only after they had seen images of the Aparai. As the result of other arguments, they decided to allow the screening of their tapes, which could be shown but not be left in Aparai villages. At that point, they compared the risks of showing photographs to those of showing tapes: photographs consist of a material support that can be effectively controlled, and as such are much more dangerous, because they can be manipulated to aggressive ends.

The ideal chance to present their image to the Aparai occurred in April, 1990, during the Indian Week at Macapá. The leaders Waiwai and Kumai, who had just received tapes of the *Ture* festival that took place two months earlier, used the screening of this material as a means of political affirmation, a new relationship they recently developed during inter-tribal meetings. The tapes enabled them to assert the vitality of their culture and put themselves in opposition to the Aparai, who often boast of having '*lost the ancient things*'.

### VIDEO OF OTHER NATIVE GROUPS

It was very interesting to observe the reactions of the Waiāpi when they watched tapes of other native groups, from the point of view of both their understanding and their interpretation, in this entirely new context of inter-tribal *rapprochement*.

As expected, the tapes the Waiāpi most appreciated were those they could directly compare with - whether by identifying themselves with or opposing themselves to - either through image or discourse, or revealing combinations gathered in the ensemble of information provided by video.

The success the Guarani tapes had with the Waiāpi rested primarily on language. By listening to the Guarani, the Waiāpi discovered similarities with their own cosmological concepts, notably in the prophetic discourses concerning the Whites and the end of the world. Identification at this level led them to revise their image of the Guarani, whose obvious acculturation had led the Waiāpi to disqualify this tribe as 'almost White'. In the same way, the position of the Guarani as possible aggressors, evoked by the intensity of their shamanistic rites, was also reconsidered, being evaluated in comparative terms and as a technique of struggle against Whites.

Of the various tribes portrayed in the Xingu documentary, the Waiāpi immediately identified the Waurá as 'relatives', because of the mythical associations their image suggested. The portrayal of their daily life, their nudity and, above all, the dances of the women at the *Jamarikumã* festival were interpreted as a 'visual' version of the Waiāpi legend of the destiny of the first women, who were taken under the Amazon by the mythical armadillo.

Conversely, videos where the images and way of speaking could not be understood because they differed too much from Waiāpi reality (for example, the Krahô, Xavante and Parakanã tapes), did not awaken the interest they might have, given how expressive they were. But taken together, the elements of identification embodied in these videos resulted in the construction of a panoramic vision of others, and reinforced the associations contemplated in the mythical traditions which account for inter-ethnic differences and the central place the Waiāpi occupy in the universe, as the representatives of 'true humanity'.

These elements continue being carefully evaluated and discussed in Waiāpi villages. Linguistic or technical aspects, physical traits and the content of the rites and orations serve to reinforce the traditional Waiāpi interpretation of themselves as the 'creators' of the other tribes, who were born of transformations brought about by their creator-heroes. For example, the origin of the Nambiquara, who use nose ornaments, is explained by the transformation of the trumpeter. The Waurá women, who still dance as in the time of genesis, represent the first humans. The Kaiapó were classed as enemies because the video images presented an almost complete conjunction of signs of aggressiveness defined in Waiāpi traditions: initiation by *marimbondo* (wasp stings), apparently daily use of *borduna* clubs, piercing and deformation of the ears, etc.

It was clear that the Waiāpi filtered the images of others through elements of their own world vision. The interpretations to which they gave rise matched this retrospective plan with a more prospective plan, turned toward a re-reading of different indigenous groups' experiences of inter-ethnic contact. So, reactions to videos on other indigenous people cannot be analyzed apart from the new reading these documents provided about inter-ethnic contact. Likewise, if the Waiāpi were able to know themselves better through video, this process fundamentally grows out of comparisons with the situation of other indigenous people.

### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The reconstruction of own images that the *Video in the Villages* project motivated among diverse indigenous peoples is currently occurring among the Waiāpi. The revision and affirmation of a new form of self-representation comprises cognitive aspects that are specific to the assimilation of video by native people, and should be studied. We are now going to indicate some aspects in this process.

In the first place, the associations provoked by videos has evidently enriched reflection about Waiãpi's history of contact. It is being reordered according to a logic that not only refers to this group's specific experiences, but to those of all 'Indians'. When, for example, they classified the Zo'e of Cuminapanema<sup>5</sup> or the Enauenê-Naue as 'our ancestors', they did so because of both the presence of characteristic elements of the 'ancient ones' appearance and technology and their memory of the isolation seen in those Indians' images. The Waiãpi have recognized their precontact way of life in them. The success of *Avaeté*, a fictional film, is due to their identification with its hero's life. He undergoes a dramatic approximation to the White man's world that the Waiãpi experienced (invasions and death). It also shows them later stages of social contact with Whites (the possibility of intervention in the city). This type of association prevailed in their identification with the Zo'e and Gavião Indians. That identification, telling of on deaths provoked by contact, reminded them of a phase the Waiãpi had already undergone and that they project as a stage (today being suffered by the Yanomami) which 'all Indians' experience.

The classification sustained in traditional concepts of social distance and inter-ethnic differentiation is effectively being imploded. It is giving way to a new classification in which similarities and differences among peoples are defined by the panoramic vision of differentiated contact portrayed in videos from other indigenous peoples. This new dimension of *time of contact* becomes patent in mythical tales recently registered among the Waiãpi. In these tales, a revision of their origin and destiny at contact clearly appears, and elements of opposition to Whites are emphasised<sup>6</sup>. It is also manifest in the way the Waiãpi effectively present themselves: they emphasize elements of the synthesis of the 'Indian's' image appropriated through video. The Waiãpi stress use of *tangas* (a type of loincloth), body painting and *borduna* clubs (the latter only being used in the city), and the discursive element that most distinguishes them from Whites: their nondestructive adaptation to the land, which they use as an argument for all of their demands.

The specific nature of the experience of the *Video in the Villages* project is found in the irreversible change in the form of awareness, acquired through numerous, varied and repeated screening, that corresponds to a real transformation in the logic of knowledge. This occurs for two reasons: partly because video fosters associations that considerably augment the volume of information about native peoples; and partly because it provides change in the form and content of the associations involved in the production of self-representation. Video documents present indigenous people in situations that combine all the aspects of cultural reality that oral traditions normally separate: technological elements, linguistic or physical traits, the place of each tribe in relation to others, mythical theories imbedded in the discourse about White men.

It is also necessary to see how, by other means, motivated by the process of image appropriation, the new construction that the video makes possible leads to new forms of action.

The conflicts and invasions portrayed in the videos, the damage provoked by machinery in prospecting areas, highways and deforestation had a great impact among the Waiãpi. It is the case, for example, of the concomitant interpretation of the Yanomami's situation, whose lands is being destroyed, and the Guarani, on whose lands trees and hunting no longer exist. One in the other, these examples form a scale that permits reflection about the 'Indians' lack of preparation for confronting Whites at the

beginning of contact: the Guarani did not know, the Yanomami still do not know, thus they will lose everything.

The same type of interpretation was given in the reading of the 'theft' demonstrated by the videos about the Gavião, Nambiquara, Kaiapó and other groups. On the basis of this, the Waiãpi were able to discuss the 'Indians' customary lack of experience in negotiation. A reflection which visibly motivated them to plan better negotiation strategies than the ones they had been using for several years.

And it is in this sense that, in a completely new and specific way, the *Video in the Villages* experience has afforded the Waiãpi the chance to change the course of their relationship with Whites, to the point that in their most recent interventions, they accentuated confrontation and difference, in spite of the recourse to techniques and knowledge that contact with 'Indians' brought them.

Video allowed the Waiãpi to construct of new image of themselves, linked to the image of Whites and of Indians, and more detailed than the previous one, which has been defined by mythical criteria and specific historical experience. These 'details' came about by integrating the experience of other tribes, a process which not only better informed the Waiãpi about the effects of contact, but also gave them new keys for understanding the changes that contact with Whites had introduced to their way of life and that of other indigenous groups. In a unique way, video provided a *consciousness of change*, indispensable for creating new ways to control complex inter-ethnic relations in present Brazil.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Vincent Carelli - *Video in the Villages: Utilization of video-tapes as an instrument of Ethnic Affirmation among Brazilian Indian Groups*, CVA Newsletter, Montréal, May, 1988, pp. 10-15, and: - *Video nas Aldeias: um encontro dos índios com sua imagem*, Tempo e Presença, vol.270, julho/agosto 1993, CEDI, p.35-40.

<sup>2</sup> Assisted by the authors, Geoffrey O'Connor of Realis Pictures filmed in the villages in the northern part of the Waiãpi territory in 1989. At that time, he offered the village of Mariry the VCR and monitor that comprise the video unit currently installed in this village. The same year, he documented the visit of the Waiãpi representatives to Brasília. This was the first footage ever to come back to the villages, and allowed the activities described in this article to be initiated.

<sup>3</sup> This work is summarized in the video *The spirit of TV* (18 min., 1990) by the authors. The following phase of this experience was observed by the Anthropologist D.T. Gallois during her visits in indigenous zone and Macapá.

<sup>4</sup> The content of this argument is described by D.T. Gallois in *Iane ayvu kasi: discurso político e auto-representação Waiãpi* - UNB/ORSTOM, 1992.

<sup>5</sup> This interpretation is described in the video *Meeting ancestors* (22 min., 1993) by the authors.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Mairi revisitada: a reintegração da Fortaleza de Macapá na tradição oral dos Waiãpi*, commented translation of narratives by Dominique Gallois, Núcleo de História Indígena/USP, 1993.

## A Perspective on the New 'Moment' of Visual Literacy in South Africa

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Concern with the idea of 'visual literacy' and media education participates in the new 'moment' of study in South Africa on the topic of teaching media studies to South African school children and university students. School teachers, however, as with some university lecturers, still have to learn how to teach the subject, something very few have been educated to do.

Until the introduction to South Africa of broadcast television for the first time in January 1976, few universities even taught critical film studies, though one or two courses in English literature (criticism) and drama (production and theory) had seeped into syllabi at some institutions by the end of the decade (see Davids, 1980; Tomaselli 1980a; 1980b; 1985a). Most courses, theoretical or production, were Eurocentric in origin, application and approach. In the liberal English-language universities they initially arose from initiatives within English and Drama departments which introduced film criticism sub-sections to their existing courses.

The teaching of basic film and TV production courses at universities only started after 1975, in response to the imminent introduction of TV. These were partly taught by self-trained former industry professionals who, despite their practical experience, lacked teaching skills, and any formal knowledge of film and TV theory, criticism or history. Consequently, students suffered trial and error approaches until the teachers' own learning curves had improved. Similarly, university administrations had no idea on how to finance, evaluate or cope with such (expensive) production courses (Tomaselli 1985b; Anderson, 1985). In contrast, Afrikaans universities introduced basic video production courses to their longer established marketing and professionally-orientated communication syllabi without much trauma. The Rhodes University Department of Journalism led the way vis-a-vis English language campuses (Hayman, 1980).

### Visual Literacy Arrives

The first move in the direction of visual literacy occurred under the guidance of curriculum development officer Johan Grove of the white Transvaal Education Department (TED) in the late 1970s. His subsequent MA Thesis, 'The Theory and Practice of Film Study at Secondary School Level' (1981), a report on his experiment at six schools during the late 1970s, offered an elitist 'high culture' literary basis for media studies. This course was introduced in 1986 (see Ballot, 1991 for a critique). Grove's semiotic (the study of how meaning is made) was followed by John van Zyl's accessible and useful, but equally semiotically formalist, *Imagewise* (1989), used by TED teachers. Both Grove and Van Zyl, however, decontextualise their examples from the South African condition, thus ignoring local film, television and theoretical debates. They assume white Western readers and users both in their constructions of film audiences and users of their writings. The rather formalist 'film study' at some Transvaal, Cape and Natal white secondary schools during the 1980s, is the current research being done by House of Delegates administered schools<sup>1</sup>. Media education is not on the agenda of schools run by the Department of Education and Training, or the bantustan education

authorities, which control schools attended by blacks (Prinsloo and Criticos, 1991, pp. 29-38).

The study of visual media, however, received a major boost with two conferences held by the Faculty of Education at the University of Natal in 1985 (Kendall, 1988) and 1990. The subsequent publication in book form of the 1990 conference papers, *Media Matters in South Africa* (1991), edited by Jeanne Prinsloo and Costas Criticos of the University's Media Resource Centre, heralded the moment's flagship. This conference intersected a number of MA and Ph.D theses then registered at various English-language universities under similar topics, though few had been yet completed at the time of publication of this article.

While the book offers a useful *record* of a pioneering and long overdue conference, some of its chapters on European theory provide simplistic, reductive and misleading interpretations of key media theorists. These misinterpretations, for example, Bob Ferguson's (1991) self-depreciatory reductive explanation of Roland Barthes' semiology, and James Sey's (1991) ahistorical misrepresentation of the Frankfurt School work, which explored the ideology of cultural industries and social dialectic, ironically have retarded subsequent discussions on visual literacy in South Africa. As noteworthy, is the omission of any sustained attempt by many of the teachers, academics (including those teaching university film courses) and state education officials contributing to the conference, to contextualise their work, content, and teaching strategies in African or even South African contexts.

Of those writing in *Media Matters* on cinema and video, only Jae Maingard (1991) touched on the South American initiated idea and practice of Third Cinema. She linked this critical strategy of film-making to African cinema (see below) and her teaching of 'community video' in the war-ridden and overcrowded black area of Alexandra on the outskirts of Johannesburg. (Some other authors writing on print media and the more general idea of media education itself did, however, explicitly contextualise their papers within the South African reality of conflict). The discussions on cinema and television, with one partial exception (Johnstone, 1991), centred on anything but South African, African or Third World films, theories and issues. Other than Maingard, none developed their critiques within an indigenous, or anything like, a Third Cinema context, or in terms of how the media operate within global capitalist relations.

Lacking thus far in South African discussions on visual literacy, especially relating to cinema, film and video, are debates on how this idea could be applied in South Africa to meet the demands of literate, semi-literate, and non-literate students interacting through Western-African and African orality-based cultures. Most commentaries, eg., Van Zyl (1989) and the majority of authors in *Media Matters*, simply assume that approaches, discussions and theories dominant in other parts of the world (mostly Anglo-Saxon and French), whether Marxist, positivist or liberal-humanist, will automatically apply to all South African audiences and film-makers.

While many of the theories developed elsewhere and reported on in *Media Matters* are certainly useful, the tendency of simply reproducing them in South Africa without reconstitution, modification or concern for local conditions and history is problematic. This tendency perpetuates Western-dominant views of the world (whether Marxist or otherwise) at the expense of the rich variety of regional, cultural, ideological, cosmological and linguistic African, indigenous South African, or Third World, perspectives. Apart from Maingard, few papers have been written on teaching film and TV production in an explicitly South African

context (see Hayman, 1980; Tomaselli, 1982, 1983; Criticos 1989a).

Thus nearly all South African writing on visual literacy relating to cinema and television assumes a First World Westernised individual - that is, a literate media-saturated student. Few address the real mix of literate, non-literate, oral-based or semi-literate oral cultures of different religions, histories and philosophies. These will be increasingly juxtaposed and interact with the urbanised literate media audiences as South African residential patterns begin to lose their apartheid derivations.

The direct importation to Africa of methods, theories, ideas and psychoanalytical assumptions developed in the First World is not without epistemological problems. These methods and theories assume particular sets of modern and post-modern conditions and periodisations not necessarily replicated in Africa or South Africa in quite the same ways (Muller and Tomaselli, 1990). They often cannot account for ways in which African and Western/Eastern forms of expression have meshed, or for indigenous ways of knowing and making sense. Needed, are theories which can account for the various, often widely different and original African applications of imaging and recording technologies, and their resulting aesthetics (see Tomaselli and Sienaert, 1989; Eke and Tomaselli, 1992, on the South African oral based story-telling found in films like *Songololo* and videos like *The People's Poet*).

African interpretations of Western media, their rearticulation into different African contexts, and theoretical mixes which acknowledge the impact of travelling theories on our analytical tools, similarly need explication and development. One route for such explication is to study the way Third Cinema techniques have been used by various African film-makers, from Egypt in the North to South Africans in the South, as a way to indigenise our theoretical perspectives on film, video and cinema (Achebe et al, 1990).

### Third Cinema

Third Cinema is a set of strategies developed by critical film-makers in South America and North Africa (Solanas and Gettino, 1976; Pines and Willems, 1989). The ideas underlying Third Cinema have only very recently gained acceptance in South Africa (Botha and Van Aswegen, 1992; Maingard, 1991; Tomaselli and Prinsloo, 1992). First Cinema describes Hollywood entertainment; Second Cinema accounts for *avant garde*, personal or *auteur* films. Third Cinema is a cinema of resistance to imperialism, to oppression; a cinema of emancipation; articulating the codes of an essentially First World technology into indigenous aesthetics and mythologies. Since the 1980s, Third Cinema has been redefined into other sites of resistance, including those in First World situations where class conflicts have taken on a racial/ethnic character. Third Cinema is not a genre but rather a set of political strategies using film (and video) to articulate the experiences and hopes of the colonially oppressed. Much of critical African cinema is Third Cinema in nature.

African films, and much of Third Cinema, tend to be explicitly political. *They start from the social premise that the Community is IN the individual* rather than that the Individual is in the community, as is the case with Western genre cinema.

By political is meant the need to reconquer images - Western representations about Africa beamed back at us by international news agencies and cinemas. Critical African cinema is about the right of Africans to represent themselves in cinema, television and media in general. They contest mediated images recirculated to

Africa from the Western, and often, Islamic, neo-colonial centres. Jean-Marie Teno, a Cameroon film-maker now living in Paris, manifests the task through the words of his narration in *Afrique, Je Te Plumerai* (1991): 'colonialism perpetrated cultural genocide'. The struggle of Africans is to overcome this genocide, and the feelings of inferiority are its results. As one of his indignant characters complains: "Even when it comes to the number of seasons, we're surpassed by Europe!"

Most critical African film-makers live in exile from their countries of origin. Repression, both political and religious, is one reason. The endless and time-consuming search for funding is another - sources are, paradoxically, mainly found in Europe, not Africa. Where they do exist in Africa, governments are the primary source, with all the implications of control that such sources represent. It is not by chance that many African films are unrelentingly critical of African governments, of their arrogant treatment of their own people, of their corruption, censorship, patronage and sycophantic deference to European ways and economic power. Even a film about soccer, *Mr Foot* by Teno, offers such criticism. The new elites empowered by the departing colonialists simply perpetuated the worst attributes of the previous colonial masters. Many African countries were no less free after independence than they had been prior to this state.

While class analysis may have dropped from sight in the First World metropolises of academic production following the breakup of the Soviet Union, it remains high on the agenda of most critical African film-makers. This occurs in the context of the modern African state which has largely disempowered indigenous cultures. As witnesses to their time, critical African film-makers watch, record, probe and participate in struggles for democracy and social and economic emancipation. The voice of the film-maker is always clear, though sometimes they have to sugar coat their messages to keep from falling foul of censorship. Fictions are preferred to documentary films. Documentaries, thought by governments and censors to be about 'truth', tend to attract more severe censorship.

Funding problems within Africa have led to a degree of insecurity amongst African film-makers. It can take years to raise adequate finance for full length films, and so the temptation is sometimes to cram as much into a single film as possible - the problem, I think, with *Afrique, Je Te Plumerai*, which intertwines about five narratives into one. But even here, such encoding derives from the theory of Third Cinema which holds that film-makers should mobilise anything that works in educating 'the masses' to the nature of their oppression under neo-colonialism. Teno uses documentary, re-enactments, news footage, humour, drama and music, and monochrome. Direct and indirect narration, dialogue and sub-titles reflect the oral emphasis of African culture. This orality is further emphasised in that the storyline is advanced through a variety of different characters - as opposed to the single meta-narrator of conventional First Cinema. Music (songs, performances, lyrics), for example, is sometimes heavily foregrounded, operating as a narrative voice in its own right. The result is an entertaining post-modernist political protest film which retains the depth and irony of the oral style.

### African Ontological 'Grammars'

Third Cinema practitioners thus rearticulate and localise Western-invented technologies in the service of African themes, stories, forms of story-telling and cultural expression. Africa participates in ontologies which suggest the generation of new and different visual grammars to those found in more industrialised societies.

These draw on linguistic structures which have no grammar for dealing with things which exist quite without relation to other things. African languages, unlike languages which have emerged from industrial economies, describe a world consisting of more than objects. In an important way, their grammar (especially when this has not been subjected to the attentions of European educational specialists), has a place for qualifying something in terms of its relatedness to the other things, persons and animals around it.

African Third Cinema directors are part of their societies, in relation to and exploring everyday activities. Editing and encoding in African films reflect this common sense in which the world is interconnected through language. The writer in *Afrique*, for example, works at her typewriter in the middle of a street, not in seclusion, in the isolation of the Western artist or litterateur. She is part of the everyday life about which she is writing. This image raises questions about the nature of Africanity and its emphasis on Being, on totality, on an integrated world not separated into dualisms - where the Western artist tends to hide away from 'life' in seclusion while 'creating'. This fracturing of art and life is the result of Western philosophy dating back to Descartes, whose new paradigm separated the Object from its Subject, concrete reality from the spirit, and our waking from our dreaming selves. Can science, which derives from sets of dualisms driven by industrial imperatives calling themselves 'disciplines', coherently get to grips with views of the world which have resisted fragmentation and which try to retain cosmological coherence?

Ethnographic film and video may also be inadequate in the task of reintegrating the Subject with the Object as it tends to separate the visible world of actual behaviour from the invisible spiritual realm, which often remains real and concrete to their African subjects. Africans may make no distinctions between the material and the spiritual. It is not an accident, then, that most early African philosophy was most sensitively recorded by a few sympathetic European missionaries and theologians (e.g. Tempels, 1952). In visual terms, this task of recording and articulating African philosophies has now fallen to African film-makers. These elements are partly found in the oral nature that many African societies have sustained through the centuries of colonisation and Westernisation.

In *Mr Foot*, a film about the trials of an aspiring soccer player, the orality of Africa comes through first person narrations, performance styles overlaid on dialogue, unseen direct address, and critical or ironical commentary. These elements are made to speak across languages through sub-titles. The result is a uniquely African expression which is constantly changing, mutating and renewing itself, as this short film digs ever deeper into layers of original, colonial and neo-colonial-imposed meanings, practices and beliefs. In the process, Teno brings new light to the statement that 'Black is the colour of despair' and that the 'colour of success is white'. The racial categories of 'black' and 'white' are thus interchanged as sites of oppression.

Teno's film, *Afrique*, which shows how the original oral culture of Cameroon has been influenced by writing, is driven by the thorny question of how to steer Africa out of its cultural vulnerability - a vulnerability that has led to its apparent helplessness and internal repression by the black elite apparatuses of global capital.

But African directors, in decolonising Africa's own images represented to them, face the problem of Hollywood-hooked audiences, and escapist entertainment-seeking in their own countries. Thus, while African governments mostly ban films made by their critical citizens, they become artistic fodder for First

World film festival circuits. As such, the paradox of Third African Cinema is that its makers act as cultural intermediaries germinating styles and themes that are currently stored in exile, waiting for appropriate conditions to break before returning home. South Africa is one instance where its exiled film industry is now returning to its origin, its site of contestation, its victory.

Not all African cinema exhibits the tenets of Third Cinema, or politically coherent critical narrative, as is evident in *Afrique*, *Mr Foot*, and Gaston Kabore's *Madame Hadou* (1992). Nor should it. But it should at least be conscious of style and the implications of this for communication, reception, and mobilisation. Too many videos, especially, lack any sense of style, strategy or likely audience.

### Whereto

In conclusion, the new study of visual media in some, mostly Indian and white, South African schools, should not be a simple transposition from experiments that might have shown signs of success in the UK, Europe, Australia or USA. Some cinema and television studies at South African universities have already succumbed to this problem by simply transporting *Screen* theory as imposed by the journal, *Screen*, during the 1970s and early 1980s, direct into their uneasy attempts to understand South African cinema.

While such theory and analytical experience is fundamentally important in developing courses vis-a-vis visual literacy in South Africa, local conditions and frames of reception and production should not be summarily ignored. And the differences between black urban school children and black rural peasant children may be even greater than the differences that pertain between black and white urban children. The former adhere primarily to the oral; the latter to a mixture of oral and visual, cultures; though both are increasingly moving through worlds of visual images. Only one unpublished paper exists on how to teach film-making to black students who lack access to cameras or even TV (Tomaselli, 1983).

As the comedic singer (*griot* or *imbongi*) in Teno's film ironically puts the case for Africa, "When Africans will make their own films, I'll go back to the movies". Africans are making their own films. The range of styles across the continent is astonishing, while some lack style altogether. The real question is how to reach African audiences. In South Africa, this translates in not only the restructuring of our racially, legislatively and spatially fractured educational systems, but also how to teach about the visual media in multi-cultural classrooms within both the institutional, popular and informal infrastructures in such a way that the already visually literate learn from those who still possess the skills, practices, interpretive frameworks and values of orality, and vice versa. Some informal experiments in video production have occurred (Maingard 1991; Lazerus and Tomaselli, 1989; Dynamic Images, 1988, Criticos and Quinlan, 1991; Criticos, 1989a, 1989b), but broad unsubstantiated claims made for the empowering potential of 'community video' or 'direct cinema' (Criticos, 1989b; Van Zyl, 1989) need to be treated with serious caution (Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990; Deacon, nd). Too often, these interventions fail because the video-makers spuriously imagine themselves to be *in* communities when, in fact, they remain outsiders and observers, sometimes being used by power cliques within the client organisations.

Systematic research on how African film-makers and audiences make sense of films and TV remains to be put on the



academic research agenda. Only then will authentic Southern African identities reflecting the meshing of the different histories of language, communication and expression of its inhabitants begin to emerge.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The House of Delegates is the apartheid administrative structure which determines syllabi for schools attended by those racially classified 'Asian' by the state. Though the racial classification laws were repealed during 1991, the racially segregated departments of education remained in tact. If one includes the bantustan governments, there were by the end of 1992 no less than 14 Departments of Education run by 14 ministries, all racially/ethnically determined. This fragmentation is expected to disappear when a democratic government is elected, possibly in 1993.

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## ETHNIC EXPRESSION FROM THE GRASSROOTS: Visual Anthropology and Public Access Television

Jesikah Maria Ross, Davis Community Television, California

There exists in the United States a space in which a dynamic form of visual anthropology is occurring. This space is called public access television or community television<sup>1</sup>. It exists within the modern telecommunications system of cable television and it provides an open forum for community interaction and the free expression of ideas. The development, maintenance, and the use of public access television by people of diverse social classes and ideological orientations is a fascinating phenomenon that could itself be the topic for an entire book. This essay, however, will focus specifically on how ethnic minorities in the United States use community television to explore and express their cultural identity and viewpoints within a multicultural society. In this way, community television functions as an empowering form of visual anthropology. I will begin with an overview of the history, structure, and objectives of public access television in order to explain how, in response to the limits of commercial television, it has become a unique medium of cultural self-expression.

Public access television was established in the 1970s by activists who sought to insure media access for individuals in a society whose main systems of communication were rapidly becoming dominated by electronic media, in particular by commercial television. These activists saw commercial television as a monolithic industry that reduced vastly different cultural experiences into neatly packaged, homogenous programming. Commercial television was also perceived as a hegemonic mechanism of production and distribution that functioned to disenfranchise the majority of the viewers. Public access television evolved out of the U.S. model of democracy, a model based on the ideas of diversity of information, the free circulation of ideas, and community interaction and debate. Public access television activists fought, and continue to fight, to provide the means for individuals to create and transmit their own programs and perspectives. Their intention is to democratize the media. 'Access channels are now found in approximately 2,000 communities and cablecast an estimated 15,000 hours per week of original community programming. That is more than ABC, NBC, CBS, and PBS produce in a year combined' (Blau, 1992, p. 22).

Before I say more about the structure and objectives of community television, I want to define in more detail what it is that these activists are responding to: the limits of commercial television<sup>2</sup>. 'Those who control the stories of a culture, control the culture' (Church, 1987, p. 13). Television is the primary means of circulating stories in contemporary United States. And television is completely dominated by commercial networks. As a result, those who control the content of network television programming determine to a large extent the ideological, social, and cultural perspectives of the US public.

Commercial television is also a big business. Programming choices are governed by profit concerns, not by motives based on community interaction and development. Financial sponsors are interested in selling products and image. Consequently, mainstream television shows are designed mostly to arouse and please instead of inform and motivate. In addition, commercial television programming choices are largely determined by one privileged cultural group (White, mostly male, heterosexual) with its attendant biases and ideologies. These specific biases and

ideologies interface with the interests and concerns of the financial underwriters, the result being that only a minute percentage of programming addresses issues or concerns related to cultural minorities. The programs that do feature cultural difference often function to merely contain and control the public's vision of those differences.

Take for example *The Cosby Show*, which recently completed its run as one of the most popular primetime network programs. *The Cosby Show* focuses on the daily lives of a middle-class African American family. Yet in the day to day scenarios represented, topics culturally specific to African Americans like racism, the history of slavery, and afrocentricity rarely seem to arise. Nor do recent infamous incidents like the Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill trials or the Los Angeles riots get openly discussed. The fact that the major cause of death for black men between 18-30 is homicide is not likely to surface in the sitcom dialogue. So although *The Cosby Show* features an African American family, it does not overtly address specific African American history, concerns or realities. It dissolves African American identity and cultural difference into a standard American identity.

Another example of how mainstream media erases cultural complexity was the coverage of the riots related to the Rodney King incident in Los Angeles, California. Although the recorded images clearly show Asians and Latinos involved in the rioting and looting, news commentators continuously focused their discussion on the African Americans, portraying the ordeal as some type of revenge against caucasians. The tremendous tension and violence between the Asian and African American community was hardly reported in comparison to the (relatively few) incidents of direct violence against caucasians which seemed to make the headlines hour after hour. What I mean to point out in these examples is that commercial television, through its editorial selection of program content, controls the diversity of information being circulated and thus perpetuates the marginalization and misrepresentation of peoples and events. That marginalization is reinforced by the mainstream media's failure to make available to cultural minorities who are able to produce television programs are often denied access to the mechanisms of distribution.

Finally, network television hampers community interaction by encouraging a passive relationship between the audience and the content of the television programming. Since commercial television programming is globalised and not localized - it broadcasts instead of narrowcasts<sup>3</sup> - there is little coverage of community issues or local culture. Consequently, viewers are distanced from both the content and actual creation of programming. The people, events, and stories represented by the networks usually have no direct relationship to the viewers' lives or daily experiences. Add to this the viewing population's lack of media literacy and the result is television programming that not only thwarts audience participation and debate, but also encourages the unquestioned acceptance of under or misrepresentations of cultural difference.

In contrast to commercial television, the structure of community television stimulates community interaction, allows for the free circulation of ideas, and encourages a diversity of information. The objective of public access television is to transform television audiences from mere consumers of predetermined programming to active participants in the creation and circulation of their own stories, cultural traditions, opinions, and visions.

'Access programming has revived the general store or community square, so to speak, by offering groups, clubs, organizations, and individuals an opportunity to be seen and heard through public access channels. For the first time in history an electronic forum can be used by us to express our needs and views with our neighbours in the comfort of their own homes. We can share information, teach techniques and skills, record historical events or entertain.' (Buske, 1985, p. 10)

Since community television is non-profit and hence not governed by commercial concerns, it offers an open forum for unmediated expression. Community television promotes cultural diversity and aesthetic experimentation. Above all, it invests participants with the authority to communicate their ideas based on their own direct experiences. Instead of having reporters imported into South Central Los Angeles to cover the riots in a conventional news format, for instance, people from the South Central community can be their own experts and make their own reports to cablecast on the community television channel, as witnessed in *Hand's On the Verdict* and *The Nation Erupts* produced by Not Channel Zero<sup>4</sup>. Or instead of watching *The Cosby Show*, African Americans can make and televise dramas which creatively feature their cultural heroes and cultural debates. Producer Sam McPherson in Dekalb, Georgia does this in his weekly half-hour series *InnerVisions*. One of his programs, for example, includes a community produced children's play featuring a scripted debate between Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr and Marcus Garvey, a 'gospelmentary' focusing on the early preachings of Ida Wells, and local African American dance instructors discussing how the issues of identity, self-esteem and heritage become part of their dance courses.

In public access television, the free circulation of ideas is facilitated by equipment and facility use that is either free or extremely inexpensive. Moreover, most community television stations provide technical training and production assistance. Because community television stations exert no editorial control, public access television producers can use their technical skills to express their views in the visual or the verbal manner of their choice. Distribution of producer's programs on the public access cable channel is guaranteed as long as the work is non-commercial. There are no limits on program length, content, objectives, or production quality.

Training local individuals in television production inspires community interaction, since local producers tend to create programming that focuses on local issues and events and regional culture. Since public access television facilities are available to people from all walks of life, community television programs often reflect the rich diversity of people and opinions that coexist within communities. As a result, audiences are able to see programs featuring their neighbours and neighbourhoods, discussions of issues and ideas that directly affect them, and the perspectives of other members of their community. 'Public Access television channels can help us meet our neighbours, explore our communities and address issues and areas of local concern in a totally new fashion' (Buske, 1985, p. 10). From city council debates to teenagers talking about the violence happening in their neighbourhood; from ethnic groups' news reports to the grievances of local industry workers, community television provides an outlet for free expression which exposes audiences to a wide variety of viewpoints. Such exposure stimulates community dialogue.

Because of its structure and objectives, community television, enables, cultural minority, to do many of the things traditionally associated with visual anthropology, such as document and preserve customs, communicate values through storytelling, and explore cultural identity and experience. In fact, many ethnic groups are responding to the marginalization and misrepresentation of their cultural experience by using the tools of television to address their issues, share their stories and traditions, and represent their lifestyles. From studio to on-location shoots, these groups are recording their customs, expressing their values, and investigating their multicultural identity. What follows are examples of this innovative form of visual anthropology.

The *Last Kwaayamii* (Lluna Plunket; San Diego, California) profiles 90 year old Tom Lucus, the last member of the Kwaayamii tribe which once inhabited the southern region of California. In this oral history program, Lucus details the disintegration of his tribe and homeland. In *Indigenous People and the Land* (Pele Defense Fund, Hawaii) A Hawaiian medicine man and a Hula dance instructor discuss the heritage transmitted through the teachings and show how the desecration of the rainforest, caused by the building of geothermal plants, is destroying their traditional lifestyle. *Street Art* (Ben Gutierrez; Long Beach, California) explains the different forms and functions of graffiti and confronts the negative typecasting of this urban communication/art. 'Most people think of graffiti as a visual pollution or just a bunch of hoodlums with spray paint destroying the city. The thing that they don't understand is that it happens to be an important cultural expression' (Gutierrez, 1992).

In *Speaking Out* (Stephanie Heyl; St. Louis, Missouri) a Native American woman sits on a kitchen counter, directly faces the camera in a medium shot, and speaks about cultural repression. 'Censorship of people of colour is insidious and all encompassing. It enters into the professional and the personal and the emotional spheres of one's life. To combat this the voice is a powerful weapon. It can slip through the cracks and give body to the story of survival' (Heyl, 1992). *Air Your Concern* (MATA; Milwaukee, Wisconsin) is a regular, live phone-in program which gives the local African American community the opportunity to broadcast their issues and concerns. *Oriental Express* (Richard Reichel; Palm Harbor, Florida), on the other hand, highlights local Asian American events and traditions. In the segment 'Japanese Calligraphy', for example, one of the few practitioners of an ancient form of calligraphy demonstrates and discusses the symbols and instruments used in this traditional form of writing.

'Its very important that we know our history and that we empower ourselves through knowledge of our literature, of our culture, of our song, of our traditions, and of our political movements' (Diyanini, 1992), states an Asian American student activist in *Asian American Journal* (Sheryl Narahara; Davis, California), a program dedicated to celebrating Asian American Ethnicity. *We Are Hablando* (Raul Ferrera-Balanquet; Iowa City, Iowa) focuses on the sense of split identity caused by being bicultural in the United States. In this short, intimate interview, a young Mexican American male voices his experience of straddling two cultures:

I had to try to express myself and my home life, which was my more Mexican side of my culture, in terms of English and American values. And it became a struggle just to learn how to find out and express that part of myself first of all, and second of all once I found the means of expression, I found I couldn't always express in certain

groups of friends certain views that I hold from a cultural perspective. (Deep Dish Television Network, 1992)

All of these examples of public access programs, most of which feature low resolution, shaky camera-work, uneven editing, and non-standard English, are unlikely to be broadcast on commercial television. Community television then functions as an alternative media forum. Its infrastructure gives cultural minorities access to the tools and technology of modern communication systems to speak their truths, address their issues, preserve their heritage, and represent themselves in their own visual and verbal languages.

Traditionally, anthropology is a field dedicated to creating experts on specific cultural groups. These experts are professionally trained to research and theorize about the histories of particular cultures. Generally, ethnographic film-makers are also professionally trained; instead of writing about cultural groups they make films about them. Public access television, on the other hand, promotes the goal of being your own expert. It encourages the public to take the media into their own hands, to become an authority on their own cultural experiences. In addition, community television staff don't play the role of the expert. Nor do they act as advocates on behalf of the minorities or as mediators of their issues. Community television staff function as facilitators; they provide training, production assistance, equipment, and facilities but do not direct, control, or comment on producer's programs.

Disenfranchised from commercial television, ethnic groups are able to create community television programming on their own terms. They can go into their communities, their kitchens, living rooms, backyards, classrooms and record and cablecast their own version of their multicultural experiences. They have a space in which to directly communicate about or comment on their cultural reality.

Peering into cultural experiences through the eyes of insiders is nothing new to visual anthropology. But it is unique when these insiders are self-motivated, not trained and prodded by anthropologists seeking 'more genuine' data for a case study. It is unique when these insiders are empowered to transmit messages for and about their community, instead of lead by ethnographic film-makers to document their life-styles and customs in a prearranged production. Because of its distinct structure and objectives, community television programming is a potent form of visual anthropology. It offers a unique window into the expression and exploration of cultural identity and experience as produced, directed, edited and circulated by the cultural groups themselves.

### Notes

\* Adapted from a video and paper presentation given at 'Contrasting Worlds', an international conference on visual anthropology; Granada, Spain, October 1992.

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the essay, public access television and community television are used synonymously.

<sup>2</sup> In this essay, I use the terms commercial television, network television, and mainstream television interchangeably.

<sup>3</sup> 'Whereas commercial television is broadcasting, aiming at a large and diversified audience, access is narrowcasting, aiming at a small audience with perhaps a single common bond of interest' (Buske, 1985, p.8)

<sup>4</sup> *Not Channel Zero* is an African American video collective in New York City that compiled programs from around the nation, including Los Angeles, and created these two programs to be cablecast as part of the Deep Dish Television Network's 1992 autumn series *Rock The Boat*.

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## Subversion of the status quo

### An interview with Jay Ruby

by Sigurjon Baldur Hafsteinsson

Jay Ruby is well known to people within the field of visual anthropology for his writings on ethnographic film, photography, reflexivity and indigenous media, just to name a few fields that he has been involved in. We are familiar with interviews with film-makers on their connections with individuals, ideas and the work of others, that are valuable to better understand their work - or to problematize them. The same can not, however, be said about scholars who take those interviews or write about the film-makers works. This interview was done with the intention to correct that bias a little bit. It was taken in two parts, in November 1992 and in April this year.

Sigurjon Baldur Hafsteinsson (SBH): When and how did your interest in anthropology begin?

Jay Ruby (JR):

Like most American anthropologists I began in another field. I started college life thinking of going to a theological seminary to become a Protestant minister. That interest quickly became transformed into an interest in the cultural history and archaeology of Bronze Age civilizations in the Middle East. I received my Bachelor's degree at the University of California, Los Angeles, in ancient history. My intention upon graduating was eventually to go to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, to receive a Ph.D. in Semitic studies, ancient archaeology or some such thing. Prior to going to the Oriental Institute, I decided to go to UCLA's anthropology department and get a master's degree in archaeological anthropology because this would give me practical field experience in the techniques and methodology of archaeology. I was also attracted to UCLA's program because they had become involved in the 'Save the Nubian Monuments' campaign that UNESCO was undertaking in the late 1950s and early 1960s as a result of the preparation for the Aswan Dam. I indeed was able to go the Sudan and do archaeology there, so I would say that my interests were realized. In the process of receiving a master's degree it became clear to me that my interests lay more in the anthropological approach to archaeology than the Classicist approach to archaeology and therefore I decided to stay at UCLA and to pursue my PhD in anthropological archaeology. While I was doing this I became increasingly less interested in archaeology and increasingly more interested in cultural anthropology. By the time I had completed my Ph.D. my interest in archaeology had completely exhausted itself and I became a cultural anthropologist.

SBH: You received your degrees in history and anthropology at times in American history that have been characterized as highly controversial. How do you perceive this decade between 1960 and 1970? And how do you think that the atmosphere at the time affected the discipline of anthropology and its teaching?

JR:

It is a complex question. I certainly agree with you that it was a controversial decade. The 1960s as they are called, even though they include the 1970s in America, was a time of great turbulence, great excitement and creativity. While I was a graduate student, and even before I was a graduate student, I had what might be called an 'underground' life, that is I was involved in avant-garde theatre, I ran a bookstore and a coffee house during the beatnik era. I wrote dreadfully embarrassing poetry and social criticism, and saw myself as a part of this creative avant-garde world. I was also very interested in experimental and avant-garde film. All of these activities, including an occasional attempt to act and direct plays. I acted and directed in *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Becket, a play by Pablo Picasso called *Desire Trapped by the Tail*, and a number of other short plays one by Tennessee Williams called *The Lady of Larksbury Lotion*. So, at the time I was becoming an anthropologist I also had another life of literature and painting, film and photography that was relatively separate. I would say during this time most of anthropology and the way in which anthropology was taught could be characterized as conservative. That is, there were a lot of anthropologists who where in the same place as I was, that is bohemian, whatever you wish to characterize it. But the discipline itself was very circumspect and conservative, and perhaps threatened by the young people like myself. We did not dress the way we where supposed to, we did not look the way we where supposed to. A good example of this, that would give you an idea of the atmosphere: In 1963, when I took my doctoral exams I was told by a colleague and friend, who was also a faculty member in another department, not at UCLA, that I would have to cut my hair because it was much too long and as a consequence if I did not, I would probably flunk the test. It will give you some notion. So, I would say that the immediate impact of the 1960s on anthropology was a reactionary one, that is the academy, the anthropological academy, reacted against what they regarded as a threat. There was an attempt for instance to create a society for psychedelic anthropology which was greeted with less than enthusiasm by the American Anthropological Association.

You ask me how I perceive this decade. I perceive it in retrospect with great fondness. I was and am deeply in love with rock and roll, I think that the music of that period still excites me more than the music of today. Perhaps I am just getting old. I think with fondness for instance of Jean-Luc Godard's work in the 1960s, for him the best time. Godard was trained both as an anthropologist and a cineast, and his work, I think, should be regarded as very important to the development of certain kind of consciousness in anthropology. He was greatly influenced by Rouch, for instance.

SBH: Between 1961 and 1963 you worked as an archaeologist in various positions at UCLA. Did your interest in photography and film start at that time and was that in any relation to your work?

JR:

I came to archaeology with an interest in photography and film. I had been a photographer since I was eleven or twelve years old, had a dark room. I used my photographic experience and skill in archaeology to record, as one does during an excavation, various features of the site that is uncovered. I did artifactual photography when it was required. As a graduate student I had a job working in the anthropology department's darkroom doing photography for the faculty. So, in that sense there was a relationship. But I also saw myself as a creative photographer, that is, trying to do artistic photography which had nothing to do with

the archaeology. As far as film goes, by and large, there was no relationship immediately. However, my mentor Clement Mien at UCLA, was, through his wife, Joan, very interested in film and the three of us in the early 1960s made a proposal to do a series of biographical films about anthropologists who had studied with Alfred Kroeber. The first was to be Sam Berrett. We shot a pilot and unfortunately never received any funds. During one expedition doing archaeological work on the west coast of Mexico, an archaeological team was filmed by a crew from a television science series, and the producer was a man named Peter Furst. I convinced the department to allow me to buy a motion picture camera out of the budget for the dig and to become Peter Furst's second camera. As it turned out I shot very little but it gave me some opportunity to begin to think about the possibility of making films within archaeology. It really was not until I started teaching full time in 1964 that film became as prominent in my consciousness as regards to the teaching of anthropology as it is today. And at that point I began to use film on a regular basis for teaching all of my courses and in the last twenty-eight years that has continued as a constant.

SBH: You mentioned earlier that Jean-Luc Godard's films are important to the development of a certain kind of consciousness in anthropology. What do you mean by that? Are you referring to Godard's political cinema?

JR:

I think that Godard's films in the 1960s and 1970s show a definite anthropological influence, a concern with language, culture and the construction of reality. Godard was a student of ethnology, knew Jean Rouch and spent a lot of time at the Cinematheque Francaise and in Rouch's class. I saw his films when I was in the process of working out my ideas on visual anthropology and they had an impact on me. I can not speak for the rest of the profession.

SBH: Between 1968 and 1980 you served as a director of several Conferences on Visual Anthropology at Temple University. How did the conference series start?

JR:

When I interviewed for a job at Temple University in the spring of 1967 I conveyed to the then-department chair person, Jacob Gruber, my interest in film. I was attracted to him because of that and perhaps one of the reasons that I was hired at Temple was the possibility I would develop something within visual anthropology. Prior to my coming to Temple there had been for several years a spring screening series put on by the department. Most of the films were brought in simply for the edification of the other faculty members, that is, they brought in some films that they would conceivably be interested in using to teach. But the precedent for some kind of screening series was there. When I arrived and began teaching in the fall of 1967 professor Gruber provided me with a small amount of funds to set up a conference for the spring, that is of May of 1968 - a particularly interesting time to start the series. Some people regard May of 1968 as the beginning of the end of the 1960s, politically.

Anyway, I put together with several people a conference, that was then called Temple's Anthropological Film Festival, dedicated to Robert Flaherty. A large number of people attended. Karl Heider, Sol Worth, Ray Birdwhistell, all gave presentations. It was well attended. Everyone seemed to like it. And out of that began what evolved into the Conference on Visual Anthropology. I

should also say, that from the beginning, Ernest Rose who was then the head of the radio-television-film department at Temple and a friend of mine from his days at Berkley, at the University of California, gave me his full support. RTF provided us with funds and provided me with a co-organizer, Galen Longwell, who worked with me from 1968 through the mid-seventies. So, the series started when I came to Temple and continued on, not quite every year but quite frequently. I think we did eight in all, until it became financially impossible in 1980 to continue them.

I must say I look back on the conferences with great fondness, they were times of great excitement. It was a blend of people and interests, a pressure-cooker. Sometimes with as many as eight to ten simultaneous sessions. It is unfortunate that the times are what they are and that we can no longer do them.

SBH: When did you first meet Sol Worth?

JR:

When I arrived in Philadelphia in the fall of 1967, I read a brief statement in the *American Anthropologist* about a project involving Sol Worth and John Adair's attempt to teach the Navajo Indians of the SouthWest how to make films. I became interested in the project. During the American Anthropological meetings in November 1967 Worth and Adair showed the Navajo films that had been completed the year before. I attended that screening and afterwards spent a fair amount of time with Sol Worth talking about the project. It became very interesting to me and indeed Worth's ideas and work in general became interesting.

In May of 1968 I invited Worth to present a version of his work of the Navajo project, and from then on we became interested in each other professionally and personally. And eventually became very personal friends and colleagues. I believe that it was in the fall of 1968 that I audited his seminar on visual communication and became more conversant with his work. And from that point in 1968, until he died in 1977 we collaborated on a number of projects. In 1972 we received a National Science Foundation Grant for the Summer Institute of Visual Anthropology, that was organized by Worth and myself, Karl Heider and Carroll Williams, at the Anthropology Film Center in Santa Fe. And it is out of that summer, with people like Steve Feld and Tom Blakely attending, that was born the first professional organization in America about visual anthropology. It had the cumbersome name of The Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication and it continued from 1973 until it was replaced by the current Society for Visual Anthropology. It was out of that summer of 1972 that also the journal that eventually became *Studies in Visual Communication* was formed and a number of other things, including, I might add, the idea of creating a departmental graduate program in visual anthropology at Temple that included the Santa Fe center.

SBH: Why this name change, from Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication to the Society for Visual Anthropology?

JR:

As far as the name change from the Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication to the Society for Visual Anthropology, it was both a conceptual and political change. The visual communication group was dominated by myself and Sol Worth. We were pushing for a broad based organization that would include proxemics, space, the built environment, dance, art, as well as film. When Sol died [in 1977] I tried to do it basically by myself. The society became too much for one person's vision.

So we have a revulsion of sorts and people interested mainly in ethnographic film that formed the new society. It was for me a step backwards and consequently I have never been involved in SVA. However, under the editorship of Lucien Taylor the Visual anthropology review has become a major journal and I am actively involved in the journal.

SBH: What do you think are Worth's influences within the field of anthropology of visual communication?

JR:

Worth is the person who conceptualized the idea of an anthropology of visual communication and it came out of his interest in Dell Hymes' concept from the 1960s of an ethnography of communication. It is a broader concept than either visual anthropology or ethnographic film. It involves both the production of images and the analysis of images, from the perspective of anthropology and communication. I wish I could say that this idea, which I am deeply fond of, immediately created an enormous amount of interest and that since the seventies there have been hundreds of studies done around the rubric of the anthropology of visual communication, but it is simply not true. I can not explain why it failed to attract people to it, but then I can not understand why Hymes' notion of sociolinguistics and Hymes' notion of an ethnography of communication also failed to interest people. By and large the field called visual anthropology is dominated by people who want to make images and only a few of us are interested in the analysis. Faye Ginsburg in the Forman lecture she recently gave [to be published in *Anthropology Today*] suggests that Worth was ahead of his time and only now are people beginning to see that an anthropology of communication paradigm has so much merit.

This is an issue which I am currently grappling with and at this point I simply do not know why Worth's influence was as minimal as it was. But frankly, I have to say that it is true that his work has not created the kind of a tension that it should.

SBH: What is so appealing to the idea of the anthropology of visual communication?

JR:

To begin with it is the notion of studying visual communication from an anthropological/ethnographic perspective. Other approaches suffer too much from the "image as text" paradigm which causes researchers to sit in their studies fantasizing about the meaning and significance of an image. It results in articles which are nothing more than "let me tell you what I think this image means." There is no way to verify or falsify such research. An anthropological/ethnographic approach means going into the real world to discover how actual people make and use images. Secondly, the notion of images as visual communication gives one the broadest base from which to explore. Too many people start from a "image as art" point of view. Sol Worth's article "Film as non-art: an approach to the study of film" [1966] is the best explication of this idea.

It seems to me that the appeal of the idea is sufficiently broad based to provide the space to include research in areas that are related and at the same time open enough for other theoretical points of view to exist, that is, one can deal with questions of visual communication from a marxist or feminist perspective. If you treat the construction of an ethnographic film as a research problem in the anthropology of visual communication, then the

making of the film becomes much more interesting. Besides what grand theory is there to compete with it?

SBH: You've written extensively on reflexivity and ethics in ethnographic and documentary film-making. How do you see the connection between the two concepts?

JR:

In examining ethnographic and documentary film-making in terms of its ethics and politics I became fascinated in the early seventies with the total absence of the discussion, at least in writing, of the ethical obligation of these film-makers. I do not want to suggest that the absence of this discussion argues that these are unethical people, quite the contrary, I think that people who go into the field of ethnographic or documentary film-making are very ethical people. The reason why there is no discussion of ethics is quite simple. Until the mid-seventies or late seventies most people believed in the concept of objectivity. If one is being objective or at least attempting to be objective in one's film-making one is then automatically fulfilling one's political and ethical obligation. Therefore there is no need to discuss ethics. Once the concept of objectivity became tarnished, became destroyed eventually, then the question of, for instance, the moral relationship between the film-maker and the film becomes a question that can be explored - as indeed questions like the relationship of the film-makers to their audience. So, that is the broad context within which people like myself, Calvin Pryluck, and James Linton, and others began a dialogue about the ethics of naturalist or realist film-making.

The relationship of ethics to reflexivity in this kind of film-making is relatively a simple one. The idea of objectivity is an idea still very attractive to a large number of people, particularly laypersons, the general population. The reason being, from a philosophical point of view, that these photographic images then become a kind of testimony or evidence of reality and that is very attractive to have some medium that allows you to do that. Because most people still believe that images are somehow more truthful than words, the concept of reflexivity takes on a particular kind of ethical tone. And let me now explain what I mean with reflexivity: I mean any activity that breaks the illusion of objectivity, for instance, any time a film-maker reminds the audience that they are looking at a film, any time a film-maker causes the audience to think about the nature of the construction of knowledge in the film, something as simple as seeing the microphone, something as simple as hearing the film-maker off-camera asking the question, etc.. But any time you break the illusion within film you are beginning to be reflexive. Now, I would argue that the reflexivity that is morally and politically required of film-makers is one that's more deliberate, more self-conscious, more complex than that, but anytime the suspension of disbelief is broken you are beginning to be reflexive. When you do that you raise these issues with your audience, that is issues of politics and morality. And therefore to be reflexive is to be ethical, in the sense that you are causing the audience to reflect upon and think about what they are looking at. Obviously, just having them think about it is not adequate but it is the beginning. So, the relationship, to be ethical is to be reflexive, may be a little oversimplified but that is what I have been saying for a number of years.



SBH: You talk about breaking the illusion of film-making in moral and political terms. To what degree should the film-maker become morally and politically involved with his subject?

JR:

Film-makers are always morally and politically involved with their subjects. Making a film is a political act that involves the exercise of power. We have the moral obligation to consider the rights of those who we film. What makes ethnographic film-makers different from the ordinary documentary film-maker is that we have a long term involvement with the people we film. If just for pragmatic reasons we need to be sensitive to their feelings. If we make them angry because of how we represent them, chances are good that they will not allow us to return.

SBH: You say that being reflexive is a beginning to have audiences to think but that it is not adequate. What do you mean by that? Is there any more to it than to get people to think for themselves?

JR:

To be reflexive is to cause the audiences to be reflective about how films are made. That is a beginning. If you are successful in getting audiences to think about how knowledge is constructed in a film then you may start a process of reflecting about the nature of all knowledge. Reflexive anthropology has to be subversive of the status quo.

SBH: For two decades anthropologists have been scrutinizing their field methods and their products of anthropological practice, resulting in a demand of native or multiple voices within the end product of the anthropologist i.e., field reports and ethnographies. How do you see the problem in relation to ethnographic films? Is there something new here when it comes to ethnographic film-making?

JR:

Anthropology, like other western social sciences, was based on and still today is based upon the assumption that we have the capacity to so completely understand some other culture's reality. That we have the license to speak for Them. It's the basis of all ethnography until a few years ago. What has happened recently is that this approach, which is that we have both the license and moral necessity to speak for those who cannot speak for

themselves, has been challenged and it's been challenged by two people: critics from within the field and critics from without the field. For example, there are an increasing number of native people or in general people who have traditionally been the subjects of film-making, of social science research, who are very discontent or more strongly angry about what they regard as the way in which we have misrepresented them. That is, when they see our films, look at our photographs, read our books and articles about them and their culture, they feel that what we say is not true, it is not accurate and it suffers from a whole number of deficiencies. So, what happens with this kind of critical response, that is the natives speaking back, has been an assumption on their part that they must make their own images; that is, they must represent themselves. This is happening all over the world, women are saying this, American blacks are saying this, Hispanics, people who live in the tropical rainforests of Amazonia, Inuits who live above the Arctic Circle, Australian Aborigines, the list is endless, and indeed they are producing their own work. So the one thrust of this does kind of call for multi-vocal or many voices with what Fay Ginsburg at New York University and others call indigenous media, that is the Yanomamo, the Kayapo, etc., produce their own videotapes simply for themselves and some for consumption by us. That is one direction that this is taking us and, indeed, it is a very exciting one because we are beginning to see or get glimpses into what it looks like to be somebody else, that is, if we look at a film by a Yanomamo perhaps we are really looking at the world through their eyes. A very exciting prospect. At the same time there are a growing number of ethnographers, both those who write and those who image make, exploring ways in which they can share the authority of their work, that is, that they can have more than one author to their film. They, along with the people in the film, can collaborate in some way to produce a multi-vocal ethnographic film. The work of Leonard Kaminerling and Sarah Elder, among native peoples in Alaska is perhaps the most extensive use of this notion of collaboration. So, I see this as the most exciting and most interesting trend within ethnographic film. That is, collaborative films, films made in a collaboration between the anthropologist film-maker and the native and indigenously-produced media. I do not know how far and what direction this will go but as of this moment, that is, the end of 1992, this kind of film-making, indigenously-produced and collaboratively-produced, attracts my attention more than anything else within the field of ethnographic film and photography.

## INNER VOICES - THEY SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

**Subjective perspective and personal narrative style in Visual Anthropology. A video programme reflecting war and genocide.**

Heinz Nigg, *Research Workshops Events, Zürich.*

### Audiovisual research into war and genocide.

War and genocide continue to impose their destructive effects on cultures long after the generation having directly experienced a war catastrophe has vanished. In the aftermath of war and destruction the traumatic experiences of the survivors are passed on to the individuals born afterwards. The video programme *Inner Voices - They Speak for Themselves* (Duration: 93 min) is an attempt to represent the experiences of individuals born in the second and third generation after the Second World War. Included is also the voice of a contemporary Palestinian woman reflecting on her existence in exile, as well as the analytic view of a video artist from the United States deconstructing the propaganda output of US-television networks to stir an international conflict, the Gulf War 1991. By bringing together five voices of individuals with different cultural backgrounds, telling us how they have experienced their own encounter with war and genocide, we are able to look more closely at the effects of human disasters on the personal and cultural identity of their victims and their descendants.

Because of the omnipresence of the electronic media, people interested in authentic information about the repercussions of wars on people's lives and cultures must find new or alternative channels for the dissemination of first hand information. Only watching mainstream television either puts the audience to sleep or keeps them worrying about the state of the world without any perspective for change. We get so horrified by the bloody pictures presented in sensational news shows that we either turn off the telly or switch to more relaxing programmes. Visual anthropology could fulfil a useful role in researching, collecting, producing and distributing specific films and video programmes on war and genocide that do represent reality from the subjective perspective of the people involved. Visual anthropologists could offer to the academic community as well as to the general public a wealth of audiovisual background information on regional and international conflicts that have resulted in military violence and the suppression of basic human rights.

*Inner Voices - They Speak for Themselves* is a step in this direction. It can be used in different settings - for film, art and academic audiences. It can serve as an input for writing workshops as well as for interactive audience participation research in order to collect data on attitudes towards war and racism, as well as for the initiation of new projects for the development of intercultural understanding. The tapes can be ordered directly from the author of this text or from the video distributors in the US. I welcome any information on research into similar film and video programmes reflecting war and genocide from a people's perspective.

### Five individual voices.

Rea Tajiri's video *History and Memory* (32 min) shows how important it was for her to dig up the story of her Японо-American parents who were never able to speak to their daughter about the deep humiliation they had experienced in US concentration camps where thousands of Японо-Americans were locked up after the attack on Pearl Harbour. The personal history of Rea Tajiri's family is represented through interviews with family members and old photographs, and is woven into a documentation of that time in newsreels, propaganda material, and excerpts from Hollywood movies. Reconstructing the past of her parents and of the society they lived in helped Rea Tajiri to find out who she is and where she has come from. Her mother's motives for forgetting that traumatic experience are seen in another light. The video is dedicated to her.

Shalom Gorewitz, New York, commemorates in *Damaged Visions* (9 min) the tragic fate of his grandparents who were killed in Auschwitz. He collected images in Sighet, Romania, where Gorewitz's grandparents lived and his mother was born, and in the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland. Using special video effects to edit his footage he succeeded in expressing a powerful outcry against the extermination of people which unfortunately has become as valid today as it was when Gorewitz' grandparents together with millions of other Jews were 'ethnically cleansed' from the map of Europe. By this unconventional approach to the past, Gorewitz shows that each generation has to find its own ways and means by which to keep the memory of the holocaust alive. History is not written once and for all. Each generation interprets the past from its own angle in time and space. Shalom Gorewitz has done it in an audiovisual form of great attraction.

My video *Cold Spring. Visiting the Berlin of the 1940s. A video diary* (27 min) is another travelogue into the past, trying to come to terms with my prejudice and fears of the Germans. I show how these scenophobic feelings of mistrust and anxiety are rooted in the Second World War when the Swiss were threatened with military invasion by the Nazi government in Germany. By visiting the historical Berlin of the 1940s and by talking to young Germans about how they come to terms with the legacy of the war I tried to open up a dialogue between Swiss and Germans interested in examining the stereotype images we have of each other. I also reminded myself of the close and hidden historical links between fascist Germany and so-called neutral and humanitarian Switzerland. In actual fact the Swiss government at that time followed a restrictive policy towards fugitives predominantly of Jewish origin seeking asylum in Switzerland. Refugees were refused entry into the country and instead sent back to Germany where many died in the concentration camps.

With *Measures of Distance* (9 min), the video artist Mona Hatusom, Beirut/London, brings us back into the present. The author, who lives in exile in the UK and in Canada, explores her feelings of separation from her Palestinian family by presenting a series of letters sent to her by her mother by war-struck Beirut in 1981. How these two Women communicate with each other over the long distance between home and exile gives an accurate picture of the mental hardships and feelings of alienation that many fugitives and asylum seekers in the world of today are confronted with. That Mona Hatoum succeeded in communicating with her mother also about such intimate issues as sexuality and what it means to be a woman in the arabic and in the western world makes her video unique and exciting. But war is omnipresent throughout their communication. In the end Mona's mother cannot send her

letters any more because a car bomb had destroyed her nearby post office.

*Involuntary Conversion* (9 min) by Jeanne C. Finley, San Francisco, is the only video without an autobiographic set-up. It has been included in this programme because Finley has managed to give an excellent and very subjective critique of how the media, especially television, are handled by the welders of political power to camouflage or cover up vested interests. When the US government intervened in the Gulf with military action they talked on CNN about a 'peace-keeping-operation'. War as a clear term was avoided as much as possible. It is this kind of polished media speak that video artist Jeanne Finley has analyzed so brilliantly in an experimental audiovisual form. The analysis of the role of the media in reporting about war and 'ethnic cleansing' is without doubt of greatest importance because it is through the media that most of us are informed and manipulated about what is happening in the world.

### Audience research

The distribution of *Inner Voices - They Speak for Themselves* is organised around an independent research project based on qualitative audience research. Discussions and creative writing workshops centred around these five videos will result in texts written by participants and in transcripts of taped discussions that will be edited and analyzed from an anthropological perspective. In cooperation with the five makers of the videos background material will be collected on how the videos had been conceived, produced and distributed by its authors and what response they had triggered so far. The research project *Inner Voices - They Speak for Themselves* is designed as an open-ended process. Its shape and outcome depends on the funding as well as on the cooperation with other researchers joining the project. The results of the project will be made available in report form.

### A first response

The following edited transcript is an excerpt of a discussion which took place after the presentation of *Inner Voices* at the Congress in Mexico City. It deals with the videos by Rea Tajiri and Shalom Gorewitz. The participants of the discussions were researchers, students, and film-makers from Mexico (Me), the States (US), Switzerland (CH), Norway (N), and Finland (F). Some are mentioned by name and function, others appear anonymously under (W)oman or (M)an.

Heinz Nigg (CH): What do the tapes we have just watched communicate about war and racism in comparison to a written text? And what does it mean to view these tapes within the framework of Visual Anthropology?

Nold Egenter, cultural anthropologist (CH): *History and Memory* was interesting because its structure is built upon different elements: images, text, sounds. And there is this reappearing strange image of a desert and a canteen being filled with fresh water. How Rea Tajiri was able to collage this sequence into her stream of consciousness was very impressing and touching. The second tape, *Damaged Visions*, was a chaotic outcry against the holocaust - which I can understand - but the message got lost in it. So I preferred the first tape.

Marie Christine Yue, student (US): To me the second tape was more like a poem. I liked the speed of the passing images because I am more or less familiar with the pictures of that period in history

anyway. They were not new to me. So it was more this overall impact of Shalom Gorewitz' fusion of different image, sounds, and texts which was important to me.

Nold Egenter (CH): Maybe it's because I belong to an older generation which is not so familiar with fast moving audiovisual information which made it difficult for me to follow this tape. I was much more open to the quiet and sensitive way of how Rea Tajiri was handling picture language. In the beginning she showed photographs from an album and she moved the pages just a tiny bit which added to these photos an intimate touch inviting me to look at them not so much as objective documents but as coded symbols standing for the tragic fate hidden in these people's lives.

W, student (N): Rea Tajiri's approach is so successful because of its personal narrative style. Sometimes I thought that also in some parts of her tape there was too much information in too short time for my liking. What both tapes have in common is that the verbal expression in sound and written text is very important. It seems that for both authors verbal language is a necessary prerequisite in dealing with emotionally painful experiences.

Heimo Lappalainen, Visual anthropologist (F): As conservative as I am I have problems with watching these tapes within the framework of Visual Anthropology. To me they would fit more easily into visual psychology or visual therapy. This work has not so much to do with translating an experience from one culture to another but with translating personal experiences to other people. I can give you an example. In one of Ingmar Bergman's short films, *Letter to a mother*, he talks about his mother. No one could call this visual anthropology, it's a psychological film.

W, student (N): Maybe these videos are not a translation from one culture to another - although this is debatable because in both tapes different cultures are shown in violent conflict with each other - but they are translations from one period of history into another - into the present time. Surely, they treat the very experience of war and racism on a psychological level. But this to me has very much to do with visual anthropology.

Heinz Nigg (CH): *History and Memory* represents the experience of a single family as being tightly interwoven with the historical development of a society. In case of Rea Tajiri's tape it is the history of the US during the Second World War and how the US society of that time had managed to expatriate its Japano-American citizens by framing them up as potential enemies and deport them into concentration camps. Maybe by watching this video made from an inside perspective we can learn more about Japano-American culture than from so-called objective historical and anthropological accounts.

M: I think it is difficult to draw boundaries between the different disciplines in the human sciences. If for example you take the research method of recording life stories you can look at the resulting material from the viewpoint of anthropology, history, as well as psychology. Let's open up the boundaries between the disciplines.

Toni Kuhn, film-maker (Me): As far as I understand my friend Heimo Lappalainen who has made this ethnographic film series about the Evenki of Siberia (*Taiga Nomads*) he would never allow himself to get into this kind of analyst film-making as this Japano-American woman. She departs from a very specific sequence in her and her mothers life in order to make a film about her family. Because she is the daughter she has a right to expand on a deeper psychological level than Heimo could ever do with his acquaintances of the Evenki i Siberia. So in her case it is completely understandable how and why she brings a very personal involvement into her film. In the case of Heimo it is

obvious that he is not an Evenki, he has not lived all his life in Siberia, so he can only approach the Evenki from the outside and cannot go into depth as the Japano-American woman could do.

Francisco Gomez-Mont, lecturer in communication studies (Me): For me as a Mexican both tapes we have seen so far represent individual experiences of persecution in cultures that are foreign to me. I am not a European Jew or a Japano-American and therefore these tapes communicate something to me which I had not seen in light before. They give me a glance into other cultures and how they go about dealing with traumatic historic experiences. This is a valuable contribution for comparative studies. - But I also think that these tapes are very interesting because of their complex and imaginative audiovisual language. I am a neurobiologist involved in communication studies, and I am particularly interested in how the human brain processes information, how it processes colour, movement, and sound information. The brain has different centres - for music, language, visual information, etc. So

if you are able to present documents like these videos which integrate a variety of these modalities you are provoking activity in widely different areas of the brain which means that you have to do it with a very powerful stimulus. So I congratulate you of having put this show together. Research into war and genocide has to move people in order to wake them up from indifference. For me it would be very interesting to study the audiovisual language of these tapes from the perspective of brain research. This could be a contribution to understand more precisely how and why these tapes are so effective on the different levels of perception.

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## Brief Reports and Reviews

### CONSTRUCTING THE AUDIENCE. Report on the 14th Nordic Anthropological Film Conference, University of Iceland, Reykjavik June 4-7, 1993

From June 4-7 1993 the Nordic Anthropological Film Association (NAFA) held its 14th International Conference in Reykjavik, Iceland. The conference was organised in cooperation with the University of Iceland.

The Nordic Anthropological Film Association has been formed through cooperation between anthropological institutions in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Iceland and Norway. It was established in 1975 with the aim of promoting the use of audio-visual anthropological works for educational purposes at all levels, from primary schools to universities, as well as in the public oriented activities of museums, etc. NAFA has during these 18 years built up an extensive archive, comprising approximately 90 films. NAFA has thus become one of the most significant organizations in Europe for the distribution of anthropological films. Every year, a conference has been arranged by NAFA in one of the Nordic countries, with the participation of leading international experts on visual anthropology. These conferences have acquired a reputation as a relevant forum for debate on the development of visual anthropology. Recurrent themes have been the relationship between the art of film and the science of anthropology and the potentials of using local narrative traditions in the structuring of ethnographic films.

The 14th NAFA conference in Reykjavik, called 'The Construction of the Viewer', focused on documentaries in general and ethnographic films in particular in their cultural context and addressed questions such as for whom and why are these films made. The conference attracted 60 participants from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, England, Germany, Hungary, Australia, Tadjikistan, and the United States. During the conference six papers were presented, two seminars were arranged, and close to 30 films screened.

In general, discussions and arguments among anthropologists and film-makers on documentaries and ethnographic films have hitherto been focused upon the intentions of the film-maker/anthropologist while making an ethnographic film, and the event of making it. The same can be said about the cinema studies. Studies on the reception of films in general and ethnographic films in particular are scarce, and even fewer are such studies that have been done by the use of ethnographic research methods. Anthropologists, film-makers and scholars in cinema studies know much about the background of film-making, ideological context of their production and what films have and have not represented, but they have a rather implicit knowledge about the role of the viewer in their production and of what the viewer 'does with it'.

In his opening paper, 'The Viewer viewed: The reception of ethnographic films', Jay Ruby from Temple University called for more studies in the field of anthropology and reception, based on ethnographic research, rather than on viewing texts and fantasies about viewers. Ruby argued that films are culturally coded communicative events that are designed to function in a particular

cultural context. He then explores the assumptions of the producers of films about viewers assumptions about cultural codes and their contexts. Ruby concludes that it is rather the context of its exhibition and the viewers who ultimately determine the meaning of the film, rather than the producers.

Alison Griffiths, from New York University, in her paper 'Ethnography and the Politics of Audience Research' discussed the political nature of audience research. Alison began her discussion with a review of several theoretical re-conceptualizations in both audience research and ethnography in recent years. She argues that the agenda of audience research inevitably influences responses in these researchers and also determines the kind of audiences the researcher 'produces'. Griffiths hopes to see an acknowledgement of the Foucauldian awareness in audience research, the stance that the production of knowledge is a political invention, and that the nature of media audiences should be considered more.

Marcus Banks, from Oxford University, in his paper 'Constructing the Audience through Ethnography' discussed several key works on audience research in film theory and anthropology. In his paper he argues that audience research, using the approach of reader-response criticism derived from literary theory, is in danger of objectifying the human subjects of ethnographic films and that to much attention to the audience can distract anthropologists from the major stated goals of ethnographic film: the representation of ethnography. He further states, that the practical implications of conducting such studies are that they alert anthropologists and others of the status of films as socially constructed texts. The relationship between film-maker and viewers is therefore dynamic in the construction of meaning of the filmic text but not a passive communication between film-makers and audience.

Beate Engelbrecht, from Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, IWF, in Göttingen, in her paper 'For whom do we produce?' discussed recent film projects she has been involved in in Central America and Africa. In her presentation she ponders for whom these films are made, and how different ideas of producers about potential audiences influence the final stage of films. She argues that each project creates a different set of problems, conceptual and narrative, in terms of for whom the project is made.

Pierre Baudry from Atelier VARAN in Paris, circulated his paper 'Happy tapes' at the conference. In his discussion Baudry defines four categories of audiences, each having different criteria based on their criteria of watching: general audience, specialized audience, self-identifying audience and self-seeing audience. In the latter part of his paper Baudry then analyses Portuguese and French wedding videos in terms of his theoretical implications.

Peter Ian Crawford, CVA Newsletter, in his paper 'Text and Context in Ethnographic Film' discussed two ways in which anthropological knowledge is conveyed to the audience. He argues, that a particular relationship between text and context determines the relationship between a film and its audience. Crawford distinguishes between two modes of ethnographic films, the perspicuous ones (films made for mass audiences) and the experiential ones (films made for more specialised audiences). In the latter part of his presentation he then explored cases from Mozambique in relation to his argument.

A student seminar was arranged in two sessions during the conference. First, Peter Crawford discussed and screened a number of recent films from The Granada Centre, Manchester University. After lunch, the second session was held, chaired by Ingólfur Hjörleifsson and Amar Árnason. During the second session a number of films by students and others were screened and then discussed from a variety of perspectives. Some dealt with the

construction of anthropological knowledge and challenged the notion of what makes an ethnographic film 'ethnographic', such as the film *Bontoc Eulogy* (a work in progress) by Marlon E. Fuentes, Temple University, USA.

The conference received attention by the media and was covered by the Icelandic National Broadcasting Service - Television and Radio.

A result of the conference, a book edited by Peter Ian Crawford (Denmark) and Sigurjón Baldur Hafsteinsson (Iceland), containing the six revised papers of the conference and a number of invited contributions, will be published in 1994 by Intervention Press.

*Sigurjón Baldur Hafsteinsson, University of Iceland*

### **Visual Anthropology in Madrid: Report on a three days seminar and the visual workshop at Complutense University.**

#### **Introduction**

On 14-16 June 1993 a three day visual anthropology seminar was held in the Faculty of Geography and History at Complutense university in Madrid. The seminar was organised by the *Taller de Antropología Visual*.

The *taller* (workshop) based in the Department of Anthropology of America was set up by a group of students headed by Carlos M. Caravantes who is a lecturer in the department. With no provision in Complutense for anything beyond an 'introduction to' visual anthropology, the group was set up by its members as a forum for the discussion of visual issues and a support for the application of visual methods to their own work. At present still unfunded, the continuation and achievements of the *taller* depend exclusively on the hard work and commitment of its members. It was due to their determination and enthusiasm to explore the fields of visual anthropology that the seminar was made possible. Absence of financial support did limit the possibilities for inviting foreign participants and the technical equipment available for film showing, as it also affects the *taller's* capacity to accumulate visual and written materials.

Another important point concerning materials is that, since many Spanish students do not read English, much of the literature is also inaccessible due to language problems. Thus the *taller* suffers some academic isolation. These Spanish visual anthropologists are setting about defining for themselves what visual anthropology can contribute to their work. The seminar addressed some of the fundamental issues which have been discussed in visual anthropology. Whilst the reflected the extent to which these academics are cut off from English language discourses, at the same time it was very refreshing to hear these issues being tackled anew in a different academic environment.

#### **Main themes of the seminar**

The opening paper of the seminar was a joint presentation by the members of the *taller*. In this introduction the main preoccupations of the group were set out as firstly the need to deal with the question of why and how we should use audio-visual media in anthropology. This idea was then discussed under the headings of: observation, conservation, communication, and analysis. The *taller* drew on attention to the issues of: the subjectivity of the observer;

the relationships between anthropologists and their subjects and how these change with the introduction of visual methods; the contextualizing role of visual recording technology; setting up of ethnographic image archives; the creation of anthropological visual documents to be shown to audiences; the importance of reflexivity for the anthropologist working with visual materials; and the post-fieldwork analysis of visually recorded data.

The remaining sessions were arranged under the following headings:

- The anthropologist and the capturing of reality
- Analysis of the image: research and teaching methods
- Visual Anthropology - Ethnographic Cinema - Documentary: The film-maker as anthropologist and the anthropologist as film-maker.
- Visual media in cultural research

The seminar was composed of participants from a variety of backgrounds: anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, education specialists, image and communication specialists and TV documentary makers, myself being the only participant with a background and training in visual anthropology. This multi-disciplinary range of inputs and practical examples reflected the *taller's* broad definition of visual anthropology and a willingness to learn from projects being carried out in other academic disciplines.

#### **Anthropology and Television**

The problem of the relationship between anthropology and television flared up continually during the seminar. At times the prospect of any future understanding and collaboration between the representatives of TV documentary and the anthropologists present seems an impossibility. However I think the discussions ended with a greater appreciation of the other point of view being achieved by the proponents of both sides of the debates covering problems such as: professional ethics (and that those of anthropologists differ from those of many TV directors); aesthetics; funding; and the authorial and editorial control over the film. During the course of the debates many misconceptions were acknowledged and the often conflicting demands of anthropology and TV seemed to be better understood. It was recognised that the particular style of an anthropological film should depend on the audience for which it is being made and hopefully with the differences between anthropology and TV more clearly outlined, collaboration will be more forthcoming.

Connected to the arguments over anthropology's relation to television, ethical concerns raised the issues of the inequalities in relationships between anthropologists/film-makers and the subjects of their films and the worry that TV documentary makers may make use of people who are the subjects of their films as actors of their own scripts. Spanish TV documentaries which touch on anthropological issues and subjects are very far from letting either anthropologists or their subjects 'speak for themselves' and these concerns do seem reasonable.

#### **The work of the Taller**

One session was dedicated to screening and discussion of videos produced by the students in the *taller*. The variety amongst the videos shown reflected the same broadness in the definition of 'visual anthropology' which was implied by the themes covered by the seminar itself, and also the willingness to explore the variety of possibilities that video holds for anthropological

research, the representation of ideas concerning contemporary culture, and the recording and representation of ethnography. Ana Martínez used video to represent a comparison between 'insider' and 'outsider' images taken of an 'alternative life-style' community in Valencia. Both Ana and Penélope Ranera presented their videos accompanied by short written texts, Penélope's video being a visual representation of our contemporary condition based on ideas from Marc Augé's book *Los no lugares*. Other videos included a set of interviews with immigrants and a more 'ethnographic' video which is part of a research project on musicians and other performers in the Rastro street market in Madrid.

### Conclusion

The seminar ended on a very positive tone with the participants still keen to continue the discussions which had developed over the three days. The idea of 'visual anthropology' was successfully introduced, and the drawing together of a multidisciplinary group of social scientists and film-makers who share an interest in the visual representation of different cultures created an enthusiastic and stimulating atmosphere. The size (thirty to forty participants) of the seminar allowed for an intimate atmosphere in which discussions were allowed to continue and develop throughout the three days. The overall conclusion, with which I am in full agreement, was that the event was a great success, and hopefully it will be repeated.

### Future projects

The work of the *taller* continues in 1994. The problem of the lack of visual anthropology courses has been solved to some extent by the *taller*: they are organising a three day seminar/course entitled: 'ANTROPOLOGIA VISUAL: Implicación de los MEDIOS AUDIOVISUALES en la investigación social' (Implications of audio-visual media in social research). The course will be held at the Universidad Menéndez Y Pelayo of Cuenca, in autumn 1994.

The address of the *taller* is:

Taller de Antropología Visual  
Facultad de Geografía e Historia  
Piso 6 - seminario 10  
Universidad Complutense de Madrid  
Ciudad Universitaria  
28040 Madrid  
SPAIN

Director: D. Carlos M. Caravantes García

Members: Penélope Ranera Sánchez  
Anfbal Vivaceta de la Fuente  
Isabel Herrera Suárez  
Manuel Cerezo Lasne  
Ana M. Martínez Pérez

Sarah Pink, University of Kent at Canterbury

## 4E ATELIER INTERNATIONAL D'ANTHROPOLOGIE VISUELLE, Images de terrain et applications multimédia

### 4TH INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Images from fieldwork and multimedia applications

Du 21 au 24 juin 1993 s'est tenue, à Marseille, la quatrième édition de l'*Atelier International d'Anthropologie Visuelle*, sur le thème de : Images de terrain et application multimédia .

La rencontre était organisée par P.L. Jordan, Maître de Conférence à l'Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales et directeur du Département d'Anthropologie Visuelle de l'I. Me. Re.C (Institut Méditerranéen de Recherche et de Création).

Lors de cette manifestation, qui a rassemblé une centaine de spécialistes internationaux, les échanges ont porté, pour une grande part, sur l'impact des nouvelles technologies de l'image dans le domaine de la recherche anthropologique ou sociologique; il s'agissait de réfléchir tant sur l'apport spécifique de la vidéo dans la collecte des données sur le terrain que sur la capacité des nouveaux outils multimédia à restituer l'ensemble des informations, images/sons/textes dont le chercheur dispose pour présenter son travail.

Dans les sessions de l'atelier consacrées aux *Images de terrain*, plusieurs ethnologues et réalisateurs ont fait bénéficier les participants d'une expérience acquise au cours de longues années de travail. C'est ainsi que Maurice GODELIER et Ian DUNLOP ont présenté les résultats de leur longue collaboration: *Baruya Muka Archival* et *Towards Baruya Manhood*, 17 heures de films tournés sur les hautes plateaux de la Nouvelle Guinée accompagnés de commentaires et descriptions, qui constituent une des meilleures expressions de la concertation entre les outils classiques de la méthodologie de recherche anthropologique et l'emploi de la camera sur le terrain, le tout géré en synergie simultanément par l'anthropologue et le cinéaste.

De même, David et Judith MacDOUGALL, dont l'intégrale de l'oeuvre a été présentée lors de la manifestation, en soirée et sur l'écran spécial qui leur était dédié à la vidéothèque de l'atelier, ont présenté plusieurs de leurs films et discuté avec le public de leurs méthodes d'approche du terrain et de leur pratique de tournage.

A l'occasion de la fête de la Musique, le 21 juin, une journée de l'atelier était consacrée à la projection de travaux ethnomusicologiques: Hugo ZEMP (CNRS, Paris), a largement commenté la projection de ses films, tournés dans le Caucase; l'ethnomusicologue/cinéaste italien Renato MORELLI (RAI, Trente) a présenté son travail sur la Semaine Sainte de Santulussurgiu (Sardaigne-Italie) et les travaux de ses étudiants à la Faculté de Trente où, en collaboration avec la chair de Traditions Populaires de Laura BONIN, a démarré depuis cette année un séminaire d'anthropologie visuelle. Enfin, avec la projection de *Turnim head - Courtship and music in Papua New Guinea*, long métrage documentaire de James BATES, anthropologue/cinéaste britannique, était abordé, entre autres, le thème des contraintes et des avantages d'un tournage réalisé avec une équipe de télévision professionnelle.

Jacques LOMBARD (ORSTOM) exposa, pour sa part, l'analyse critique de l'un de ses films tourné il y a plus de 10 ans sur des pratiques rituelles liées au martyr de Hussein

(Madagascar), en collaboration avec A. FOURNEL, film pour lequel il envisageait un nouveau montage.

Outre ces contributions, quelques chercheurs ont eu l'occasion de présenter les unités d'enseignement de l'anthropologie visuelle dont ils sont responsables, à l'université ou dans des écoles spécialisées. On peut citer Toni de BROMHEAD (National Film and Television School, Grande-Bretagne), Enrico CASTELLI (Università di Perugia) et Roberto DE ANGELIS (Università di Roma), Luis PEREZ TOLON (Centro de investigaciones etnológicas Angel Ganivet, Granada).

Par ailleurs, de nombreux étudiants et chercheurs ont fait le point sur l'état de leurs travaux et de leur réflexion sur la pratique de l'outil vidéo comme moyen d'investigation et de recherche: Silvia PAGGI (Université de Sienne) et Catherine TABARAUD (EHESS/CNRS Marseille) avec *l'observation filmée quotidien des femmes dans un village Bété* (Côte d'Ivoire) - Carmen OPIARI (EHESS/CNRS) et Sylvie TIMBERT avec *EBO, vidéoécriture d'un rituel Candomblé à Sao Paulo* - Hélène PAGEZY (CNRS), *La sortie de la Wale (Zaïre), dans un contexte bioculturel* - Monique HAICAUT (LEST/CNRS), et Dominique BAUGARD (Institut de sociologie, Université libre de Bruxelles), *Enfants, familles, des interactions filmées: regards de sociologues* - Clarice PEIXOTO (EHESS Paris), *La sociabilité des retraités dans les espaces publics* - Lorenzo BRUTTI (EHESS Marseille), *Anthropologie visuelle et muséographie* - Cecilia PENNACINI (Université de Turin), *Filmer un rituel de possession au Burundi*.

La partie de l'atelier consacrée au **multimedia** a donné lieu à la présentation des applications récentes de ces nouvelles technologies à la recherche anthropologique, des nouvelles possibilités que ces moyens vont apporter tant dans la conception même de la collecte que dans la présentation des données de l'enquête ethnographique. Pierre L. JORDAN a présenté la base de données interactive Premier contact - Premier regard, concernant les deux-cent premiers films de l'anthropologie visuelle qu'il a réalisés au Département d'Anthropologie Visuelle de l'I.Me. Re.C en collaboration avec les informaticiens Kate MIDGLEY et Bo VALSTED. Cette base offre la possibilité de consulter simultanément des documents écrits, sonores, des images fixes ou animées, et peut être reliée avec des banques de données analogues. Cet emploi des nouvelles technologies introduit une démarche extrêmement productive dans le domaine des sciences sociales, qui peut être exploitée soit par les professionnels, soit mis à disposition du grand public.

Gary SEAMAN, dans une intervention intitulée *Linear, non-linear and inter-linear media in ethnography: designing interactive research and teaching systems for anthropologists* a présenté des recherches qui, dans le même sens, s'effectuent au Center for Visual Anthropology - University of Southern California, à Los Angeles.

Marc François DELIGNE (IRESCO, CNRS Paris) a présenté quelques exemples de l'emploi de l'infographie dans l'analyse visuelle en sciences sociales réalisés dans l'atelier de l'IRESCO.

Cette section de l'Atelier s'est conclue par une démonstration du système de montage virtuel AVID, nouvelle conception du montage assisté par ordinateur.

... et la nuit du cinéma anthropologique, qui, traditionnellement, clôt l'Atelier d'Anthropologie visuelle de l'I.Me.Re. C, fut ouverte par Jean ROUCH qui y présentait son dernier film, *Madame l'eau*.

Lorenzo BRUTTI (EHESS-Marseille)

## ETHNOGRAPHY AND CINEMA.

### International Film Festival in Göttingen, September 16-19, 1993.

Göttingen seems to become the Central European L.A. of ethnographic documentaries - an award-giving place that in September 1993 welcomed the most recent award-winning films.

The ones who intend to enter the world of anthropological, ethnographic or sociological non-fiction, have to learn the new password: *GIEFF - Göttingen International Ethnographic Film Festival*. Initiated and organized by IWF (Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film), the festival, which also includes a film competition is planned to take place every even year, starting in May 1994. The festival in 1993 could be called the dress rehearsal before the premiere. Unlike future festivals where films can be registered and will be selected afterwards, films for the GIEFF 1993 were nominated by an international jury. Altogether twenty-four films in a wide range of topics and styles were shown.

The more than three days' show started with James Bates' *Turnim Hed*, a film which, with its beautiful cinematography and editing as well as the carefulness with which the film-maker had approached the topic and the people, set the standard for the rest of the festival. The film very intimately shows how the Chimbu women of Papua New Guinea choose their partner and how men communicate their masculinity. Music, which is an integral part of Chimbu courtship, has a special significance in the film.

If film is one of the languages that can be understood by people of different mother tongues, then music is certainly another. Besides *Turnim Hed*, music had a central role in two other films. Rosali Schweizer's *La Musica e Quattro*, that received the jury's commendation, portrays Aurelio Porcu, a Sardinian *launedda* player who is teaching a young man how to play the instrument. It also represents how music can be a way of communication that bridges cultural and language differences. Shot in black and white, the film reflects a close relationship between the camera and the subjects. Another film in which music has a significant role is Violaine de Viller's *Miziko Mama*, a portrait of Marie Daulne and the Zap Mama who combine the music of Zaire with jazz and gospel. This well-edited documentary caught the audience by its aesthetic values which were primarily supported by the women and the music in the film. In the GIEFF catalogue, it said: "You can fall in love with them a little, a lot or totally." - Totally, I believe. Both *Turnim Hed* and *Miziko Mama* received the jury's mentioning.

Regarding topics, almost half of the films had an interest in aspects of European culture, dealing with minority groups and religion, like for example *Children of the Wind* about Romani religious life, and *Wo noch der Herrgott gilt (Where God still counts)* by Edmund Ballhaus, which gives an insight into the life of an ex-East German Catholic community. The former, with the intention of abolishing old prejudices, shows segments of Romani culture and religion. The film, however, forgets to place these segments in a cognitive context that would help the audience to understand Romani culture, with the result that some prejudices are rather strengthened than weakened. As social problems are increasing for the Romani people, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, more and more documentaries dealing with these issues are emerging. *The Resettlement* by Viliam Poltikovic is another such film, telling about the reactions among Romanis who have left their shacks and moved into housing blocks. This film,



together with *Where God still counts* received the jury's mentioning.

At a time when we are being bombarded with striking images of death and misery in the media, it is good to watch something simple and pure about how human beings live under harsh conditions in a one-room flat in Lodz, Poland. *Room to live* by Simon Everson and Marian Stoica, which received the jury's commendation, is a film with a social realistic approach, using a flexible observational camera style to represent how a family of four and their neighbours live their everyday life and share their misery as well as their emotions.

During the festival I often had the feeling that I was sitting in a 'real' cinema, and it took some time realizing that it was documentary film I was watching. To attract the audience, telling a 'story' is equally important in an ethnographic documentary as in a feature film. Running along several threads, Ilia Barbash and Lucien Taylor's *In and out of Africa*, which received the jury's mentioning, shows how West African art objects travel to Western collectors through the hands of African wood carvers and Muslim and Western traders. Following some collectors and their quest for authenticity, 'we' are shocked to realize how wittily the Abidjan carver may be cheating 'us', while selling 'us' one of his newly carved 'antiqued' wooden figures - and forcing us to laugh at ourselves. It is not until the film-makers' appearance in the credits that I realized that the story was not happening right in front of us but on the screen. Similarly, in *Black Harvest* by Bob Connolly and Robin Anderson, we cannot help getting involved in Joe Leahy's efforts to build up a coffee plantation in cooperation with the Ganiga of Papua New Guinea. The film captures us by its dramatic turns.

Not only the story-telling was appreciated by both the jury and the audience, so was also excellent cinematography. Whilst some recent fiction films make a virtue out of using loose lenses, hand-held wobbly camera or observational long shots, it can at the same time be said that the technical quality of the images in ethnographic film-making is gaining more importance. Thus, films like Jim Jarmusch's *Coffee and Cigarettes* or *A woman under influence* by Cassavetes could almost, due to their camera style, be mistaken for anthropological films, while, on the other hand, a film like Jacqueline Veuve's *Chronique Paysanne*, a film which depicts a disappearing way of life in the Swiss Alps, is very fiction-like with its soft images, technical quality as well as directing. While watching it, I made a note for myself saying "You have to believe it is true". Veuve's film also received the jury's mentioning. Ethnographic non-fiction I said before - maybe we should rethink our categories of fiction and non-fiction?

*Taiga Nomads* by Heimo Lappalainen also proved that shooting an anthropological documentary under difficult conditions cannot be an excuse for failures in technical quality. The film-maker had followed an Evenki family for eight months in the Siberian taiga. *Taiga Nomads* is a series of three films that show the past, the present and the future of the Evenki through portraying three generations, having to face a coming new economic system while still trying to pass down traditional skills from the older to the newest generation.

Unpredictable circumstances can easily cause troubles for film-makers but they can also become 'the story' of a film. In Leslie Woodhead's and David Turton's *Mursi* series, of which *The Land is Bad* and *Nitha* were both shown at the festival, we see how the Mursi try to survive and preserve their culture while at the same time being physically attacked by a neighbouring tribe. And referring again to fiction terms, the Mursi films could be called the

'Werkfilm' of anthropology as well as of anthropological film-making through its awareness of the relationship between the people, the anthropologist David Turton and the film-makers.

After three and a half days the movie was over, and we were only waiting for the jury's decision. Who was going to receive the first prize - the GIEFF cake, that is? The jury awarded two first prizes, four commendations and had ten films mentioned, of which I have not yet mentioned: *Futura* by Klaus Schneider and Beate Engelbrecht, *Men in the Ring* by Erich Langjahr, *Contes et comptes de la cour* by Eliane de Latour, *Sultan's Burden* by Jon Jerstad and Lisbet Holtedahl, and *Beigles Already* by Debbie Shuter. The award-winning films were *Black Harvest* and *Taiga Nomads*.

The dress rehearsal of the GIEFF proved successful, the show can start in May, 1994.

Judit Csorba, Neprajzi Muzeum, Budapest

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### Report on the symposium on the 'Use of Audio-Visual Media in the Ethnographic Museum' held during the Congress of the German Association for Ethnography (DGV) in Leipzig on 6 October 1993

This event was organised by the DGV Working Group on 'Visual Anthropology' in agreement with the Working Group on 'Museums'.

The use of AV media in museums has increased in recent years, and has become very diversified in its forms. It was therefore the aim of the symposium to investigate current developments in the use of AV media in the exhibitions of ethnographic museums. The contributions presented during the symposium provide an overall view of the various different theoretical and practical facets of this subject.

#### The contributions

*Dr Michael Faber*, Landesmuseum für Volkskunde, Kommern; Vice President of AVICOM, the museum committee of audiovisual and data based media in the International Council of Museums ICOM.

In his presentation, Michael Faber described typical examples of the conditions and difficulties which ethnographical museums encounter in producing museum films in Germany. The main features of the situation is museum staff with little training in the AV field, and few real opportunities for obtaining it, and relatively little co-operation between museums, the associations they belong to, and institutions as the Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film in Göttingen or the 'Landesbildstellen' in the federal states (non-commercial film archives in educational service). Dr Faber's investigation this year, into the use of media in the museums in east Germany, also provided quantitative evidence on the subject. AV media were less frequently used in the exhibitions of east German ethnographical museums than in other museums.

The vice president of AVICOM, Dr Faber pointed out the possibilities which exist for greater interaction between the parties concerned.

*Dr Andreas Meyer, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.*

Andreas Meyer presented the provisional plan for the future music-ethnological exhibition in the ethnographic museum in Berlin. It is envisaged that there will not just be an exhibition of musical instruments but rather a kind of 'exhibition of music'. This is to be based on the museum's comprehensive collection and on its phonographic archives, supported by video documentation.

To illustrate the point more clearly, the presentation included a video project which the museum is working on. A team from the museum has documented the production of musical instruments in Ghana, their cultural context, and finally a performance, in view of the future exhibition in Berlin, where these Ghanaian instruments, which have been acquired, will be placed on display together with the video.

*Marc Isphording, Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam; Theater de Evenaar.*

Marc Isphording reported on the discussions held in the ethnographic museum in Rotterdam, where the search for new ways of presenting other cultures has been intensified since the museum re-opened in 1986. He took three examples of exhibitions to illustrate three approaches: firstly, the 'atmospheric scene-setting', summarised ironically in the wording 'The exhibition being an ethnographic video-clip'; secondly, the 'traditional' ethnographic exhibition using AV media to give a more detailed presentation of the contexts surrounding the exhibits; and thirdly, the innovative approach: feature films from African film-makers integrated centrally into an exhibition about Africa. In this way, those who are, otherwise presented in the museum only by European ethnographers will be given more scope to present themselves.

Following the presentation, a video was shown about a photographic slide programme with sound-track which Herman de Boer (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden) had prepared some years ago for the Tropical Museum Junior in Amsterdam. The programme illustrated the life story of an old Chinese immigrant to Holland, as narrated by himself. Groups of school-children and others visiting the museum saw first the slide show, which lasted about 15 minutes, and could then look at the exhibition on the same subject and thus rediscover some of the objects from China and from Holland which they had seen in the biographical slide programme about the old man.

The integration of medium and exhibition was achieved here in an interesting manner. The programme, however, provided even more: with its biographical and personal approach, it presented good ideas for ethnographic museums looking for ways of dealing with xenophobia - a growing problem, not only in Germany.

*Klaus Krieg, AV Digital, Stuttgart; Regina Höfle, Fachhochschule für Druck, Stuttgart.*

Klaus Krieg and Regina Höfle presented the multi-media programme of the Schreyvogel exhibition in the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart, the first project of its kind in a German ethnographic museum. The programme was based on the museum's teaching material relating to its North American collection, and was primarily directed towards children aged from nine to thirteen. Its starting point was an animal, the bison; the use of natural materials

was presented, and their cultural context explained. The visitors could take up questions about how a tepee was constructed, how clothes or jewellery were made, what hunting weapons were used, and so on. A small game was integrated into the programme in which participants had to categorise the objects to be found in a tepee on the basis of the knowledge they had just acquired. An evaluation of the programme showed that it was used intensively, by adults just as much as by children, and by groups just as much as by individual visitors. The computer itself (a Macintosh) was used for several hours almost every day, and the average length of time which each visitor spent on it was about 18 minutes. In most cases the visitors worked through the entire programme with its three separate chapters.

*Dr Torben Lundbæk, Nationalmuseet, Etnografisk Samling, Copenhagen.*

Torben Lundbæk presented one of the currently most sophisticated interactive computer systems in use in ethnographic museums. The Copenhagen museum made a start about ten years ago with the documentation on video disc of data and photographs of the more than 100,000 items in the museum. The exhibition is divided into three sections, presenting the museum's collection with an art-oriented and a context-orientated approach and in the form of a 'study collection'. In the study collection a large number of items is accessible in a relatively confined space. The interactive computer system, developed by the museum, permits access to information on these items here, but also to the museum's entire collection. It is at the moment possible to call up descriptive data on items, the function of items, data on their origins, and cross-references to comparable items in the collection, accompanied by a brief text and photographs. The programme is not constructed hierarchically, and theoretically can be extended infinitely. (The system works on IBM).

*Martin Prösler, Tübingen*

Finally, Martin Prösler presented short reports on three further multi-media projects of interest to ethnographic museums: the 'Cambridge Experimental Video Disk Project' about the Nagas (Alan McFarlane and Martin Gienke, University of Cambridge), the 'Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia' (Kim McKenzie, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies), and 'The Global Juke Box' (Alan Lomax, Association for Cultural Equity, Inc., at Hunter College, New York).

*Dr Sharon Macdonald, Keele University, Great Britain.*

Sharon Macdonald's presentation, based on the perspective of post-modern reflections, threw up questions, primarily in the direction indicated by Lyotard, Eco, and Baudrillard, on the 'truthfulness' of the descriptions of cultures and the 'authenticity' of the exhibits in a museum in light of their perfected material and medial reproducibility. Taking this point of view, she illustrated the role of the media in museums, supplementing this with reflections on the illusionary dialogue capability of interactive multi-media presentations, and concluding with the question of the role to be played by ethnographic museums in an age when, not at least because of the media, the globalisation process has accelerated enormously.

### Summary and prospects

It can be stated in summary that the subject of AV media in ethnographic museums currently has a somewhat marginal position in Germany. Staff with little training in the AV field and little real chance of obtaining any, little co-operation between the relevant institutions, and a somewhat modest amount of scientific reflection are the main features of the situation. However, technological developments are giving rise to hopes of greater professionalisation; a large number of possibilities are opening up in the central fields of archiving and presentation. Thus, institutions will have to cope with this complexity, and this can be expected to lead to a greater degree of specialisation in the media field in museums. The establishment of AVICOM two years ago might be taken as a sign for the direction this development is taking.

The approaches being taken in Copenhagen and in Cambridge are surely an indication of the future development of documentation and presentation. The effect these technological developments - such as the general accessibility of museum's banks of knowledge via CD-ROM and data networks - will have on the character of the museum as an institution remains an open question, which calls urgently for critical reflections going beyond the confines of the museum itself.

Questions came up for discussion during the symposium, based on the specific examples, of the integration of AV media and on the various museums' exhibition strategies. In addition to the two main approaches so far pursued, the documentary use of media to illustrate the context of exhibits, and the 'atmospheric reconstruction' approach with media in support, there are now signs of a third approach. Following (post-modern) discussions on the representation of cultures by ethnography, films, and exhibitions, demands are becoming ever louder for greater reflection on the political and aesthetic implications of these representations. One result of this is the specific demand to do without the otherwise customary use of voice-over in films and exhibitions and to give more scope to the voices of the presented 'Other'. AV media in ethnographic museums provide one possibility of presenting the point of view of the 'Other', either through the productions for example from 'third-world' filmmakers which are nowadays numerous and professional, or through the material produced as part of the so-called 'indigenous film projects'.

A great debt of gratitude should be acknowledged at this point to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Breuninger Stiftung in Stuttgart for their generous support.

Martin Prösler, Tübingen

### L'Atelier International "Anthropologie visuelle et cultures de la représentation. Le temps des fêtes en Europe", Turin, 27-30 Octobre, 1993

Du 27 au 30 octobre 1993 a eu lieu à Turin l'Atelier International "Anthropologie visuelle et cultures de la représentation. Le temps des fêtes en Europe." Il s'agit du VII Atelier parrainé par Eurethno, Réseau de coopération scientifique et technologique du Conseil de l'Europe, organisé par le C.L.A.U. (Centro Linguistico e Audiovisivo dell'Università di Torino) avec le concours du Consiglio Nazionale della Ricerca.

A cours des travaux, qui ont été précédés par les communications introductives de Mme Jocelyne Bonnet (Présidente d'Eurethno) et de M. Ambrogio Artoni (Directeur du C.L.A.U.), on a fait le point sur l'état de l'art de l'anthropologie visuelle en Europe, sur son développement et ses perspectives.

Au cours d'une première session, consacrée aux problématiques épistémologiques et méthodologiques liées à la documentation filmique sur le terrain de données ethnographiques, les deux hypothèses - désormais classiques - qui font de cette discipline un sujet encore controversé, se sont trouvées face à face: d'un côté, celle qu'on pourrait définir "scientiste", qui tend à l'utilisation de l'instrument vidéo-cinématographique *au delà* de son langage spécifique (donc en tant que simple instrument de reproduction mécanique); de l'autre celle qu'on pourrait définir "semiotico-informatique" qui, exaltant une différence "physiologique" et infranchissable entre copie et original, propose l'élaboration "linguistico-cognitive" des données transcodées par le procès de reproduction. Cette dernière instance peut se connecter ou pas avec le problème de l'*observation participante*, option qui se propose d'explorer les cultures autres, sans pourtant en plier le modèle communicatif avec la superposition d'un modèle cognitif ethnocentrique.

Mais l'ethnologue européen, lors de son contact avec les formes et les représentations festives et rituelles de son propre continent, a encore vraiment à faire avec l'*autre*? Le monde paysan représente encore vraiment son "orient"?

Dans l'époque post-moderne, face au rattrapage fonctionnel de la fête et à sa progressive dé-sémantisation, cette question n'est pas insignifiante. Peut-être les Navajos d'Adair qui filment eux-mêmes, ne sont pas si loins de l'ethnologie européenne de ces dernières années. Tant et si bien que la communication de M. Marazzi *Le "transfert" des moyens audiovisuels chez les communautés indigènes*, acquit une valeur qui en quelque sorte ouvre à un comparativisme qui n'est pas complètement aventureux. On a parlé de tout cela et de bien d'autres choses, directement ou en filigrane.

Pour en savoir davantage, il faut attendre la publication des Actes, qui aura lieu en 1995, pour les types du Conseil de l'Europe.

Une session spécifique a été dédiée aux technologies multimédiales et aux systèmes informatiques pour banques de données et bases de connaissances. On a présenté des vidéos et en particulier un programme-prototype pour l'identification des saints, géré par un système expert. On a enfin parlé d'Anthropologie visuelle en son acception plus générale, (donc aussi indépendamment des technologies de relèvement et d'organisation des données) c'est-à-dire en tant qu'étude des codes expressifs non-verbaux dans les cultures traditionnelles. On a encore discuté d'iconographie populaire et savante, de théâtralité

de la fête folklorique, de polysémies expressives connectées au syncrétisme constitutif des cultures orales. Polysémies qui évidemment peuvent être bien documentées par l'écriture multi-code de la vidéo et du cinéma.

Pour conclure l'Atelier, on a organisé une table ronde avec la participation d'importants représentants de la communication scientifique en Europe: en cette occasion on a présenté le projet Eurethno "L'Europe culturelle par l'image" qui devrait donner origine, à Turin, à un Centre européen d'archivage, conservation, catalogage et diffusion de documents audiovisuels d'intérêt ethnographique. Un projet autant ambitieux que nécessaire, qui engage le C.L.A.U. et l'ensemble des antennes nationales des différents Pays de la Petite et de la Grande Europe faisant partie du Réseau Eurethno, absorbés par une étude qui se trouve à un niveau avancé. Le dossier du projet, qui débutera par la publication d'un catalogue européen du film ethnographique sur les fêtes, sera présenté à Budapest en octobre 1994.

Quelques mots, en conclusion, sur le C.L.A.U. qui a organisé l'Atelier. Il s'agit d'un centre de services didactiques et de production multimédia, équipé d'une structure de production et post-production Broadcast Betacam S.P. pour le relèvement des données audiovisuelles ethnographiques. A cours de la dernière décennie, il a produit une grande quantité de documentation scientifique sur fêtes et formes rituelles en Italie, en Europe et en Afrique Centrale Francophone. Le Centre collabore avec le Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche à des "projets stratégiques", surtout dans domaine de la production de programmes-prototype d'intelligence artificielle. Son Président est M. Sergio Zoppi, qui depuis longtemps étudie et coordonne des recherches sur les littératures et les cultures des Pays émergents. Les lignes de recherche du C.L.A.U., à côté de celles qu'on vient d'exposer, sont actuellement orientées vers les problématiques de l'oralité, de ses modèles sémiotiques et communicatifs.

Pour tout renseignements s'adresser à Ambrogio ARTONI et Piercarlo GRIMALDI, qui ont organisé et coordonné

l'Atelier chez C.L.A.U.,  
Via Sant'Ottavio 20 - 10124 Torino.  
Tel.: ++39 11 8174064  
Fax: ++39 11 8125815

*Ambrogio Artoni, (trad. Roberta Alessandro)*

## SAIEFF/DEVCOM/ORALITY '94

The First South African International Ethnographic Film Festival (SAIEFF) and Round-table on Development Communication (DEVCOM) in conjunction with the Fourth International Conference on Oral Tradition, hosted by the University of Natal, Durban, South Africa.

The festival/conference scheduled for June 1994 is a University of Natal initiative launched by a committee comprising prominent staff members, with Professor Edgard Sienaert as Chairperson.

Other interested parties drawn from a wide cultural spectrum have joined the committee. Commercial organisations, civic groups, community associations and foreign consulates are represented.

The idea for a festival/conference was tested at a presentation at the Campbell Collections and won immediate and excited support.

SAIEFF/DEVCOM/ORALITY '94 will revolve around an Ethnographic Film Festival screening the best South African and foreign films. International film-makers and experts in visual anthropology, visual sociology and orality will be specially invited, along with recognized development communication scholars.

Prospective delegates already approached by the committee have responded enthusiastically. The French government has agreed to sponsor visits by two leading authorities based in Paris. Other foreign governments (e.g Italy) have indicated a willingness to participate.

Another dynamic aspect of SAIEFF is the Round-table on Development Communication - which will also be a first for the University and South Africa. Development Support Communication is the prime activity of African communication scholars to the north of South Africa but has yet to be systematically taken up by academics in South Africa.

The link between ethnographic film and development communication is a vital new area for debate - the festival will place the University at the forefront of international activity in this exciting field and will attract considerable attention and prestige.

The University's Centre for Cultural and Media Studies (CCMS) has a very close relationship to the international centres of visual anthropology and is well equipped to handle the theory aspects of discussion at SAIEFF.

The Centre for Oral Studies is perfectly placed to extend these pioneering efforts by incorporating orality into the field of ethnographic film-making and development communication (SAIEFF is held in conjunction with the Centre's fourth International Conference on Oral Tradition).

Presently ethnographic film is one of the fastest growing academic fields in Europe. SAIEFF/DEVCOM/ORALITY '94 will establish the University in some respects on a par with the two leading contenders in visual anthropology/sociology - the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology, Manchester University; and the Centre for Visual Anthropology, University of Southern California.

In the virtually unique blending of ethnographic film with development communication and orality SAIEFF will also highlight the University as a potential leader in the increasingly vital area of development.

This will focus favourable attention on the University and encourage ongoing programmes in curriculum and course

development and interdisciplinary co-operation, for example an MA course in visual anthropology/sociology and a Centre for Development Communication. These courses will be sought after by the growing intake of black students, who will be keen to explore African Communication issues.

SAIEFF will encourage inter-institutional co-operation and working relationships with film and video production companies and NGO's like the Film and Allied Workers Organisation (FAWO), the SABC and other TV stations which will develop after the airwaves have been deregulated.

SAIEFF will stress the possibilities of audio-visual media for cross-cultural communication and act as a bridge between African and international film-makers.

The festival will emphasise the use of TV and video as a communication tool in the process of the development of under-represented and marginalised peoples and encourage development issues to appear on the agenda of TV programming. SAIEFF will also link the University directly with those groups working to establish community TV stations.

A special event at SAIEFF '94 will be the screening of films made by students and films representing women's issues.

Proposed Satellite events include:

- The Mobile Ethnographic Film Festival - an outreach programme taking films to the townships, rural areas, schools and the Grahamstown Festival.
- Exhibitions mounted by the Durban Art Gallery, Local History Museum, Technikon Natal, NSA Gallery, African Art Centre and Umzansi Art Centre.
- Ethnographic film screenings (additional to Campus venues) at Durban Art Gallery and Film on the Wall at buildings around the city.
- Storytelling, ethnic puppetry, poetry, dance and music at NAPAC, around the city and in the townships.
- An ethnographic children's play at the Open Air Theatre.
- The Cultural Highway will include a specially commissioned African sourced structure - cultural beacon - to be erected at the University. The beacon will point towards Cairo, where a similar beacon will be erected pointing towards the original University beacon in Durban. The structure will include a mini ethnographic museum and a performance area. The African theme will be picked up by a similar beacon/structure and wall murals at the harbour entrance end of Point Road. A beacon would also be erected at the site of the new Durban museums in Central Park. As an ongoing programme over the years cultural beacons will be erected in all the countries of Africa, echoing the UN beacon but introducing elements of the particular cultures of the host country.
- The Cultural Highway would initiate a programme of introducing African themes on to the landscape of the campus. This would naturally provide a wonderful opportunity for University staff (eg Architecture, Quantity Surveying etc) and students (eg Fine Arts, Speech and Drama) to co-operate on a major cultural programme with artists drawn from various indigenous groups as well as anthropologists and urban designers concerned with the development of the Greater Durban Area.
- A video/telephonic link up with Professor Keyan Tomaselli of CCMS and other delegates at the International Visual Sociology Conference in Chicago - this will instantly connect SAIEFF to the latest world trends in visual anthropology/sociology.
- Workshops on Communication for Development presented by the Post Office, Telkom, Eskom, Umgeni Water, SABC and the United Nations (FAO Rome).
- SAIEFF could motivate the City Council to build a film museum as part of the new museum complex in Central Park (modelled on the Frankfurt Film Museum which does wonderful work with school children). The University would be in a capable position to advise on this museum and so help to encourage a South African film culture
- SAIEFF News Sheet student project - a daily publication centred around the festival/conference (produced by CCMS students).
- Establish an archive of ethnographic films for distribution to libraries, schools, universities, museums and industry. Housed at the Campbell Collections the income generated could eventually be used to extend the facilities at the Centre for Oral Studies.

### Further Points

SAIEFF/DEVCOM/ORALITY is intended as a regular biennial event, but will also be held in 1995. It has the full support of the Commission on Visual Anthropology (International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences).

The festival is directly linked to efforts to establish a community TV station in Durban and to the education and training of indigenous and marginalised peoples to make videos/films about their own needs and concerns and to finally be in a position to represent themselves.

The documentary video on SAIEFF/DEVCOM/ORALITY '94 has already been scheduled for broadcast by the SABC, which has taken a keen interest in SAIEFF. The video will generate valuable publicity as it will also be sent to other international ethnographic festivals. Wherever possible trainee video students of the University will be involved in the production.

Equally important is that proceedings from SAIEFF will be collected into an edited publication destined for wide circulation.

Life in South Africa after April 27, 1994 will be full of new opportunity and uncertainty - the University has launched SAIEFF/DEVCOM/ORALITY at the correct historical moment.

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### Film Review

#### *Yaray Yesso. Der Weg nach vorn*

88 mins. 16 mm. Colour. German translation. Director: Sophie Kotanyi. Camera: Fritz Poppenberg, Gunther 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

#### *Djarama Boé. Danke, Grusse Boé.*

80 mins. 16 mm. Colour. German subtitles. Director: Sophie Kotanyi, Camera: Fritz Poppenberg, Gunther 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.

*Yaray Yesso* is an attempt to illuminate the impact of a development project on the works and lives of the inhabitants of the village Beli in the province Boé in Guinea-Bissau. The objectives of the development project is to amplify agricultural productivity in the province of Boé, and the project is financed by several European development agencies. The film-maker tries to show us the natives point of view towards the project, and at the same time to reveal the changes in their opinions towards the project over a period of a few years.

The film is divided into sixteen parts. In the beginning we are introduced to the organization of the European project and its aim. We are then led into a meeting of representatives of the people of Beli and the staff of the project. The film tries then to cover extensively the impact of the project on women, their views and role within the community. It is evident from the film that the impact of the development project on gender relations as well as on different rights and duties of age groups is profound. Another impact of project is that the locals come to value money more. The severe changes in the socioeconomic sphere of the community as a consequence of this, should, however have been dealt with more extensively. Instead, we are introduced to various events in the community which seem to have little or no relevance to the theme of the film. This weakens the film and makes us question the film-makers' ethnographic understanding/the film's ethnographic value.

Another thread in the film that makes us, the reviewers, very sceptical of the film-maker's intention is that her reflexivity does not take us much further than to that obvious fact that she has some relationship with the locals. Although, her attempt to be frank with us is praiseworthy it is not enough to tie together the 'bits and pieces' from the life of the community and the changes the actuated by the development project.

The film *Djarama Boé* is, according to the film-maker, about Julio Djalo and his family who live in the village Beli in Guinea-Bissau, and in addition (said to be) dealing with the impact of a development project on the local community, how it imposes changes on peoples everyday lives. The film is divided into several parts, each referring to different seasons and related works in the fields. Throughout the film we are introduced to several topics such as muslim prayers, the consequences of the rain-season, hunger, etc., forming part of the whole structure of the film but we,

as viewers, have no clue about its relevance to the suggested theme of the film. In fact, we get very little information about the lives of the people in Beli. Let us take a few examples. The film-maker acknowledges that she failed to get an interview with Fatamata Sane, Julio's wife. There is, however, an interview with Fatamata in the film which is about an old argument she and her husband had about giving name to their younger son. The interview is obviously making Fatamata feel uneasy, and as well as wondering about the relevance of this to the stated aim of the film, we see the film-maker's way of approaching her subjects as being rather un-ethnographic in style. At the end of the film, we are shown a marital ritual, which again seems irrelevant to the general theme and without logical connection to the other parts of the film. Once again we wonder about the objectives of the film-maker. In the film the film-maker, Sophie Kotanyi, reflects upon the effects of her relationship with and support of Julio and his family. That reflexive approach, however, is doomed to fail as she is not explicit enough about her role in the film and her connections to her subjects. In fact, both her own participation and the participation of her subjects share this lack of serious involvement in the film-making process. And here we have a parallel with the faults of many development projects (not necessarily the one depicted in the film) that they do not in honesty share and seek knowledge from the locals, but rather act as if they had got all the answers.

*Yaray Yesso* and *Djarama Boé* tell us in fact more about the culture of the film-maker than about the culture of the people of Boé. The 'bits and pieces' approach does not work. Apart, however, from the apparent shortcomings of both films they do attempt to cover a field which is rarely portrayed filmically, and for this reason the films are of interest to anyone involved in the relationship between anthropology and development work, and of course interested in Guinea-Bissau in this particular context.

*Jóhanna K. Eyjólfsdóttir/Sigurjón Baldur Hafsteinsson, University of Iceland*

### Review of Heimo Lappalainen's *Taiga Nomads*.

(16mm, 3 x 50 minutes, colour, 1992. Distribution/sales: The Finnish Film Foundation, Kanavakatu 12, SF-00160 Helsinki, Finland)

*Taiga Nomads* is a film in three parts about a group of Evenki reindeer nomads in central Siberia, East of Yenisey, North of Baikal. Part 1, 'Hundreds of Homes', deals with a young couple, Sasha and Svetlana, living with their children as reindeer herders in the Taiga. Part 2, 'The Skills You Passed on', deals with relations between the Evenki and the larger society, centring around an old man's story about life in the Taiga before. Part 3, 'The School and the Village', shows life in the village focusing on the school and in particular two boys, sons of Sasha and Svetlana.

The film describes relations of conflict between, on the one hand, a modified traditional Evenki way of life based on reindeer herding and hunting and, on the other hand, the conditions imposed by State society. The Evenki must adopt to a harsh climate with long, extremely cold, winters and short hot summers that pose threats to the herds. They are also under constant hard pressure, culturally, from the modern communication society. In

another sense, therefore, the film deals with strategies of adaptation by the Evenki to their natural and cultural surroundings.

The three parts of the film are made as separate productions that may be broadcast individually by the TV-stations. There is no doubt, however, that the parts form a whole, and watched altogether, the spectator gets a yearly (ecological) cycle as well as a generational (life) cycle. The latter because the parts are distinguished by their portrayal of different kinds of relationships to the non-Evenki world, and this is done through the three generations: the middle, the old and the young. Structured in this way, *Taiga Nomads* makes it obvious that the wholeness of the film is a construction - partly by conventions of perception on the part of the spectators, partly by the persuasion resulting from the way the material is edited and organised so that it seems all so natural. Nowhere in the film is the context of a particular scene cleared up by authoritative commentary (other than the native informants) or camera panorama.

'Hundreds of Homes' (Part 1). The part begins where the helicopter arrives at the camp, bringing the children home from school to stay in the taiga for the summer. The main male figure, Sasha, and his wife, Svetlana, are presented. They form part of reindeer brigade no. 6. Their relationship to the Sovchos, which owns the reindeers, is explained. The theme of collective ownership crops up at intervals in both parts 1 and 2. One of the last scenes in Part 1 has a discussion between the men in the *tchum* (referred to as 'tepee' throughout) about the advantages of the increasing privatisation of reindeer herding. The remainder of this part mostly consists of description of life in the taiga through the year. Focus is mainly on herding, i.e. activities related to the reindeer. We see the family move with the herd for pastures, we follow aspects of tending to the reindeer - feeding the animals salt, building smoke-fires to keep away the insects, building fences to prevent the herd from splitting up in spring and summer. We see and are told about the men's hunting and related activities.

The last part of Part 1 contains a discussion concerning life in the taiga, its quality and prospects for the future. Svetlana tells about the children - their relation to nomad life and her expectations as to their future life choices. Of eight children she expects only one to have a future in reindeer herding. The other children, she believes, will move to the village and take up urban kinds of occupations. Svetlana's matter-of-fact perspective is very different from the concerns of Sasha and a group of men, who *disclaim life outside the taiga*.

'The Skills you Passed on' (Part 2). The main character is an old man, Nikolai Pavlovich, who is the private owner of a herd of 90 reindeer. Nikolai lives with his adoptive son, Vasja, who is a hunter, and without whose assistance the old man would not be able to manage the herd and life in the taiga.

Nikolai contributes the historical dimension in the film. He has experienced the traditional Evenki way of life, when the clans were strong and when everybody spoke the Evenki language. He remembers the encroachment upon the Evenki by the Soviet state, including the eviction of the last shaman in the 1930s. Nikolai took part in the Second World War as a soldier, lost a leg and was richly decorated after the war. He lost four children and his wife. After the war he became the leader of a reindeer brigade, before he finally acquired his own herd.

The most important aspect of Part 2 is Nikolai's memory of life in the old days. The film shows in many scenes how traditional

crafts are carried out. Nikolai instructs some young Evenki in the stages in constructing a fence - from selecting the right trunk to the final product -, in the building of a tepee, the bending of a sledge, etc. These situations are brought into play with situations, in which Evenki are shown mastering means of modern communication.

In the last part of this section, we are told by Nikolai that *traditional life in the taiga holds no future*.

'The School and the Village' (Part 3). The village Poligus is introduced. It has 660 inhabitants, of whom about half are Evenki. Poligus is the centre of administration of all Sovchos activities, including hunting and reindeer herding in the taiga.

The part focuses on the school. 25 pupils are from the taiga and live in the dormitory away from their families most of the year. The main figures are Pasha and Galya, who are sons of Sasha and Svetlana. We follow the two boys in various activities, in the dormitory, in the school and outside. An important element is their relation to an aunt, who is a teacher. Again, there is an apparent play between tradition and modernity. The school teaches both the material culture of the Evenki and the Evenki language, which is spoken of only a minority even of the Evenki children. Most instructions, however, are carried out in Russian. In a number of scenes, the film demonstrates the importance of modern technology in the school work and in the life of the dormitory.

We meet Pasha in the class room. His lack of interest in what is going on is obvious. He gazes out of the window - his aunt tells us, he ran away out into the taiga the year before (He is the one, Svetlana believes will try to stay in the taiga). We meet him with his friends at the river. Pasha seems the 'traditional' Evenki *par excellence*.

In the end of Part 3, the aunt expresses the view that *there is no future for life in the taiga*.

In the end of Part 3 the children leave the village and the school and go home by helicopter to stay the summer at the family camp. Here we see them playing, happily in the taiga...

*Taiga Nomads* is a wonderfully unsentimental representation of the life of a group of Evenki in the taiga and in a village. The film is cut so that the unfolding of events is made to correspond to the stories told by or about the main figures. In this sense, *Taiga Nomads* is not an ethnographic film in the ordinary understanding of the concept. The viewer in this case should not expect to get any full (or even half-way) description of work processes; nor should the viewer expect supplementary explanation or contextualising commentary. We are left on our own, were it not for a cutting technique that takes us in the right direction.

The film is an excellent anthropological documentary that leaves us with a very good idea as to the present conditions of the way of life of a group of Evenki. It is by way of the cutting, as we have seen in an earlier film by Heimo Lappalainen, and in films by for instance Jean Rouch, that the identity of the subject matter is established and the unity of the film experienced by the viewer. The coherence and wholeness of the 'story' told in the film, despite 'left-outs' to me is a measure of Heimo Lappalainen's success in describing the modern predicaments of a way of life.

Poul B. Møller, Centre for North Atlantic Studies,  
University of Aarhus, Denmark

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## World Events

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### XII. Television Workshop - "Development Politics" (1992-1994)

Screening Dates 11-15 April 1994 in Evangelische Akademie Arnoldshain.

Dear Sirs,

With this letter we would like to invite you to participate in the XII. Television Workshop "Development Politics", to register films, television- and video-productions and to suggest productions for registration.

The television workshop "Development Politics" is supported by about 30 organisations involved in development politics, development cooperation and inter-cultural education - all with an interest in the area of film and television.

During the Screening Dates, which take place every second year, international film-, video- and television-productions are presented and discussed. The productions reflect problems of the Third World and are significant for the conscious awareness in industrial societies.

For Screening Dates, domestic and foreign productions are admissible in all suitable television and film genres: documentary, docu-dramas, feature, reportage, animation, educational, experimental, scientific, church films, series, etc. There are no restrictions on the film length.

A jury will evaluate the submitted productions according to the criteria of:

- a) development related education and public work, and
- b) purchase features/qualities.

We hope to be able to greet you at the Screening Dates of the Television Workshop "Development Politics", April 1994 at the Evangelische Akademie Arnoldshain, (near Frankfurt/Main), Germany.

For further information, please contact:

Dr. Hans Groffebert (Coordinator)  
Television-Workshop  
Evangelische Akademie Arnoldshain  
D-61389 Schmitten, Germany  
Tel.: +49 6084 944 132  
Fax.: +49 6084 944 138

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## FILM SEMINAR IN ZÜRICH

*Reality as Film - Film as Reality*

From May 17-19, 1994, Judith and David MacDougall will be teaching in a seminar on ethnographic film-making at Völkerkundemuseum de Universität Zürich.

For further information contact:

Majan Garlinski  
Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich  
Pelikanstrasse 40  
CH-8001 Zürich  
Switzerland  
Tel.: +41 1 221 3191  
Fax.: +41 1 212 3422

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### Announcement(s) from AG VISUELLE ANTHROPOLOGIE der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde.

The next days of AG Visuelle Anthropologie will take place in Cologne from April 8-10 1994. The theme is *Ethnology and Television*. Interested, please contact the organizer:

Susanne von der Heide  
Achterstr. 77  
50678 Köln  
Tel./Fax: +49 221/317277  
Tel.G: +49 221/2216504  
Fax.G: +49 221/2214544

In October 1994, the Days of AG Visuelle Anthropologie will be in Hamburg. The theme envisaged is *Ethnology and Photography*, and the organizer here is:

Nicole Häusler  
Whistlerweg 39,  
81479 München  
Tel.: +49 89/95088391  
Fax.: +49 89/95088377

AG Visuelle Anthropologie also supports the Göttingen International Ethnographic Film Festival, May 12-15, 1994

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## ANTHROPOLOGY AND NEW VISUAL TECHNOLOGIES

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

The 15th Nordic Anthropological Film Conference will take place at The National Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm, (Folkens Museum - Etnografiska), 26-29 May 1994. The main theme of the conference is Anthropology and New Visual Technologies - Explorations into interactive electronic media, visual databases, multimedia as tools for teaching and presentation.



"...Advanced computer treatment of digital information blurs borderlines between film, television, telecommunication and printed messages. All media can distributed through your personal computer...The question is no longer why or how, but for whom and when..."

#### **Preliminary Programme:**

The first two days of the conference will be devoted to the main theme. Together we will explore what is happening within the field of multi/hypermedia for anthropological teaching and presentation. One of our lecturers will be:

**David Turton, PhD,**  
**Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology**  
**University of Manchester**  
**England**

He will inform us about the new project of transferring the vast Granada Television Disappearing World Film Series (500 hours of film) onto CD-ROM's and its further transformations into multimedia - interactive videodiscs

**Judith and David MacDougall**  
**(Formerly at the Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies)**  
**Now independent film-makers at Fieldwork Films, Canberra,**  
**Australia**

Will participate presenting new films but also comment on new technologies. Film-makers around the world were in a sense the first to approach the new electronic media through the development of the video-camera during the 1980s. Presently non-linear computer-editing is changing the technology of film altogether. The computer has become a laboratory at home.

**Laura Cloete - WITS TV**  
**University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.**

WITS TV is a broadcast quality media unit dedicated to educational television. Laura Cloete has been producing interactive computer programmes at WITS TV. She is presently working on a publication on anthropology and multi-media.

**Peter Ian Crawford**  
**Intervention Press and CVA Newsletter, Aarhus, Denmark**

Will introduce the programme on new anthropological films that will run alongside the conference. Two themes will be focused on: The Family and The Two Americas.

Further information from:  
 Ulla Edberg  
 Folkens museum-etnografiska  
 Djurgårdsbrunnsvägen 34  
 Box 27140  
 S-102 52 Stockholm, Sweden  
 Tel.: +46 8 666 5000  
 Fax.: +46 8 666 5070

## **EXPERIENCING THE HERITAGE OF NORTHERN APPALACHIA**

**The 3rd Annual Indiana University of PA.  
 (IUP) Oral History/Visual Ethnography  
 Summer Field School.**

IUP SUMMER SESSION I, JUNE 20 - JULY 8, 1994

This project will expose participants to how working class Americans in the northern Appalachian region strive to maintain their lives within the context of a rapidly changing global economy. Up to fifteen students will take part in a graduate/undergraduate program that features one week of intense classroom training at IUP and two weeks of supervised field work in and around the community of Portage, a small rural coal mining community in Cambria County (Pa.). The field school provides the following: a site for enhancing oral history and visual ethnography skills; an arena for connecting recognized national scholars and students with local communities; a project which investigates the neglected role of cultural diversity on our national experience.

For more information contact:  
 Jim Dougherty, Ph.D.  
 Coordinator  
 IUP Folklife Center  
 Department of History  
 IUP  
 Indiana, Pa. 15705, U.S.A.  
 Phone: +1 412 357-2436 Fax: +1 412 357-6478  
 e-mail: wturxxa@IUP.edu

## **3rd EASA Conference: 'Perspectives on Moralities, Knowledge and Power', Oslo, 24-27 June, 1994**

*Film screenings and videotheque*

Contrary to some rumours that have been spread around Europe there *will* be film screenings and a videotheque during the EASA Conference in Oslo.

For further information contact:

Daniel Papuga  
 Institutt og Museum for Antropologi  
 Oslo University  
 P.O. Box 1091, Blindern  
 N-0317 Oslo  
 Norway  
 Fax.: +47 22 854502  
 E-mail: daniel.papuga@ima.uio.no

**AUDIO-VISUAL PRODUCTIONS IN SOCIOLOGY**

**World Congress of Sociology, Bielefeld, July 18-23**

Like in foregoing World Congresses of Sociology in Toronto (1974), Uppsala (1978), Mexico City (1982), and New Delhi (1986) we propose a daily programme of Audio-Visual Productions in Sociology at the World Congress in Bielefeld.

The programme will consist of four major parts:

**1. Experiences with Photo, Film and Video in Sociology**

Tuesday July 19. 2.00-4.00 pm.  
Wednesday July 20. 2.00-4.00 pm.

A series of presentations by sociologists who use audio-visual media in the exercise of their profession. These sessions will give room for discussions on theoretical and practical issues. Special attention is given to the applications of interactive video (videodiscs) in teaching and research in the social sciences. Dr. Siegfried Kätsch, Head of the Audio-visual department of the University of Bielefeld will make a presentation of the experiments in interactive video at the University.

**2. Transnational Comparisons in Aging and Dying**

Tuesday July 19. 4.30-6.30 pm.  
Wednesday July 20. 4.30-6.30 pm.

A series of film and video presentations on social processes in the real of aging and dying in different parts of the world. One of the sessions will be dedicated to the therapeutical use of audio-visual media in the preparation of people for aging and death in Western civilisation.

**3. Family Photography**

Thursday July 21. 2.00-4.00 and 4.30-6.30 pm.

In the U.N. Year of the Family it is appropriate to dedicate attention to the various uses of photo film and video in researching the family. Special attention will be given to the Hungarian school in Sociological Family Photography. Some of the landmark productions will be shown.

**4. Photo, Film and Video as Sociological Data**

Friday July 22. 2.00-4.00 pm.

Leonard M. Henny, Center for International Media Research: "Analysis of Eastern European Documentaries, before, during, and after the socialist era."

Friday July 22. 4.30-6.30 pm.

Doug Harper, University of Southern California, President of the International Visual Sociology Association: "The Use of Historical Photographs in Reconstructing Cultural Memory."

**5. Open Screenings**

Every Evening from Tuesday to Friday: 7.00-9.00 pm.

An opportunity for sociologists to show their audio-visual programmes at the congress. You are invited to bring your slide-programmes, films and videotapes. Please contact the organisers of the Programme by mail or fax well in advance of the congress. You are requested to make a booking on Monday at the venue of the Programme.

Programme details will be made public on posters and flyers at the Congress.

For more information and to submit proposals, please contact:

Leonard Henny,  
Center for International Media Research,  
Mijndensedijk 74,  
3631 NS Nieuwersluis,  
The Netherlands  
Phone: +31-2943-3459  
Fax: +31-2943-1877

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**AVICOM 94: Photography and Museum**

From 20-23 September 1994 the Museum Committee for Audio-visual Technology, AVICOM, of the International Council of Museum (ICOM) is holding its 4th international symposium, this time in cooperation with the recently opened 'Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland' (House of the history of the FRG).

Professionals from museums and other educational institutions, experts of audio-visual technology from all over the world will debate on new didactic possibilities with the use of visual materials, technical conditions of keeping the photographic past and international use of photo documents.

The main themes of the congress will be:

- The Photograph as a subject of collection and research.
- Photography in documentation and inventory.
- Photography Museums.
- The use of photography for educational purposes in museums.
- Preservation, restoration and questions related to archives.
- New photo-technology in association with other media.
- Photography and law.

Excursions and workshops will enrich the programme. A visit to the 'Photokina' in Cologne is planned for the 24 September. Papers, which must not exceed 30 min., are to be announced till February 1994.

Contact:

AVICOM,  
c/o Rheinisches Freilichtmuseum Kommern,  
Auf dem Kahlenbusch,  
D-53894 Mechernich-Kommern,  
Tel: +49 2443 5051, Fax: +49 2443 5572 (Dr. Michael Faber)

## FIRST CONTINENTAL AMERICAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE'S FILM AND VIDEO FESTIVAL

Called by: CONFEDERACION DE NACIONALIDADES  
INDIGENAS DEL ECUADOR (CONAIE)

CONAIE invites all indigenous film/video-makers and other interested parties to participate in the First Indigenous Film and Video Festival organised by indigenous peoples in the American continent.

The festival will take place in Quito, Ecuador in October 1994.

### Aims of the festival:

1. Facilitate the gathering of indigenous and other film/video-makers related to indigenous issues.
2. Discuss and develop policies on the role of film/video-making within the context of the indigenous movement as a whole in the Americas.
3. Discuss the development of indigenous film/video language.
4. Enable a broad participation of the indigenous population in Ecuador and the continent in the screening of films and videos produced by our peoples and related to indigenous issues.
5. Develop critical capacity as regards cinematographic language within our peoples.
6. Establish permanent mechanisms of coordination between indigenous film/video-makers on an international level.
7. Support the training and development of future indigenous film/video-makers.

CONAIE believes in the imperative to assure a broad participation and representation in the proposed FESTIVAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE. With this aim, we are inviting representatives of indigenous film/video-making organisations and other interested bodies related to film/video-making who share our above-mentioned aims to participate in the Organising Committee, which will be located (for the duration of the festival) in Quito.

We call on all interested persons and bodies to communicate their interest in participating in this Organising Committee by December.

Details of the festival will be available by February 1994.

### FUNDING:

CONAIE and its affiliate organisations will contribute the initial funding required as regards administration and offices, correspondence, personnel and materials.

We are requesting national and international organisations to support this important initiative through donations and funding means.

All correspondence should be addressed to:

Mario Bustos,  
Departamento de Comunicación, CONAIE  
Av. Granados 2553 y 6 de Diciembre, Casilla 17-17-1235  
Quito, Ecuador  
Tel: +593 2 248930 Fax: +593 2 442271  
e-mail: ccc@conaie.ec

## Men & Rivers, VII International Festival of Ethnographic Films,

Nuoro, Sardinia (Italy), 10-15 October, 1994.

The VII International Festival of Ethnographic Films, organised by the Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico of Sardinia (I.S.R.E.), will be held in Nuoro from the 10th to the 15th of October 1994. The festival, which takes place biennially, always focuses on a specific theme: "The Shepherd and his Image" (1982); "The World Upside Down or Carnival and Controlled Transgression" (1984); "The Wedding. Marriage Rituals in Traditional Societies" (1986); "Women and Work in Traditional Societies" (1988); "Islands" (1990); "Mountains" (1992).

The title of the VII Festival is "Men and Rivers" and intends to present a wide spectrum of visual anthropological productions which centre on the rapport, in terms of geographic, social and economics factors, which have characterised the relationship between man and rivers. Key words for the festival are: peoples/river civilisations, economy, fishing, transport, commerce, ceremonies, religion, music, dance.

All films received which are deemed pertinent to the theme will be inserted into a filmography which will accompany the festival's official catalogue.

In conjunction with the screenings there will be round-table debates and discussions with the participation of experts and academics from Italy and abroad.

### Regulations for entry

1. The Festival is open to documentaries dealing with the theme "Men and Rivers", produced on 16mm or 35mm film (optical or magnetic sound, or double track for 16mm; optical sound track for 35mm) or on 3/4 U-Matic videotape on high or low band, Betacam or Hi8 (Pal, Secam, NTSC).

2. The selection of documentaries to be included in the official Festival will be made by a committee composed of: Asen Balikci, Montreal University; Antonio Marazzi, Chairman of the Commission on Visual Anthropology I.U.A.E.S., Padua University; Colette Piauxt, Director of Research at the C.N.R.S., Paris; Paolo Piquerdu, General Coordinator of the I.S.R.E.

3. For inclusion in the selection, video copies must be sent of those entries made on film.

To be able to participate it is necessary to send video copies to the following address: Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico "Men and Rivers" Rassegna Internazionale di Documentari Etnografici, via Mereu, 56 - 08100 Nuoro.

Documentary films from outside Italy, in cases where it is not possible to send a video copy, should be sent to: Agenzia Espressi Internazionali Aerei (A.E.I.A.) S.r.l., Aeroporto di Fiumicino (Roma) marked for the attention of the Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico, via Mereu, 56 - 08100 Nuoro.

4. The closing date for inclusion and selection in the Festival is May 15th 1994.

5. The documentaries must be accompanied by an entry form, completed in every part in either Italian, French or English. For the published catalogue it is also necessary that entrants enclose: three still photographs from their documentary, a biography of the director and some information about the film.

6. Documentaries made in a language other than Italian, French, or English must be subtitled or accompanied by a script translated into one of the above mentioned languages.

7. The directors of works selected for showing at the Festival will be guests of the organisers for the duration of the event.

8. At the close of the Festival a jury presided over by Giovanni Lilliu, Presidente of the I.S.R.E., and composed of members of the I.S.R.E. and foreign and Italian experts will award the following prizes:

A. Film Documentaries

- 1st Prize: 16.000.000 lire
- 2nd Prize: 8.000.000 lire
- 3rd Prize: 4.000.000 lire

B. Video Documentaries

- 1st Prize: 12.000.000 lire
- 2nd Prize: 6.000.000 lire
- 3rd Prize: 3.000.000 lire

The I.S.R.E. may award other prizes or give special commendations in accordance with the jury's assessment.

9. The video copies sent for inclusion and selection in the Festival will be retained, free of cost, for the archives of the I.S.R.E., for internal, non-commercial use only.

10. The I.S.R.E. may acquire a copy of the winning films for its archives, on payment of printing costs.

11. Copies on film not selected will be returned before June 30th 1994; those included in the Festival will be returned before October 31st 1994 except in special circumstances when prior notification has been given in advance by the director or distributor of the film.

12. Successful entrants will be informed of their selection before June 30th 1994.

The documentaries chosen must arrive in their original standard format prior to September 15th 1994 at the following addresses:

A. For documentary films coming from outside Italy: Agenzia Espressi Internazionale Aerei (A.E.I.A.) S.r.l., 00055 Aeroporto Fiumicino (Roma), notifying the I.S.R.E., via Mereu, 56 - 08100 Nuoro;

B. For videotapes and documentary films from inside Italy: Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico, via Mereu, 56 - 08100 Nuoro.

13. The costs incurred in forwarding films for selections shall be borne by the sender; the costs of returning them will be at the expense of the I.S.R.E.

14. The costs of sending and returning films chosen for the Festival will be borne by the I.S.R.E.

For further information, please write or telephone:

Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico  
via Mereu, 56 - 08100 Nuoro (Italy)

Telephone: +39 784/35561 - 31479; Fax: +39 784/37484

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## 10th Days of Independent Film

Augsburg, 16-23 October, 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

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## The Festival of Documentary Film, Sibiu, 20-22 October, 1994.

The Festival of Documentary Film in Sibiu started in 1993 as a cultural experiment paying respect to Gesture and Image as new cultural languages. The festival takes place every year in the second half of October and is an occasion to promote both documentary films of anthropological, ethnological interest and of interest to other sciences as well.

Open to innovation and experiment, the festival aims at tackling theoretical aspects both of film technique and questions related to structure and conceptions of documentary film. The festival is open to film-makers from all over the world and provides an excellent occasion for the bringing together of film-makers and scientists interested in such a dialogue.

For further information, contact:

*Budrala Dumitru or Bealcovschi Simona*

*Studioul ASTRA Film*

*Piata Mica 11*

*Sibiu 2400*

*Rumania*

*Tel.: 0040 69 418195*

*Fax.: 0040 69 411806*

## CANCELLATION

### CONTRASTING WORLDS: REFLECTIONS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN.

II International Festival of Ethnological Film and Video  
Granada, November 6-12, 1994

We were going to bring you recent information about this follow-up conference to the most successful first 'Muestra' held in 1992. Going to press we unfortunately learned that the event has been cancelled mainly due to financial and technical problems.

For further information, please contact:

José Antonio González Alcantud  
Centro de Investigaciones Etnológicas  
Casa-Molino "Angel Ganivet"  
Cuesta de los Molinos  
E-18008 GRANADA  
Tel. +34 (58) 22 01 57 Fax. +34 (58) 22 85 91

## Archaeology on Film and Video

In connection to the World Archaeological Congress 3, taking place in New Delhi December 4-11, 1994, there will be a symposium on film and video:

Archaeologists have always made use of new technology. Film and video is no exception. Archive footage of archaeology in action exists in many countries. Today there is more demand for archaeologists to present their evidence in a format which is accessible to their public. Professional film-makers, who are not also archaeologists, often do not understand the subject they are trying to capture on film or tape. But many film-makers would argue that archaeologists should leave the professional business of film-making to them.

Beside the issue of presenting archaeology on films there is also the question of making a video record of the archaeological work itself. Should it become a standard part of the record, achieving the same status, say, as the context recording from?

The Symposium will consider at least the following topics:

- I. History of film and video in archaeology - a world view.
- II. Is there a conflict between film-makers and archaeologists?
- III. Public broadcasting and archaeology.
- IV. Educating tomorrow's public through archaeology on film and video.
- V. How to make good films about archaeology.
- VI. Video records versus computer/paper records - is there a conflict?
- VII. Data visualization and archaeology.

Films, computer films and videos from all parts of the world will be shown during the Congress. These showings will run alongside other sessions and also during lunch times and in the evenings.

Organizer: M. Corbishly, Education Section, English Heritage, Keysign House, London, UK.

## World News

### Information from

Dr. S. NARAYAN, A.N. SINHA INSTITUTE  
OF SOCIAL STUDIES,  
PATNA, INDIA

1. I intend to produce a documentary on 'Sports in Tribal India' based on my empirical research, for which I need collaboration and funding. In fact the sports of Sauria Paharia has already been recorded on video. Anybody interested may, for a nominal sum, obtain a copy of the video tape from me at the address given below.

In the proposed work on tribal sports, I am trying to present the richness and distinctiveness of tribal India. There are 559 types of tribes and 119 tribal dialects in India (see my book *Indian Anthropology*, Gyan Publishers, Post Box No.7107, New Delhi - 110 002). The various groups differ considerably from each other in all cultural aspects. Tribal sports has received little attention in anthropology and prior to this work no material has been published. Theories concerning the relationship between early childhood experiences and subsequent personality differences may play a significant role, and have been advanced by anthropologists and psychologists. Tracing the origin of such research we are reminded of the work of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, John Dollard, Sachindra Narayan, Maleasashi and others. The ecology of the area affects basic economic conditions and determines how people use space, their type of house and the composition of households. Together with the social structure these parameters determine the character of sports in tribal India.

The results of the research project will be presented in a series of video programmes covering five different regions. The preliminary research and a film script has already been made and we are now searching for collaboration with universities and other institutions as regards the technical and financial aspects.

2. An International Film Festival of India was held in Calcutta in January 1994. The films covered a diversity of ethno/cultural material of interest to visual anthropology. The festival offers the only chance of keeping in touch with the contemporary growth of cinema in many parts of the world.

3. An international film festival of documentary, short and animation film was held in Bombay in February 1994. A daily screening of selections from important sections of the festival for free public shows has evoked a poor response. For those who find the festival the best opportunity to get at least a glimpse of the World's best documentary and short films, the BIFF 94 is a veritable treat the avid film buff finds it difficult to choose his pick.

*(revised and shortened by the editor)*

For further information please contact:  
S. Narayan  
A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies  
Patna - 800 001  
India

### Kings Alfred's College, Postgraduate Diploma/MA courses:

(validated by the University of Southampton)

#### *Television for Development*

This course is the first in Europe which offers the opportunity for students from the North and the South to meet to use television and video as a tool in the processes of development of under-represented and marginalised peoples. The one year course links development and television theory in practical production projects which may be undertaken overseas. It is geared to the needs of development agencies working in the UK and overseas and is taught by specialists from the fields of development and television studies.

#### *Community Drama for Development*

This one year course integrates community drama practices with cultural studies and development theory culminating in a major practical project undertaken in the UK or overseas. It offers students training as facilitators of cultural strategies in communication and community participation in evolving and sustaining criteria for development. The course is taught by specialists with substantial theoretical and practical experiences in various parts of the worlds in the fields of community dramas, cultural studies and development theory and practice. It is directed at the needs of development agencies working in the UK and overseas. So far, it is the first course in Europe that offers an advanced forum for the students from the North and South to jointly evolve the use of community drama as a tool for development in local and global contexts.

Write for details to:

The Admissions Officer  
King Alfred's College  
Sparkford Road  
Winchester  
Hampshire SO22 4NR  
England  
FAX: +44 962 842280

### Film studio 'ASTRA' in Sibiu, Rumania

In The Museum of Traditional Folk Civilization 'ASTRA', a film studio was inaugurated in 1992. The *Film Studio ASTRA* aims at building up a cinematheque with scientific and documentary films in the field of ethnology and cultural anthropology. An important purpose of the *Film Studio ASTRA* is to explore Romanian cultural identity in a comparative European perspective. The Film Studio believes that the creative use of international documentaries serves an important function in the momentous process of Rumania's integration with Europe as well as world-wide.

On 25 February, 1993, the ASTRA film studio presented four films at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris. The films were presented to Mr. Jean-Dominique Lajoux, ethnographer and cineaste, and manager of 'Geste et Image'. The 4 films are:

*Everlasting power* (La Force de Demeurer), VHS 13 mins. A film essay with a cultural philosophical theme, namely that of 'spiritual essence' and 'archetypal structures' of a people. The village seen as the primordial cell, the dance of cosmic integration, the philosophical conception of death, are themes of the film.

*Summer Camp* (Camp de Vacances), VHS 10 mins. A fascinating documentary made during the summer holidays about a unique creative art camp, of one hundred pupils from special art schools in Brasov and Sibiu.

*The Sculptors* (Sacre du Bois), VHS 12 mins. A film on the first symposium of monumental wood sculpture in the museum ('ASTRA'). The film is an aesthetic essay on the real sense of sacrifice and arts. It had its premiere during 'The Festival of European Poems', in Sibiu, October 1992.

*Museum Vivum*. VHS, 12 mins. This film was specially made for our museum's candidature at the EMYA (European Museum of the Year Award) in 1993. It presents all our cultural activities during 1992. The latest achievements of the film studio ASTRA are:

*The Art of Conservation and Restoration*, VHS 12 mins.

An homage to the unknown and unseen face of a museum.

*Children's Folk Market*, VHS 10 min, a documentary about a miniature folk market, innocence and gifts are its themes.

*Mamui*, VHS 10 min, an artistic documentary.

Stone cairns guard the mountain like altars. Who raised them? Some hypotheses say they were heathen buildings, later on mingled with Christian elements. *Mamui*, the cairns, remain an enigma!

#### **The Festival of the Scientific and Documentary Film:**

October 21-23, 1993, the Film Studio ASTRA organised in Sibiu the first festival of scientific and documentary films. It was initiated and financially supported by the museum ASTRA. The festival comprised two sections: Firstly a competition of documentary films, 28 in all, from abroad as well as from Rumania. Secondly, a Gala of 60 documentary films received from 15 embassies, giving the citizens of Sibiu the opportunity to watch films from the most faraway places of the world (Chile, New Zealand, India, Australia, China, Europe). Thousands of people, pupils and pensioners, were glad to discover cultures and civilisations unknown to them before. The Film Studio ASTRA was awarded 4 prizes by the president of the jury, Mrs. Christina Nichitus - film director and professor at the Theatre and Film Academy.

For further information please contact:

M.C.P.T. 'ASTRA'  
STUDIOUL DE FILM 'ASTRA'  
Piata Mica nr. 11-12-2400 SIBIU  
phone: +40 92 418 195  
RUMANIA

## The Center for Media, Culture, and History, New York.

New York University's Center for Media, Culture, and History is a collaborative project, drawing on faculty from the program in Africana Studies and the Departments of Anthropology, Cinema Studies, Comparative Literature, and History. We address issues of representation, social change, and identity construction embedded in the development of film, television, and video worldwide. Our focus is on the role that these media play in shaping our perceptions of history and culture; in forging individual, collective, national, and transnational identities; and in mediating the direction and character of social change.

The center works across disciplines to foster the innovative development and analysis of media from a multicultural perspective in ways that link us to other arenas such as independent film and video production, community-based museums, and media resource centers. Rockefeller residencies will bring together people who are building the interdisciplinary discourse necessary to interpret the complex relationships among media, culture, and history. Through the residencies, the center will especially seek to attract those whose focus is on multicultural, third world, and indigenous work.

The Center for Media, Culture, and History is supported by The Rockefeller Foundation and New York University's Faculty of Arts and Science and Tisch School of the Arts.

We welcome scholars (both independent and university-based), media makers, and cultural activists to apply for either one-semester or two-semester residencies.

For an application or more information, contact:

*Faye Ginsburg or Barbara Abrash*  
Center for Media, Culture, and History  
New York University  
25 Waverly Place  
New York, N.Y. 10003  
Fax: +1 (212) 995-4014

## VISCOM Listserve has arrived

The Graduate Association of Visual Anthropologists at Temple University has created a new Internet listserv, VISCOM. VISCOM is a place where anyone interested in visual communication can exchange e-mail postings about any of the following subjects: ethnographic film/video and photography, the relationship between culture and pictorial/visual communication, non-verbal communication, the anthropology of dance, body movement, space, the built environment, teaching with film, the relationship between pictorial and aural communication, anthropology/sociology/cultural studies and television, and multimedia. VISCOM will welcome announcements of seminars, conferences, festivals, calls for films, videos, and photographs, new films, videos, books, and programs, and job opportunities.

In the near future, VISCOM will have an archive in which people can store and retrieve course descriptions, syllabi, drafts of papers offered for discussion, filmographies, and bibliographies.

VISCOM, is managed by Lindsey Powell and Kerim Freedman. Jay Ruby is the faculty supervisor.

To subscribe to VISCOM simply send a one line e-mail message to LISTSERVE@VM.TEMPLE.EDU. The message should read: 'SUBSCRIBE VISCOM Your First Name Your Last Name'. You will receive a message acknowledging you as a subscriber with instructions about how to participate.

Any questions about VISCOM should be addressed to Powell at powell@vm.temple.edu,  
Freedman at kerim@astro.ocis.temple.edu  
or  
Ruby at v5293e@wm.temple.edu.

## FILM AND VIDEO CENTER AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

The Film and Video Center of the National Museum of the American Indian is a national center for information about audiovisual media produced by or about indigenous peoples in the Americas. In addition to an archive and study collection of hundreds of works available for viewing at the Museum, the center assists media makers with information on exhibition, distribution and funding. It also provides educators, curators, and media professionals with access to information on indigenous-oriented works and their makers.

To increase awareness of indigenous media in Central and South America - who are the producers, what types of works are available, how are the works used in relation to indigenous and non-indigenous communities, etc. - as well as to facilitate contact between indigenous producers and organizations in Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries and funding, distribution and producing organizations in the United States and Europe, The Center is initiating the PAVI project. PAVI stands for Indigenous Audio-Visual Project (Proyecto Audio-Visual Indigena in Spanish, Projeto Audiovisual Indigena in Portuguese). It will involve a survey administered to individuals and organizations in twenty-six South and Central American countries who are knowledgeable about indigenous works on audio, film, and video in this region. Information gathered from the survey will be entered into a computer database available to individuals and organizations interested in this media.

PAVI aims at casting its net as widely as possible, and thus welcomes information on film, video and radio productions in both

Central and South America. Please write to:

Elizabeth Weatherford, Head of the Film and Video Center  
and/or  
Catherine Benamou, Organizer of PAVI  
at:  
National Museum of the American Indian  
3753 Broadway at 155th Street  
New York, NY 10032  
USA  
Fax.: +1 (212) 491 9302

## New Publications and Films/Videos

### Report on Amerindian & Arctic Peoples Film Project

Report Year One - has been published in January 1994 and can be ordered from:

THIRD HORIZON FOUNDATION, Mijndensedijk 74, 3631 NS Nieuwersluis, The Netherlands, Tel: + 31 29433459 Fax: + 31 29431877

### Rocha-Trindade, Maria Beatriz (ed.) - *Iniciacão à Museologia*, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta, 1993, 275pp.

Fruit of the collaboration of several authors - 10 to be precise - this work is not merely addressed to people with an interest in museology. Its reading can prove interesting and useful to students, collectors, teachers, tourist guides and the public in general.

Its 12 chapters, which can be read separately, cover subjects such as the history and the reality of Portuguese museums, the object as information generator, display techniques, architecture, preservation, environment and security conditions, main types of museums (art, archeology, natural history, science and technology), as well as local museums.

A set of illustrative videos and slide show complete the manual.

#### Further information:

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade  
Projecto Universidade Aberta  
Unidade de Investigaçao  
Palácio Ceia  
Rua da Escola Politécnica  
P-1200 Lisboa  
Portugal

### The Nordic Eye - Proceedings from NAFA I

Edited by Peter I. Crawford

A collection of essays which reveal the wide scope of issues covered by visual anthropology. Contributions by Nordic and international scholars focus on the use of ethnographic film in research, teaching, and the dissemination of anthropological information. The editor's introduction gives a comprehensive view of the development of visual anthropology in the Nordic countries. CONTRIBUTORS: P.I. Crawford, H. Eidheim, L. Holtedahl, T. Jansen, L. Jonsen, P. Henley, C. Piault, R. Boonzajer Flaes, J. Rudow.

1993. 128 pgs., DKK 124.00/£12.40/US\$ 18.50/ECU 16.75 (ISBN 87-89825-00-4)

### Lesotho Herders Video Project: Explorations in Visual Anthropology

Chuck Scott

This case study describes a process undertaken by a group of researchers and video-workers working with herders in the remote regions of Northeastern Lesotho. It examines the debates raised by Visual Anthropology and ethnographic film-making and the

methods and practice of 'Community Video' theory. The book gives a firsthand account of - and reflection on - the field work situation. It explores the relations between researchers and the subject community, the production process and the development of the finished product. The book serves as an excellent study guide to the 32-minute video *Balisana - Herders of Lesotho* (available through IP)

1994, ill., 128 pgs., DKK 112.00/£ 11.20/US\$ 16.60/ECU 15.00 (ISBN 87-89825-04-7)

(will be reviewed in the next issue of CVA Newsletter)

### Anthropological Film and Video in the 1990s

Edited by Jack R. Rollwagen. First volume in the series Case Studies in Documentary Filmmaking and Videomaking. 460 pages, illus. US Price: \$ 30.00. Published in 1993 by: The Institute, Inc., 56 Centennial Avenue, Brockport, NY 14420, U.S.A. (Will be reviewed in the next issue of the CVA Newsletter)

### Images that Injure: Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media. A Book project.

'Images that Injure: Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media' is a book being edited by Paul Lester for the Greenwood Publishing Group. Topics include: Ethical and moral responsibilities of the media, stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination, media methods that lead to stereotyping, and essays concentrating on various cultural groups: African Americans, Mexican Americans, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, Jewish Americans, Irish Americans, Anglo Americans, Feminists, working women, women as sex partners, women in advertising, men in advertising and entertainment, men in the news, children, older adults, disabled, blind, large women, female/male archetypes, visual persuasion techniques, gay and lesbian stereotypes, police officers, politicians, lawyers, religious followers, media personnel, media victims, and futuristic stereotypes.

For further information contact:

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H-230  
CSUF  
Fullerton, CA 92634  
U.S.A.  
E-mail: lester@fullerton.edu

### VON HÜTEN, HUTERN & HUTTRÄGERN IN TIROL

*On hats, Hatters and Hatwearers in Tyrol*, 56 mins. Umatic high band BVU, German commentary. Director/anthropologist: Franz J. Haller together with the students Johannes Mairhofer, Wolfgang Geisler and Wolfgang Strauss, Department of Ethnologia Europaea at the University of Innsbruck (Prof. Leander Petzoldt), Austria. The film portrays the history of hats, lifestyles, guild matters, hats and politics, hat psychology, felt- and hat-making by traditional artisans as well as the industrial hat production, and shows the varied use of hats during farmers work, in traditional costume and at popular festivals.

Editor: Franz J. Haller. Year of release 1993. Distributor/Producer: Visuelle Anthropologie & Medien  
39012-MERAN (South Tyrol/Italy), Freiheitsstrasse 192,  
Phone and Fax: +39 473 47431.



## BARUYA MUKA ARCHIVAL

- A record film, In seventeen parts on the first stage initiation ceremony of the Baruya, Eastern Highlands, Papua New Guinea.
- accompanied by six volumes of written documentation and translation.
- A Film Australia Production 1991/92

*BARUYA MUKA ARCHIVAL* is a detailed record of the first stage male initiation ceremony, or Muka, of the Baruya of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. It is a follow-up to *Towards Baruya Manhood*, shot some ten years earlier, in which the second, third and fourth stages of initiation are recorded.

*Baruya Muka Archival* is a film document rather than a "film". It is nearly thirteen and a half hours long, divided for convenience into seventeen parts, each on a separate video cassette.

Apart from brief titles, which mark the passing of the days and give a minimal introduction to each sequence, there is no documentation or translation on film. However, through unobtrusive time-code numbers, the videos are related to six volumes of documentation and translation.

Volume One provides a general introduction: a brief history of the Baruya film projects, notes on *Baruya Muka Archival* - the film and the documentation, an introduction to Baruya society, and a summary of contents for the seventeen video cassettes.

Volumes Two to Six give a transcription of the documentation and translation recorded by Maurice Godelier (anthropologist), Dick Lloyd (SIL linguist) and Ian Dunlop (film-maker) working with Baruya leaders and translators a few weeks after the film was shot. This documentation has been edited only minimally; despite its laser-printed appearance its contents are more like field notes than a polished publication.

*Baruya Muka Archival* follows a group of nine to twelve year old boys for four weeks through their first initiation - from the last days with their families, through to the final possum feast given in their honour. This is a tough time, the beginning of a ten year journey to warrior and manhood.

The boys are traumatically severed from their mothers, the female world of the village and their former carefree existence. With great ritual and care their noses are pierced; they take up residence in the initiation house; high on a *kuni* grass ridge they are laboriously dressed with the insignia of a Muka; in the spiritually powerful forests they undergo ordeals; they are continually lectured on their new status and its responsibilities.

The boys' initiators are tough yet caring. Mothers bring food to the outer fence of the initiation house compound, hoping to catch a glimpse of their lost sons.

It is hoped *Baruya Muka Archival* will provide an enduring record, not least for the Baruya themselves, and a rich resource for further research. It has the potential for further use (preferably in whole, but also in part) in innovatory education at an undergraduate level - an antidote to the pre-digested, easy-to-view product so often used today.

This material provides the fertile ground for a thousand projects - on ritual, religion, initiation, male/female relations, youth, song, dance, decoration, gastronomy, gardening, land use, the tyranny of the ethnographic camera and much more.

This is the first Muka ceremony to be held for many years. Through it Chuwanandaye Chacha, the leader of this Muka, and his colleagues, have permitted us a privileged and unusually detailed look into the ritual life of another society.

*Baruya Muka Archival* consists of seventeen video cassettes together with six volumes of documentation and translation. These form are marketed as one unit.

The video cassettes are available on VHS or Beta, with or without time-code displayed. Cassettes with the discretely displayed time-code are recommended so that image and sound can be related to the written documentation.

At the request of the Baruya *Baruya Muka Archival* is not available in, and must not enter, Papua New Guinea. It is not available for television broadcast in whole or in part.

Producer/Director: Ian Dunlop  
 Anthropologist: Maurice Godelier  
 Linguist: Richard Lloyd  
 Camera: Dean Semler ACS  
 Sound: Bob Hayes

Overseas price: \$US 234.95 plus freight

For further details contact:  
 Film Australia Pty Ltd  
 National (or International) Sales  
 PO Box 46  
 Lindfield, NSW 2070  
 Australia  
 Tel.: +61 2 413 8777  
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## SAIEFF/DEVCOM/ORALITY '94 Notice of Festival/Conference

The first South African International Ethnographic Film Festival (SAIEFF) and Roundtable on Development Communication (DEVCOM) in conjunction with the fourth International Conference on Oral Tradition is to be hosted by the University of Natal, Durban, South Africa.

The provisional dates are June 22 - 30 1994.

Deadline for registration May 22, 1994.

The festival fee for international visitors will be approximately US\$ 50.00 and for students US\$ 10.00

SAIEFF is intended as a regular biennial event but will also be held in 1995.

Further information will soon be circulated. This will include a programme of the South African films to be screened and the titles of papers already accepted for presentation. If interested in attending SAIEFF / DEVCOM / ORALITY '94, presenting a paper or submitting films for screening please contact

SAIEFF '94  
Mikhail Peppas  
c/o The Centre for Oral Studies  
University of Natal  
220 Marriot Road, 4001 Durban  
South Africa  
Tel +31 207-3711 Fax +31 291-622

Durban is a beautiful harbour city situated on the South East coast of Africa, close to Zululand. Known as the Gateway to Africa it is a rapidly expanding city with a lively cosmopolitan atmosphere and lots of historical places to see.

May, 11 - 12 Students Film Competition

May, 12 - 15 Film Festival



**1994**

**GÖTTINGEN  
INTERNATIONAL  
ETHNOGRAPHIC  
FILM FESTIVAL**

### Film Screenings Include

<b>David MacDougall</b> - Australia	<b>Time of the Barmen</b> (100') - Sardinia - 1993
<b>Jean Rouch, Philo Bregstein</b> - France/Netherlands	<b>Madame l'Eau</b> (120') - Netherlands, France, Niger - 1993
<b>Steeff Meyknecht, Dirk Nijland</b> - Netherlands	<b>Rouch's Gang</b> (70') - Niger, France, Netherlands - 1993
<b>Frederick Wiseman</b> - USA	<b>Zoo</b> (130') - USA -, 1993
<b>Joanna Head, Jean Lydall</b> - Great Britain	<b>Our Way of Loving</b> (60') - Hamar, Ethiopia - 1994
<b>Gary Kildea</b> - Australia	<b>Valencia Diary</b> (108') - Philippines - 1992
<b>Fan Zhiping, Hao Yuejun</b> - China	<b>Puji and his Lovers</b> (120') - P.R. China - 1993
<b>Thomas Imbach</b> - Switzerland	<b>Well Done</b> (75') - Switzerland - 1994
<b>Jeffery Ruoff, Andrea Troppin</b> - USA	<b>Hacklebarney Tunes</b> (58') - USA - 1993

### Pre-Festival Student Competition for the "Student Award"

12 films including

<b>Many Will Come</b> (25') - USA - Amanda Crane, USA 1994	<b>Sahar's Wedding</b> (46') - West Bank, Palestine - Hanna Musleh, Palestine 1992
<b>Pepsi War</b> (30') - Papua New Guinea - Charlie Clay, John Muke, Great Britain 1992	<b>I Swear, I Love Spring</b> (31') - Tadjikistan - Ali Attar, Iran 1994

Most filmmakers will be present for discussion of their films after screening.

Due to capacity limitations, registration (with payment) before the festival is strongly recommended.

Festival fee: 80,- DM (Students 40,- DM)

**25% discount for registration with payment until 15. April 1994.**

Göttingen Festival

Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film  
Nonnenstieg 72, D-37075 Göttingen

Tel. +49/551/5024-301

Fax: +49/551/5024-400

**INTERNATIONAL VIDEO SALES**  
from the Royal Anthropological Institute  
of Great Britain and Ireland

*The following videos are for sale in PAL or NTSC formats:*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Amir (Baily),  | Lessons from Gulam (Baily),   |
| The Ainu Bear Ceremony (Munro),  | Life Chances: Four Families in a Greek Cypriot Village (Loizos),                |
| The Blooms of Banjeli: Technology and Gender in West African Ironmaking (Saltman),   | Matai Samoa (Milner),   |
| The Carrot and the Stick (Arnott),   | Muktu (Johnston),   |
| The Condor and the Bull (Getzels/Gordon; UK sale only),                              | Photo Wallahs (D. MacDougall /J. MacDougall; sales outside North America only), |
| Cuyagua (Henley); The Devil Dancers (Part I),<br>The Saint With Two Faces (Part II), | Polka (Boonzajer-Flaes),  |
| The Dancer and the Dance (Hughes-Freeland),  | Raju and His Friends (Banks),   |
| Depending on Heaven (Entell; not available in US & Germany),                         | Reclaiming the Forest (Henley/Drion),   |
| Doctors of Two Worlds (Solomons),  | Sacred Harp Singers (Brice),  |
| Dor, Low is Better (Boonzajer-Flaes),  | Smoke (Rens),   |
| Garden Days: Village in Papua New Guinea (G. Lewis/A. Lewis/Jerstad),                | Sofia and Her People (Loizos),  |
| The Guardian of the Forces (Folly),  | Sundanese Culture Alive (Hellwig),  |
| Home From the Hill (Dineen),   | A Tibetan New Year (Jerstad),   |
| Ian Gleadell: A Falkland Farmer (Edwards/Kenneil),                                   | Tracking the Pale Fox: Studies on the Dogon (de Heusch),                        |
| Imbalu: Ritual of Manhood of the Gisu of Uganda (Hawkins/Heald),                     | The Trobriand Islanders (Powell),   |
| John the Eel Trapper (de Bromhead),  | Tuktu (Johnston),   |
| The Last Navigator (Singer),   | The Water Goddess and the Computer (Singer/Lansing),                            |
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## SPECIAL OFFER

for VHS copies (PAL/NTSC) of our best-selling ethnographic films.

### **MAMI WATA**

#### **The Ghost of the White Woman**

(Ewe, Togo)

A novice is initiated into the Mami Wata cult, several Mami Wata priests are following their tasks and the end of the year is celebrated. Some priests speak about their personal experiences.

T. Wendl, D. Weise, München, prod. 1986, publ. 1988, 16 mm, colour, sound, 46 min, German and English version, order number: D 1678, price: 150,-\*

### **AMJI-KIN: The Run of the World.**

Canela Indians (North-East Brazil)

Log-races for men and women are an almost daily sport activity for the Canela, strongly connected with their mythology and ritual life. The film introduces Canela culture and then focuses on ritual and running events explaining Canela ideas of the "Run of the World".

Jürgen Dieckert, Oldenburg, Jakob Mehringer, Regen, prod. 1988/92, publ. 1993, video 8, 42 min., German, English and Portuguese version, order number: D 1836, price: 130,-\*

### **COPPERWORKING IN SANTA CLARA DEL COBRE, MICHOCÁN, MEXICO. Artisans Facing Change**

The craft of copperwork developed successfully in the last decades, entering new markets with new products. But the copperworkers are now facing the severe consequences of worldwide recession. Their comments accompany the film in which their craft is shown

Beate Engelbrecht, Göttingen, prod. 1989, publ. 1993, 16 mm, colour, sound, 50 min., German, English and Spanish version, order number: C 1832, price: 170,-\*

### **SALTWORKS LUISENHALL, GÖTTINGEN**

#### **Daily Routine in a Boilery**

The film shows daily life in one of the last traditional salt-works in Europe. The workers are portrayed and their work is shown: filling brine into boiling pans, drawing the sedimented salt, snorkelling it off the pans, drying, packaging.

E. Ballhaus (IWF), Göttingen, prod. 1986, publ. 1987, video 1", colour, sound, 60 min., German and English version, order number: C 1664, price: 150,-\*

### **SEMANA SANTA - The Holy Week in Patamban**

Purhépecha (Mexico, Michoacán)

Like in a passion play the villagers celebrate the Holy Week, acting effigies as well as certain people. Catholic liturgy and folk religion are combined in the ritual which involves nearly the whole village.

B. Engelbrecht, Göttingen, prod. 1989, publ. 1992, 16 mm, colour, sound, 130 min, German, English and Spanish version, order number: E 3135, price: 390,-\*

### **FOUTURA - A LOBI POTTER TELLS HER STORY**

(Burkina Faso)

Foutura, a 65 years old woman, has produced various kinds of pots all her life, learning the different techniques at certain stages in her life. Today she is recognized in her village as somebody who knows all about pottery and life.

Klaus Schneider, Frankfurt, Beate Engelbrecht (IWF), Göttingen, prod. 1990, publ. 1993, 55 min., 16 mm, colour, sound, German, English and French version, order number: C 1823, price: 179,-\*

### **NUBA WRESTLING**

A film about wrestling tournaments of the Sudanese Nuba, who migrated to Khartoum, and about a conflict over cultural change: traditional versus westernized sport. The film discusses the importance of such sport activities for Nuba ethnic identity.

Rolf Husmann, Werner Sperschneider, Göttingen, prod. 1989, publ. 1991, video VHS, 42 min., English, order number D 1774, price: 80,-

### **WEAVERS IN AHUIRAN - Michoacán, Mexico.**

Weaving is the main source of income for the Purhépecha women in Ahuiran. While their husbands often work as migrants outside the village the women have to look after their families. The film shows the women at work, the children helping them, and Margarita speaks about their various economic problems.

B. Engelbrecht, Göttingen, U. Keyser, Cheran, prod. 1989, publ. 1991, 16 mm, colour, sound, 55 min, German, English and Spanish version, order number: C 1762, price: 179,-\*

### **NINI PANTUN - Rice Cultivation and Rituals in Bali**

On Bali, rice cultivation is an integral part of daily life with many material as well as religious aspects. The film thus shows both, the technology of rice-growing (irrigation, terrace-construction, ploughing, sowing, harvesting etc.) and the rituals accompanying the growth of the rice plants.

U. Ramseyer, Basel, prod. 1980, publ. 1988, video, 53 min, German and English version, order number: D 1688, price: 140,-\*

### **FIRTH ON FIRTH**

Among other topics, Sir Raymond Firth talks about his early Maori studies, Social Anthropology under Malinowski at the LSE, his fieldwork in Tikopia, and - in an interview together with his wife Lady Rosemary - their common fieldwork in Malaya.

Rolf Husmann, Göttingen, Peter Loizos, London, and Werner Sperschneider, Göttingen, prod. 1991/92, publ. 1993, Betacam, 49 min, English, order number D 1841, price: 140,-\*

Please note: all prices given above are in DM for PAL copies and US\$ for NTSC copies.

Please send orders to: Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Nonnenstieg 72, D-37075 Göttingen, Germany. Tel. +49/551/5024-245, Fax: +49/551/5024-400



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