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# CVA REVIEW

## BULLETIN D'INFORMATION



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

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

Printemps/Spring 1990

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## LETTERS

### A LETTER FROM ASEN BALIKCI

chairman,  
Commission on Visual Anthropology

We hope our readers will excuse the Commission for the late publication of this Spring issue. Unexpected circumstances have led to a change in sponsorship. Following recent budget constraints and an expected administrative restructuring, the Canadian Museum of Civilization was obliged to interrupt its subsidy to our Commission. We would like to thank Dr. George MacDonald, Director of the Canadian Museum for his help in the past and his keen interest in the Commission's activities. The Canadian Museum is a highly innovative institution which, in the future, intends to devote a considerable part of its substantial resources to audiovisual presentations. We sincerely hope that visual anthropology activities will be given their due place.

Our new sponsor is the Musée de la civilisation in Québec. It is also a recently established institution, seriously interested in the intelligent application of visual anthropology methods and techniques, both on the museum premises and in a variety of outreach programs. There are, many other museums devoted to cultural history which have expressed a willingness to establish close links with visual anthropology. Professor Paolo Chiozzi's report in this issue is a testimony to this growing trend.

The first article in this issue describes the various exhibits and activities of the Quebec Museum and the way they are related to audiovisual presentations. Terence Turner presents a vivid account of his involvement in the production of two television films among the Kayapo. The following two articles share a similar interest in the ideological context of ethnographic film production. Homiak analyses footage shot by M. Herskovits and Maya Deren in Haiti in the 30's and 40's with the aim to assess their place in the "anthropological visualization" of that country. Kuehnast's contribution is on gender representation in visual ethnographies with an

interesting statement on Melissa Llewelyn-Davies' rendering of Maasai women.

It is our intention to seriously consider the publication of special issues of our Review devoted to single themes of wider significance. Visual anthropologists in any part of the world who may be potentially interested to become guest editors of monothematic issues are invited to submit their plans to the Commission's Montreal office.

We are pleased to announce the election of Dr. Paul Hockings as the new editor of the journal Visual Anthropology. The Commission on Visual Anthropology is the academic sponsor of the journal, founded by Dr. Jay Ruby and published by Harwood Academic Publishers. On behalf of the Commission I would like to thank Dr. Ruby for his enlightened contribution. Dr. Hockings is well known to all of us for his classic compendium Principles of Visual Anthropology. Visual anthropology is growing very rapidly, many talented young professionals in several parts of the world are engaged in research or production projects of considerable originality. In this favorable context we believe Dr. Hockings will provide our profession with the necessary intellectual leadership. We wish Dr. Hockings good luck in his new endeavor. We invite the Commission's members and correspondents to encourage and actively help the new editor.

In the context of the IUAES Intercongress in Lisbon, Portugal, September 5th - 12th, 1990, the Commission on Visual Anthropology is organizing a seminar mainly devoted to the many issues related to Anthropology on the Air. The seminar organizer is Dr. Robert Boonzajer-Flaes from Amsterdam University (see announcement in this issue). It is expected that our seminar will be well attended and that it will provide the setting for discussing the past accomplishments and future activities of our Commission. Several new projects have been suggested by members: the organizing by the Commission of an international ethnographic film festival with substantial representation from Third World countries; an international seminar on "cultural copyright" implying the control by

indigenous communities of data locally assembled; training workshops for Third World ethnographers as video makers, etc.

We hope that all those attending the Lisbon seminar will also participate in the Second International Festival of Ethnographic Film organized by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Granada Center for Visual Anthropology at Manchester University. The festival will be held in Manchester, September 24th - 29th, 1990 (see announcement in this issue). The Sir Denis Forman Lecture will be delivered by Dr. Peter Loizos (London School of Economics).

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#### A LETTER FROM PAUL HOCKINGS

Professor, Department of Anthropology  
University of Illinois at Chicago

Dear Asen,

May I take a little space to tell your readers that I have been appointed the next editor of the international journal Visual Anthropology, beginning in January, 1991. Many of them will probably be already familiar with me as the editor of Principles of Visual Anthropology (1975).

The international credentials of this journal have already been well established by its first editor, Jay Ruby, and by the continuing sponsorship of the Commission on Visual Anthropology (International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Science). I plan no serious changes in the policy or format of the journal, but will seek to develop further our intellectual ties around the world. To this end I want to take this present opportunity of stating that I am interested in seeing high-quality articles from any visual anthropologist anywhere, and these do not necessarily have to be in English. I will certainly consider the publication of articles that are sent in French, Spanish or German, although in most cases translation into English would become necessary for publication. As always, a fairly broad definition of "visual anthropologist" is called for, and it can well include filmmakers, art historians, sociologists and psychologists too.

Although the journal is published in the United States (by Harwood Academic

Publishers), I hope to make an early appointment of a book review editor in Europe so that we shall have one foot solidly on that side of the Atlantic.

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#### A LETTER FROM ROBERT BOONZAJER FLAES

Director of the Center of Visual Anthropology  
University of Amsterdam

Dear Asen,

Hectic developments at the University of Amsterdam - but never a dull moment. This about summarizes the situation at our Center for Visual Anthropology.

We are proud that the Eyes Across the Water conference proceedings (Amsterdam, Summer 1989) have come out in the form of a book. With financial support from the Dutch Academy of Sciences, the International Visual Sociology Association and the University of Southern California, it is a true international cooperative effort, and I am confident that it will find its way. Due to the fact that the conference was so well attended, the book reflects the most current trends in visual studies at the close of the eighties. The idea to combine current trends in visual anthropology and sociology is by no means new or revolutionary, but for us it took producing this book to realize how close we in fact are, and how bright the prospects for further cooperative efforts could be. The book has almost sold out, but a limited number of copies are still available through the Publisher Het Spinhuis, c/o our Center for Visual Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam.

The prospects for the further development of visual studies at this University appear to be reasonably good. Endeavors are underway to create a Media Studies Department, where both film making and visual analysis would be combined at the MA level. It is a cooperative effort between the Film Academy - in Holland, a separate vocational school - and the University. The relationship of our Center for Visual Anthropology with this new department is not yet clear, but since we are at present the only collectivity at this University with any experience in what could be loosely termed Practical Visuals. I have no doubt that the effect will be beneficial.

After the Margaret Mead Festival (where our production Thinking is Useless was shown to an often bewildered audience) I paid a working visit to the Center for Visual Anthropology in Los Angeles. I was quite overwhelmed by the impact and quality of an anthropological institute dedicated in its entirety to visual media. I was especially impressed with the way students are working as junior colleagues rather than as pupils; I, at least, considered it a refreshing experience. This, no doubt, is to a certain extent, a question of funds - compared to USC standards a Dutch University is a pauper's place - still, there must be more to it than the dollar. Most of the technical training takes place at the film school in the form of film assignments, with more or less good results. On the one hand, there is great potential in providing professional guidance and gaining access to superb equipment, on the other hand, there exists a rather large gap between the theory of anthropological film making and actual filming assignments. At the Amsterdam Center both aspects are integrated - partly because we have no access to the expertise and equipment of the film school, also because we concentrate so much on carrying out interviews and combined video/research projects. A film school approach - at least as taught in this country - is not something I sorely miss.

With the financial backing of the European Economic Community, a delegation from our Center had the opportunity to set up an intensive course in Visual Anthropology at the EHESS at Marseille in January. The EHESS is a graduate school apparently designated by the French Government as a center for visual studies, set in a superb location at the very heart of old Marseille. Not knowing what to expect Martin Rens, Mary Schoenmakers and I based our program on the teaching methods that we use in Amsterdam; not much formal theory, intensive on the spot training, and a blending of filming and research into a collective productive effort. After three days of technical training in the form of elementary camera and sound handling the students went out to the streets of this area with the question "What does Marseille mean to you?". Two days later the question was refined and changed to "What does Le Panier (a specific area around the EHESS building) mean to you?". These open interviews were

analyzed back at school for technical deficiencies. Students worked on improving the style of the interviews. As could be expected, the best interviews were made when the informants took complete control and the camera acted as a catalyst rather than a recording device, which was often the case. The final result after ten days of intensive workshop was a ten minute interview portrait of the area, called Le Panier. Ten days proved to be enough for everyone to acquire the basic skills in camera and sound handling, and to make considerable progress in interviewing, interview analysis and project development. Time was too short, however, to enable us to share the secrets of the editing process with all of the students.

Finally, in March and April we had Professor Douglas Harper from SUNY as a visiting scholar - as a scholar in residence, rather. Douglas did an intensive seminar on ethnography and photo elicitation, a subject not taught so far at our Center due to a lack of expertise. I will refrain from commenting on it since Douglas will no doubt do this himself, but as the receiving institution I was amazed at the amount of work our own students were apparently able to do. We are endeavoring to start such a project in our next year's program as an experimental program where elicitation techniques in still photography and video will be combined.

The Stichting Audiovisuele Antropologie Nederland (SAVAN), a little more than a year since its inception, managed to organize an ethnographic film festival at the Ethnographic Museum in Rotterdam. It is the first such festival in Holland, if my memory serves me right, and it has received good press coverage so far. The deadline of the CVA review precludes an overview of the results, but these will reach you no doubt in time for the next issue.

I do hope I will see you and many other colleagues at the IUAES intercongress in Lisbon in September. There are still a number of slots to be filled in the section Visual Anthropology, devoted to all aspects of the often cumbersome relations between TV and Visual Anthropology, under the title Anthropology on the Air.

## ARTICLES

### L'AUDIOVISUEL AU MUSÉE DE LA CIVILISATION

par  
Andrée GENDREAU  
Musée de la civilisation  
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#### Introduction

L'inauguration du Musée de la civilisation, en octobre 1988, ajoutait au réseau muséologique québécois un troisième musée d'État. Ce dernier-né des grands musées québécois bénéficie d'un "momentum" pan-canadien favorable à la muséologie.<sup>1</sup> Ce renouveau d'intérêt pour les musées s'inscrit dans une tendance internationale ou plus particulièrement occidentale. Si les prévisions pessimistes des années soixante qui prévoyaient la mort de ces institutions se sont révélées trop hâtives, n'est-ce pas parce que les musées eux-mêmes ont subi une mutation, notamment en s'ouvrant plus largement à un public populaire et en embrassant de façon plus généreuse le phénomène culturel?

L'émergence du Musée de la civilisation procède de cette évolution, scientifique et sociale. Elle s'intègre dans la remise en question du musée dit traditionnel, qui devait donner lieu à deux formes muséales nouvelles: l'une fondée sur un élargissement du champ muséologique qui trouve ses racines dans le développement de la pensée scientifique contemporaine, l'autre axée sur la définition d'une image populaire et sa mise en valeur à partir d'une territorialité précise ou de thèmes identitaires.

Comme le souligne si bien André Desvallées, ces démarches, si elles ont eu tendance à produire des formes différentes (musée de civilisation, musée territorial, musée d'identité), s'appuient sur la "même conception anthropologique du patrimoine, qui n'admet pas de limites, et en particulier les limites esthétiques qui lui étaient généralement

imposées. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit de saisir la globalité des témoins patrimoniaux, de les recenser, de les étudier et éventuellement de les mettre en valeur" (Brises, n° 10, 1987, p. 5).

Institution québécoise, le Musée de la civilisation se définit à partir de cette double trame scientifique et populaire tout en se distinguant par un intérêt marqué pour les rapports interculturels. Nous verrons comment cette double perspective pose des problèmes spécifiques à la muséologie, notamment au niveau de la collection, et comment les documents audiovisuels proposent des voies et suggèrent des solutions.

#### Un musée de la civilisation

Loin de la génération spontanée, l'émergence du Musée de la civilisation participe de l'évolution scientifique contemporaine, en particulier d'un rapprochement qu'ont connu certaines disciplines, notamment l'histoire et l'anthropologie. Au-delà des débats suscités par les différences disciplinaires, la récente évolution de l'histoire, dite "nouvelle", qui établit des rapports inédits avec l'ethnologie et l'anthropologie, prend racine au niveau institutionnel dans l'avènement de formes muséales spécifiques, dont les musées de civilisation qui se distinguent de l'approche esthétique par un déplacement de l'objet à la thématique. Restituée dans le cadre d'une production sociale et mise en rapport au temps et à la collectivité, l'interprétation du sens s'en trouve donc transformée: d'un faisceau de lumière orienté sur l'instant, l'unique ou le précieux, l'éclairage se diffuse sur l'ensemble dans une mise à jour des rapports entre éléments, l'intérêt portant désormais sur le "fait social total".

L'institution muséale, dont l'une des fonctions consiste à formaliser dans un autre langage ces démarches scientifiques, ne pouvait que subir une profonde transformation par la récente ouverture des disciplines. De la mise en valeur de l'objet à celle d'une problématique, d'un thème ou d'un discours, l'espace à franchir est vaste. Il exige non seulement une modification de la pensée muséologique mais également celle de l'organisation interne institutionnelle.

<sup>1</sup> Musée canadien des beaux-arts à Ottawa, Musée canadien des civilisations à Hull, Musée d'art contemporain à Montréal.

### L'illustration des idées

"It even happens frequently in anthropological collections that a vast field of thought may be expressed by a single object or by no object whatever, because that particular aspect of life may consist of ideas only" (Boas, F., Science 1907). Cette réflexion de Boas nous permet cependant de réaliser que si les musées de la civilisation ont à faire face à une problématique particulière, celle-ci n'est pas totalement nouvelle. Le problème de l'illustration des idées, déjà reconnu et discuté au début du siècle, fait ressortir l'importance du rapport sujet/objet. Alors qu'un musée traditionnel fonde son existence sur la collection, un musée de la civilisation, sans la négliger, renverse le rapport sujet/objet, ce dernier se faisant serviteur de l'idée, illustrant le fait social et en témoignant. Cette conception de l'objet subordonné au sujet, marque de façon très nette la pratique et l'organisation de ces derniers. La recherche et la conservation sont des secteurs névralgiques à cet égard car c'est à eux que revient souvent la tâche de négocier le rapport entre les processus scientifiques et créatifs d'une part, entre les concepts et leur matérialisation d'autre part. L'audiovisuel est alors d'un intérêt certain.

### L'apport de l'audiovisuel au musée

Inutile de rappeler l'importance du film ethnographique et son apport à l'anthropologie, d'autres l'ont très bien fait avant nous (Balikci, 1985; Piault, 1985), mais on peut imaginer que le contexte de la muséologie contemporaine fait face à une problématique voisine de celle des anthropologues. Devant l'obligation de traduire en un autre langage des faits ou des données scientifiques, l'image sert de document d'appui, d'illustration du texte écrit ou encore d'instrument de diffusion et de vulgarisation. Qui plus est, le document audiovisuel, de par sa complexité, permet l'observation systématique de multiples données en interaction. Pensons à Bateson et aux travaux de l'école de Palo Alto. En muséologie, le document audiovisuel est utilisé à des fins relativement semblables: 1) document d'appui, il démontre, rappelle ou illustre; 2) instrument de diffusion, il permet au public d'accéder à des thématiques complexes souvent difficiles à rendre par les outils classiques de l'exposition; 3) outil de création, il présente une dimension esthétique; 4) instrument de recherche, il dépasse les fins

de l'exposition pour constituer la base de réflexions à long terme; 5) document d'archive, il complète les collections et fournit des informations permettant de pousser l'analyse des objets dans leurs fonctions symboliques.

### La pratique audiovisuelle du musée

La pratique audiovisuelle s'est adroitement insinuée dans toutes les activités muséologiques. Des expositions aux activités culturelles, en passant par les collections, l'audiovisuel est présent partout.

Si on fait usage de l'audiovisuel pour diverses fonctions et selon des perspectives variées, on peut tout de même percevoir des profils d'utilisation selon les grands domaines d'intervention. Ainsi, à un extrême du spectre muséologique, la conservation utilise la technique audiovisuelle pour documenter sa collection et l'ouvrir à des problématiques contemporaines; à l'autre extrémité, le champ des activités culturelles (spectacles, conférences, cinéma, etc.) ajoute à un éventail large et coloré de productions audiovisuelles de factures externes sa propre part de création. Par ailleurs, dans les expositions, c'est surtout l'aspect communication du médium audiovisuel qui retient l'attention. L'utilisation en est alors variée et se manifeste sous plusieurs formes: commentaire, création d'environnement, documentation.

### Communication et audiovisuel

#### Commentaire

En même temps qu'elles réduisent les possibilités du médium audiovisuel les contraintes d'espace-temps de l'exposition appellent des formes originales d'utilisation de ce médium. L'audiovisuel s'intègre ainsi de diverses façons à une exposition. Sa force de communication et de rétention de l'attention du public permet en effet de commenter l'exposition de façon simple et agréable. Différente de l'écriture qui rebute certains types de visiteurs, l'audiovisuel attire. Cette technique permet donc de présenter ou de faire la synthèse de l'exposition en fournissant des renseignements complémentaires. Dans ces cas, les documents audiovisuels sont généralement présentés dans un endroit réservé, un peu à l'écart du mouvement des foules, soit à l'entrée ou à la sortie de la salle, bien que cela ne soit pas une règle. Cet endroit est également prévu comme une aire de détente et de repos où il est possible de s'asseoir. Ces

commentaires se retrouvent souvent dans les musées d'art, ils agissent alors un peu comme le catalogue qui poursuit la réflexion tout en permettant au conservateur de respecter l'espace traditionnel de la salle d'exposition. Au Musée de la civilisation, le commentaire audiovisuel, tout en demeurant aux marges de l'exposition, possède un aspect didactique qui sert à contextualiser l'événement. C'était de cette manière que l'audiovisuel a été utilisé dans les expositions "Turquie, splendeurs des civilisations anatoliennes" et "Architectures du XXe siècle au Québec".

#### **Création d'environnement**

Au contraire, l'environnement audiovisuel créé dans des expositions comme **Toundra Taiga**, se veut moins informatif mais plus d'atmosphère. Dans cette exposition qui présentait des peuples nordiques circumpolaires d'U.R.S.S. et du Canada, des images de la vie quotidienne de ces peuples étaient projetées le long des murs qui délimitaient la salle. La vision éclatée de visages, d'objets, de scènes étrangères qui apparaissait alors dans un jeu de lumière et de sonorité avait pour effet d'enclôre le visiteur dans un espace privilégié, de le soustraire pour un instant au monde connu, de le dépasser tout en fermant épistémologiquement le lieu d'appréhension du spectateur.

L'intention était alors bien loin de l'information. Le médium audiovisuel intervenait dans l'exposition. Il en créait les limites et les ouvertures. Il agissait comme élément cristallisateur et mobilisateur. Que ce type d'utilisation puisse être plus contesté que le premier, nous n'en doutons pas car, pour agir efficacement, il doit posséder une forme provocatrice qui pourrait être employée à tort. Une certaine prudence doit donc être observée en même temps qu'une réserve. L'abus de ce système pourrait en distiller l'effet.

#### **Documentation**

L'approche documentaire est fort répandue, en particulier dans les musées de science. À la différence du commentaire général sur l'exposition ou sur son contexte, l'utilisation de l'audiovisuel comme documentation est la plupart du temps réduite à un sujet ou à un aspect de l'exposition. Aussi, elle s'intègre très bien au scénario et peut même constituer un module en lui-même. Plusieurs expositions ont utilisé cette approche. Dans l'exposition **Famille**, on pouvait voir et

entendre des scènes de téléromans québécois qui traduisaient la transformation familiale subie depuis l'avènement de la télévision. Du **Cylindre au Laser**, exposition sur l'évolution de l'enregistrement du son, présentait des personnages assis dans leur salon ou leur boudoir en train de visionner des spectacles de variétés. On pourrait allonger la liste des exemples mais ce serait sans doute superflu. On aura compris que l'audiovisuel est alors utilisé pour sa qualité démonstrative. Il prend la place d'un objet ou d'une explication. Il existe en tant qu'artefact et en cela il est parfaitement intégré à l'exposition qu'il contribue à créer.

#### **De l'utilisation à la création Engranger la culture**

On a déjà dit que le champ des activités culturelles débordait de l'utilisation pure et simple des outils audiovisuels pour pénétrer dans la création et la recherche. Bien au-delà des soirées de cinéma qui, soit dit en passant, attirent un public connaisseur et intéressé, les activités culturelles dont l'un des mandats consiste dans l'élargissement et le support des expositions, ont mis au point plusieurs expériences à retenir pour développer le champ d'exploration des diverses ethnies du Musée.

Dans le cadre de l'exposition **Famille**, des enfants de milieux divers ont été accueillis au Musée pour un week-end, et ont discuté avec le concours d'une animatrice de télévision fort aimée des jeunes de ce qu'est la famille contemporaine et des plaisirs et difficultés qu'ils éprouvent dans cette famille. Ces rencontres, conservées comme archives, ont été saisies sur pellicules et présentées aux parents qui ont manifesté, dans plusieurs des cas, un étonnement vis-à-vis des propos de leur enfant et ont ainsi pu engager un nouveau dialogue. À la demande de plusieurs institutions collégiales, ces documents circulent et sont étudiés dans le cadre de cours sur la famille.

Une deuxième activité a découlé de ce projet. Le Musée, concepteur du projet, et un réalisateur de cinéma ont décidé de poursuivre cet échange avec une douzaine d'enfants qui seront conviés annuellement à venir raconter ce qui se passe dans leur vie, et ce, jusqu'en l'an 2000. Il sera donné de voir l'évolution des douze jeunes de 1989 au nouveau millénaire, ou comment ils aborderont l'âge adulte. Une autre expérience du même type a été tentée pour

compléter une exposition sur la culture québécoise, intitulée **Mémoires**. Des aieuls cette fois sont interrogés par leurs petits-enfants dans certains cas, par un animateur dans d'autres. Ces témoignages sont ensuite diffusés au public en après-midi ou en soirée. L'intérêt de ces témoignages n'est pas l'unique enjeu de cette expérience. Sans être un alibi, le Musée visait une fin plus large que le simple support d'une exposition, fut-elle permanente comme c'est le cas pour **Mémoires**. L'impression sur vidéo de ces témoignages avait également pour but de faire prendre conscience aux personnes âgées de la valeur de leur expérience. L'expérience étant d'autant plus audacieuse, que les entretiens se faisaient devant le public, un public qui devenait témoin. Ces captations ont toujours été suivies de témoignages avec l'auditoire qui se reconnaissait, en découvrant une autre époque, d'autres valeurs. Or la matérialisation des histoires de vie dans un médium audiovisuel et sa diffusion au public sont effectivement ressenties par ces aieuls comme un élément de transmission culturel. Pour reprendre certaines affirmations, ils lèguent ainsi leur "héritage". N'est-ce pas là l'une des fonctions d'un musée, recevoir l'héritage? Boas aurait peut-être apprécié vivre en ce temps de technique...  
**Créer la culture**

Même sans être un musée d'art, on ne pourrait passer outre la création esthétique. L'esthétique, sinon l'art, ne fait-elle pas partie intégrante de toutes les cultures? Comme suite à une exposition traitant du thème de Noël où l'on avait invité quelques artistes à créer une pièce sur la signification actuelle de la fête de la nativité, un vidéo a été produit mettant en scène oeuvres et artistes. Loin du documentaire, ce vidéo est apparu comme une oeuvre en soit. Oeuvre qui a d'ailleurs mérité un prix à l'auteur.

D'autres tentatives ont été réalisées. Le Musée a également enregistré un spectacle de danse spécialement créé pour les fêtes d'ouverture sur le thème et lieu d'une sculpture ornant son hall d'entrée. Cette création, perçue comme novatrice, continue de circuler au Québec dans les lieux culturels.

#### **Comprendre la culture**

Un autre aspect de la pratique audiovisuelle au Musée peut se résumer dans le souci de conserver des documents de base qui fourniront les outils d'analyse de la culture

matérielle contemporaine. On sait depuis les études de Bourdieu (1985) chez les Kabyles et de tant d'autres anthropologues, l'importance du contexte et de l'organisation symbolique des objets entre eux pour la compréhension de la culture. On dira que la distance permettait de saisir des différences difficiles à percevoir chez nous. Bien sûr. Mais d'autres expériences ont démontré que dans nos sociétés contemporaines un phénomène identique est observable; Edward T. Hall (1966) en particulier a très bien démontré comment l'environnement quotidien pouvait être lié à la culture et à l'idéologie. Des phénomènes semblables ont aussi été observés dans certains musées. Ainsi, la disposition d'objets dans une exposition peut choquer certaines personnes plus sensibles à la tradition ou plus près de; par exemple, au **Musée des arts et traditions populaires** à Paris, on a dû faire face à certaines difficultés avec des objets de magie qui, selon le donateur, s'interposaient avec d'autres objets. On a finalement modifié la disposition de l'ensemble. Les objets de culte et les objets d'art peuvent aussi se poser dans une problématique semblable. Il en est ainsi dans nos environnements quotidiens; lorsque nous jetons un regard sur les récentes années, il est facile d'observer que des modes de vie, pratiqués aujourd'hui, auraient été impensables hier. L'audiovisuel peut permettre ainsi de restituer les façons d'être dans leur contexte culturel et idéologique. Pour un musée ayant comme mandat de tenir compte de la culture contemporaine, le problème est loin d'être résolu. L'utilisation de la technique audiovisuelle permet cependant d'espérer dépasser le problème car on peut par elle saisir un environnement et même enregistrer des témoignages sur l'organisation de ces ensembles tant dans leur aspect matériel que plus culturel en remettant à plus tard une analyse plus fine de ces systèmes et de leur interaction. Une telle expérimentation a été réalisée au moment où un coiffeur pour homme, d'origine italienne et fort connu du milieu politique, intellectuel et d'affaires de la ville de Québec, a fermé son cabinet et l'a offert au Musée. Un vidéo a alors permis de conserver sur pellicule l'intégrité de l'ensemble et son agencement alors que le propriétaire commentait les objets et sa pratique qui, répétons-le, était reconnue comme une "institution".

## Conclusion

Le Musée de la civilisation est une institution jeune et ne peut se poser en exemple, mais la jeunesse donne peut-être pour quelque temps des ailes qu'il faut déployer. Nous n'avons pas encore à notre curriculum de grandes expéditions où les chercheurs, anthropologues, archéologues ou autres, sont accompagnés d'une équipe de cameramen et de conservateurs comme certains musées le font. Il n'est non plus pas évident que nous puissions ou voulions jamais le faire.

On peut observer cependant que l'audiovisuel, non seulement nous permet de faire état des conditions matérielles de la culture mais surtout de rendre matérielles des idées.

Pour le moment, la pratique audiovisuelle tend à s'intégrer à l'ensemble de nos activités et à y apporter des éléments spécifiques qui seront sans doute un apport à la muséologie. Les quelques cas de figure illustrés dans ce texte n'épuisent cependant pas la pratique du Musée de la civilisation du Québec à l'égard de l'audiovisuel. D'autres expositions y ont eu recours, telles que **Mémoires, Électrique, l'Homme oiseau**. Ces exemples, nous semble-t-il, ne feraient qu'ajouter cependant aux différents corridors de pratique tracés ci-dessus. L'audiovisuel est ainsi perçu comme un outil, un instrument qui s'allie à tous les aspects de la muséologie, tant techniques que scientifiques ou artistiques. Médium contemporain, il contribue à créer une muséologie actuelle.

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## VISUAL MEDIA, CULTURAL POLITICS, AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL PRACTICE

### SOME IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT USES OF FILM AND VIDEO AMONG THE KAYAPO OF BRAZIL

by

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The Kayapo, a Go-speaking people of Central Brazil, have become widely known in the last few years for their remarkably bold and successful actions in defense of their lands, rights and environment (Turner 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1989d, n.d.1, n.d.2, n.d.3). Audio visual media have played a central role in these actions, not only in the usual forms of film, video and television coverage by Brazilian and foreign crews, but also in that of video coverage by the Kayapo themselves using their own audio cassette recorders and video cameras. In this paper I discuss some implications of these uses of audio-visual media both for Kayapo culture and politics and for anthropological theory and practice.

The Kayapo presently are divided into fourteen, autonomous communities scattered over an area roughly the size of Great Britain. One of these communities, Gorotire, made peaceful contact with Brazilians fifty years ago; most of the others established peaceful relations during the 1950's. The first couple of decades of peaceful coexistence with Brazilian society brought the Kayapo the same array of catastrophes suffered by other Amazonian peoples under the same circumstances. Epidemics carried off a significant percentage of their population, large areas of their traditional lands were seized either by the state or private agents, and they were reduced to dependence on representatives of the alien dominant society for a variety of medical, technological and economic needs. Unlike some other Amazonian peoples, however, the Kayapo were able to maintain their traditional social institutions and ceremonial practices, and by the end of the 1960's they had begun to learn and take control of administrative technological, and medical functions within

their own communities. During the 1970's and '80's, Kayapo became para-medics, FUNAI (Brazilian Bureau of Indian Affairs) agents, motorboat, tractor and truck operators and mechanics, radio operators, and even, in a couple of cases, missionaries, effectively recovering local control of all major points of dependency on the national society within their own communities. Their population had also begun to increase; the extant communities have by now reached the demographic level they had before the establishment of peaceful contact. Extensive tracts of lost territory have been reclaimed, in some cases by protracted armed struggle. There occurred, in sum, a general resurgence of cultural self-confidence, social morale, and political will.

Throughout this period the Kayapo were visited by a number of anthropologists, journalists, and other outsiders, who introduced them to photography, film, audio-cassette recorders, radio, and finally video cameras. At the same time, these visitors made the Kayapo aware that the outside world, beyond the limited circle of local Brazilian frontier society and national government officials, valued their culture and was generally inclined to support their political and land rights. The Kayapo also learned how audio and visual media had become a major channel of communication within this external world. Travel to Brazilian towns revealed the importance of media such as commercial radio, television, journalistic photography and cinema in Western culture. Electronic audio and visual media, in short, appeared as a new technology of great power and strategic importance, which was at the same time directly accessible to non literate people like the Kayapo. The Kayapo became interested in learning and acquiring this new technology and its associated power for themselves.

The first step was audio-cassette recorders. By the mid 1970's, the Kayapo already owned numerous cassette decks, which they used to record and play back their own ceremonial performances and send communications from one village to another. Then in 1985 three Brazilian researchers formed a project to introduce the Kayapo community of Gorotire to the use of video cameras and monitors. They gave a camcorder, video cassette recorder deck and monitor to the village, and trained some

Kayapo in video photography. When I went to Gorotire in 1987 with a documentary film crew from TV Granada (UK), as anthropological consultant for a film in Granada's "Disappearing World" series, I brought a second camcorder for the Metukire community of Kayapo, together with a VCR and TV monitor. Returning in January 1989 as anthropological consultant for a second "Disappearing World" film, I brought a third camcorder, which the Kayapo used to make their own video record of their demonstration at Altamira. Both of these video cameras, with their attendant batteries, VCR, monitor, and numerous blank video tapes, were paid for by Granada as part of the *quid pro quo* presented to the Kayapo for their cooperation in the filming.

The Kayapo have used their own capacity for video in a variety of ways: the documentation of their own traditional culture, above all ceremonial performances; secondly, the recording of important events and actions such as the Altamira demonstration, or the capture of the gold mines of Maria Bonita and transactions with Brazilians, so as to have the equivalent of a legally binding transcript of business contracts or political agreements (for example, the negotiations of contracts with air taxi pilots for the supply of the captured gold mines); and fourthly, as an organizing tool. An example of the latter was the appeal of the assembled Kayapo chiefs for attendance at the Altamira demonstration, which was videotaped at the close of their planning meeting at Gorotire to be sent around to other Kayapo and non Kayapo native communities (the basic message was spoken in Portuguese, followed by individual chiefs' appeals and exhortations in Kayapo).

More elaborate plans are currently being made for cultural self-documentation using video. The Kayapo leader, Payakan, has established a "Kayapo Foundation" (Fundacao Mebengokre), primarily concerned with setting up and running an "extractive reserve" within the Kayapo Indigenous Area. One of the projected activities of this foundation is to be a systematic program of documenting, on videotape, traditional Kayapo knowledge of the forest environment and its uses. Other aspects of traditional culture are also to be recorded, such as myths and oral history, ceremonial, and oratory by community leaders. These are

to be used for the education of young people in traditional Kayapo culture. The tapes of ecological knowledge are also to be made available to Brazilian and international scholars and others interested in the use of renewable forest resources.

Although several Kayapo from different communities have become expert video camerapersons, none have yet acquired the capability to edit or dub. The Kayapo have no access to editing, copying, or climatically stable storage facilities. The latter are of prime importance, since climatic conditions and the uneven mechanical operation of generator-powered VCR decks in Kayapo villages lead to rapid deterioration of videotapes. To begin to meet these needs, I have obtained a grant from the Spencer Foundation to support the establishment of a Kayapo film archive at the video editing facility of the Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information (CEDI) in Sao Paulo. Kayapo would have access to this facility for editing their own video films and could store their original rushes and masters in the air-conditioned archive located on the premises. Skilled personnel of CEDI and the Center for Indigenous Work (CTI) have indicated a willingness to teach editing skills to Kayapo video filmmakers and work with them in a supportive capacity in the editing of their films. The projects of cultural self-documentation envisioned by Payakan and other Kayapo leaders will hopefully be able to be supported through this center and archive, to be established this summer.

From an anthropological point of view, the Kayapo acquisition and use of video technology is fraught with implications for Kayapo culture. In assessing these implications, it is necessary to take one's bearing from the historical context of the appropriation by the Kayapo of the whole range of technological skills most immediately involved in mediating their relationship to the dominant society. The Kayapo have already in effect reoriented themselves from the perspective of an isolated traditional society to that of a dependent part of a social system which includes the dominant Western society as well. They have, at the same time, grasped that the situation of contact with the dominant society provides opportunities for considerable local autonomy and manipulation through the exploitation of its own political, economic and

technological resources. At the same time, their remarkable success in seizing and exploiting these opportunities have been achieved through a reliance on their traditional social organization and cultural forms. While their struggle has been conceived as a defence of their traditional culture and social institutions, however, it has entailed the objectification of both in ways and to a degree unknown in "traditional" times (whether these are defined as preceding the earliest European contacts or the establishment of peaceful relations with Brazil). By "objectification", I mean, firstly, the conception of themselves as having a "culture" in our sense of the term, and secondly, the notion that this "culture" is something to be defended and consciously reproduced through deliberate choice and political action in a situation where alternatives (namely, assimilation to the national culture) are conceivable.

Representational media (photography, audio recording, but above all film and video) have played and are playing a key role in this process of cultural self-objectification. As the most concretely accessible aspects of the recording of their culture by outsiders such as anthropologists and journalists, such media conveyed to the Kayapo more vividly and directly than any other form of communication that in the eyes of these puzzling but potent outsiders, their stock of collective patterns of behavior constituted as a total entity called a "culture", and as such had value in the eyes of that part of the alien society from whence the culture recorders emanated. The power of representation through these media thus became identified with the power of conferring value and meaning on themselves in the eyes of the outside world, and reflexively, in new ways, in their own eyes as well. The technology involved thereby assumed the character of a power to control the terms of this meaning and value-imbuing process. The acquisition of this technology, both in the form of hardware and operating skills, thus became a primary goal in the struggle for self-empowerment in the situation of inter-ethnic contact.

The significance of the acquisition of media capacity for the cultural politics of empowerment is manifest in the prominence the Kayapo give to their video camerapersons in their confrontations with the national

affects it in numerous ways, some intended and some not.

What happened during the making of the first *Granada, Disappearing Worlds* film on the Kayapo is a case in point. I had planned the film as a comparative study of the reactions of two different Kayapo communities to the challenges presented by the encroachments of Brazilian society. I wanted to show that the Kayapo were successfully drawing on their common stock of social institutions and cultural values to resist and adapt to the national society, and at the same time that they were, in the process, actively debating and revising the meaning of their own culture. The general point was that the "cultures" of simple societies like the Kayapo are not homogeneous, internally oriented, closed systems of "collective representations", but active processes of political struggle over the terms and meanings of collective accommodation to historical situations involving interaction with external conditions, including other societies. I was aware of the Kayapo use of audio cassette recorders and video cameras, and planned to include this along with other forms of newly acquired technological expertise in the film as instances of this general point.

When our crew was preparing to leave the first of the two villages to go to the second, the leader of the community asked us to record a message from him to the second community on one of our audio-cassette recorders. The message criticized the second community for allowing too much Brazilian exploitation of tribal land and resources and generally for going too far in the direction of acculturation to Brazilian ways. We duly called the tape to the attention of the second community, where it was played by that community's leading chief and to the assembled population. They reacted angrily to the criticisms of the first community's leader, and several made speeches justifying their own approach to coexistence with the Brazilians, insisting that in their fashion they were remaining true to their culture. We filmed this dramatic and revealing encounter, and it became the central pivot of our film, linking the sections of the two communities as expressions of opposing positions in the historic debate taking place among the Kayapo over the meaning of their culture in the present crisis of inter-ethnic

confrontation. As a prime example of the way the second community was attempting to use Brazilian technology to defend and preserve its Kayapo culture, we filmed their use of video to record their own ceremonies and encounters with the Brazilians, actually incorporating sections of videos they had shot in our film. In order to do this, however, we had to clean, restore and recopy Kayapo video tapes which had been damaged by mildew and hard use. These in due course became available again to the community for showing on its own monitor. Meanwhile, our desire to film the Kayapos' use of video stimulated them to video-record our crew filming their video camerapersons video recording certain ceremonies. In all of these ways, our activity of video and audio-recording the Kayapo became a material part of their own use of video and audio-media for their own political and cultural purposes. This material participation became, in an unplanned and spontaneous but therefore perhaps even more significant way, the organizing structure of our audio visual representation of their cultural reality: the first "*Disappearing Worlds*" Kayapo film. Our presentation of a video camera to the community was merely a further instance of this reflexive involvement in their use of audio-visual media.

When these reflexive dimensions of audio-visual documentation of a contemporary cultural reality, like that of the Kayapo, are considered together with the ways reviewed above that the Kayapo have begun to incorporate audio-visual media, and the material activity of audio-visual recording (e.g. the presence of Kayapo video camerapersons and non Kayapo film crews) into their own collective acts of political confrontation and cultural self-definition, it becomes apparent that the use of audiovisual media has taken on dimensions of meaning without close parallels in traditional anthropological methods of fieldwork. The quantitative shift certainly approaches, if it has not already reached, the point of qualitative transformation. For the anthropological film maker, the change has had the character of a shift from participant observation to observant participation.

This shift involves a change in the traditional terms of ethical responsibility in fieldwork. As a participant (willy nilly) in processes of cultural self-conscientization and

sociopolitical empowerment, the anthropological media user has some control over the terms of his or her participation, including the choice of deliberately planning his or her own documentary activity and its products so as to encourage, augment, or otherwise support the process he or she documents. The change wrought by the use of contemporary media technologies, however, affects not only the role of the anthropologists and documentary-makers, but the nature of the reality being documented. If the Kayapo are any indication, the processes of cultural and ethnic self-conscientization that have been catalyzed by the new media and their use in world-wide networks of communication are becoming far more important as a component of "culture" (or, by the same token, "ethnicity") both in the sense of becoming more complex and rapidly developing and in that of becoming more central to basic social and political processes. The nature of "culture" itself is changing together with the techniques we employ to study and document it. This is a phenomenon that calls for more study and documentation by anthropologists than it has thus far received.

#### End notes

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### THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL VISUALIZATION OF HAITI: REFLECTIONS ON THE FILMS OF MELVILLE HERSKOVITS AND MAYA DEREN

by

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#### Introduction

Of all the areas of the New World African Diaspora, Haiti celebrates one of the most vibrant of "African" cultures. In large part this derives from the historical presence of *vodun*, a distinctly Creole religion associated with the only successful national slave revolution in the hemisphere. "Vodun"--a Fon word for spirit - permeates the entire fabric of Haitian life. It is related to family, conceptions of health, community social control and, in varying degrees, to national politics. Ethnographic accounts of Haitian life have always given ample attention to vodun. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the filmic gaze of those who have documented the island's culture has been similarly focused.

This paper examines the collections of footage shot by Melville Herskovits and Maya Deren (recorded in 1934 and between 1947-1952, respectively), with an eye toward assessing their place in the "anthropological visualization" of Haiti<sup>1</sup>. Both are seen as

visual texts embedded in discursive practices. These practices are lodged in institutionalized contexts which function to inscribe relations of power and engage contrasting epistemologies and aesthetics (see Marcus and Fischer 1986:26).

Herskovits and Deren produced two of the earliest film documents shot in Haiti. The former is now archived at the Smithsonian's Human Studies Film Archives; the latter materials are held at Anthology Film Archives in New York. Anyone screening these collections of footage will surely be struck by their different contents and contrasting styles of representation. This is accounted for by the different professional backgrounds of the filmmakers, their objectives, and the times and places in which they filmed. Herskovits worked primarily in the Mirebelais Valley, and focused on the daily routines of rural Haitian life, including various ritual and technical activities related to vodun. Along with sound recordings, he produced some 1,700 feet of 35mm black and white footage that was later edited with intertitles. Herskovits' detached mid-range stationary style stands out for its "film-as-documentation" approach. Deren worked in Port-au-Prince and various outlying villages and focused almost exclusively on the ritual activities of vodun. She shot some 18,000 feet of footage in 16mm black and white--primarily at close range and using what were then experimental cinematic techniques. By contrast, her foregrounding of a spectacular black aesthetic of motion in dance - drumming and religious possession suggests a "film-as-experience" approach.

As evidenced by their published monographs, Herskovits and Deren both shared a concern to represent certain ethnographic "truths" about Haiti which empowered their subjects. Their film images, however, were couched in distinct frames of reference. For Herskovits this was the historically informed tradition of Boasian anthropology and with it an early version of cultural relativism; for Deren it was a counter-cultural tradition in which cross cultural experience served as a means to explore the self and one's own social milieu *vis-a-vis* the wider society. Herskovits was a pioneer chronicler of the Afro-American tradition. An ethnographer who flirted with film as a means of supporting and interpreting what he

observed in the field, he differed from Deren the filmmaker, who strayed into the outposts of ethnography. The visual documents they produced must be seen in relation to distinct social and intellectual frames of reference. These reflect contrasting attitudes toward Haiti, toward vodun, and toward representations of the Other. For his part, Herskovits labored in the emergent tradition of cultural relativism toward the very end of the U.S. occupation of the island. He had to contend with sensational accounts of Haitian life drawn by the American press and dime novelists who depicted Haiti as a land of zombies. By contrast, Deren wrote extensively about experimental film techniques, was herself a participant in the avant garde counterculture, and worked in Haiti at the beginning of vodun's rehabilitation by educated members of Haitian society.

#### **Life in a Haitian Valley: Herskovits and Film**

In the late summer of 1934, Herskovits and his wife, Frances, spent a brief three and a half months in Haiti, principally in the Mirebelais Valley. This was their fourth such field stint, following two short trips to Surinam in 1928-29 and to West Africa in 1931. In each instance a 35mm Eyemo motion picture camera (as well as still photography) was used to record and document aspects of native life and culture. This visual documentation was accompanied by extensive sound recordings of narratives, proverbs and secular and religious songs made on wax cylinders.<sup>2</sup> In Haiti, some 1,500 feet of silent black and white footage was shot, also accompanied by sound recordings. No doubt Herskovits conceived of his use of the camera (and sound) as a form of recording for documentation, later study, and probably as a record to be preserved for posterity.

The few published references he made in this regard suggest that he saw film as an objective way to capture empirical data that could support his ideas about the persistence of African cultural elements in the Diaspora<sup>3</sup>. In the *Myth of the Negro Past*, the publication where he argued most forcefully for the depth of African elements in Negro culture, he hinted that film had a potentially prominent place in the development of Afro-American research:

The retention of Africanisms in motor habits presents a vast field for study. Methodological

difficulties in the way of such research are appreciable, since results having scientific validity can be obtained only by analyzing motion pictures of such routine activities as walking, speaking, laughing, sitting postures, or of dancing, singing, burden carrying, hoeing, and movements made in various industrial techniques [emphasis mine] (Herskovits 1941:146).

A number of points are worth mentioning here. The first is Herskovits' attention to identifying Africanisms by establishing correspondences of cultural "forms" (survivals). Second is his attention to more subtle "imponderables" in expressive style which Herskovits believed were historically transmitted as part of socially learned cultural patterns. At this more subtle level Herskovits' imaging of Afro-American cultural patterns was done with the intention of providing data with which to distinguish phenomenologically between the categories of race and culture. What warrants special attention here is Herskovits' implied claim that film images constituted a kind of empirical "evidence."<sup>4</sup> Yet he also recognized that such datum were subject to interpretation (cultural and historical) within a scientific discourse. Unlike other anthropologists who attempted to establish a methodology for research films, the "seen" and the "known" were not filmically equivalent for Herskovits (cf. Sorenson 1975).

Central to Herskovits' schema were the concepts of acculturation and syncretism. In Haiti, he developed these ideas in relation to vodun, a cultural form reflecting the interpenetration of Catholic and African elements of worship. Although he documented vodun rites rather freely using a still camera, there is relatively scant footage of the collective spectacle of vodun ceremonies. What he did film was the process of making vodun drums, their ritual baptism, and an *action de grace*, a rather controlled ritual sequence derived from the Catholic litany which precedes offerings to the vodun deities. At a time when anthropologists were supposed to have been engaged in the practice of inventing and exaggerating the exoticism of "the Other", (and when there was a public appetite for this), why, one might wonder, did Herskovits fail to produce more footage of something that was central to his interests?

Given that Herskovits went to great pains in his ethnography to reveal vodun as a disciplined form of cultural practice, I suggest

that there is an implicit sub-text in this footage which cannot be discerned apart from Herskovits' writing. This applies to the importance he attached to objective scientific methods in understanding Afro-American cultures and to applying the results of such study to the area of American race relations. His own public construction as a scientist included the strong reservations about the participatory aspect of fieldwork, as it might be undertaken among "Negro" peoples. As a scholar who believed in the social importance of his work to American race relations, Herskovits was determined to remain detached, an observer of those he studied (Herskovits 1937:322-23). In this vein, his use of a scientific discourse in treating "Africanisms" served to strengthen the idea (at the time contested), that Afro-Americans, in fact, had a cultural history. As Mintz (1970:13) has pointed out, Herskovits had to prove that an historical past existed for Afro-Americans in order to validate their culture as a fit subject for anthropological study. Ultimately, he hoped that his findings would be applied to promoting understanding in the area of American race relations.

We should not be surprised that Herskovits sought to humanize Afro-Americans to his fellow Americans. This is apparent in the sympathetic way in which he imaged Haitians (and Africans) in scenes revealing qualities of industry, mutual cooperation, and technical and artistic skill, and political organizations. This can be seen as a counter to the racist climate in which Negro peoples were stereotyped as lazy, childlike, and irrational, and in which practices such as religious possession were attributed to racial temperament. We do well to remember that the field which Herskovits pioneered (Afro-American anthropology) was, as Mintz (1989:1) notes, "nearly a perfect vacuum at the time." No doubt his imaging of Haitians was calculated to fill this vacuum in a way conducive to thoughtful reflection and understanding. Having repeatedly screened the entire collection of his films, I suspect that Herskovits consciously avoided filming behavior that might be seen as exotic or strange in order not to reinforce existing stereotypes. The vodun sequence which he chose to film (in addition to representing visually an historical and psychological example of syncretic

process), is distinguished by the controlled tenor of the rite. This sequence enabled Herskovits to represent an instance of religious possession in a matter-of-fact way.

His narrative sequence of the construction, ritual consecration, and "baptism" of a set of *rada* drums (perhaps the most well-crafted piece of filmic documentation in the Haitian footage), deserves mention for similar reasons. This sequence not only reveals the craftsmanship and attention to detail that was expended on objects prepared for religious purposes, but also covers the social and spatial relationships entailed in such a process. In these shots can be seen a typical Haitian "yard" and the type of cooperative interaction among individuals that has traditionally characterized male cohorts in the Caribbean.

What public did he imagine for this footage? We may never know. Although some of his students recall having seen it, Herskovits apparently did not use his films regularly in his teaching. And although these were edited with intertitles, I have no way of knowing if Herskovits even used them for public lectures. What is clear is this view of vodun could serve to de-mystify the phenomenon and to contest accounts trivializing it as a collection of "mysterious" and orgiastic rites. The proliferation of such accounts accompanied U.S. imperialist intervention in Haitian political life.<sup>5</sup>

Seen in conjunction with his monograph on Haiti (as well reviews published in popular magazines which criticized many journalistic accounts of New World African peoples), the footage stands as a consciously formed counter-discourse to the widely held images of Haiti. Herskovits' response to one writer's description of voodoo dances reveals his impatience with this genre of story-telling:

...I too saw dances of this sort in the Suriname bush, and I should be the last to deny [sic] the fascination of their rhythms and song, the incredible performances of the dancers under a state of auto-hypnosis superinduced by the voice of the gods in the drums. But the miracle is that these men knew not to harm other persons with their machetes, that though they were foaming at the mouth, each performed according to the dictates of the spirit which possessed him-- comparable strictly to the Haitian [oi]. I regret, too, the orgiastic emphasis which Mr. Seabrook places on the dances he witnessed. [...] there is grave danger in reading into complex esoteric

ceremonies simple erotic explanations drawn from our own life.

There is, as I have noted, much in Herskovits' approach that suggests an abiding concern with the "everydayness" of things. I would argue that the selective perception and distance of his "gaze" was apparently shaped by concern to understand and represent Haitians and their culture in terms of both their historical complexity and in response to contemporary circumstances--both as they were and as they were imagined to be by others who knew little first-hand of Haiti. In order to validate Afro-American culture as a worthy area of study, he situated his images of Haitian life in the context of peasant subsistence and of Haitian culture and in the processes of interpenetration between African and European cultures.

### **The Voodoo Gods of Haiti: Maya Deren and Film**

In September of 1947 Maya Deren--an avant garde/experimental filmmaker traveled to the southern part of Haiti with, as she put it, "a carefully conceived plan for a film in which Haitian dance, as purely a dance form, would be combined (in montage principle) with various non-Haitian elements" (Deren 1970:5). Although she had no formal anthropological training, she had been inspired by the work of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson and enlisted their advice in conceiving the plan for her film (see Deren 1965:11-17).<sup>6</sup> Overall, Deren spent a total of eighteen months in Haiti in the course of three separate trips, the last in 1952. By all accounts, this Haitian experience changed Deren's professional and personal life. What she claims to have experienced in Haiti was the "irrefutable reality" of the ritual and philosophical world of vodoun. This experience so overwhelmed her artistic intentions that she shelved her original plans for a film on Haitian dance. Deren felt compelled to cope first with vodoun's logic in a monograph (Divine Horsemen: The Voodoo Gods of Haiti) as a detour to reconstructing her filmic concepts. A statement in the introduction to her book reveals her attitudes toward vodun. The monograph, she writes, "...was inspired by the conviction that [vodun] is a religion of major status, rare poetic vision, artistic expression, and that it contains a pantheon of divinities which, in astronomical terminology, could be called a

constellation of the first magnitude" (Deren 1970:15).

Unlike Herskovits, Deren eschewed the role of passive observer during her Haitian sojourns. She is said, in fact, to have been initiated as a priestess of the cult. Her filming of cult ceremonies reflected this level of involvement--an houngan having suggested to her that this would be her way of "serving the loa" (Deren 1970:14). The houngan (the ritual space where the loa mount their communicants), thus served as her mise-en-scene where the camera explored rhythm and movement as the metaphysics of vodun's beauty (Deren 1970:8-9).

Although Deren later familiarized herself with the ethnography of vodun, her methodology of filmmaking was intuitive and subjective. She writes that "...since film is dependent on visual impact I deliberately refrained from learning anything about the underlying meaning of the (vodun) dance movements so that such knowledge should not prejudice my evaluation of their purely visual impact" (Deren 1970:7).<sup>7</sup> From this devolved an essentially mystical approach to filmic communication. This was based on falsely drawn dichotomies (e.g., between experience and knowledge) and a conflation of her own subjectivity with emotional states in vodun that she felt carried universal meanings. In the end, Deren took a pre-linguistic approach to the representation of reality. In her own words, this was to be achieved through

...the communication of concepts and ideas by means addressed to emotional and psychological perceptions rather than in terms of a self-conscious articulation or an address to intellectual analysis: for example, the idea of power conveyed in posture rather than in the label of a name or definition.<sup>8</sup>

It is reasonable to question, I believe, whether Deren's filmic epistemology contained an overall approach toward Haitians as a people governed largely by emotions and mystical outlooks. No doubt the grace and motion in vodun ritual engaged her artistic inclinations and led her to believe in the possibility of intuitively representing a/the psychological reality beneath its surfaces. Deren's previous experimentation with anti-narrative cinematic conventions in so-called "trance films" (a genre which played with elements of flow and movement), no doubt

buttressed her belief in this possibility. Her pre-Haitian writings, in fact, evidence her intention "to convert movement, in filmic terms, into metaphysical principles" and to represent mental processes cinematically (Sitney 1974:27). Commenting on her film The Very Eve of Night, Deren summarizes a filmic epistemology that collapses the "seen" and the "known", stating that:

The camera can create dance, movement, and action which transcend geography and take place anywhere and everywhere; it can also, as in this film, be the mediating mind turned inwards upon the idea of movement, and this idea, being an abstraction, takes place nowhere or, as it were, in the very center of space. (quoted in Sitney 1974:28)

In the Haitian footage (and the film Divine Horsemen: Voodoo Gods of Haiti, edited later), the viewer encounters this "very center of space" via a cinematic gaze fixed tightly upon the forms, surfaces, rhythmic contours within the houngan. Deren does not want us to stand back or to evaluate, but to experience what she experienced as the power and beauty of a cultural form. To elicit this response she employs a number of cinematic techniques which dissolve the "objective" gaze of a stationary and detached observer: tilted frames and pre-shortened angles (which mimic the peregrinations of a devotee in ritual space), slow motion and freeze frames, and extensive cutting on action (widely used in her other films and closely akin to the dancer's art of connecting movement) (Sitney 1974:24). The method of shot framing coupled with the direct return gaze of other serviteurs indicates presence and participation filmically. In one shot recording possession amidst a group of dancers she uses slow motion and freeze frames the returned gaze of the possessed serviteur. This is not to be read as the gaze of a man but of the deity himself! Such camera techniques index underlying states of body and mind and function as signifiers within a filmic narrative of initiation.

Deren experimented with a transgressive mode of filmic representation. This contested the conventions and limits of filmic realism within her own professional milieu, and was certainly far different from the film-as-documentation approach pursued by Herskovits. On the one hand there is an underlying critique of film medium as one excluding the use of imagination and

precluding the possibility of creating another reality (Sitney 1974; Deren 1977). However, insofar as this intuitive style seeks to elevate vodun to a "danced-spirituality" with universal relevance, Deren's approach confuses "seeing" with "knowing" just as it remains a futile effort to transcend the intellectual dichotomy between experience and knowledge. It is also plagued by what has come to be known in documentary and ethnographic film as the **essentialist fallacy** (Nichols 1981:274-275). In this case it entails projecting the Haitian subject onto a rarefied plane of ritual and mythology. Here, whatever dramas or enigmas that confront individuals are played out on a cosmic level. Nichols (1981:275) has observed of this narrative cinematic strategy that the act of acquitting oneself on this level is offered as "testimony from some timeless region of human essence." Although Deren argues in her writing that vodun is a system for balancing the spiritual and material worlds, the latter, in its specific historicity, nearly disappears from view in her footage.

To place Deren's images in a wider context as I have done for Herskovits is a bit more problematic. This writer would need a better fix on the role of the avant-garde, surrealism, and other artistic discourses at the time. But it is worth observing that Deren--as a leading light in the avant garde--played the part of a broker and popularizer of vodun for the Bohemian milieu. As an artist, she was personally captivated by the sense of poetry in vodun thought and practice: a philosophical system which seeks to balance the material and spiritual sides of the person. Her romantic attraction to this rarified side of Haitian life can be contrasted with the avant garde's strident criticism of conformism, of middle-America's obsession with materialism, and the rise of the military industrial complex during the post-war period. In this social and ideological context, she accessed vodun as a set of primordial Jungian images for members of that counter-culture, another "thought-world" in terms of which to see themselves.

Certainly for those in her milieu, if not for Deren herself, vodun was **radical chic**. It was her distinctive contribution to a countercultural bricolage formed from iconoclastic symbols. And such symbolism did circulate--as when Deren and her husband fashioned Halloween invitations featuring a

vever of Ghede. The accompanying text explained a correspondence between the Haitian dedication to Ghede, Lord of the Dead, and the celebration of Halloween in the United States. Forecasting a postmodernist attitude towards the affair, the invitation included the promise of a magic show and an invitation to adopt some lost kittens. As Deren consciously sought to become cross-cultural and to deepen her urban mode of living, her work was a harbinger of a process of cross-cultural artistic exploration by artists and thinkers in the 60's and 70's.<sup>9</sup>

Deren's work was also widely reported in The Village Voice, which struck the following note in review of her monograph on vodun:

Maya Deren's profound, loving study of the voodoo religion is a very rare kind of book (...) For the author, Voodoo was a genuine matter of life and death (...) There are lessons to be learned from knowing about Voodoo the way Maya Deren makes you know about it.

The way in which Deren makes us "know about it" was cast as a challenge to bourgeois consciousness. For North American viewers there is the evocative power of unusual visual stimuli and shots which function in a transgressive visual mode. This is especially the case with the "taboos" of sacrifice and possession and, beyond this, scenes which convey the sensual and sexual connotations of religious possession. The implied challenge to bourgeois codes of representation in Deren's work must be seen in her effort to depict the fusion of polarities within vodun: the unity of body and mind, life and death, thought and feeling. In this regard, her images function simultaneously as ethnography and subversive cinema.

In all of this, it is ironic that Deren publicized vodun among a liberal segment of the American populace at precisely the time that it was being officially rehabilitated in Haiti and commercialized as an exotic experience for tourist consumption under the presidency of Paul Magloire (Rotberg 1974: 363) and, not long thereafter, as an instrument of social control by François Duvalier.

#### Conclusion

The footage of Herskovits and Deren presents us with a version of what Clifford (1988) terms the "predicament of culture" -- individuals in culture looking at culture. Where Herskovits' film approximates

conventions of ethnographic realism, Deren's seeks to experiment with the limits of such realism; where one set of images is an implied response to the imaginal world of Haiti promoted by ethnocentric commercial opportunities, the other seeks to explode the world from within; where one is a counter-text to the sensationalized image of voodoo; the other is a text for contemplating the possibilities of consciousness contained in another form of spiritual practice.

These distinctions have important implications, I think, when one considers these film texts from the perspective of a communicative paradigm. These two filmic documents can be seen--to borrow a phrase from Fernandez (1978)--as an "argument of images" in the anthropological visualization of Haiti and its people. By this I do not refer to the use of imagery by Haitians themselves. I am concerned, rather, with the extensive discourse of representation, written and visual, on Haiti (and the Caribbean generally) which functions as an implied background against which these visual texts are "read". How viewers read a film is likely to depend as much on their exposure to the historically-based aesthetics of film, prevailing ideologies, or aspects of popular culture, as it does on the narrative and stylistic moves of a filmmaker. Whatever the intentions of a filmmaker, a filmic text (be it archival footage or edited film) is an open-ended form of communication.

With this in mind we might wonder now many viewers are likely to access Herskovits' footage with an appreciation of its historically constructed qualities. I suspect that this is a rather narrow constituency. Some will surely dismiss the content of this footage as prosaic or find it "boring", especially since we have been socialized to expect entertainment (or, at the very least, info-tainment) from film. By contrast, Deren's more provocative images are likely to appear much more familiar to many viewers. This is precisely because popular imagery impinges more strongly here. This includes a parade of Hollywood features (beginning with I Walked With a Zombie released in 1943) which have constructed a "mysterious" Haiti to boost their commercial appeal.<sup>10</sup> In this respect, vodun has served as a popular representational icon for Haiti. It is one which signifies an arcane and fearsome

power derived from the Dark Continent. This functions to dissolve the actual historical contours of vodun's development and project it into a mystified past.

I believe it is significant that a commercially available edited video of Deren's footage was released in the past few years. This coincided with recent attention focused on Haiti due to political turmoil and the spectre of the ton ton macoutes and their putative association with vodun. In the present climate of "mambo madness", Deren's spectacular images travel well. They converge with a renewed interest in black exotica which calls forth not the loa (and a corresponding understanding of the same), but intractable stereotypes of alien African Others in the postmodern mix. Such stereotypes continue to circulate through films such as Angel Heart (a psychodrama), The Seventh Sign (a thriller), and The Serpent and the Rainbow (a horror movie), and Major League (a comedy); as well as in popular written accounts, most recently James A. Mitchener's Caribbean. The mutually reinforcing tendencies of the media to label nearly every Afro-Caribbean possession religion as voodoo and of the public to indiscriminately accept and consume information presented as "sound-bites" only to serve to exacerbate this trivialization.

Deren's film fits well in the current post-modern mood marked by a resistance to wider contextualizing frames and a preference for "evoking" rather than representing experience. The danger in this instance is that an appeal to images primarily for their evocation of poetic experience narrows an appreciation of the historical and political contexts in which vodun practice is situated.<sup>11</sup> This merges stylistically with the tendency of mass culture to encourage the consumption of images without grappling with the complexity of their content and structure.

#### Postscript

In recent years there has been growing attention within the film community to the fact that "visual artifacts" now largely supersede our collective societal memory and experience. Certain movements within this community suggest that film archives must be relied upon increasingly as our technological memory bank; many couple this with the belief that the filmic image can serve as a vehicle for the

resuscitation of collective cultural memory. In this paper, however, I have sought to illustrate that film images are deeply embedded in the historical and ideological contexts of their construction.

There is, of course, a debate about whether filmic representations are interpretations or datum. And this debate will continue, linked as it is with issues of reflexivity in contemporary anthropology. But this same debate raises important questions about the division of labor between preservation and curatorial functions in film archiving. Is our warrant merely to insure the preservation of visual ethnographic records of the "disappearing" or changing Other? I think not. Film is the dominant narrative mode of our time. Indeed, what is publicly perceived not only about the Other, but about the anthropological enterprise itself, is communicated more widely via film than any other medium. An anthropological film archives must be expected not only to preserve a record of this enterprise, but to foster an intellectual climate for the critical study of the filmic record as well.

#### Acknowledgements.

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#### Notes

1 This paper is an introduction to the topic. A thoroughgoing study would have to include, among other materials, analysis of the following Haitian footage: Zora Neal Hurston, early 1920s (Library of Congress [?]); Alan Lomax, 1937 (Archive of Folk Song, Reel 1, Motion Picture Collection, LC, No. FCA 5527 Katherine Dunham late 1930s (New York Public Library Dance Collection, cat. #MGZHB 12-1449); broadcast film entitled "Voodoo: narrated by Charles Collingwood (American Museum of Natural History Collection, N.Y.); the ethnographic films To Serve the Gods and Legacy of the Spirits by Karen Kramer (Film Library, Wychoff, N.Y.)

2 These sound recordings are preserved as the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music. An

inventory of these materials can be found in the annotated catalogue by Anthony Seeger and Louise Spear (1978).

3 I have elsewhere described how Herskovits' imaging of Afro-American cultural patterns may be related to his scale of "intensity of Africanisms" and his concepts of cultural focus and cultural imponderables. The latter included an inventory of patterned behaviors (e.g., bodily movement, rhythm, gestures, speech behaviors) which were so closely identified with physical endowment of the individual as to be commonly seen as "racially inherited" [see Homiak (1990)].

4 Herskovits also recognized the ability of film to evoke the artistic quality of expressive and ceremonial activity. He intended to make a film with sound on the macumbas and candombles of Bahia during his 1941 fieldwork in Brazil. On August 13, 1947 he received a permit from the Brazilian consulate to enter the country with 8,000 feet of 35mm film and 200 sound discs (M.J. Herskovits papers, University Archives, Northwestern University Library, Evanston, ILL). Whether the footage was ever shot (or what became of it) is unknown.

5 Herskovits traveled to Haiti at the terminus of the U.S. military occupation of the island—a period during which journalists and the authors of pulp novels churned out descriptions of a society replete with orgiastic rites, zombies, cannibalism, and mysterious powers. In the popular imagination of the period, Haiti functioned as a metonym for the Dark Continent, with journalistic accounts serving as a reader's vicarious—and hence—safe passage through the "heart of darkness".

6 The proposed film was to relate the ritual aspects of children's games to traditional rites in Bali and Haiti (Sitney, 1974).

7 It was, in fact, a disdain for analysis which Deren felt identified her with the disempowered subjects she filmed. Deren romanticized her identification with the Haitian peasant in this regard and, in so doing, suppressed a recognition of the inequality of power inherent in her work (see Deren 1970: 165-66). Her sympathetic identification with her subjects contrasts with the tone she strikes with regard to her film project. According to Deren there was "virtually no precedent for the filming of [vodun] ceremonies" prior to her work (1970:14)—the implication being that she was in a privileged position to represent the reality. This forecast the proprietary attitude which has prevailed among members of the white avant garde with respect to "the Other" (see Fusco 1988:9).

8 Deren (1970:9) claims that, based on immediate experience, she arrived at "interpretations of the [vodun] rituals...so consistently correct that Haitians began to believe that I had gone through varying degrees of initiation." She does not, however, specify anything about the precise nature of these

interpretations (e.g., the cognitive elements which made this putative intelligibility across cultural worlds possible).

<sup>9</sup> One might compare this dabbling in the philosophical and spiritual possibilities of vodun by the avant garde in the 1950s with the turn to Eastern religions in the late 1960s by a wider spectrum of America's disaffected youth.

<sup>10</sup> The film *I Walked With a Zombie* by Jack Tourner is a good example. It not only played on the mystery of voodoo, but cashed in on the popularity of calypso in the United States at the time. Tourner cast a well-known Trinidadian calypso dancer in the role of the la place in the film's vodun scenes. Not surprisingly, the music and dance in these sequences resembles a nightclub performance more than an actual vodun ritual.

<sup>11</sup> *Krik? Krac! Tales of a Nightmare* (Jac Avila, 1988. Mountain Top Films) is a noteworthy film in this regard. It plays with the religious and political imagery surrounding vodun, obscuring the historical and the ethnographic contexts related to the meaning(s) of vodun practice. In this film the choreomania of vodun is likely to be read as "chaos" akin to the political turmoil which plagues Haiti rather than as disciplined service to the gods of vodun. This risks a stereotypic reading of vodun as a practice which has kept Haiti politically backward.

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## GENDER REPRESENTATION IN VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHIES: AN INTERPRETIVIST PERSPECTIVE

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Central to current theoretical debates in anthropology is the concern of who has the power to represent whom, and to what extent are our representations simply interpretations versus scientific facts. Over the last fifteen years, interpretive anthropology (Geertz 1973) has provided a sophisticated inquiry into the nature of ethnographic reporting (Marcus and Fischer 1986). Though the critique has examined how and what we write about cultures, more work needs to be done about

how we visually document other cultures as in film and photographs.

The post modern predicament, as it has been called (Habermas 1983; Jameson 1983; Lawson 1985; Gunn 1987; Hutcheon 1988), is a crisis between representation and interpretation. As Marcus and Fischer have noted, "...theoretical debates have shifted to the level of method, to problems of epistemology, interpretation, and discursive forms of representation. Elevated to a central concern of theoretical reflection, problems of description become problems of representation" (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 9).

This essay addresses the current debate by examining how visual anthropology is representing and interpreting cross-cultural constructions of gender. I suggest that in spite of the interpretive challenges hurled by Marcus and Fischer, a subtle but tenacious belief system still persists which is that the camera objectively represents reality. Tracing the origins of this belief, I challenge the positivistic notions that looking through the lens of a camera is neutral. Instead I argue that looking is not a representation of reality, but an interpretation. In order to investigate this concert, I have chosen to focus upon the issue of how gender is portrayed in ethnographic film. I suggest a set of criteria whereby anthropologists can critically evaluate gender inclusivity in visual ethnographic texts.

### **The Constructed Visual Image**

Ethnographic films offer an interesting analogue to the current anthropological debates between representationalism and interpretivism. As a material artifact, they paradoxically incorporate both perspectives. The constructed visual image, as I will refer to film in this essay, is both a product and a process. It collects and stores data, and it also carries meanings that are not found only in its imprint of light on paper. These meanings instead are negotiated and can alter over time. To further complicate matters, the meanings may differ among the various actors who take part in the creation of the visual image. These actors include the image maker, the image viewer, the image's object, and the cultural context in which each of these players abide.

The constructed visual image is a culturally bound phenomenon. Being culturally constructed, it is argued that all of our representations about reality are

interpretations of interpretations, or what Umberto Eco refers to as "unlimited semiosis" (Seiter 1985: 17) and Clifford Geertz affectionately describes as "turtles all the way down" (1973: 29). Metaphorically speaking then, are we able to construct visual representations of the world without our own fingerprint on the emulsion paper?

The critique of visual ethnographic monographs is one that is reflexive by nature. Though the positivistic paradigm remains central to ethnographic work, the interpretive framework can help us check our assumptions about our models. Nietzsche explains reflexivity not as a negative force that strives to eradicate meaning, but a positive force that "provides the life-blood of the new by unsettling the dead, and dying concepts which surround us. Reflexivity is the burden that we can neither carry nor throw off" (quoted from Lawson 1985: 53). In order to examine assumptions made in our visual ethnographies, it is useful to retrace how the camera as a material artifact has been used by anthropologists as an instrument of positivism.

### **Pre-Cooked Images**

As a tool, the camera has been used for the documentation and production of culture. Since its invention in 1839, this instrument has given humans the ability to travel through time and space without ever leaving their armchairs. Considered the most consequential invention of our time (Agee and Evans 1939; Mead 1975; Heidegger 1977; Eco 1987), it has been the empirical arm of scientists, the voice of politicians, and the "wholesale deception of the masses" (Hall 1982; Horkheimer and Adorno 1988[44]).

The use of the camera in anthropological field work is based upon anthropology's categorization as an observational science (D'Andrade 1984: 105). Ethnography's primary research method, participant observation, is situated in a long scientific tradition that champions records of sight over other human sensory abilities for the purpose of objective data collection. (Fabian 1983).

From Aristotle's *Metaphysics* to Hegel's *Lecture on Aesthetics*, vision has been touted as the more "noble" sense due to its ability to distance the observer from "the other". This detachment is what Hegel describes when he wrote "...vision has a pure

theoretical relationship with objects...lighting and illuminating them without consuming them" (as quoted from Owens 1984: 70). John Locke formulated the empiricist canons of modern social science based on the concept that "the perception of the mind was most aptly explained by words relating to the sight" (1964 [1689]: 22). Among all the tenets of empiricism, the ideology of the "supremacy of vision" has been the most tenacious.

The cultural choice of prizing sight as a means of developing rational thought received a tremendous boost when the camera was introduced as a new technology that could extend our ability to see. The inferred meaning was that the camera would allow further objectivity and thus permit a heightened degree of observational accuracy.

The invention of the camera occurred roughly at the same time as the development of evolutionary schemes. In a major critique on modern presentation, John Berger suggests that if we regard photography as coeval in its origins with sociology, anthropology, positivism, we see that "...what they shared was the hope that observable, quantifiable facts, recorded by experts, would constitute the proven truth that humanity required. Precision would replace metaphysics; planning would resolve conflicts" (1980: 64). This urge for scientific foundations went hand-in-hand with the rapid inculcation of the camera as a research tool.

Visual ethnographies in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries exemplify how the camera became a means to prove the existence of people and places (Worth 1980). As an empirical tool, it was grounded in anthropology's need to substantiate findings and present an eyewitness account. "You are there because I was there" (Clifford 1988: 22).

One of the first example of the camera as a significant part of field research was A.C. Haddon's 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits. Photographic equipment was the central research tool in the "proof" of these findings. This event marked an important bridge from anthropology as speculative science to a discipline with standards of evidence comparable to those of natural science (Brigard 1975: 16).

The visual image as produced by the camera has been socialized in the sciences as a

credible source of objectivity. This "pre-cooked" image with latent objectivity is lodged in a cultural belief system that "the eye does not lie" or that the camera is objective. Though this belief is being more and more challenged, "seeing is believing" still dominates the visual ethnographies produced in the documentary genre.

Visual ethnographers recognize that the production of film texts are as difficult as the construction of written texts. Though widely accepted as a medium for conveying ethnographic study, ethnographic film presents a set of challenges in the portrayal of cultural experience. It poses such problems as voice, editing, reflexivity and audience (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 75). But in addition to the narrative text, ethnographic film has other elements that increase the complexity of representation. A complete analysis of visual images requires examination of these issues: the visual image, the written language, the voice, the music and the sound effects (Seiter 1985: 3).

These added dimensions in the composition of an ethnographic film in many ways are more slippery, difficult to control than the written text. As John Collier, Jr. writes, "one photograph can contain a thousand references. And even more confounding, most photographs are a minute time sample - a hundredth of a second slice of reality" (Collier 1962:6). The fluidity of elements in film making beckon for criteria by which ethnographers can produce and evaluate their visual ethnographic texts. The first among these recommended criteria is the recognition of gender inclusivity.

#### **Visual Constructions of Gender**

Gender representation in visual ethnographic texts is no easier to disentangle than in written texts (Marcus and Fischer 1986). Though feminist anthropologists have offered numerous critiques about the visual representation of women and have long discussed the issues of "male as viewer", "female as viewed" motif, it has been neglected in the general discourse on ethnographic filmmaking and photography (Lauretis 1984; Williams 1985; Scheman 1988).

It is nearly impossible to separate representational from interpretational issues in the study of gender without examining how gender has been viewed in the social sciences.

Dominated by theoretical models that have emphasized a biologically deterministic view of gender it has only been in the last twenty years that the concept of gender as a cultural construction has exploded these previous unquestioned assumptions (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Ortner 1974; Reiter 1975; MacCormack and Strathern 1980; Fedigan 1986). Scholars from all fields have not only called attention to this major gap, but sought out anthropology as a means of investigating research about women, by women, and often for women (Davies 1975; Weiner 1976; Atkinson 1982; Hodder 1986; Scott 1986; Bleier 1987). The monumental task surrounding the study of gender involves reworking these models, challenging century-old assumptions, while maintaining a rigorous study that not only offers a better understanding of the female world view, but also explains how this view is pertinent to a holistic view of culture.

Unraveling the androcentric or male-oriented bias in anthropological research and texts is a laborious but important task. To borrow from Clifford Geertz's well-known statement about ritual as "a story we tell ourselves about ourselves" (1973: 26), gender construction is also a story we tell ourselves about ourselves. The definition of gender in any culture "is a strategic project...and for the most part covert" (Butler 1986). We must consciously recognize that the signs and symbols we produce about gender are a mindful process of interpreting a cultural reality laden with sanctions, taboos, and prescriptions.

The concept of gender as an analytical category was given form by Suzanne Kessler and Wendy McKenna's efforts (1985[1978]). Defining gender attribution as the foundation for understanding other components of gender, they presented a model of "gender as a social construction" (22). They argued that the positivist framework perpetuated a polarized, two-gender model (male and female) with no allowance for overlap, while still suggesting the existence of contrasting gender roles (masculine and feminine) with some degree of overlap. In distinguishing definitions of gender attribution, gender role, gender identity, and gender ideology, these categories simultaneously facilitate the biological, socio-

cultural, and symbolic theoretical models without resorting to an either/or polarity.

The idea that femaleness and maleness are dependent upon and created by a social group has produced new methods and interpretations of ethnographic research (Rosaldo 1980; Ortner and Whichead 1981; Conkey and Spector 1984). This shift in theoretical perspective is what Henrietta Moore cites as the most important task regarding the study of gender. "The real problem about incorporating women into anthropology lies not at the level of empirical research but at the theoretical and analytical level...the task of reworking and redefining anthropological theory" (1988:2).

Not all the researchers in the study of gender have been women (Cucchiari 1981; Owens 1984). Edwin Ardener, for example, recognized biases of power in the development of explanatory models in social anthropology. His theory of "muted groups" (1975: 221-3) proposed that the dominant societal group in a given culture had control, and thus produced and regulated the dominant modes of expression. He suggested that any segment of the population that is "silenced or rendered inarticulate" may be considered a muted group. Significantly, he placed women in this category.

Ardener went on to explain that the realities of women and other muted groups cannot be understood or expressed in terms of the dominant male model. Ardener's concept marked an important shift from the empirical assumption that a male bias exists simply because the majority of ethnographers were male. The inadequacies of underlying theoretical assumptions became visible, namely, that anthropologists draw upon male models from their own androcentric cultural symbols to explain other cultures' gender systems.

In my research I propose that ethnographic film and photographic images are a reflection of the gender stereotypes found in the filmmaker's (photographer's) dominant group, and thus reproduce the ethnographer's ideas and ideals about gender onto the visual representation of the cultural group being studied (Kuehnast 1989b). In essence, the camera acts more as a magnifying glass, emphasizing the ethnographer's world view,

than it does as an objective lens documenting another culture's world view.

The distortion of gender roles is noted in a popular ethnographic film about Maasai women produced by Granada Films under the consultation of anthropologist Melissa Llewelyn-Davies (1984). Her voice-over narration about Maasai women is introduced by describing the role of "a very important man among the Maasai, the Laibon. He is rich and has many cattle, sheep and goats, and many women and children." Defining women only in terms of how their roles are related to men has been one of the major criticisms put forth by feminist anthropologists (Moore 1989). It is ironic that this film about Maasai women is introduced with visual images of cows and the male Laibon. Is this intentional editing? Would we write an ethnography about Maasai women with the first paragraphs visually describing cows and the chief?

Llewelyn-Davies goes on to describe the gender relations of the Maasai in terms of what men are and what women are not. The narration continues, "Unlike European women and children, who are considered to be an expense to men, Maasai women and children are considered to be a man's wealth." She ignores the possibility that a woman's wealth can exceed material control and enter into an arena of what Annette Weiner calls "the cosmic sphere" (1976: 120), such as women being the gatekeepers of all ritual passages between age and gender identity development. Though there is no independent evidence of how Maasai women see themselves, I contend that what we view in her film is Llewelyn-Davies' representation based upon her own culture's construction of gender, and not that of the Maasai's.

In an unsuccessful voice over technique, Llewelyn-Davies attempts to let an elder Maasai woman tell her story. Out of the fifty-six minute film, an estimated 14 minutes are of this informant describing events in the Maa language. Since she offers no translation either through subtitles or direct narration, I contend that the fourteen minutes in which we listen and watch but cannot understand the elder woman is a subtle but powerful silencing technique.

It is proposed that ethnographic film and photography reproduce stereotypes of gender construction found in the filmmaker's

hegemonic group, and thus becomes a created artifact of the ethnographer (Kuehnast 1989). Since visual ethnographies are viewed by more people than any written ethnography will ever have the chance to be read, we must consider how do our own ideas and ideals about gender permeate our constructed visual stories about other cultures? Developing a set of criteria that can be applied to visual ethnographies is the first step in deconstructing our culturally-bound myths about gender. Are we conscious of how visual ethnographies silence, objectify, or stereotype women? Do we repeatedly associate women with traditional or rigid roles? Do we exoticize women? Do linguistic biases appear in the narration of ethnographic films, for example, referring to the people of a culture constantly with the male pronoun?

Historically, the production of the exotic in ethnographic texts has assisted anthropology in carving its niche. But exoticism, or the creation of "the other" has as its correlate, the disembodied gaze. Laura Mulvey says women's image has been continually stolen to be used for the end product, the gaze (1984: 58). In the dominant patriarchal order, women are the ethnographic "other".

When we examine gender representation in ethnographic filmmaking we are up against what Michel Foucault discusses as the creation of the modern individual as a "passive mute body", the result of technology and the social sciences (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982). This disembodiment of the observer from the observed continues to be at the basis of the dilemma of studying "the other". The camera acts as a magnifier intensifying this objectification of "the other". To return the ethnographic gaze, both women and other non-hegemonic groups must begin to write and make visual images of the world according to their own viewpoint.

In summary, deconstructing camera objectivity and reconstructing the female voice in ethnographic film, present parallel interpretive problems. As the camera has represented what Julia Kristeva (1988) might call the "transcendental ego", cut off from the ethnographer, technologically unconscious - thus, unable to tell a lie - so has the representation of women in ethnographic film presented the female as culturally unconscious,

the object of the gaze, separated from her voice, unable to tell her own story.

Returning the gaze in visual anthropology means the recognition that the camera does not operate alone. Instead, it is the conscious penetration of an ethnographic gaze upon a cultural experience. Likewise, the inclusivity of gender codes in ethnographic film requires the silenced female to raise her eyes, return the gaze, and speak directly to her audience.

The camera, if used consciously as a tool to understand different interpretations of a culture and not as a tool to reproduce objective exotic proofs, can assist not only in revealing to ourselves our own cognitive and cultural constrictions, but it can also allow others to tell their stories in their own voice, with their own views. It is then we will know "the other" has returned the gaze.

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PEOPLE OF THE GREAT SANDFACE:  
PEOPLE OF THE GREAT  
WHITE LIE?

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John Paul Myburgh's film has apparently been well-received in Britain and Europe and hailed by respected, well-informed and critical South African media commentators as a breakthrough in South African ethnographic film. Yet People of the Great Sandface raises troubling questions, not only about how we portray the human dimension of southern Africa, but about the very nature of the academic enterprise called visual anthropology. In contrast to the received wisdom, in this brief note I argue that this film reaches new heights in the art of mystification. Indeed it might more accurately be titled: People of the Great White Lie, because ultimately Myburgh is concerned not with history but with perpetuating myth. And it is a dangerous, indeed, a killer-myth: the myth of the wild Bushman.

Myburgh claims to have contacted and lived with the last group of "wild" or autonomous Bushmen living in the Kalahari alluding that he has visually recorded their last days independent forages before they threw in the towel and settled at a Government provided waterhole. Since they do not live "traditionally" anymore, we have no way of verifying Myburgh's account and must take his footage as irreplaceable documentation of their supposedly last days of hunting thus enhancing the value of the footage. Several filmmakers and anthropologists who have worked with Kalahari peoples have publicly expressed strong skepticism about the authenticity of this film, and it is skepticism well-founded. The water-pump settlement which is their final destination, for example, features prominently in John Marshall's 1975 National Geographic Classic Bushmen of the Kalahari. Indeed, just before the film was released it was pointed out that Myburgh had rounded up a number of former foragers and gone back into the wilds to film their "traditional lifestyle" (Tomaselli et al. 1986) but this contrived nature of the film has apparently since been overlooked.

People of the Great Sandface can be discussed on two fronts: What it says (and how it is said) and what it does not say. While both these aspects are closely mutually reinforcing, what is not said is probably more important. If this film had been made thirty, or even fifteen years ago, it would have been hailed as a masterpiece, but so overwhelming has the political dimension been in southern Africa that it would only be a foolishly naive or a conservative positivist film-maker who would not at least make some passing reference to the wider socio-political context.

Moreover, even in the well-worked field of "Bushman/San Studies" there has been a shift of paradigm from studying Bushmen as if they were the isolated last remnants of the stone-age: people who might somehow inform us as to how our paleolithic ancestors lived, to treating them as an integral part of a large social system. In the emergent paradigm, most powerfully and eloquently argued in Edwin Wilsen's Land Filled with Flies (1989) they emerge as an impoverished rural underclass.

Myburgh refers to his Gwi objects (not subjects) not as San but as Bushmen. While some anthropologists would prefer the gloss of San I think he is correct to use the term Bushman since the term San is derived from the name Šab which means robber while the term Bushman is derived from the Dutch word meaning bandit or outlaw. Not only is it a question of calling a spade a spade, but the term San assists in the mystification process. Many Namibian school children, for example, believe that while the San have always been found in the Kalahari, Bushmen have long been extinct. More important however, the term Bushmen was a lumpen-category used by the colonial authorities for anyone who resisted colonial rule. They did not get this label imposed upon them by living in the splendidly harsh isolated "survivalist" world of the central Kalahari. Perhaps it is time to make Bushmen (and banditry) respectable again. Unfortunately this film does exactly the opposite. It panders to the dangerous myth of the "wild Bushman" which provides an exceedingly narrow pair of ideological blinkers with which to survey the Kalahari. What the film does not say is in this case more important than what it says.

The truth of the matter is that of all the people living in southern Africa those labelled

"Bushmen" have been the most victimized, brutalized and oppressed in the bloody history of the region. It is a brutal tale of organized anti-Bushman Commandos and debates during the German colonial era in the Windhoek Landestag as to whether Bushmen should be declared vermin, yet all Myburgh can say in his film is that "Time and history have taken a toll on their numbers"!!! This is not even a euphemism. It is a denial of history.

The war against those labelled Bushmen is still going on. It is now, however more subtle. In its present form it is still primarily concerned with dispossessing Bushmen of their land. In the area where Myburgh based his film this took the following form: At the end of the nineteenth century Rhodes wanted a buffer against any German expansion eastward from Namibia so he sent up an expedition which led to the creation of the so-called Ghanzi Block, an area settled by white South African farmers. Among the many mostly Bushmen people dispossessed by this act were the /Gwi. The aboriginal owners found themselves to be squatters on their own land. One of the academics who provided a rationale for this land-theft was Siegfried Pasarge who was later to achieve renown as a "Bushman Expert". Many Ghanzi block farmers flouted one of the unspoken laws of the Kalahari, namely that one never refuses anyone water. Indeed most of them chased Bushman squatters off their land. These Bushmen were driven into the largely waterless central area where the film was made. In the late fifties as Botswana was being readied for Independence by the British, Raymond Silberbauer was appointed "Bushman Survey Officer". Silberbauer was rightly concerned with the dispossession of Bushman land, but because of the pervasive obnoxiousness of Apartheid could not very well recommend a reserve for Bushmen based on ethnicity. Instead he managed to pilot through the creation of the 52,347 sq. km Central Kalahari Game Reserve in 1961. In this large, seasonally waterless tract, Bushmen would be allowed to remain and practice their "traditional" lifestyle.

As European "tourism" developed in Botswana, the Central Kalahari Game reserve became a popular destination. Part of its touristic attraction was precisely its Bushmen (or Basarwa as they are officially known in Botswana) (Hitchcock & Brandenburgh, 1990). Of course some of these tourists were upset

when these Bushmen did not measure up to their expectations, which were fed largely on pulp movies like The Gods Must Be Crazy and Laurens van der Post's musings. Moreover the Bushmen they saw engaged in such disgustingly irritating behavior like "begging" (forgetting perhaps that begging is simply an extension of foraging). These European tourists were, naturally highly conservation-consciousness, and being of the bourgeoisie carried clout back in Europe. Their clout had an impact in the Kalahari because the Botswana government, ever eager to "develop", especially if it could lessen its dependency on South Africa, was anxious to export beef to the European Common Market. Thus pressed by the need to open areas of cattle production and placate the European conservationist lobby which felt that Bushmen were killing too much game, the Botswana government announced on December 1, 1986 that "the reserve would lose its integrity if people were allowed to stay there".

According to Hitchcock and Brandenburgh (1990:23): "Two ministers who toured the central Kalahari in mid-1988 offered several reasons as to why resettlement was necessary. First of all, they noted, the move would help ensure conservation of the resource base in the reserve. Secondly, they argued that a move to other areas would increase people's access to social services and development assistance. Finally, they stressed that such a move would enhance the tourism potential of the region..."

Several human rights organizations soon joined the battle, including Survival International and it is still raging. It is a conflict going back at least to the late seventies. And while this war was raging Myburgh was filming his "isolated" band, ostensibly, blissfully ignorant of it. And to proclaim at the conclusion of his film that "You see, no one is to blame" is to display a dishonesty of ethnocidal magnitude.

This dishonesty is underlined in Myburgh's claim that previously in the "battle of survival" /Gwi never had a choice, but now, courtesy of the altruistic Botswana government if drought gets too severe they can now opt out and seek succor at the government provided water-pump. As has been well-established for a long time, there have never been any groups in the Kalahari who live in isolation. It is a common and historically well-documented strategy for foragers in times of drought or

famine to move to settlements with water and form symbiotic relationships with the mostly agricultural or pastoral people who live there. And come the rain, many foragers revert back to a foraging mode of subsistence. In short there is nothing "irreversible" about them going to the settlement and thus becoming the "last wild" Bushmen.

In the film itself, the subject is not allowed to talk. Instead we have the film-maker paternistically explaining what is happening, rather like Barbara Woodhouse explaining to us on television how and why our pets behave the way they do. It is a narration filled with naive romantic psychologisms representing them as some contemporary throwback to some imagined primeval men: "His only reality is to be a hunter"; they have "instinctive rhythm". It is claimed that the consciousness gap between Bushmen and others cannot be bridged. Compared to other documentaries and ethnographies Myburgh's *Gwi* seem to have an obsession with killing which can be read as a sign of manliness (both for the objects and the film-maker) and the theme of survival constantly surfaces. The political implications of this clap-trap are deadly and need to be located firmly in the socio-political milieu in which Myburgh is operating.

In many ways *People of the Great Sandface* is a cinematographic cousin to Leni Riefenstahl's *Last of the Nuba*, a work which Susan Sontag has described as about "a primitivist ideal: a portrait of a people subsisting in a pure harmony with their environment, untouched by "civilisation" (Sontag, 1981:86). It is "an elegy for the soon-to-be extinguished beauty and mystic powers of primitives whom Riefenstahl calls "her adopted people" (Sontag, 1981-87). Sontag aptly characterized Riefenstahl's project as "fascinating fascism". Fascism, she reminds us, does not only imply terror and brutishness, but also stands for "the ideal of life as art, the cult of beauty, the fetishism of courage, the dissolution of alienation in ecstatic feelings of community; the repudiation of the intellect" (Sontag, 1981:96). Its appeal lies precisely in that it is figurative, emotional and non-intellectual. Sontag's conclusion on Riefenstahl appears equally appropriate for Myburgh: "What is distinctive about the fascist version of the aid idea of the Noble Savage is its contempt for all that is reflective, critical and pluralistic... it is hardly

... the intricacy and subtlety of primitive myth that, social organization, or thinking that is being extolled... In celebrating a society where the exhibition of physical skill and courage and the victory of the stronger... are the unifying symbols of the communal culture - where success in (hunting<sup>1</sup>) is the "main aspiration of a man's life" (Sontag, 1981:89).

The truth of the matter, as John Marshall so eloquently pointed out at the showing of *People of the Great Sandface* during the 1990 Northeastern Anthropological Association Meeting, is that there have not been any "wild Bushmen" for a very long time. He recounted how in the early fifties he and his family crisscrossed and searched the Kalahari in their vain search for "wild Bushmen". Moreover many of the "kills" were set-ups.

So why was this film so well received? The answer to this question is complex and involves many factors. Myburgh's claim to have spent several years with the Bushmen (Tomaselli, 1989) and the moving vignette of Myburgh on state television's *Uit en Tuis* dressed up like a Bushman while ostensibly revealing how he did fieldwork (Tomaselli et al, 1986) must have convinced some of the authenticity and authority of his project but the matter is more complex.

To be sure *People of the Great Sandface* is vastly superior to the South African government sponsored pseudo-scientific documentaries whose propaganda intent is so blatant as to destroy any authority the film might seek to establish. And yes, it does have superb cinematography and indeed many of the sequences are stunningly poetic, but can a film-maker make liberal use of "poetic-license" and then claim to have produced a documentary? And why were so many people in South Africa taken in, believing this film to be the definitive study of the last "wild" Bushmen? It is not as if South African academics are naive: On the contrary, academic boycott notwithstanding, they are remarkably *au fait* with cultural studies and other developments in media studies. Indeed they have even had a large dose of Jay Ruby. They strike me as an academically rigorous and intellectually independent lot who

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<sup>1</sup>Recall those almost poetic scenes of killing the duiker where the hunter is filmed from the ground up.

need not stand back from colleagues in the more privileged countries.

The wave on which People of the Great Sandface coasted to its modest triumph was the same one on which the Gods must be Crazy rode to Box Office success in South Africa (and elsewhere) and was caused by a long and old groundswell. To understand this one needs to consider the role of Bushman as cultural icon within the broad South African society and how aspects of fascism have permeated into the unassuming nooks and crannies of South African intellectual life. "Wild Bushmen" are a crucial feature in the self-image of white South Africans. Indeed, already in the twenties, the immensely popular travel writer H.V. Morton went so far as to proclaim Bushmen as one of the Seven Wonders of South Africa. Discovering the "last wild Bushmen" has become something of a South African tradition. In 1910 Louis Peringuey, the Director of the South African Museum, claimed to have buried the last "pure Bushman". A few years later this was disputed by E. Dunn to be followed by the big-game hunter Bain who brought "the last wild Bushmen" to the 1966 Empire Exhibition. Periodically, since then, the press have prominently featured tales of some hardy white locating the "last wild Bushman". Myburgh's project thus has a long intellectual pedigree.

It is not fortuitous that the largest curio-store chain in South Africa is called "The Bushman Curio Shop" or that one of the hit attractions at any settler historical celebration in South Africa is a bevy of loin-clothed "wild Bushmen" obtained courtesy of an enterprising white Namibian impresario. Nor is it coincidental that the South African Defence force uses Bushmen extensively in its counter-insurgency operations and that at one time they held the dubious distinction of being the most militarized ethnic group in the world. One of the major reasons for military recruitment was the belief that Bushmen were "natural" hunters and trackers and thus would be effective counter-insurgency operatives. They also exploited them culturally. The SADF was so proud of what it had done for (and to) these "last representatives of the stone-age" that, as a matter of course, visiting foreign journalists were shown the main Bushman base in Namibia,

appropriately named, Omega.<sup>2</sup> These journalists recorded a rich fund of characteristics which their white fellow-soldiers believed them to have: "The Bushman's senses in the field are unbelievable. If a patrol has a Bushman with it, then it is unnecessary to post guards at night. The Bushman also goes to sleep, but when the enemy is still far away he wakes up and raises the alarm according to one senior officer (Die Burger, January 6, 1982), while another white soldier believed that: "They have fantastic eyesight and they can navigate in the bush without a compass or map... With the Bushmen along, our chances of dying are very slight. They have incredible tenacity, patience and endurance. They've taught me to respect another race" (Time, March 2, 1981). Even experienced battle-hardened mercenaries were impressed. A Soldier of Fortune article exhorts: "Able to survive long periods on minimal food and water, the Bushman has an instinctive, highly developed sense of danger, and has proved to be an astoundingly good "snap" shot... (but, his) (forte is tracking... If you've never seen a two-legged bloodhound at work, come to South West Africa and watch the Bushman. Actually, the Bushman puts the bloodhound to shame. (In addition, they are) good at estimating mortar projectile strike distances because of their age-old weapon - the bow and arrow" (Norval, 1984:24).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The crass use of names and icons to sustain its symbolic dominance is a phenomenon worthy of further analysis. The original base used to train Bushman trackers was called Alpha (The First). Omega (The Last) base was later built to house Angolan Bushman refugees who were mercenaries in the Pied Crow battalion in which, needless to say, the emblem of the "white head of the crow symbolized the white leadership element".

<sup>3</sup>It is a widespread Idée fixe. According to another Soldier of Fortune article: "Troops of the Bushman Battalion are perhaps the best indigenous trackers in southern Africa today. Much of their skill comes from the Bushman's inherent

These superhuman qualities of Bushmen were grounded not in humanity but in animality. Their inability to retain cattle was attributed to their lack of self-restraint. As they are "extremely emotional", their women folk cannot do without the men-folk and this determines the length of patrol (Pretoria News, 26 February 1981). *Time* magazine assured us that they are often distracted from a guerilla track by a honey while the sighting of a hyena would provoke uncontrollable laughter (*Time*, March 2, 1981).<sup>4</sup>

Bushman rights is still very much an issue. Five days before Namibia became Independent, South Africa relocated some 4,000 military Bushmen, who apparently chose not to be demobilized, to a base in South Africa. The source of their military efficiency is not their "inherent tracking ability" or any such quality as the mystifiers would have us believe, but arises rather, as Cynthia Enloe has suggested, from their *pariah* status in the wider society (Enloe, 1980).

The love affair which the white bourgeoisie has with "wild Bushmen" is long and complex. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of the phenomenon, suffice to say that it can be related to alienation: As the urbanizing whites become more and more alienated from their society. "wild Bushmen" take on a mythical reality as antithesis to the problems of their society. But also, as David Maughan-Brown has recently suggested, it provides them with moral absolution from accusations of being racists (Maughan-Brown, 1983).

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### CRITICAL STUDIES AND VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY: ABERRANT VS. ANTICIPATED READINGS OF ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM

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#### Introduction

This article discusses the impact of ethnographic film on undergraduate students, in light of contemporary critical theories of communication. The first part focuses on the notions of 'ideology' and 'hegemony', and their significance in our understanding of ethnographic film's place within the larger 'culture industry'. It also discusses some specific approaches to 'audience' research, to the issue of representation, then offers a typology of hypothetical 'preferred readings' of ethnographic films. Drawing on this theoretical framework, the second part concentrates on students' responses to a set of eight films, proposing a preliminary taxonomy of reactions; it also analyzes the ideological positioning of the audience and the dialectics of decoding processes.

The report is excerpted from a larger study of the use of ethnographic films in teaching introductory anthropology at the University of Southern California<sup>1</sup>. The study as a whole examines the nature of the ethnographic representation, the pragmatics of ethnographic film, and their combined effect on undergraduates.

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tie with the land, their nomadic hunter-gatherer heritage which ensured that only those with the sharpest eyes, best hearing and most empathetic feel) of the bush survived" (Mill, 1987:32-7).

<sup>4</sup>Details on the Bushman situation are to be found in a photograph (Gordon, 1984). Some newspaper reports also hint at this and anthropologists agree. Some of the most knowledgeable experts believe that all Bushmen born after circa 1960 have lost the ability to track, and most of their veldcraft skills.

Film has been widely adopted in anthropology courses as the dominant contemporary medium of communication. The inclusion of filmic texts is quite routine in the practice of hundreds of professors, who use them as exemplary 'illustrations' of anthropological knowledge. The use of ethnographic films has reinforced the power of the academic discourse by adding to it complex sets of visualizations of literally hundreds of indigenous cultures. However, if films provide a direct and vivid experience of the 'other', this 'presence - enhanced by the common illusion of 'naturalness' of non-fiction genres - is so powerful, that its effects on students are hard for professors to understand and to control, and are thus easy for them to underestimate.

To a great extent, films are a 'double-edged sword' that can help students better understand other cultures, yet may also help reinforce ethnocentric beliefs. In a study done in 1973, Thomas Hearne and Paul DeVore found that the use of Yanomamo films (Asch, Chagnon) in introductory anthropology was reinforcing students' negative preconceptions of the Yanomamo. After watching the films, students' views evolved from simple impressions and characterizations to well-informed and more complex stereotypes about the 'primitive'. So, along with its communicational value, the medium of film introduced new problems to teaching.

Despite the extensive production and use of visual media by anthropologists, the field of critical studies in ethnographic film remains little developed. There are few new studies available on the textual analysis or on the politics of representation and ideology in ethnographic film (MacDougall, 1975; Nichols, 1981; Pinney, 1989). Even more noteworthy is the absence of studies of spectatorship and the emotional, ideological, and subliminal impact of ethnographic films on students. This paper aims to help remedy this situation by bringing theories from fields closely related to visual anthropology - mass communication research and film studies - to the critical analysis of ethnographic film.

### **I. Ideology, Hegemony and Spectatorship**

Ethnographic film forms part of the larger 'culture industry' of Western society and

participates in the broader cultural discourse about the 'primitive other'. The pragmatics of ethnographic films have to be understood as part of this dialogic process, and can be considered a sub-system of cross-cultural communication. This involves a five-way relationship between producers, anthropology books, ethnographic films, professors and individual and social groups of users/viewers. The dialectics of the multi-channel anthropological discourse can be seen as a chain of interpretations, an ideological process of cross-cultural 'intermediation', in which meanings about indigenous cultures are produced and circulated. The system is generated and controlled by two institutions: the ethnographic film apparatus (producers, films) and the educational apparatus (professors, universities, books). Both operate within a realm characterized by its complexity and by a rich alteration of ideological codes over time.

It is pertinent here to insert a brief discussion of the notion of ideology and its contemporary usage in critical studies. While the original Marxist notion of ideology as the production of meanings (representations) still underpins the contemporary use of the term, the idea of ideology as 'false consciousness' has been largely criticized as reductionist and mechanist; ideology is now seen as more than a simple mirror of the social determinants. On the one hand, British 'cultural studies' - mostly grounded in social theory - have conceptualized ideology as experience and constitutive discursive practices, emphasizing the role of agency and the active construction of meanings (Williams, 1977); ideology is the site of struggle between different classes and groups. On the other hand, French 'critical studies', mostly influenced by semiotics, Lacanian psychoanalysis and feminism, conceptualize ideology as predominantly unconscious discursive structures which produce experience and determine the place of the individual. Subjects are 'interpellated' by ideology and called into place within the social scenario.

From a 'middle ground' position between 'dominance' and 'contestation', theorists like Stuart Hall (1985) have conceptualized ideology as both the processual construction of meanings and practices, and as the result of 'overdetermination' by 'structures-in-dominance'. New developments in both

schools have incorporated the post-structuralist discussion of ideology as discourse, but they also criticize the deconstructionist notion that texts (ideological signifiers) are detached from any absolute connection to meaning. Post-Marxist theorists of ideology resist the total commitment to 'rupture' and 'difference' and the disarticulation of signification. They argue that ideology is fixed to social life and has real effects; ideology is thus seen as the articulation of 'difference' and 'unity'.

The contemporary debate has also incorporated the Gramscian notion of 'hegemony', which refers to entire structures of domination that include world-view, social practice, subjective practice and subjective experience. Hegemony is a "lived system of meanings and values, a sense of reality for most people in the society ...in the strongest sense it is a 'culture'" (Williams, 1977: 110). A lived hegemony is always an historical process, its internal structures highly complex and contradictory. The dialectics of the hegemonic include transformational practices by which the dominant elite not only controls groups and individuals, but also incorporates and assimilates them into its own discourse. The 'culture industry' plays a fundamental role in recreating and perpetuating this dominant system.

Beginning with evolutionary ideologies, the Western hegemonic view of non-Western indigenous cultures has been that of the 'primitive' as a cultural analogue/metaphor of the past. This view was confirmed by the research of nineteenth century anthropologists (see Morgan, Tylor, Frazer, Durkheim). After more than a century of studies largely marked by colonialism, Orientalist ideologies (Said, 1979) and evolutionary theory, the academic discourse is still that defined as the 'science of Man', "committed only to the description of the most alien, exotic and 'primitive' customs" (Marcus and Fischer, 1986: 18). Therefore, popular notions of anthropology in the West continue to be conditioned by nineteenth century sensibilities, and the attendant search for the origins of human society. This perception, originating in Enlightenment archetypes of the 'Wild Man', has evolved into the categories of the Noble Savage and the Barbarian (see Rousseau, DePawn).

The post-colonial era and the materialization of the 'Third World' have

occasioned a new set of reinterpretations of the "primitive". The fetishized notion of the Edenic Noble Savage has been transformed into an endangered species, while the 'underdeveloped' and the working classes have now also been ascribed both positive and negative qualities of otherness (White, 1978). The growth of multi-ethnic cities has altered the nature and composition of the hegemonic culture and its means of reproducing itself. This can be observed in the mass media, which appropriates assimilating subcultures easily into its hegemonic discourse. In contrast, the deeply rooted popular view of the 'primitive other', now a disappearing world, changes more slowly, due to its archetypal nature. Popular mythologies of the 'primitive' continue to be reproduced in all forms of mass media, from Hollywood films to television and comics. It is within this general context of intertextual representations of the 'primitive' that we should approach the study of ethnographic films.

As a specialized highbrow institution of the 'culture industry', the ethnographic film apparatus speaks with the authoritative voice of Western scientific representations about the 'primitive'. In relation to other genres and styles, ethnographic film communicates through elaborated codes, as opposed to the more restricted nature of mass media language. Originating as chronicles of travelers, ethnographic film has further developed into an independent field, amassing vast archival materials of indigenous peoples from around the world. In a broad sense, we can distinguish four predominant tendencies of representation in conventional visual ethnography. Initially, most early ethnographic films were largely mythopoetic representations of epic enterprises (i.e. "Nanook of the North", "Dead Birds", "The Hunters"). This gave way to the observational and overly objectifying depiction of indigenous peoples, which resulted in an 'uncontaminated' but also dehumanizing representation. (i.e. Yanomamo films). A third tendency is the 'Orientalist' position, based on a contemplative and aesthetically mystified representation of the 'primitive' (i.e. "The Nuer"). All three of these traditional sorts of ethnographic films were largely 'monologues', in which the voice of the 'primitive other' was always mediated through the anthropologist's authoritative interpretation

(MacDougall, 1975). Finally - and as a response to the limited polysemy of orthodox films - more contemporary ethnographic films combine an interactive or journalistic approach, borrowed from the French *cinéma vérité* and TV documentaries. In more recent years, visual anthropology has entered the realm of television (series like "Odyssey", "Faces of Culture", and the British "Disappearing World"), adopting the popularized language of the documentary format. Beneath this variety of 'dialects', most visual anthropology shares a common academic voice.

To elaborate, a symbiotic relationship exists between ethnographic film and the educational apparatus, which provides both its socio-historically determined theoretical underpinnings as well as the institutional framework in which it is sustained. In practice, ethnographic films are screened between locutionary acts, serving as exemplary visual representations of the information presented in lectures, and as material for discussion. More generally, the instructor's speech expresses the institutionalized ideologies and narratives of the academic discourse, circumscribed by the expert's notion of 'ethnographic truth'. In fact, the educational institution can be seen as an 'apparatus of truth', which generates the process of construction, diffusion and consumption of 'truth' statements (Foucault, 1980). Although characterized by complexity and contradiction, and by the changing frames of reference of competing theoretical schools, the meanings signified in the classroom through speech and films constitute a 'unitary language' which tends to centralize and unify other more popular forms of discourse.

At the bottom rung of the intermediation process, the spectator is the 'passive' receptor/consumer of the knowledge and ideologies of the educational and ethnographic film apparatuses. Undergraduate students, positioned as novices, are generally naive about ethnographic film and indigenous societies; they speak for - and are 'spoken by' - the popular discourses determined largely by the mass media and commercial films. Students, embodying a variety of personal and collective ideologies, undergo an ideological and 'subjective' initiation into the anthropological discourse. In this process, characterized by a series of ritual screenings, they reinterpret and

'transfunctionalize' these ideologies - via a 'personalization' of meanings - thereby constructing themselves as spectators through the experience.

To better understand the dynamic outlined above, I will briefly refer to the recent debate generated by 'reception theory' and 'reader-oriented criticism'. Shifting critical attention away from the 'words on the page' to the interaction between reader and text, literary critics and theorists no longer see meaning as an immutable property, but as the result of the 'confrontation' between reader activity and textual structure (see Iser, Ingarden, Holland, Jauss). These theories, which originated in phenomenology, cognitive linguistics and literary criticism, concentrate on the co-constructed nature of signification (Bakhtin, 1981). Reading activity is seen by theorists in diverse ways, ranging from self-realization and 'transactional therapy' (Holland, 1980), to a decoding mechanism that demands effort (Condit, 1989), and as an aesthetic practice that produces pleasure from literary texts (Fiske, 1986). Yet most would agree that given certain socio-historical conditions, texts will read differently, according to the discourses in effect.

In all discursive situations, there is an implied (fictional or characterized) 'reader in the text', with both parties - author and audience - being constituted in the very act of representation. These representations are cultural forms whose circulation produces meaning; indeed they construct what we accept as 'reality' and 'truth'. Social relations and forms of subjectivity are produced in and by representational means. This phenomena has been conceptualized as the process of 'suturing', by which the subject is 'bound in' to the representation (Heath, 1977). Always arbitrary, representation positions the subjects it addresses, defining them by class, sex, culture and as individuals "in active or passive relations to signification. Forms of discourse are at once forms of definition, means of limitation, modes of power" (Linker, 1984: 76).

How is the subject sutured in to the representation? The Althusserian notion of 'interpellation' suggests the construction of 'subjects' that recognize the 'call' of ideological discourses and are 'positioned' by specific discursive formations. This recognition,

however, does not assure a 'necessary correspondence' between text's and reader's discourses; the process of decoding does not follow automatically from encodings of the text. Representations constitute 'maps of meaning' which are recorded according to the reader's particular 'conditions of perception' (Eco, 1977). Depending on their socio-cultural predisposition and on the textual signals, readers/viewers are organized into a variety of 'interpretive communities' (Fish, 1980) that operate within their own intertextuality, their specific 'encrustation' of meanings (Bennett, 1982). In all cases, the tapestry of readings also constitutes the arena for the 'politics of signification'.

In students' reading of ethnographic films, we can observe this struggle for meaning, their recognition and expression of particular positions operating within, and on the margins of, the cultural discourse. Hall's seminal classification of 'hypothetical' decoding positions or 'preferred' readings (hegemonic, negotiated, oppositional) is particularly useful in identifying some predominant tendencies (Hall, 1980). In the 'hegemonic' decoding position, the viewer operates inside the dominant code, participating in legitimized definitions, the 'taken for granted'. It is in this context that we find the facile submission to cross-cultural labels and stereotypes that the dominant discourse promotes. The 'negotiated' decoding, a combination of 'adaptive' and 'oppositional' elements, implies a reader who acknowledges the legitimacy of dominant significations, but who also finds contradictions in aspects of the hegemonic. To some extent, all readings are negotiated and personalized by individual readers: all viewers may, given certain circumstances, privilege the 'exception to the rule'. Yet, negotiation is limited by the very 'suture' into the larger dominant cultural identity - which is especially determinant in reading visual ethnographies of the 'primitive other'. The 'oppositional' decoding invokes a critical re-construction, or 'retotalizing' of the hegemonic message in a contrary or alternative way. Here we find the viewer's rupture with the 'great syntagmatic views', and the active assertion of particular forms of 'otherness'.

To this classification we can add what Eco refers to as 'aberrant decoding', which occurs when the viewer/reader cannot

understand the meaning of the text, and thus produces an entirely different meaning complete with an attendant value judgement (Eco, 1979). Often found in cross-cultural communications, surreal and avant-garde representations, such misconstruance occurs when the codes of another culture - or of the text itself - are so foreign, that they are completely distorted in the decoding process. Operating on the fringes of communication, aberrant readings hint at unknown registers, uncoded or embryonic interpretations, most often framed within either dominant or oppositional stances. This notion has proven particularly illuminating in our analysis of students' responses to ethnographic film, where textual and cultural codes are little known to viewers.

This typology should be considered a vehicle for advancing our analysis, not an established schema of authoritative definitions. Decoding activities are both experiential and interpretive processes that work in multiple directions. It is assumed that viewers can embody the entire range of decoding positions - over time and space - while also embracing some 'preferred readings' with particular force. These hypothetical figurations will be useful in identifying certain readings as 'symptoms' of larger ideological discourses that condition the reading of ethnographic films.

## II. Decoding Ethnographic Film

This section analyzes students' emotional and cognitive responses to a set of eight films. Based on an empirico-inductive method of classification, the findings suggest a taxonomy of reactions described below. From a more interpretive standpoint, this section also comments on the ideological decoding of filmic texts, incorporating the aforementioned typology.

Students' responses to different types of ethnographic films and to representations of the 'other' were collected from January 1987 to December 1989, using a combination of qualitative methods, which included: direct classroom observation, comprehensive interviews with 52 students, content analysis of 420 students assignments (weekly film reports, essays assignments), case studies of a non-random sample of six students, and a collection of students' dreams (related to the film and to the 'primitive').

The following results and remarks are based on the analysis of data from undergraduate students who took Anthropology 263g in Spring 1987<sup>2</sup>. Viewers' responses to the films were collected in the form of film reports. Students were asked to write up to two pages, answering specific questions about each of the 20 films viewed in class. The sample of films included 14 documentaries (mostly from the made-for-TV "Disappearing World" series) and six classic American ethnographic films (see Appendix 1). The contents of a random sample of 12 students' film reports (15%) were carefully analyzed, according to students' individual reactions to: (1) the film's style and format, and (2) its content i.e., the events and subjects represented. Individual responses to the films were then coded and classified into five general categories, including both emotional and cognitive reactions. These categories have been organized in a continuum ranging from 'negative' to 'positive' responses:

1. Negative/Disinterested Reactions. This first category groups terms that express lack of concern, 'boredom', 'indifference', 'confusion', and dislike of the film because of its style, presentation of subject matter, or the people depicted.
2. Primary Emotional Reactions. This category includes responses considered to be strong primary emotions - seemingly impulsive, involuntary and immediate visceral reactions, such as 'disturbance', 'awe', 'astonishment', 'fear', 'shock', 'disbelief', 'controversy', and 'surprise/amazement'.
3. Attention/Interest. This set expresses more rational or cognitive responses to the film's style and subject matter, and hence, more emotionally neutral. Typical reactions include terms like 'curiosity', 'held my attention', 'interesting'. 'Interest' also encompasses different levels of concern, ranging from 'comprehension' to 'entertainment'.
4. Secondary Emotional Reactions. This category comprises reactions expressing different degrees of engagement and emotional involvement with the subject matter and the individuals depicted in the films. There are two main types of responses: 'enjoyment/amusement/entertainment', and a more frequent one of 'sympathy' for the subjects.

5. Elaborated Reactions of Interest. This category includes the most sophisticated and thoughtful responses. These comprise both emotional reactions such as 'fascination' and 'empathy', and cognitive ones such as reflexivity and criticism, expressed in more elaborated terms and more developed ideas.

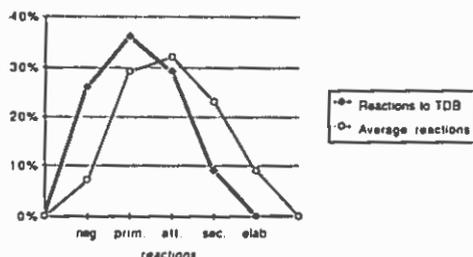
As with our typology of 'preferred readings' this taxonomy is a methodological tool to analyze students' reactions; in reading practices, there are no absolute 'negative' or 'positive' reactions, there is always a complex interplay of responses within and between each individual 'category'. Yet the classification helps us identify certain patterns of readings, as tendencies, or 'symptomatic' responses to the films. Although our study considers other variables (teaching conditions, individual vs. groups of readers), here I will focus primarily on the relationship reader-text<sup>3</sup>.

Based on an analysis of the total sample (12 students and 20 films), a distribution of frequencies representing the 'average student reaction' was calculated. The average reactions formed an almost bell-shaped curve, suggesting a 'normal' distribution against which the responses to individual films were compared. The findings presented here have been correlated to results obtained from research (interviews, essays and observation) by using the strategy of 'triangulation', or the "application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the 'sample' phenomenon" to overcome the biases of a single method (Denzin, 1978: 29). The use of multiple methods have demonstrated the consistency of the response patterns found in students' film reports. What follows is an analysis of student interpretations of an eight film sample, drawing upon the five categories described above.

#### 1. Negative/Dislike Reactions

Different levels of 'negative' reaction were present in response to almost every film, but none elicited a predominance of this category. Reactions of disinterest/dislike were of secondary importance in The Axe Fight and in The Nuer. But, as we can see in the following chart, the greatest frequency was found in Trance and Dance in Bali, which generated almost four times the average of 'negative' reactions.

**Chart 1. Reactions to Trance and Dance in Bali**



The film curve appears displaced to the left in relation to the average distribution, thus emphasizing 'negative' reactions. We can observe the high instance of reactions of dislike towards the film ('confusion', 'boredom'). The peak of 'primary' emotional reactions represents the high frequency of reactions of 'shock' and 'disbelief'. The below-average level of attention/interest expresses reactions of 'curiosity' more than those of 'interest'. 'Secondary' emotional reactions are also far below the average, reflecting the difficulty students had in relating to the Balinese. The following quotes summarize the eminent responses to the film:

*-This film was weird because it was in black and white and it was just a lot of people dancing...I was annoyed with the narration, it was unclear and too confusing...The general viewer would be awestruck and maybe not believe it.*

*-My first reaction was one of fright...I was shocked to witness such a horrifying trance...Why were these people running around and stabbing themselves?...Somewhat bizarre the way they go into convulsions on the ground...They looked silly.*

These statements express a predominantly 'aberrant' decoding of the film: on the one hand, this can be observed in the inability to understand the filmic codes, both the visual grammar (black-and-white is almost synonymous with 'boredom') and the narration, which seemed 'unclear' and too specialized for most students. This feeling was exacerbated by the limited background knowledge students had about Balinese culture and mythology<sup>4</sup>, and by the film format, which depicts a single ritual event, relying on extensive voice over narration to contextualize the trance session. Yet the aberrant decoding is

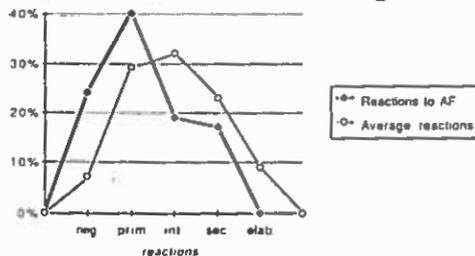
mostly associated with the film's content: the Balinese 'bizarre' cultural codes, interpreted as little more than 'horrifying' nonsense. This perception yields both visceral reactions and feelings of complete alienation from the subjects portrayed. Most students positioned themselves as non-specialized 'general viewers', and allowed themselves little space to negotiate meanings. Overall, students' responses can also be linked to a hegemonic interpretation, which commonly equates the 'primitive' with 'bizarre' behavior.

## 2. Primary emotional reactions

Responses to the 'different' and 'strange' explain the great majority of 'primary' emotional reactions. These impressions generated high levels of 'contradiction' and 'controversy', which stifled a more analytical understanding of the film. The following films elicited a preponderance of 'primary' reactions: *Dervishes of Kurdistan*, *The Nuer*, *Last of the Cuiva*, *The Ax Fight*, *The Feast*, *Trance and Dance in Bali*, *Dead Birds*, the *Jero Tapakan* series, and *Afghan Exodus*. This is the largest set of films grouped under a single category.

Due chiefly to their format and style, all the ethnographic films included in the sample were linked to 'primary' emotional reactions. To students, ethnographic films represent the 'raw' version of the 'primitive other' as opposed to the 'cooked' version of film documentaries. In relation to content, all films dealing with warfare, animal killing and scarification rituals (which students refer to as 'gory' films) produced the largest set of 'primary' emotional reactions. One example of this is *The Ax Fight*:

**Chart 2. Reactions to the Ax Fight**



In this curve, we notice the peak of 'primary' responses ('shock', 'disbelief' of the physical violence), and a high proportion of 'dislike' and 'confusion'. Reactions of attention/interest are below average by almost

half, while 'secondary' emotional responses almost exclusively express 'sympathy' for the beaten Yanomamo women. There were no 'elaborated' responses, as we can see in the following:

*-I didn't understand what was happening...I couldn't believe all the yelling that was going on...Why are these people running around naked hitting each other with sticks...I felt sorry when the women were crying...Too much violence!!!*

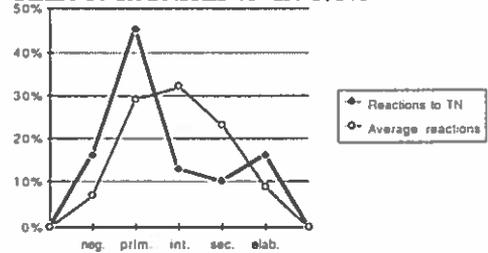
*-The main theme was to show how violent this tribe was...The general viewer may find the film to be boring and repetitious...But it was a good way to show lineages and kinship in a live model.*

*-I was appalled to see how important fighting was to them even if it was over something so stupid...It seemed as though this society was extremely primitive and violent.*

We can clearly note the 'aberrant' decoding, a common response to many films in the Yanomamo series. Students had major problems in understanding both the visual codes of the film and the cultural practices of the Yanomamo. Many students found the three-part format 'boring' and 'repetitive' and the kinship explanation too specialized and difficult to understand. The tendency towards objectification in the filmic style contributed to reactions of alienation from the subjects, yet at the same time appealed to students' sense of 'truthfulness' because of its apparent objectivity. But again, it is the content which accounts for most of the film's aberrant readings. Many students saw Yanomamo nudity as 'controversial', expressing the most 'primitive' form of social life. This is closely related to the 'frightening' violence, which was seen as absurd, 'stupid' and anything but 'normal'. Students saw in the Yanomamo a model of the most 'bizarre' and 'uncivilized' behavior they had probably ever seen<sup>5</sup>. These preferred readings obviously correspond not to negotiated meanings, but to the taken for granted, the hegemonic decoding of the 'primitive' within the paradigm of the barbarian. Only that assumption could explain making a film 'to show how violent' the Yanomamo are.

Another example of a film eliciting predominantly 'primary' emotional reactions is The Nuer:

Chart 3. Reactions to the Nuer



Here we notice the peak of 'primary' reactions of 'shock', 'disgust' and the high frequency of 'negatives' ('dislike', 'boredom'). Levels of interest and 'secondary' emotional reactions are far below the average. The minor peak of 'elaborated' reactions indicates a perceived level of contradiction between the sophisticated film style and the 'disturbing' images of the Nuer. The following quotes express the preeminence of these responses:

*-I didn't like this film at all...I found it long and boring...I was in awe when I saw it...The droning of the cattle almost drove me crazy...The graphic scenes of Gar and the women's scars were sickening and stuck in my mind...The people were dirty...Somewhat controversial.*

*-I was amazed to see this anorexic looking people brushing their teeth with ashes...The reactions around the classroom were disgust at the people, they could not identify, were offended and ridiculed the people for their appearances.*

*-This is one of the best films in the class... Very meditative film...The viewer can experience these people...Really beautiful imagery... Very personal product.*

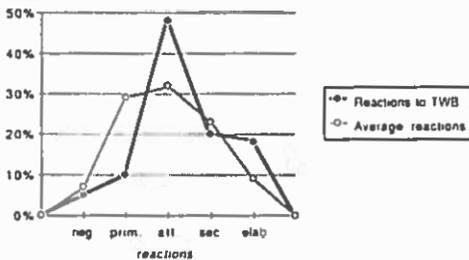
As students themselves acknowledged, most were 'shocked' and 'offended' by the behavior of the Nuer - the latter's 'dirty' and 'sickening' ceremonies. Thus, their 'aberrant' decoding of the film was principally caused by the 'presence' and the 'ridiculed' culture codes of the Nuer. The focus on the Nuer's strong relationship with livestock, their scarification and funerary ceremonies, generated much of the film's alienated readings. Many students found the narration - the 'message' - 'easy' to understand, yet they disliked the film as a whole and found it long, repetitive and lacking information. Along with these 'primary' and 'negative' reactions, the

film's aesthetic and contemplative style - implying a 'sophisticated' viewer - also generated other contradictory feelings and ideas: the film presented students with both 'horror' and 'beauty', subjectivity and 'realism'. In spite - and because - of the shocking images, few viewers appreciated the aesthetic qualities of the film enough to negotiate more 'elaborated' meanings. However, this sensual gratification is mainly a recognition of the film's professionalism, acknowledging the dominant encoding of the exoticized Nuer.

### 3. Attention/Concern Reactions

This category represents different types of concern, ranging from students' curiosity about the 'exotic', to their 'interest' in the films' subject matters. Although this 'interest' was closely linked to entertainment and to little more than a basic understanding of the material, it also represents the degree to which films were found 'educational'. The following films engendered a preponderance of this category: Three Worlds of Bali, Coming of Age, Southeast Nuba, Maasai Women, and Witchcraft Among the Azande. Although focusing on different topics, all these film employ a TV format. Let us analyze the reactions to the "Odyssey" series documentary Three Worlds of Bali:

Chart 4. Reactions to Three Worlds of Bali



Note the lower frequency of 'negative' and 'primary' reactions (less than half the average). The high peak in the middle category reflects the extraordinary level of 'interest' in this film. Although there are not many 'secondary' emotional reactions, the more 'elaborated' responses of 'fascination' and 'impression' amount to twice the average. Most students said they enjoyed the film and found it very 'educational':

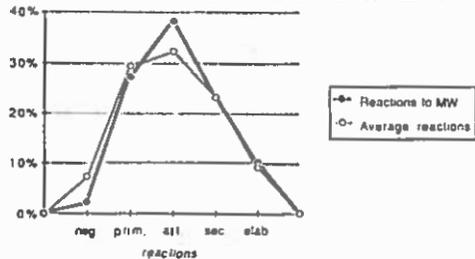
*-One of the most understandable and enjoyable films...Very interesting and educational...It gave the viewer a little of everything...Not boring at all, fast moving and easy to follow...It was not so controversial as the other films.*

*-I was quite impressed by their society...It is great that something like the Arts can tie a whole culture together...An almost ideal society.*

These more 'positive' responses seem to be linked to the familiar television textuality, and indicate a particular type of 'interest' in the film, due to its informative and 'entertaining' nature. Such a 'pleasing' and 'enjoyable' reading of the film was valued in opposition to the non-gratifying experience of 'controversial' films - not withstanding the handful of 'shocked' aberrant interpretations of the 'strange' Balinese behavior. The films discourse implies a non-specialized decoder, which matched the students' self-positioning as 'general viewers'. The celebrated 'overall' depiction of Balinese culture not only contribute to keeping students attention, but also helped them identify with the professional editorial voice and its particular 'appropriation' of meanings. Most students applauded the informational quality of the film, which provided them with a 'good understanding' of Balinese culture. This 'understanding' was important enough to 'impress' students, and to generate feelings of 'admiration' for the idealized Balinese. The film's figuration of the 'other' as a combination of 'Art', 'perfection' and 'exoticism' - as culture-heroes resisting modern technology - resulted in a preponderance of Orientalist decoding.

Two other topics students found very 'interesting' were those of sexual difference and the role of women, which can be clearly observed in their reactions to Maasai Women:

Chart 5. Reactions to Maasai Women



The curve is very similar to one indicating average reactions, but with higher levels of 'interest' and lower levels of 'dislike'. The TV film format, coupled with an 'interesting' topic, influenced such results. We can clearly notice gender-determined differences in students' responses:

#### REPRESENTATIVE FEMALE RESPONSE

*-The film was good and interesting...The women were treated unfairly...I was shocked by the role of women...I am strongly against the pre-arranged marriages and that men were allowed to have many wives...I felt sympathy, they do not realize how poorly they are being treated.*

#### REPRESENTATIVE MALE RESPONSE

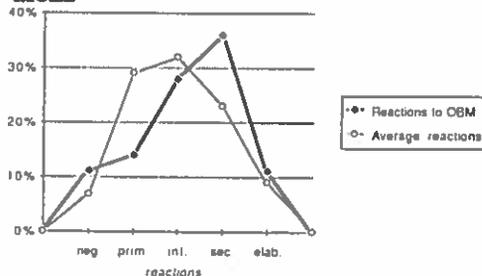
*-I found very interesting how women do all the work...I like how they have a lot of sexual freedom...I liked how they appreciate ancient customs...No sympathy...I hope they continue to be happy.*

Most students found the film clear and informative, although some read it in an 'aberrant' way, feeling alienated by the 'backward' Maasai codes. Gender-based reactions clearly express ideological decoding positions. On the one hand, female students felt more 'touched', and evidently identified with the editorial female voice and its cross-cultural critical view of male dominance. Accordingly, many females read the film from this oppositional stance. Their criticism of hegemonic patriarchy caused them to be much less tolerant of Maasai culture as a whole. On the other hand, although some males criticized the 'unfair' treatment of women, many of them referred to the 'happy' life of Maasai society. This hegemonic decoding of sexuality was accompanied by a more 'tolerant' attitude towards the almost 'ideal' Maasai social structure. Along a continuum of negotiated readings, students reflected upon sexual and cultural difference, resulting in most cases in a reaffirmation of their views about gender, and a validation of some ethnocentric notions of the 'primitive' as both 'backward' and 'ideal'.

#### 4. Secondary Emotional Reactions

The only two films with predominantly 'secondary' emotional reactions, *Ongka's Big Moka* and *Naim and Jabar*, have in common their narrative style and their focus on specific 'characters'. Students discerned a familiar textual code and a 'story' they could 'relate' to, as we can see with *Ongka's Big Moka*:

Chart 6. Reactions to Ongka's Big Moka



The curve is skewed to the left in relation to the average distribution, displaying a peak frequency in the 'secondary' category - mostly 'amusement'. We note a much lower frequency of 'primary' reactions and a lower level of 'interest', which was clearly transmuted into 'entertainment'. 'Negative' and 'elaborated' reactions are found at almost the same level, above the average frequencies.

*-Why is Ongka wearing those clothes!...I thought this film was a comedy...I was happy to see a humorous approach to a film...It held my interest...It was very entertaining...The way they talked and their expressions were really funny.*

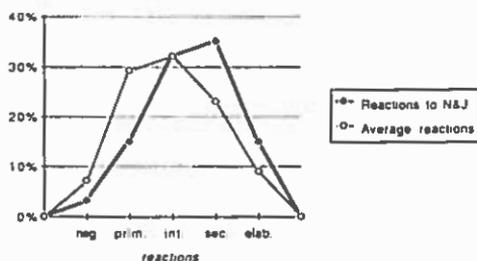
*-I did not really feel too much sympathy because they seemed a bit more civilized than other tribes...I was envious of their generous culture...I get tired of how competitive and vicious our own society is over wealth.*

Although some students were shocked by the 'strange' Kawelka cultural codes (importance of pigs, polygamy, rituals) and felt somewhat disappointed for not being treated to a 'full' satire, most of them read OBM as an 'anthropological comedy' which combined the humor and entertainment they are used to - and look for - in films: the pleasure of 'watching movies'. The film's use of humor helped students to keep their interest, to relate more to the 'characters', and to enjoy the viewing experience. Yet these gratifying feelings also correspond to a hegemonic reading of Ongka as a 'funny' character, a patronizing view rooted in a caricature of the 'primitive' as 'naive' and simple-minded (as seen in cartoons and many Hollywood films). Some students, however, negotiated alternative decodings of their own 'vicious' value-system, contrasting to the 'generous' Kawelka culture. In most cases, this resulted in a romanticized reading of the

Kawelka economic system of redistribution. By the end of the semester, most students ranked OBM as their favorite film, both because of its 'humorous' qualities and its 'characters'.

In contrast, *Naim and Jabar* was seen as the 'drama' of two young Afghan male peasants experiencing economic and educational difficulties.

**Chart 7. Reactions to Naim and Jabar**



The curve appears displaced to the right, emphasizing the more 'positive' responses. Note the peak of 'secondary' reactions - almost exclusively 'sympathy' - the average level of 'interest', and the low frequency of 'primary' and 'negative' responses. The narrative format, aided by an interactive cinéma-vérité style, contributed to a greater emotional engagement. We can also detect gender differences in students' responses:

**REPRESENTATIVE FEMALE RESPONSE**

*-I enjoyed this film... At first it seems there is a lot of poverty, but they also have a lot of time to play and goof around...The subjects were amusing and entertaining...Young men with a great outlook on life and their many opportunities...No sympathy... They were very ambitious.*

**REPRESENTATIVE MALE RESPONSE**

*-This film had a very deep meaning...They are hardworking and destined to a life of poverty...The ending was depressing...The general viewer would feel remorse for these people...I was very sympathetic towards them.*

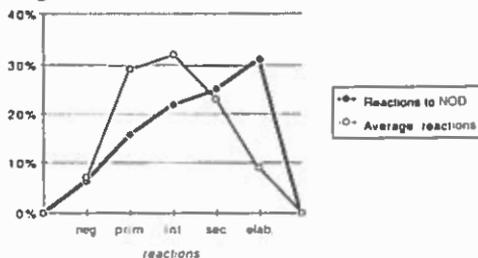
In general, students found the film 'too slow', yet very 'emotional' as well. Aided by the films interactive style, they were able to 'relate' to the 'characters' because of their 'more Westernized' culture, similar age, and their 'search for success'. In contrast with the students' reading of *Maasai Women*, here males identified with the editorial voice: a

sympathetic male following the misfortunes of two male 'characters'. Male students 'sympathized' with them on a 'deep' emotional level - based on perceptions of the characters as 'victims' - and also negotiated some critical views of the 'unfairness' of the dominant economic system and the Afghan government's politics. On the other hand, most females saw the 'characters' from a more distanced - and unsympathetically hegemonic - position, as 'progressive' young men who could succeed had they the initiative to take advantage of the 'tremendous' opportunities offered by the dominant system. The film narrative positioned viewers' particular relation to the characters between two poles of response to the Third World: patronization and insouciance on the one hand; sorrow, guilt and remorse on the other.

**5. Elaborated Reactions**

There was no preponderance of this category in any of the films about the 'primitive'. In fact, in three films (*Trance and Dance in Bali*, *The Ax Fight*, *Last of the Cuiva*) there was almost no evidence of 'elaborated' reactions whatsoever. These reactions, it seems, could only be generated by a film representing the students' own culture, such as *Number Our Days*:

**Chart 8. Reactions to Number Our Days**



The curve moves straight up from 'negative' to 'positive' reactions, reflecting the most 'positive' impact registered by the sample students. 'Empathy' is the most common reaction:

*-It seemed weird how old people were going to be an anthropology study...My grandma is in a retirement home and I know how they live...I feel very sorry for the older generation.*

*-I loved this film... Very emotional...I enjoyed seeing Barbara Myerhoff get involved while the documentary film was being filmed...It really*

*opened my eyes and made me think of myself as an elderly in this harsh world where we live.*

Although some students resisted the idea of seeing themselves as 'anthropological subjects', most of them--regardless of gender-identified with the authorial, self-reflexive voice of anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff and her return to the 'exoticism' of the self. This movement, a result of Myerhoff's shift from studying Huitchol culture to elderly Jews in Venice Beach, made quite an impression on students. Most students perceived the subjects as 'old others' rather than 'Jewish others' and empathized with them at a level of familiarity rarely seen in the course. Besides this strong emotional involvement, students also negotiated critical readings of their social reality ('our harsh world'). The topic and the 'reflexive' style of the film contributed greatly to these results. These findings suggest, at least primarily, that higher levels of 'empathy' and 'reflexivity' can be found among students only when they view films concerning themselves and their own culture.

### Conclusions

These results indicate a certain pattern of emotional, cognitive and ideological responses to anthropological films. As noted, most students decoded ethnographic films in an 'aberrant' way, with high levels of 'culture shock' and alienation, and with relatively low level of understanding of both film and subject-matter. These readings are clearly linked to the specialized film format, and to what is perceived as the 'bizarre' appearance and behavior of the 'primitive'. Students' 'interest' was stimulated by topics of general concern (gender, economics, 'exotica', etc.) and by made-for-TV documentary films. This standard reading was a product of curiosity combined with students' desire for entertainment. Emotionally engaging films were highly valued, while more strictly informational and overtly educational films were commonly seen as 'dry' and 'boring'. Students' preference for films with humor and narrative drama reveals much about deep-seated understanding of film viewing as essentially an emotional experience. The relatively small proportion of 'elaborated' readings suggests that most viewers did not develop higher levels of critical analysis and reflexivity; it also points to the difficulty that students had in relating to

the 'primitive other'. Students seemed to respond 'positively' only to subjects from their own culture, and to the kind of 'stories' they like and to which they have been habituated.

To a great extent, these tendencies epitomize not only our student sample but ethnographic film's primary audience as well<sup>6</sup>. Students' preferred readings are symptoms of larger ideological maps of signification about the 'primitive other'. They reveal the dialectics of dominance and contestation in the ethnographic film viewer, who is clearly disposed towards the dominant stereotypes of the 'primitive' as either the idealized 'Noble Savage', or the grotesque 'Barbarian'. These 'symptoms' also express deeper structures for desire operating within the realm of the 'imaginary'. They hint at predominantly unconscious operations and subjective processes. This issue, which I have not analyzed here, breaches the importance of affective and subliminal meanings in the interpretation of ethnographic films. At the risk of over-generalization, the students' emotional and unconscious responses are often overlooked and consequently repressed by professors, which may explain why this energy is promptly rechanneled into stereotyped perceptions.

In this discussion, I have principally focused on the students' self-positioning as 'non-specialized' viewers and on how the filmic texts positioned them in their diverse ways. It is fundamental to also consider how the 'context' of the course positions students. The 'symptomatic' readings analyzed here reflect, to a certain measure, how films were presented, or how the instructor 'translated' the films (course design, class dynamics, film sequence, written materials, etc.). In our sample, the instructor used written texts in an 'informational' fashion and relied on the presentation of an extensive number of films, which might have reinforced the students' self-image as little more than 'general' viewers. It is very likely that if ethnographic films were not included in the list, the average distribution would result in more 'positive' responses. On the other hand, it is also likely that if the course approach were more analytic, reactions to ethnographic films would have been more 'positive'. But how much different? To what extent does the 'contextual' information effect emotional and ideological reactions? From my

experience in assisting various professors using different teaching approaches, I have observed that the tendencies, the patterns of response, outlined here, do not change very much; they may in degree, but not very much in kind<sup>7</sup>. In future articles, I will elaborate more on issues concerning the pragmatics of ethnographic film.

Our analysis suggests some alternatives that instructors can adopt in their use of film. As mass media researchers have counselled communication professionals regarding general audiences (Condit, 1989), anthropology professors can contribute to bringing about 'positive' social change by:

-familiarizing students with the history, content, and issues of ethnographic film and its relation to the mass media and the 'culture industry' (increasing their levels of film literacy);

-dealing with students' emotional reactions to films, helping to liberate energies that otherwise would be transformed into reified dominant stereotypes;

-teaching students the range of potential decodings for texts, thereby helping them increase their ideological range;

-analyzing the 'symptomatic' readings of particular audiences (students, general viewers, others);

-teaching students decoding alternatives, which would demand effort, but which may also become both 'pleasurable' and edifying resources that they can draw upon in the future.

### List of films included in sample

#### Spring 1987

1. Trance & Dance in Bali (TDB)
2. Dead Birds (DB)
3. The Ax Fight (AF)
4. The Feast (TF)
5. The Nuer (TN)
6. Jero Tapakan series (JT)
7. Naim& Jabar (N&J)
8. Number Our Days (NOD)
9. In Her Own Time (IHOT)
10. Exilio (Ex)
11. Ongka's Big Moka (OBM)
12. Three Worlds of Bali (TWB)
13. Coming of Age (COA)
14. Maasai Women (MW)
15. Witchcraft Among the Azande (WAA)
16. Southeast Nuba (SN)
17. Dervishes of Kurdistan (DK)
18. Last of the Cuiva (LC)

19. Afghan Exodus (AE)

20. The Pathans (TP)

### Notes

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Acknowledgements. I would like to thank Steven D. Grossman and Nancy Lutkehaus for their critical reading of this article and for their valuable contribution to improve its style and organization.

1. This three year research was partly designed and supervised with Dr. Nancy Lutkehaus. The project was funded by the Spencer Foundation, the Fulbright Commission and the Center for Visual Anthropology at the University of Southern California. Preliminary reports have been presented in the form of papers at the American Anthropological Association meetings in 1987, 1988 and 1989, and as a research report to the Spencer Foundation. The project also included the production of a video series depicting the major findings of the study. A first video entitled "Viewing Cultures" has already been completed.

2. The introductory course entitled "Exploring Culture through Film" is a general education requirement that makes extensive use of film/video. A total of 250 students registered in Spring 1987, and were organized into three sections. The study sample corresponds to one of the sections in which I worked as a teaching assistant.

3. On average, 40% of the course time was spent in lecture and discussion and 60% was dedicated to film/video screenings. The instructor introduced anthropological theory in the context of contemporary cross-cultural media presentations, and emphasized the development of students' critical analysis of a large number of films. Although films differed slightly in their contextualization, all films were preceded by an introductory lecture, and followed by some discussion. Written materials were available for almost all films, as well as transcripts of the lectures.

4. In particular, "Trance and Dance in Bali" was presented with little background information. Although the instructor introduced the film and lectured on Mead's and Bateson's work in Bali, no related written materials were made available.

5. The similarity with the results of Hearn and DeVore here is patent. After watching the films, students saw the Yanomamo not merely as another 'naked people running around', but as 'the primitive' *par excellence*.

6. In my presentations of these results in meetings and conferences, I have heard professors from many universities in the United States agreeing with my overall findings, and commenting on the striking similarities found in the way their students react to particular ethnographic films.

7. Besides personal observation and qualitative analysis, these tendencies have also been statistically measured. The results of two attitude scale tests applied to 900 students of six different sections of the course, have revealed that their overall attitudes towards the 'primitive' do not change significantly after viewing the films.

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## CONCLUDING REMARKS ON PAST MEETINGS

### VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUMS

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In February 1990 a retrospective on ethnographic film took place at the National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography "Luigi Pigorini", in Rome. This was the first meeting organized since a "protocol" was signed by the Museum's Director, Dr. Giovanni Scichilone, and myself as Director of the Anthropological Section of the Festival dei Popoli of Florence. The protocol emphasizes the importance of visual anthropology within the museum's context, however, cooperation between the Museum and the Festival dei Popoli should not be seen as an attempt to create another ethnographic film festival. While a selection of the ethnographic films submitted each year to the Festival, to be screened in Rome, will provide an opportunity for viewing films that don't have access to a market-dependent distribution in Italy, it will also serve to fulfill another major aim, towards improved discussions and reflections on the potentialities of visuals within the museum context. As I wrote in the Catalogue of the 30th Festival dei Popoli (Nov. - Dec. 1989), the time has come to "discuss both the problems of the conservation and use of audio-visual materials in ethnographic museums, and the ways and means by which the museums themselves can produce their own audio-visual materials.... The purpose or 'destination' of an ethnographic film determines the way it is conceived and made, which is why only a very small part of the existing material is suitable to the needs of a museum. We must therefore be more farsighted: our objective for the future must be to establish a specialized kind of film production that is the result of close collaboration between museums and visual anthropologists from the very first stages of planning and conceiving the work".

Actually we all must agree with Asen Balikci's statement that "increasingly objects in static exhibits are being realistically integrated and given deeper meaning by the use of related

audiovisuals...This practice, however, is meeting with difficulties due to the lack of directly appropriate film materials" (VCA-NL may 1989). But, as he also argues, "what about the general lack of museum involvement in the production of new ethnographic films?": That is the major problem we are concerned with, and in my opinion its existence is due to "a set of conservative policies rejecting innovation" rather than to the other reasons suggested by Balikci. I know from personal experience the many difficulties one may encounter when trying to introduce visual anthropology in Italian ethnographic museums, in spite of the supportive ideas expressed by Paolo Mantegazza who founded in 1870 one of the most important ethnographic museums in Italy, the "National Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology" in Florence: he was aware of the potentialities offered by photography to the museum exhibits of "objects", which can be powerfully contextualized by photographic images.

Within the general conservative attitude which prevails there are few exceptions which could be mentioned, and as Balikci himself points out (Osaka, Amsterdam...) even these are not always as innovative as they might appear: during the meeting in Rome we were shown a video on the Osaka museum's videotheque, and the response was not a favorable one. Actually, from a technological point of view, the videotheque seems to be very well organized, richly equipped and easily accessible. However, we were left with the impression that there is a lack of "interaction" between it and the exhibits, whereas what we are seeking is an improvement of such an interactive relationship.

Personally, I do not have any solutions to that problem. I am convinced, however, that an interaction between visual anthropology and ethnographic museums is possible - and I know that it is desirable and could be mutually profitable. What we need is to devise a methodology that still doesn't exist. When, introducing the Seminar that took place after the screenings at the "Pigorini" Museum, I emphasized that the search for a methodology is the challenge which lies before us. The

renewal of ethnographic museums (as well as of visual anthropology, as far as its "uses" are concerned) will only be possible if we realize the urgency of a cooperative program: as Giovanni Scichilone argues, "as well as the conservation of its collections, the duty of a museum must be to promote all forms of knowledge that are in any way pertinent to its sphere of activity, and also to contribute to the progress of research... It is within this context that our collaboration with the Festival dei Popoli stresses once more the extraordinary contribution that photography and film (and today video) have given and continue to give to Anthropology, and indeed to History... All this will undoubtedly contribute to make the cultural presence of the museum richer and more relevant, but it will also make society more interested and aware of the problems of visual anthropology, emphasizing once again the close interrelation between the world of the museum and scholarly research. Our collaboration will also bring about new developments more specifically in the field of the presentation of data and materials in our permanent exhibits, and we are very much looking forward to these innovations".

The meeting held in Rome served to provide a preliminary discussion between scholars who share common interests. Its aim was to pose specific questions in view of promoting further reflections on the topic. The David Turton from the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology (Manchester), Magda Vasilov from New York University who is working on 19th century anthropological photography, Allison Jablonko, Antonio Marazzi, Franz Haller who is actively concerned with production of films by ethnographic museums, were kindly invited to participate in the debate, which of course was introduced by Giovanni Scichilone, director of the ethnographic museum.

I won't give a report of the discussions, as it was only a "beginning", but I would like to stress that everybody did agree that we must keep working and that we should try to involve both visual anthropologists and museums. Thus, my short "commentary" is, in fact, a call for help: let's join forces!

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L'AUDIOVISUEL EN ANTHROPOLOGIE:  
LE DEUXIEME ATELIER INTERNATIONAL  
DE LA VIEILLE CHARITÉ A MARSEILLE

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Du 14 au 18 juin 1989 a eu lieu à la vieille Charité de Marseille le deuxième atelier international d'anthropologie visuelle. Cette manifestation était organisée par l'Institut Méditerranéen de recherche et de création (IMEREC) en collaboration avec le centre de recherche en Ecologie Sociale (EHESS et CNRS). En quatre jours, une cinquantaine de films de «maîtres» ou d'apprentis furent présentés par leurs réalisateurs respectifs. L'objectif était de mêler les grands noms de l'audiovisuel anthropologique aux simples coups d'essai et celui-ci fut pleinement réalisé. Mais ce «melting pot» d'images, tout juste structuré selon l'appartenance nationale des réalisateurs, donna à la «révolution vidéo» annoncée en introduction par Pierre Jordan un cachet ambigu et déséparant. Toutefois, les montages proposés, par leur nombre et leur hétérogénéité, ont permis aux spectateurs de se faire une juste idée de la production audiovisuelle en ce domaine. Une typologie grossière des différents genres qui se sont dessinés au fil de cette rencontre va être exposée!

Au préalable, il convient de souligner que la communauté scientifique dispose aujourd'hui d'une masse considérable d'oeuvres anthropologiques filmées dont le caractère assez récent et l'expansion rapide rendent toutes entreprises classificatoires extrêmement délicates. Déterminer l'essence,

la logique intrinsèque, les articulations principales, de ce corps singulier de réalisations audiovisuelles ne sont pas des objectifs évidents à atteindre. A l'instabilité de l'objet d'étude propre à la mouvance actuelle des faits, à la naissance de la discipline, se mêlent les contraintes spécifiques aux usages de typologies. Contraignantes par certains de leurs côtés, elles n'en restent pas moins nécessaires à la clarification des phénomènes complexes. Aussi, afin de contrer le danger des grilles interprétatives rigoureuses, faut-il considérer les ensembles suivants comme des espaces aux frontières fluctuantes et non comme définitions univoques et réductrices auxquelles seraient irrémédiablement attachées chacune des oeuvres.

Quatre grands courants se sont dessinés derrière les relations interdépendantes et constantes qui se jouent entre la problématique de base, le traitement filmique et la finalité de diffusion. Le premier courant consiste à utiliser la caméra comme un stylo, comme un carnet de note. Le camescope revêt alors la même fonction qu'un magnétophone de travail à savoir l'enregistrement de données brutes qui seront par la suite dépouillées et analysées pour répondre à des recherches destinées, la plupart du temps, à être publiées par écrit. Si on en croit les adeptes de cette technique, celle-ci permettrait de véritablement libérer le chercheur des contraintes d'enregistrement tout en multipliant la richesse de la saisie par un coefficient infiniment supérieur. Pour les ethnomusicologues présents à l'atelier, l'équipe de Arom Simha<sup>2</sup>, le camescope fut la condition même de la réussite de leurs expérimentations. Ils purent se concentrer pleinement sur leur objet d'analyse, aussi pointu soit-il, tout en ayant par la suite un aperçu plus général de leur travail de terrain. Il convient toutefois de remarquer que Arom Simha et ses collègues n'ont octroyé à l'audiovisuel qu'un rôle «mineur» de témoin oculaire. Certes, cela répondait à leurs besoins et une méthode en soi n'est pas critiquable indépendamment de son objet. Cependant, il est aisé d'imaginer que l'audiovisuel en anthropologie puisse être exploité dès ce premier stade d'utilisation en fonction de ses capacités réelles d'enregistrement. Si la qualité esthétique n'est que peu pertinente dans ce premier genre, il serait erroné de penser toutefois qu'un tournage

sauvage et tout azimut puisse convenir aux objectifs du «stylo-caméra», la réussite de l'entreprise dépendant d'une connaissance préalable de la problématique de base, condition nécessaire à l'exploitation optimale de cette nouvelle modalité d'enquête.

La deuxième catégorie qui s'est dessinée lors des projections peut être rassemblée sous le terme générique de «documentaires culturels». Il s'agit parfois de produits de qualité, esthétiquement agréables, rigoureusement filmés et montés. Mais la problématique sous-jacente, elle, ne relève que très rarement d'investigations anthropologiques ou ethnologiques au sens strict. Bien qu'il y ait en filigrane un particularisme ethnique, celui-ci ne suffit pas à hisser la production sur le palier de l'anthropologie visuelle. La question principale étant trop vague dans la majorité des cas, il s'ensuit pour le spectateur un désarroi quant aux enseignements, aux messages, que l'on aura voulu lui faire passer. De plus, de gros problèmes techniques et esthétiques trahissent un amateurisme très généralisé. Ces multiples imperfections relatives à la problématique ou à la technique ne permettent pas de voir en ces films une finalité clairement définie. En ce qui concerne le «stylo-caméra» présenté ci-dessus, il est clair que l'objectif visé est avant tout scientifique et que la réalisation est destinée à un public très restreint d'initiés. Ici, le caractère trop flou de la question centrale annihile l'éventualité d'une utilisation scientifique et contrarie une diffusion à spectre plus large.

La «filmographie» consisterait quant à elle en un tournage focalisé sur une problématique très pointue relevant de préoccupations purement ethnographiques. On enregistre alors, à des fins de diffusion, la chaîne opératoire concernant la réalisation du charbon dans le Piémont italien, on filme le rituel thérapeutique appliqué à un enfant souffrant chez les pygmées<sup>3</sup>, le rituel d'initiation des jeunes hommes en Papouasie<sup>4</sup>. Ce type de production pourrait être considéré comme le type «maître» de l'utilisation de l'audiovisuel en anthropologie par sa rigueur conceptuelle. Mais si ce genre se distingue positivement du précédent, le spectateur qui n'a pas d'attente particulière face à ces descriptions a tendance à trouver ces oeuvres fort longues. Il convient également de noter que si le public

non anthropologue et les anthropologues non initiés ont apprécié le film<sup>5</sup>, pour peu que la projection ait été perspicacement dosée en temps, il n'empêche, les spectateurs n'en restent pas moins frustrés en sortie de salle par un manque difficilement identifiable. C'était certes «ethnologique», «concis», «intéressant», «de qualité», mais l'anthropologie visuelle est-elle véritablement réductible à ce genre de production?

Dans les trois rubriques présentées jusqu'ici («stylo-caméra», «documentaires culturels», «filmographie») ne passe-t-on pas systématiquement à côté d'un paramètre essentiel qui pourtant est au coeur du problème? L'art du spectacle, puisque nous sommes en anthropologie visuelle, fait partie de façon intégrante de la question. Or, très souvent, le plaisir, l'esthétique, l'équilibre et le rythme des images et du son, sont des aspects totalement évacués de la réalisation. Le spectateur se trouve alors face à des reportages, face à des rituels d'une aridité excessive, qui n'a d'ailleurs pas d'égale dans la réalité. La dernière catégorie de cette classification est constituée par l'ensemble des montages qui ont su associer à la rigueur scientifique de leur problématique une dimension «arts du spectacle» incontestable. Cela sous-entend bien entendu des productions à gros budgets, souvent en 16 mm ou en vidéo professionnelle, mais pas toujours. Aux grands noms, aux gros moyens, se mêlent petits matériels et petits titres. Par exemple, *Le voilier d'écaille* de Christine Matignon; douze minutes trente de réalisation qui nous transporte dans le Marais, à Paris, chez un des derniers tabletiers écaillistes. La qualité de ce film est due à une «thématique» rigoureuse qui structure la réalisation de la première image à la dernière. La problématique est constituée de cinq clefs principales; une concernant la gestuelle, le matériel, la technologie propre au métier d'écailliste, une autre soulignant l'évolution de l'atelier dans le temps (vie du groupe, importance du travail), une autre encore concentrée sur la transmission du savoir et des biens, puis sur la passion et l'implication de l'artisan face à son travail (réalisation d'un voilier d'écaille après les heures de «travail»), et enfin le traitement du mythe des grands espaces, de l'exotisme (voilier, tortue) versus la réalité immobile à huis clos (atelier, ville, hivers). Le «fond» est

de qualité (luminosité, son, éclairage, montage) et le tempo idéal pour informer sans jamais lasser. Il s'agit là d'une illustration possible, et modeste, de ce que l'on pourrait qualifier: «film anthropologique». Parmi les personnalités et toujours selon les mêmes critères de sélection à savoir une problématique bien définie et un esthétisme irréprochable, nous pouvons citer la compilation des *Sigui* de Jean Rouch et Germaine Dieterlen<sup>6</sup>, *Vivre avec les Dieux: Prophètes en leur pays* de J.P. Colleyn, M. Augé, J.P. Dozon, *Journal d'un ethnologue en Chine* de Fava ou encore, peut-être avec un peu moins de notoriété, *Low is better* de Robert Boonzager-Flaes et on en oublie certainement. La caractéristique de la finalité propre à ces films anthropologiques est de se vouloir scientifiques de par la rigueur de leurs thèmes et du traitement qui s'ensuit tout en aspirant à une large diffusion. Aussi, ces réalisations peuvent être qualifiées de «tout public»<sup>7</sup>. Les spécialistes trouveront ici des faits qu'ils connaissent déjà dans *Ethnie* présentée ou par comparaison et seront d'autant plus attentifs que l'oeuvre présentée sera scientifiquement crédible. Les spectateurs vierges de toute lecture anthropologique institutionnelle, quant à eux, apprécieront un instant d'exotisme certain, se régaland des images et du caractère authentique qui ne manquera pas de se dégager de lui-même au cours de la diffusion.

Cette deuxième rencontre d'anthropologie visuelle a donc proposé un panorama élargi de la production actuelle. Aussi, le but de ce compte-rendu n'est pas tant d'exposer l'organisation logistique de la manifestation ou encore de définir ce que devrait être le film anthropologique de façon théorique mais de présenter l'identité que la production audiovisuelle dans cette discipline a laissée paraître lors de l'atelier de la Vieille Charité. La typologie ci-dessus est une mise en évidence des différentes caractéristiques possibles auxquelles se rattachent les productions. «Stylo-caméra», «documentaires culturels», «filmographie», «films anthropologiques», sont des zones déterminées à partir de paramètres fixes tels que la problématique, l'esthétisme et l'objectifs de la diffusion. Une grille d'analyse axée sur des paramètres différents (pédagogiques, politiques...) donnerait lieu à une tout autre répartition. Toutefois, relever la subjectivité

d'une telle organisation ne veut pas dire s'interdire toutes définitions de ce que peut être, ou plutôt de ce que ne peut pas être, l'anthropologie visuelle. Tous les films diffusés et projetés ne sont pas qualifiables d'«ethnologiques» sans danger pour la notoriété et l'intégrité de cette discipline des sciences humaines. Il convient de reconnaître que tout n'est pas à prendre, qu'une interview reste une interview, qu'un documentaire culturel se situe plutôt dans la sphère du journalisme alternatif que dans celle de l'anthropologie. Mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y a qu'une seule anthropologie visuelle possible. Comme pour l'anthropologie écrite, la pluralité des grilles d'analyse, des objectifs, des courants de pensées, des sensibilités, empêche de cantonner cet art à une forme particulière<sup>8</sup>.

Les chercheurs qui se lancent dans le vidéo semblent ne pas avoir conscience de l'exigence temporelle, matérielle et conceptuelle que cela implique. Il en résulte ainsi un sentiment de non-fiction, de «bâclage» qui ne peut porter que préjudice à la reconnaissance scientifique de cette pratique. Un premier tournage ne peut suffire à échafauder et réaliser un film anthropologique. Pour Jean-Paul Colleyn, réalisateur professionnel d'oeuvres d'anthropologie visuelle destinées à une diffusion télévisée, deux tournages au minimum sont nécessaires. Une première prise «test» permet de déterminer les exigences matérielles propres au terrain d'un point de vue purement technique. Suivra un tournage «optimalisé» qui pourra être véritablement exploité par la suite à des fins de diffusion. La réutilisation des données enregistrées lors de ce second tournage est également fonction de la pertinence des options thématiques définies à l'avance selon la lecture désirée. Ce dernier aspect implique donc une connaissance précise et préalable des questions anthropologiques à traiter. Ainsi, l'auteur peut être distinct du réalisateur si le film est directement inspiré d'une oeuvre écrite antérieure. Mais toutes les réalisations audiovisuelles ne sont pas inspirées de monographies préexistantes. Il est possible de se lancer dans une création tout à fait personnelle. Le processus de réalisation est alors similaire à celui présenté par Colleyn sauf qu'à la première prise «test» devra être associée impérativement une enquête de terrain

traditionnelle afin de mettre au point une problématique précise. La vidéo, prise comme un moyen d'enregistrement audiovisuel pratique et économique<sup>9</sup>, sera un auxiliaire précieux d'enregistrement.

Tout au long des présentations, chaque film a donné lieu à un débat tourné sur son contenu même afin de rectifier des contre-sens perçus, des manques à la compréhension. Cette caractéristique systématique des discussions laisse penser que jusqu'à présent l'audiovisuel en anthropologie ne se suffit que très rarement à lui-même. Peu nombreuses sont les oeuvres qui donnent aux spectateurs l'impression d'une «totalité». Cette sensation est due, pour une part, au regard biaisé que nous portons sur les produits présentés. Nous sommes imprégnés du traitement anthropologique graphique sans pouvoir véritablement nous en dégager, ce qui nous pousse à appliquer, de façon plus ou moins consciente, une vision dualiste catégorique des modalités de traitements anthropologiques. Ainsi, sommes nous portés à croire que nous avons l'«intelligence» d'une situation ethnique avec le livre, ou la couleur et le rythme avec l'audiovisuel et que jamais ce dernier mode d'expression ne pourra revendiquer la même qualité scientifique que l'écriture alphabétique. Mais ce serait être dans l'erreur la plus totale que de penser qu'il s'agit ici de concurrencer l'encre et le papier. Le défi consiste plus simplement à faire admettre l'audiovisuel comme aussi une «écriture» avec sa grammaire propre<sup>10</sup>, qu'il s'agit d'une modalité d'exploitation spécifique constituant en elle-même un champ d'investigation total. L'auto-suffisance de cette science est donc concomitante d'une dissociation claire d'objets et de finalités avec sa référence mère. Mais il reste encore à définir, dans les faits, les objets et les finalités propres à l'anthropologie visuelle. Faut-il penser comme Jean-Paul Colleyn à savoir que l'audiovisuel dans cette discipline ne peut prétendre qu'à une finalité suggestive, évoquant aux uns et alléchant les autres?

Avec l'anthropologie visuelle nous abordons systématiquement les grandes questions épistémologiques et méthodologiques de l'anthropologie en général et là plus qu'ailleurs lorsqu'il s'agit de considérer si l'anthropologie relève de l'art ou de la science, se l'interprétation à laquelle se livre

irréremédiablement le réalisateur annihile ou pas toute «objectivité»? Mais ces débats rejoignent trop ceux qui ont déjà été posés pour les travaux rédigés pour être à nouveau développés. Aussi la notion de «révolution» évoquée par les organisateurs, à savoir «vidéo» versus «16 mm», conclura ce compte-rendu. Certes, la démocratisation «technique» est effective et les possibles audiovisuels d'enregistrement et de traitement se trouvent depuis quelques années plusieurs fois déculpés<sup>11</sup>. Mais la question ne se situe pas tant entre la vidéo ouverte à presque tous et le 16 mm ouvert à presque personne que sur des questions d'essence de l'audiovisuel qu'il soit magnétique ou chimique. Ainsi, la révolution vidéo ne sera effective non pas lorsque chaque anthropologue possédera une caméra et/ou lorsque les contraintes d'archivage seront résolues, mais quand la discipline aura pris le temps de réfléchir sur ses échecs et ses avancées. La prise de conscience des chercheurs relative à l'acte de création dans lequel ils s'engouffrent aux côtés de leur camescope ainsi qu'aux exigences disciplinaires ne peut qu'aller de pair avec la reconnaissance scientifique de ce champ d'investigations audiovisuelles.

#### Notes

1. Les catégories présentées dans le corps de texte sont des entités relatives aux projections qui ont eu lieu lors de l'atelier d'anthropologie visuelle de la Vieille Charité en juin 1989. La construction de cette typologie fait exclusivement référence à l'ensemble des oeuvres diffusées lors de cette manifestation, ce qui ne permet pas d'entrevoir en elle un caractère généralisable.
2. Sihma Arom, Directeur des recherches au CNRS, Ethnomusicologie et vidéo, *Expérimentation sur les échelles musicales d'Afrique Centrale*.
3. A. Epelboin, F. Gaulier, *Yakpata, guérisseur pygmée: la fumigation de Boyangi*
4. Kumain Nunjta, *Sinmia*, Papouasi e Nouvelle Guinée.
5. Exemple de film apprécié par le public: A. Epelboin, F. Gaulier, «Chronique pygmée: "Berceuse AKA"».
6. Invités d'honneur de cette deuxième rencontre.
7. Tout est relatif: il serait erroné de croire que l'audiovisuel est un moyen de démocratisation du savoir scientifique. L'image et le son proposant des messages tout aussi distanciés que ceux de l'écrit. Voir sur ce thème *Anthropologie de la gestuelle. Anthropologie de l'image*, Actes de l'atelier 8 du Colloque «La pratique de l'anthropologie aujourd'hui».
8. Comme exemple de la diversité des approches et de sa tolérance, nous notons une réalisation qui a suscité un

débat effectif quant à la mobilité des marges relatives aux problématiques anthropologiques. Il s'agit du film de Robert Boonzager-Flaes (Université d'Amsterdam), *Low is better*. Nous sommes ici au coeur d'une approche comparative de la technique du cor au Népal et en Suisse reflétant un courant d'investigation focalisé sur la particularité des relations entre l'anthropologue et ses hôtes, sur l'amitié, la complicité, la communication. Quelques critiques à l'égard de ce film ont porté sur la participation du réalisateur à l'action filmée, laquelle biaiserait la nature de l'objet anthropologique.

9. Relativement à l'enregistrement sur pellicule.

10. Voir J.P. Olivier de Sardan dans *Anthropologie de la gestuelle. Anthropologie de l'image*, déjà cité.

11. Cependant, la vidéo ne renferme pas que des qualités; les difficultés liées à la conversation des bandes sont extrêmement préoccupantes. En effet, la pellicule garantit une conversation à long terme que ne peut offrir la bande magnétique. Pour éviter une perte d'information trop importante, celles-ci doivent être repiquées en moyenne tous les cinq ans.

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CULTURE  
25-28 September 1989

Leslie DEVEREAUX

This, the last of the year's major events about Film and the Humanities, was held in the HRC reading room from 25 to 28 September. For the visitors as well as local scholars and film-makers who participated through the winter in the full round of film screenings and talks the conference was in many ways a culmination of debates and ideas which had been developing for months. One of the unique qualities of the year and of this theme was that it went far beyond interdisciplinary meetings to bring together people from inside and outside the academy, and also to include film-makers whose chief medium of expression is the image rather than the word. The final conference continued in this project, and perhaps its greatest success was that many participants expressed their satisfaction in this meeting of minds. (It must be confessed that there were also the occasional instances of bewilderment and exasperation.)

Professor Mihaly Hoppal, of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and newly arrived Visiting Fellow, opened the conference with an overview of the history of Hungarian cinema which offered a particularly interesting perspective of how the notion of culture is understood in the context of political and cultural hegemony in the Eastern European region. This was the first signal of the many conflicting and intersecting ways in which the idea of culture was to be deployed through the ensuing four days. Over and over, the political implications of this notion were reflected either in the papers presented, or in their critics' pleas for considering what had been left unsaid.

This issue was clearly expressed in the current work of Paul Willemen, of the British Film Institute, which explores how cultural differences intersect with the heavily capitalized conditions of film production, leading him on to query whether there is any possibility of a true alternative to accepting cinema as an homogenizing tool of cultural domination. His paper, entitled The National, took up differences in national cinematic traditions and asked what degree of critical understanding was possible across cultural boundaries, setting these concerns not only within the critical practices of cinema studies but within the relations of minorities to the dominant cultures in nation states. His paper set a point of reference for the entire conference and carried all our subsequent discussions into a new register.

Several papers throughout the week reverberated with this theme. Sylvia Lawson, author, essayist and columnist now working as an independent scholar, treated us to a marvelously illustrated talk around her script for a film to be titled The Outside Story which sets the building of the Sydney Opera House in its complex cultural and political context. Her paper, reflecting perhaps the particular sensibility of Australians to questions of cultural domination, provided a keen example of how public agendas selectively grant a forum to some issues and thereby obfuscate other important issues and struggles. Professor E. Ann Kaplan, Director of The Institute for the Humanities at the State University of New York in Stony Brook, accepted the challenge to reserve a space for cross-cultural criticism in her paper Theorizing the Politics of Sexual

Representation in Three Recent Chinese Films, which draws on some modern Chinese films about woman's place and sexuality and discusses this in the light of Western feminist film theory. And some of Professor Kaplan's queries about cultural meanings were set for us in a Chinese context by Merrilyn Fitzpatrick, historian and active distributor of modern Chinese film.

Barbara Creed, of Cinema Studies at La Trobe, challenged us all with a very cinematic presentation of aspects of horror genres and how they work to bring our unconscious beliefs about the body into conscious representation. Just before the conference Barbara had presented a series of very lucid outlines of the uses of various psychoanalytic schools of thought in modern film theory, which prepared us well for Barrymore, the Body and Bliss: Male Representation and Female Spectatorship of the 20s. Gaylyn Studlar, assistant professor in Theatre and Film Studies at Emory University, presented a dense and lively treatment of the cultural contradictions involved in the attempt by Hollywood to use the male body as a lure for female audiences, and in passing dealt with much of the currently vexed thinking about the male gaze and the possibility of a female gaze in cinema theory.

The issue of the gaze and that of the audience's identity, both in psychological and sociological terms, was one which preoccupied conference participants at many levels. The politics of subjectivity and objectification as they are embedded in conventions of representation in cinema (and in writing) continued to be scrutinized in the papers dealing with the ethnographic enterprise. Anthropology, which has specialized in writing about cultural difference in a scientific genre, has only recently begun to consider its own conventions of representation and audience. But it is also the only scholarly discipline which has made consistent use of film as a medium of exposition. The conventions of exposition in film, however, are set by television as much as narrative fictions are determined by Hollywood cinematic practices; anthropologists often disavow ethnographic film and its difficulties.

Gary Kildea, independent film-maker and HRC Visiting Fellow, made a strong plea for the place of film in anthropology in his talk

entitled The Illegitimate Art and Science of Ethnographic Film, claiming that in significant ways all observation reflects the observer's subjectivity. A very considered case for the capacity of ethnographic film to serve as a conduit for the subjective voice of the object - the person filmed - was made by David MacDougall, film-maker of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and HRC Visiting Fellow, in his paper, The Subjective Voice in Ethnographic Film. Representing a person, already a strength of cinematic codes, may allow an ethnographic film-maker richly to convey an aspect of a different cultural experience in its context, and partially to escape the generalizing tendencies of exposition. Throughout the conference pointed debate on objectivity and information was kept alive by Peter Loizos, anthropologist, film-maker, and HRC Visiting Fellow, who had stirred up many good discussions during the regular screenings through the winter.

Marc Piault, of CNRS in Paris, talked of ritual and films of ritual in terms of the role they play in the creation and maintenance of social memory - as he termed it, Ritual: a Way Out of Eternity. Many participants were able to get a sense of what he meant by viewing his own film of a ritual event in which new elements and previously enacted aspects were mingled in a complex political moment.

Otherness and the Representation of Culture raised the paradox of visual anthropology. Peter Crawford of Aarhus University in Denmark presented a theoretical schema for the objective apprehension of the other. My own paper, Notes on Presenting Experience, outlined the possibilities for an experiential ethnography, and suggested that certain movements in film go much farther toward this union of subject and object than written ethnography has done. My initial query over the moral status of representations of others in anthropology was transformed into a strong political critique by Madhu Bhusan, film critic from Bombay, who eloquently pointed out that the audience for such representation now includes the others, who can represent themselves without need for an anthropological discourse about them. This point had emerged in a different way when Faye Ginsburg, of New York University and HRC Conference Visitor, spoke about the indigenous media productions in central

Australia, and the Faustian Contract into which they inevitably entered with the dominant mainstream television conventions. Her concerns that these conventions can erode the very possibility of cultural self-definition which Aboriginal communities are aiming toward was echoed by Wol Saunders, Aboriginal media producer, who went on, however, to suggest that the real issue was the actual survival of the indigenous media itself.

One of the special occasions during the conference was the screening on the first evening of Zula's Story, a film collaboration between Jorge Preloran, an Argentinian film-maker (Theatre, Film and TV School, UCLA), Mabel Preloran, anthropologist, and the young Otavaleno woman who was initially their assistant in a proposed film about the Otavalo culture. Jorge spoke about the many years in which Zula's life was transformed by her connection with the Prelorans and the difficulties this led to for her, now finding a form of absolution for all of them in making this film which has come to be about this very process. Both the virtues and the dangers of the ethnographic impulse were manifest in this film and in the discussion which followed; so, too, were the critical issues of the consequences of form in representation which were to arise throughout the week.

Another event of the early days of the conference which I have left to last was the talk, Novel into Film: The Name of the Rose, by Gino Moliterno, of Modern European Languages, ANU. Gino elegantly and interestingly raised a series of issues which come from the attempt to make a visual version of a book which is quintessentially about books and words. His respondent, David Boyd, (English, Newcastle) was able to set this within modern film theory. The paper and response together beautifully demonstrated the essential connections between film criticism and both literature and cultural studies. It signalled the central relevance of cinema studies to any arts education in the late 20th century.

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## VISUAL DOCUMENTATION AND THE COMMENTARY

Conference in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia  
4-5 October 1989

Nasko KRIZNAR

Attempts to create a systematic analysis of film in Yugoslavia dates back to 1957, when ethnographer Milvan Gavazzi founded the Yugoslav Committee for Ethnographic Film in Zagreb. This was the ninth national committee of CIFE, or the Comité International du Film Ethnographique, within UNESCO.

In the same year the Slovene Committee for Ethnographic Film was set up in Ljubljana. It began encouraging film producers to show select works on folkloristic and ethnographic subjects in documentary films.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Committees activities generated a greatly increased interest in film as a means of documentation, especially among Slovene ethnologists, some of whom made contact with the Goettingen Institute, the Musée de l'Homme, and organizers of the contemporary Festival dei Popoli in Florence. The Institute for Slovene Ethnography had already started a modest production of 16mm and 18mm films in the mid-fifties. These systematic endeavors were interrupted by the expansion of television, an exponent of the ruling ideology of the time, which limited the ethnographic subjects which could be put on the air. It was only in 1983 that more notable progress was made in the field of visual documentation with the establishment of the Audio-visual Laboratory within the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts. The laboratory expanded its activity by shooting video films all over Yugoslavia, from Macedonia to Slovenia. We decided, therefore, to organize a conference of all Yugoslav "visualists", regardless of their scientific disciplines. It was high time we began to learn who was using visual technology in Yugoslavia, what had been achieved and what directions we were taking. We wanted to exchange experiences and pass on our knowledge of similar activities in Europe and worldwide to everyone in Yugoslavia.

We chose the title "Visual Documentation and the Commentary" because it offers wide possibilities of deliberation and a broad network of cooperation. The word "commentary" here refers to an interpretation of visual material, but may also stand for additional information filling the gap that may exist between visual information and "total" information about an event.

The conference was attended by 22 participants from Belgrade, Klagenfurt, Sarajevo, Trieste and Zagreb. They were mostly ethnologists, but there were also experts in the fields of medicine, psychology, history of art and sociology, archivists and, naturally, TV people and filmmakers. Although this was the first large meeting of "visualists" in Yugoslavia, it fully served the purpose of the organizers. The conference started with numerous terminological misunderstandings resulting from the fact that each scientific discipline has its own conception of what the form and purpose of visual documentation should be. It turned out that we differed greatly in the area of practice as well, on both methodological and technological levels. There was a lot of discussion regarding the issue of objectivity in the use of visual media, in the context of its relationship to representational forms of reality. In short, theoretical issues which the fields of film and visual anthropology have long since debated and resolved, but which continue to be a recurring problem with each new entry into the area of visual information. The need to take up issues which have already been dealt with and resolved elsewhere shows that we are lagging behind world developments in this field due to a lack of professional contacts and want of literature.

Rather than serving as a spring-board to new horizons, the conference was important in that it made possible the initial contacts necessary to create a network and delineate a sort of "who's who" in Yugoslavia, in fields where there is an application of the visual media to science and education. It was also valuable because the participants did not limit themselves to theoretical debates but accompanied their papers with practical examples, mainly videos.

Perhaps the most interesting paper of all was one which dealt with the impossibility of a simultaneous perception of the image and

commentary: According to the author, this phenomenon is related to the physiological base of perception.

One participant put forward an interesting suggestion, namely that the fiction film should also be considered a subject of visual research. He pointed out that the assessment of fiction film has varied according to different historical periods and social circumstances.

The subject of keeping film records as resource for research into national history was also discussed in one of the papers.

In another paper, a consideration of photography as a phenomenon of credibility or deception was illustrated by presenting the case of Soviet bolshevist practices of removing people from photographs - and consequently from history - by means of retouching. Such ideological retouching is synonymous with the abuse of visual documentation carried out by the media, a problem which can also create undesirable results in anthropological film. This paper was followed by a long discussion whereupon it was concluded that "ethnological truth" does not suffer significantly if the intervention is reasonable. On the contrary, if media conventions are properly applied, we are more likely to make the truth available to the spectator than if he is made to view the so-called crude footage, even though it may be accompanied by a commentary. The television people also made very interesting presentations. The editors of documentaries and programmes on science expressed their astonishment at the fact that the scientists they had worked with knew so little about the rules and conventions regarding the media and at their unwillingness to follow these rules. We were all surprised at this counter-attack, for we are accustomed to a very different perspective, one in which television was accused of not accommodating scientists. However, we were able to find some common ground, namely, that television excels at generating an awareness among its viewership of the problems and issues which science occasionally wants to rouse. These issues include, for example, reviving forgotten knowledge, suggesting appropriate solutions to ecological problems, demystifying social and cultural phenomena. In such cases the visual medium is more powerful than the written word.

No resolution was adopted or signed at the conference as we felt this would only encumber any future cooperation, however, were able to identify a shared willingness, among the participants, to work on a common methodology for visual documentation in the future. Our decision was based on the simple realization that even in Yugoslavia the use of visual documentation is an accepted fact, so that we no longer needed to ask ourselves whether it was necessary or why. We decided to concentrate our future efforts on creating appropriate conditions for the production of various forms of visual documentation. This raised the issue of the strategy of visual research, which actually brought us back to the motto of the Symposium on Visual Anthropology took during the XII ICAES, held in Zagreb in 1989.

Representatives of a television company declared they were ready to include more visual materials produced by scientific institutions into their programmes, on the condition that it was adequately prepared for use by the media. The other condition to be met was that of technical standardization: whether in producing cinematographic or electronic pictures, scientists should build up their technical equipment in accordance with international television standards.

It is our wish to enrich the existing national network of Yugoslav producers of visual documentation by expanding our contact within an international network. Towards this end, I am taking the liberty to list the following Yugoslav institutions:

Nasko Kriznar, Andrej Zupancic  
AVDIOVISUAL LABORATORY ZRC  
SAZU  
Novi trg 5, 61000 Ljubljana

Dragan Antonic  
ETNOGRAFSKI INSTITUT SANU  
Kneza Mihaila 35, 11000 Beograd

Vesna Druskovic  
ETNOGRAFSKI MUSEJ BEOGRAD  
Studentski trg 13, 11000 Beograd

Darko Bratina  
SLORI Slovene Research Institute  
Via Gallina 5  
34122 Trieste, Italy

Zlatko Mileusnic, Miroslav Niskanovic  
Velibor Stojakovic  
ZEMALJSKI MUZEJ  
Vojvode Putnika 7  
71000 Sarajevo

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**MARGARET MEAD FILM FESTIVAL**  
American Museum of Natural History  
4-7 December 1989

December saw the appearance of the Margaret Mead Film Festival, now in its thirteenth year, and again the programming stood testimony to how nebulous the category of ethnographic film actually is.

Visual anthropology was this time stretched and pulled to take in autobiographical documentaries such as James Baldwin: The Price of the Ticket and Howard Finster: Man of Visions. The boundaries of film became blurred enough to include Forbidden City USA, a rather straight PBS-style documentary, and Watumna, Stacy Steers' excellent animation of creation myths from the Yekuana Indians of Venezuela. All this reflects the differing conceptions among both filmmakers and audiences, about what the term ethnographic actually means and what is the best way to represent what visually is.

If it becomes harder to tell which films are not ethnographic these days, it still remains easy to know what films are. Zulay, shot by the husband and wife team of Jorge and Mabel Preloran uses the familiar ethnographic conventions of long term immersion in a culture and shows concerns for the everyday rituals and life of the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. Besides these traditional concerns the films traces the journey of one inhabitant - Zulay - between her native Ecuador and Los Angeles. She returns to America with the filmmakers with whom she lives while trying to set up a business selling Ecuadorian folk crafts.

Zulay takes on many issues current in visual anthropology including the impact of the filmmakers on the subjects' life and the attempt to see the Otavalo Indians as a contemporary living society linked to the world economy by the trade that Zulay is helping to establish. Through Mabel Preloran's questioning of

Zulay we are shown also how the main issues of the film are established by the filmmaker's inquiries. Yet for all this the film exhibits a problem common in ethnographic film that present in other films at the festival such as Dodd and Orori's The Beacon and the Star, and Anderson and Connolly's Joe Leahy's Neighbors.

Taking a camera into the field without a preconceived idea of what to shoot, waiting to see what situations develop, what issues present themselves and what the subjects themselves see as important often means the filmmaker is left with a large amount of amorphous footage that only takes shape later, in the editing room. In the case of Zulay the footage lay fallow for years while Preloran searched for a narrative principle to structure it and this is manifest in the disjointed, rather meandering nature of the film. The narrative structure turned out to be Mabel Preloran's questioning of Zulay as to her feelings towards Ecuador and America, her old and new life and this seemed a fairly weak attempt to tell the story of Zulay's life and still include the hours of footage Preloran had shot of Ecuador.

This problem of lack of structure certainly doesn't occur in the tried and trusted formula of cutting from well-lit interview to well-lit interview, interspersed with archive stills and footage that has been worked so well recently in the Eyes on the Prize series. At the Margaret Mead Festival this year, Arthur Dong's Forbidden City USA and Howard Finster: Man of Visions by Julie Desrobert, Randy Parkal and Dave Carr exemplified this trend.

It is interesting, however, to compare the different uses of these techniques. Forbidden City was the recollection through interviews of an Asian-American, (mainly Chinese), nightclub that entertained white audiences in San Francisco's Chinatown in the thirties and forties. Performers reminisced on issues such as racism in the entertainment industry and the license that such a career offered to dancers and singers and how these were at odds with the expectations of middle-class Asian-American life. This compares rather badly to the celebratory film of Howard Finster: Man of Visions. Howard Finster, darling of bands like the Talking Heads and REM can inspire distrust in visual anthropology in the same way the appearance

of Sting's painted face with the Kayapo Indians in The Kayapo: Out of the Forest does. The reason this film does not fall into the trap of exploiting a passing interest in a previously obscure artist is due to the dynamic presence of Howard Finster himself.

In Forbidden City the cuts from interview to interview provide a pleasant memory of a time long gone. Howard Finster juxtaposes incongruous interviews of New York art critics, gallery owners, rock stars and agents, all supporting actors to the main man himself. The interview here is a performance. It's not a reference onto a remembered past but is an event into itself. Howard Finster is a preacher and a painter and what he does mainly is preach. His practice in art is so firmly embedded in his preaching that to discuss one is to discuss the other. And this is what he does at full volume, gesticulating wildly and combining his visions, his belief in God, faith in the modern world and love of humanity in a powerful and original view of life.

The film that excited the most discussion at the festival was Joe Leahy's Neighbors by Robin Anderson and Bob Connolly. Joe Leahy, son of a white father and New Guinean mother straddles both communities and provides the link between the banks and outside capital and the New Guinea community he is trying to modernize. To do this he takes a position reminiscent of the "big men" of New Guinea only this time power resides with wealth and access to the white world, cutting across traditional political authority.

The film charts the conflict in the communities between Joe Leahy, those who oppose him and those who oppose and support him depending on their interests at that particular moment. The controversy came afterwards in the discussion between the ambassador for New Guinea whose sympathies lay with the frustrated Joe Leahy, and certain sections of the audience who saw Joe Leahy as exploiting those whose interests he pretended to serve. Both sides claimed the intentions of the filmmakers for their own. For one, they delivered a devastating attack on capitalism in developing countries, for the other, they were concerned with highlighting the problems inherent in trying to modernize a traditional workforce.

What this debate highlights is the fact that the meaning of a text cannot be guaranteed, and this is especially true of the unobtrusive observational form of Anderson and Connolly. This style of cinema provides a space for open interpretations that manifested itself in the arguments after the film and that remains a concern for those filmmakers with a specific argument to convey.

Brian Larkin  
Graduate Student in Ethnographic film  
New York University

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1989 VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
PRE-CONFERENCE  
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL  
ASSOCIATION

November 15-19 1989, Washington D.C.

Pamela Blakely (U. Pennsylvania) presented "Ethnoaesthetics of Women's Dance Ritual in African Funerals", in the first session of the Visual Pre-Conference during the past fall's American Anthropological Association Meetings. Blakely utilized videotape segments and still slides as documentation of an indigenous East African ritual. The audience was able to interact actively with her to discuss other performances embedded within this funeral ritual. Her methods included participant observation coupled with an interlocutor-guided analysis of the event. The analysis of the ritual's dance component (musuusa) was the central focus.

Blakely followed a traditional visual anthropology approach by the use of video to document and record in the field. She does not believe that the presence of the camera had a significant affect on the participants's behavior since it was preceded by a long history of her presence within the community - she had done field work among the Bahemba since the 1970s. Pamela and Thomas Blakely's previous field work included the use of still photography and this, combined with their history among the Bahemba, was considered more influential on behavior than the introduction of the video technology in and of itself. Blakely explained that the camera was merely considered an extension of her body.

One of Blakely's key points was that through feedback interviews, she was able to discover aesthetic terms the Bahemba themselves use to describe and evaluate their own performers' skills.

Wilton Martinez (U. Southern California), discussed his work in progress on the impact of showing documentary and ethnographic films to students of introductory anthropology courses at USC. He argued that some instructors ignore the power of these films to affect viewers on emotional and ideological levels. Although Martinez documented ways in which these films may reinforce ethnocentric opinions and negative stereotypes of "the Other", he lacked substantial recommendations of pedagogical methods to reduce this phenomenon.

Martinez proposed a series of three interactive video prototypes entitled, "The Visual Translation of Culture". The objectives of this series include instruction of the teaching of anthropology with film, and to better understand how representations of culture are interpreted and otherwise processed by undergraduate students. The concepts vital to teaching anthropology with film include: 1) instructor presence during screening; 2) provision of written literature and reviews of the film; 3) instructor directed interactive discussions; and 4) assignment of background ethnographic readings on the people about whom the film has been made.

Martinez's work emphasizes the importance of the classroom environment in making students aware of human diversity and perhaps also Western ethnocentrism and paternalism toward other cultures. More research needs to be done in this direction to discover measures anthropologists and teachers can take to teach more effectively with films by not contributing to students's negative perceptions of others.

This review was contributed by Wendy Leighton, a student in Visual Anthropology at Temple University.

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The Visual Anthropology Pre-Conference will be remembered by participants for the lively discussions and the workshop atmosphere stimulated by the presenters. Audience participation was encouraged by

presenters and sustained with much enthusiasm throughout. Two studies in particular, those of Fred Erickson and Marjorie Harness Goodwin and Charles Goodwin generated a lively response. Both shared work in discourse analysis through the use of videotaped dinner table conversation. The Goodwins and Wricksen highlighted the multidimensional aspects of conversation by illustrating the importance of communication through gesture and facial cueing in relation to conversational topic shifts, gaining control of the floor, context, cueing, and rhythm. The audience response indicated a sustained interest in the fundamental constructs of communication theory.

Both the Goodwins' and Erickson's use of videotaped data emphasize the need for increased rigor in the discipline of visual anthropology. Both presentations would have benefited from higher quality videotape, more specifically, improving image resolution, and increasing the diversity of camera angle and focal length.

Taking Feld and Williams' 1974 recommendations into consideration, the event on tape should represent the observations as seen by the "skilled observer" at the time of the event, without the camera, such that the taped data augments what was seen by the informed researcher.<sup>1</sup> The single position camera in the static wide angle shot (the "Locked Off Camera") which the Goodwin's and Erickson used, cannot replicate the richness and fullness of the event, as seen by either the informed observer or the participants. Within the research objectives of both the Goodwins and Erickson, these views are important. As they rightly assert, the cueing and facial expressions are relevant but the videotape presented did not reflect this.

To facilitate the representation of the participants' views, multiple cameras aided by synchronized time coding are needed. The interplay between conversants could then be analyzed together to provide the researcher with a more revealing record of the facial expressions and gestures. In this manner the

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<sup>1</sup>Feld, Steve and Carroll Williams, "Toward A Researchable Film Language," Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication, 1974.

simultaneous or overlapping nature of the many layers of conversation can be analyzed.

The second recommendation, that for higher image resolution, is necessary in this type of micro-level analysis. Using videotape rather than film, one must be concerned with the limitations of particular video standards. Standard VHS does not provide the necessary degree of image resolution. This point was made clear when one of the tapes presented brought about a debate over the significance of a gesture which some saw as possibly only the "swiping away of an unwanted fly", while others understood it to be a request for "more potatoes".

At this time there are constant innovations being made in video technology. Rather than making investments in temporary standards which will soon be outmoded, many professionals support a commitment to the 3/4 inch format in combination with at least an industrial standard camera. This choice is a more secure investment since the standard is established and will not be repeatedly overturned with every new improvement in VHS formats. Some will argue that this recommendation is in conflict with the economic constraints under which visual anthropology has been traditionally conducted. However, these recommendations are intended to raise the standard of visual research to the level which we require in other anthropological subdisciplines. As it is unrealistic to expect one working with statistics to do so without the aid of sophisticated and expensive computers, it is equally unrealistic for the visual anthropologist to conduct research without the proper tools of the chosen documentary medium.

This review was submitted by Karen Vered, a student in Visual Anthropology at Temple University.

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## UPCOMING MEETINGS

### IUAES INTERCONGRESS:

Lisbon, Portugal  
September 5th - 12th, 1990

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

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

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

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

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

It is suggested, that in Anthropology on the Air we discuss this issue from a practical point of view - to get insight into the scope of cooperation with the broadcasting system, both in its more traditional and newer forms. The Commission would highly value reports and papers on: experiences with cooperation (both successful and abortive), new broadcasting outlets per country or region, work currently in progress, financial arrangements, division of responsibilities and control, the use of new

technology and prospects for future developments. This is not a limitative list however; anything that can be considered useful for the general theme will be considered for inclusion in the session.

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

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

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

Dr. Robert Boonzajer  
Amsterdam University  
Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185  
1012 DK Amsterdam - HOLLAND  
Phone: 31 20 5252626  
Fax: 31 20 5252086

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

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### RAI INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM

Manchester, England  
September 24-28, 1990

The Royal Anthropological Institute announces its Second International Festival of Ethnographic Film in Manchester, England, from 24-28 September 1990. This second Festival will be organized locally by the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology, University of Manchester.

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The Royal Anthropological Institute announces its Second International Festival of Ethnographic Film in Manchester, England, from 24-28 September 1990. This second Festival will be organized locally by the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology, University of Manchester.

The Festival will incorporate:

- Screening of entries for the Institute's two biennial film prizes, the RAI Film Prize and the Basil Wright Film Prize. The films submitted will be organized into themes; e.g., social change, change and development, life crises, ethnic minorities and the state, using film to challenge stereotypes, etc. The deadline for entries for the prizes will be 15 May 1990. The rules were summarized in the December 1989 Anthropology Today (p. 28) and are available in full on request. Films may also be submitted in the non-competitive category, by the same deadline.

- Screenings of videos submitted for a Student Video Prize, for the most outstanding film in the ethnographic tradition made by a student in an approved educational institution. (To be awarded for the first time in 1990.)

- "Film as ethnography", a conference jointly organized by the Granada Centre, University of Manchester, and the Center for Visual Anthropology, University of Southern California, to consider the place of film within anthropological teaching and research. It will consist of three half-day sessions, each comprising a keynote address followed by "break-out" groups. It is intended that a selection of papers will be published. A call for papers (abstracts by end of Jan. 1990) and further details were printed inside the back cover of the Dec. 1989 issue of Anthropology Today.

Additional highlights will include:

- Specialized programmes or retrospectives of documentary films (not eligible for prizes).

- The Forman Lecture 1990 given by Peter Loizos.

- Workshop sessions exploring issues such as: the relevance of film to specialized topics (e.g. the analysis of ritual, spirit mediumship, dispute settlement, patron-client relations, etc.) or to particular sub-disciplines and fields of interest (e.g. ethnomusicology, micro-cultural events, development communication, etc.); strategies for student training in the use of audio-visual resources; the application within anthropology of recent technological developments (e.g. latest camcorders and editing systems, videodisks, cable television, satellites, etc.).

- Demonstrations of recent developments in film and video equipment by the manufacturers.

All these events will take place in Granada Studios, Quay Street, Manchester, or in the Roscoe Building, University of Manchester. In addition, a complementary programme is proposed at the Cornerhouse Cinema, Oxford Road, Manchester, in which distinguished film-makers will introduce anthropological classics.

Registration fee

A registration fee of 49 Pounds (including VAT) will be charged. There will be a concessionary rate of 29 Pounds (including VAT) for registered students, old age pensioners and disabled persons. This fee will cover the main sessions, including the conference, but there will be an entrance charge for supporting screenings at the Cornerhouse Cinema and possibly elsewhere. There will be no fee for entering a film for the Festival's non-competitive category. A nominal fee of 10 Pounds is charged for films entered for the Film Prizes (25 Pounds for Student Video Prize).

Accommodation

Accommodation is being reserved for participants at the Dalton Hall and Ellis Ljwyd Jones Hall, University of Manchester, at a charge of 15.70 Pounds per night including breakfast, for the nights of Monday 24 through Friday 28 September. Hotel accommodation will be available for those who prefer.

Travel funding

The Institute has no funds of its own to pay for travel from overseas to the conference, but some strictly limited funds are likely to be available for selected qualified persons from Less Developed Countries, and for members of indigenous minorities within industrialized countries. Persons so qualified are invited to write to the RAI's Director, especially (but not only) nationals of the following countries: Angola, India, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, Vanuatu, Zimbabwe. Preference will be given to those who have acquired skills in both anthropology and film. Anyone overseas may enquire about the possibility of travel funding at the British Council Office in their own country. Nationals of Eastern European countries are advised to make prompt application to the British Council Office in their country. Royal Anthropological Institute, 50 Fitzroy Street, London W1P 5HS. (Tel. 01-387-0455, fax 01-383-4235)

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
SUBMISSION OF FILMS FOR THE COMPETITIVE  
AND NON-COMPETITIVE CATEGORIES

The Festival organizers invite the submission of films by 15th May 1990. Films submitted may be considered for prizes, provided they were first screened on or after 1st January 1988.

All films submitted in the competitive category must have received their first public screening on or after 1st January 1991.

For further information / all films should be sent to: RAI Film Festival, c/o Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology, Roscoe Building, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL, United Kingdom. (Tel. 0621-275-399, fax 061-275-4023)

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**" I S L A N D S "**

**5th INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF  
ETHNOGRAPHICAL &  
ANTHROPOLOGICAL FILMS**

Nuoro, Sardinia, Italy  
October 1-5, 1990

The Fifth International Festival of ethnographical & anthropological films organized by the Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico of Sardinia (Italy), will be held from October 1st to October 5th 1990.

This event, which takes place every two years, focuses on a particular theme each time: *Shepherds & Their Image* (1982); *The World in Reverse: Carnival & Transgression Control* (1984); *Marriage in Traditional Society* (1986); *Women & work in traditional society* (1988).

The theme for the 5th International Festival will be "ISLANDS".

Its aim is to present an overview of anthropological films dealing with both the condition of people living on islands -in a strict geographical sense -and of those peoples of social groups who are "isolated". Films which may be included in the Festival program are:

• Films which focus on the social organization, economy and outlook of island inhabitants, related to anthropological and ethnographical studies and research.

• Films analysing, in a wider territorial context, the manner of subsistence of peoples of social groups who, due to language, socio-family organization or norms and values, form a world apart and as such can be considered "cultural islands". Along with the screenings there will also be discussions and debates with the participation of cinema and television experts from Italy as well as from other countries.

1. Participation in the Festival is open to documentaries dealing with the theme "ISLANDS", in both the aforementioned acceptations, produced on 16 or 35 mm films (optical or magnetic sound track or double track for the 16 mm; optical sound track for the 35 mm) or tapes (video: 3/4 UMATIC, Pal, Secam, NTSC).

2. In order to be included in the Festival program, the documentaries will be selected by a Committee composed of Asen Balikci, Chairman of the Commission on Visual Anthropology, Montreal; the anthropologist Antonio Marazzi, Padua University; Colette Piault, Directeur de Recherche at C.N.R.S., Paris, Paolo Piquerdu, Coordinatore Generale of I.S.R.E., Nuoro.

3. In order to take part in the selection, copies of the documentaries must be sent on tape (video: U-Matic or VHS, Pal, Secam, NTSC) to the following address: Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico. "ISOLE" Rassegna Internazionale di Documentari Etnografici, Via Mereu, 56 - 08100 Nuoro - Italy. Three photos concerning the film, a biography/filmography of the filmmaker and, if possible, information materials on the film must also be enclosed.

4. Documentaries in languages other than Italian, English or French must bear subtitles or their script be translated into one of the above-mentioned languages.

5. Throughout the Festival, the filmmakers of the films selected will get board and lodging courtesy of the Festival Organizers.

6. At the close of the Festival, a special Jury will award a prize of 10,000,000 liras (about 7,400 US\$) to the best documentary film and of 6,000,000 liras (about 4,400 US\$) to the best tape. I.S.R.E. reserves the right to award further prizes or distinctions on the suggestion of the Jury.

7. The tapes sent for selection will be placed in the Archives of I.S.R.E. free of charge, for internal non-commercial use only.

8. I.S.R.E. will acquire a copy of the winning film.

9. Directors will be informed of the inclusion of their documentaries in the Festival program by July 31st, 1990.

Selected documentaries must arrive in their original format and standard by September 20th, 1990, at the following addresses:

For films coming from abroad,

a) Agenzia Espressi Internazionali Aerei (A.E.I.A.) s.r.l., 00055 Aeroporto di Fiumicino (Roma), to notify: I.S.R.E., via Mereu, 56 - 08100 Nuoro,

For tapes and films coming from Italy:

b) Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico, Via Mereu 56 - 08100 Nuoro,

10. All expenses incurred for the forwarding of films for selection shall be borne by senders; the expenses incurred for the sending back of the films must be born by I.S.R.E.

11. The expenses incurred for the forwarding and sending back of selected films shall be borne by I.S.R.E.

For further information, please write or telephone:

Istituto Superiore Regionale  
Etnografico  
Via Mereu 56 - 08100 Nuoro (Italy)  
Telephone: (0784) 35561 - 31474 -  
37484 - Fax: 0784 - 37484

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**INDIAN SUMMER WORLD FESTIVAL OF  
ABORIGINAL MOTION PICTURES**

Pincher Creek, Alberta  
September 19-23, 1990

The Indian Summer World Festival of Aboriginal Motion Pictures is now seeking entries for this year's Festival to be held from September 19-23, 1990 in Pincher Creek, Alberta, Canada.

This is a non-juried festival for films and videos made by and about Aboriginal peoples of the world. Each year we choose a theme on which to base our Festival. The

theme for this year is "Protecting Mother Earth", a subject that is close to all Aboriginal people. The theme however does not mean that all films entered must contain the Environment as the subject matter. Although this theme will be considered - we will consider all types of Aboriginal films made from September 1988 to September 1990.

This year we are limiting our entries to 50 films and/or videos so that we can have better screenings for more producers to a larger audience. We reserve the right to select productions in order to represent as many countries as possible within our limitations.

Entries should be in English or with English subtitles. If it is not possible, please contact us to make appropriate arrangements. Video tapes MUST be 3/4" NTSC U-matic format for screening - no other formats will be accepted. (VHS tapes will be screened only as an on-demand request and will not be scheduled for public viewing.) To ensure the best quality screening of your video tape, please submit only first or second generation dubs.

In order to help delegates make contact with buyers and facilitate business transactions, we are making available four on-demand screening suites for registered festival participants. These suites will be available on a booking system throughout the festival. All catalogued entries will be available for such screenings at times other than scheduled screenings. The facilities will also be open to delegates who have brought additional non-catalogued material. In order for this system, as well as scheduled screenings to work this year, entrants MUST meet the entry deadline for promotional material of July 16, 1990. Any entries received after this date will not be scheduled or included in the Film and Video directory.

Promotional materials including production credits, black and white publicity stills, posters, and a typewritten narrative of each entry, not exceeding 100 words, should be included and forwarded with your entry forms.

The entry form deadline for the 4th Indian Summer World Festival of Aboriginal Motion Pictures is July 16, 1990. The deadline for receipt of chosen entries is August 17, 1990. Each entry must include: 1) a completed entry form; 2) a signed regulations

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
SUBMISSION OF FILMS FOR THE COMPETITIVE  
AND NON-COMPETITIVE CATEGORIES

The Festival organizers invite the submission of films by 15th May 1990. Films submitted may be considered for prizes, provided they were first screened on or after 1st January 1988.

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For further information / all films should be sent to: RAI Film Festival, c/o Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology, Roscoe Building, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL, United Kingdom. (Tel. 0621-275-399, fax 061-275-4023)

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The theme for the 5th International Festival will be "ISLANDS".

Its aim is to present an overview of anthropological films dealing with both the condition of people living on islands -in a strict geographical sense -and of those peoples of social groups who are "isolated". Films which may be included in the Festival program are:

- Films which focus on the social organization, economy and outlook of island inhabitants, related to anthropological and ethnographical studies and research.

- Films analysing, in a wider territorial context, the manner of subsistence of peoples of social groups who, due to language, socio-family organization or norms and values, form a world apart and as such can be considered "cultural islands". Along with the screenings there will also be discussions and debates with the participation of cinema and television experts from Italy as well as from other countries.

1. Participation in the Festival is open to documentaries dealing with the theme "ISLANDS", in both the aforementioned acceptations, produced on 16 or 35 mm films (optical or magnetic sound track or double track for the 16 mm; optical sound track for the 35 mm) or tapes (video: 3/4 UMATIC, Pal, Secam, NTSC).

2. In order to be included in the Festival program, the documentaries will be selected by a Committee composed of Asen Balikci, Chairman of the Commission on Visual Anthropology, Montreal; the anthropologist Antonio Marazzi, Padua University; Colette Piault, Directeur de Recherche at C.N.R.S., Paris, Paolo Piquerdu, Coordinatore Generale of I.S.R.E., Nuoro.

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4. Documentaries in languages other than Italian, English or French must bear subtitles or their script be translated into one of the above-mentioned languages.

5. Throughout the Festival, the filmmakers of the films selected will get board and lodging courtesy of the Festival Organizers.

6. At the close of the Festival, a special Jury will award a prize of 10,000,000 liras (about 7,400 US\$) to the best documentary film and of 6,000,000 liras (about 4,400 US\$) to the best tape. I.S.R.E. reserves the right to award further prizes or distinctions on the suggestion of the Jury.

"Memory", however, the films of all participants will be screened, regardless of the subject.

Films can be projected in optical or double track 16mm or 3/4 Umatic or VHS Pal or Secam video formats. The video programming, however, will be limited to films shot in video, and not video transfers from 16mm films. This is in the filmmakers' own interest.

Video-cassettes recorders will be available to anyone wishing to view video cassettes in their free time. Please bring cassettes of your other films.

Because simultaneous "live" translation of foreign-language sound tracks interferes with viewer appreciation, the last General Assembly, (Budapest, 1987), voted to no longer accept such films, (except for works in progress). Films and videos must therefore be spoken, dubbed or subtitled in English, the language in which the Seminar will be conducted.

This year, we have the pleasure of welcoming David and Judith MacDougall.

Since 1985, the scope of the Seminar, despite its official title, is no longer limited to Europe, but has been extended to include an international network.

Please complete and return the necessary forms and replies by the deadline or - if possible - before the date due.

It is important that you reply as soon as possible as the number of participants is limited, and so that other filmmakers can be contacted.

**JUNE 1st:** Deadline for registration (Send confirmation & registration fees - 25\$ per person)

With your collaboration, Budapest '90 will be as great a success as '87... perhaps better!

For further information:

Dr. Colette Piault  
Research Director, CNRS, France  
Chairman, "Looking at European Societies"  
5, rue des Saints-Pères - 75006 Paris  
Telephone: (1) 42-60-25-76  
Fax: (1) 42 61 67 92

**INTERNATIONAL VISUAL SOCIOLOGY  
ASSOCIATION  
ANNUAL MEETING 1990**

THEME: VISUAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE 1990's

Whittier College, Los Angeles County  
California, June 21-23, 1990

IVSA meetings maintain an interdisciplinary approach and encourage dialogue. Dorm-style accommodations, complete with meals, will be available for \$30 per day.

The meeting will feature a visual sociology exhibition at the Mendenhall Gallery on the Whittier College campus. The show will be curated by Scott Ward of the Downey Museum of Art. To have your work considered for inclusion, send 35mm slides and a statement to the following address:

Send inquiries and/or proposals by

April 15, 1990 to:  
Steve Gold, IVSA President  
Department of Sociology,  
Whittier College  
Whittier, CA 90608, USA  
(213) 693-0771

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**36th ANNUAL ROBERT FLAHERTY  
SEMINAR**

Wells College - Aurora  
New York, June 9-16, 1990

"All art is exploring. To discover and reveal is the way every artist sets about his business."

The 36th Annual Seminar will look at particular ways in which personal documentaries can challenge conventional approaches and expand the boundaries of the genre. Nonfiction films and videotapes that employ techniques most often associated with the dramatic feature film will be examined, and we will explore the ways in which innovative documentary techniques have been incorporated into mainstream film and television.

Particular emphasis will be placed on contemporary cinéma vérité in the context of its thirty-year history; the use and manipulation of found footage and archival film in nonfiction work; and a special survey of humor as a tool in reshaping the documentary or in making the genre more accessible to a wider audience. The programmers emphasize that selections will reflect a diversity of cultural perspectives and subject matter.

The Robert Flaherty Seminars are about the creative process, about what it is to be human. They take as their inspiration Flaherty's insistence on seeing what is in front of the lens, his profound understanding of film, and the goal of seeing and depicting the human condition. They seek to broaden and deepen the potential of film and video for everyone.

For a week, a hundred filmmakers, video artists, scholars, and students committed to independent film and video production will share an intense experience dedicated solely to enriching their own work. The participants will study specific films and tapes that illuminate the human spirit. With many of the artists who made the works - and with one another - they will discuss values and goals, how the works came into being, and what can be learned from them.

The Flaherty Seminar is not a market place, a competition, or a festival. There is a common text for all participants: everyone sees every piece. For most it is a significant retreat providing a sense of renewal and regeneration. It is an occasion on which voices from many cultures are heard both in the works shown and in the roster of participants. The program will include experimental, narrative, and documentary films and tapes.

#### Location

Wells College is situated on the shore of Finger Lake Cayuga, in the small town of Aurora, New York. The lake, tennis courts, swimming pool, and other recreational facilities are available to provide relaxation and exercise. The Seminar site is accessible by train or air to Syracuse. Transportation information will be sent with notification of acceptance.

#### Registration

Intended primarily for video and filmmakers, the Robert Flaherty Seminar is

open to all who have a professional interest in the field. The full registration fee for the Seminar is \$650. This includes the program, housing and meals, and use of campus recreational facilities. A deposit of \$300 is required with all applications. The balance is due on arrival at the Seminar. Only applications for full-time registration are accepted. They are to be submitted on or before May 9. Refunds will be made on applications cancelled before that date, minus a \$25 processing fee. The Seminar opens with a reception at 5 p.m. on Saturday, June 9, and closes after lunch on Saturday, June 16.

#### Grants-in-aid

Some financial assistance is available to qualified candidates. Applications are considered without regard for race, color, sex, or national origin. Those interested should request an application blank as soon as possible from International Film Seminars Inc., 305 West 21st Street, New York, NY 10011. The deadline for submitting applications is April 16, 1990. Grants are generally limited to \$500.

English is the official language of the Seminar. Discussions are conducted in that language.

#### Note

This year there will be two Robert Flaherty Seminars, one in upstate New York, June 9-16, and one near Riga, Latvia, the Soviet Union, September 13-27.

Please fill out the form below and return with check of money order for \$300 deposit in U.S. funds, payable to International Film Seminars, Inc. Mail to International Film Seminars, Inc., 305 West 21st Street, New York, NY 10011.

#### Registration for the 1990 Robert Flaherty Seminar (abbreviated format)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone (home) \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_ Business address \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone (work) \_\_\_\_\_ Title or affiliation or  
credits (as you wish to appear on the  
participant's list) \_\_\_\_\_ Amount enclosed  
\_\_\_\_\_ \$650 full payment \_\_\_\_\_ \$300 deposit  
I would like to add a contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to  
IFS. Years of attendance at previous Flaherty  
Seminars \_\_\_\_\_ If this is the first time you  
plan to attend a Flaherty Seminar, please

include some information about your work, study, or special interest in film and video. I am/am not a vegetarian \_\_\_\_\_ I do/do not smoke \_\_\_\_\_ I wish to share a room with \_\_\_\_\_ I wish single accommodations \_\_\_\_\_ (I understand there will be an additional \$52.50 per person, SRO charge, payable to Wells College at registration.)

Additional information may be obtained by calling:

Sally Berger, Executive Director IFS,  
at (212) 727-7262  
305 West 21st Street, New York, NY  
10011, USA

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#### JOINT U.S.-SOVIET FLAHERTY SEMINAR

Riga, Latvia, USSR  
September 13-27, 1990

The Robert Flaherty Seminars are a unique event in the film world. For thirty-five years film and video makers, scholars and critics have come together annually for an intense week of sharing, exploring, and discussing their own work, the work of other invited guests, and works of historical significance. International Film Seminars, Inc., is proud to announce an unprecedented step in reaching out to the film and video world beyond North American borders - the Riga Seminar, a joint U.S. - Soviet Flaherty Seminar for documentary professionals of both countries. It will be held September 13-27, 1990, in Riga, Latvia, U.S.S.R.

The Soviet/Flaherty Seminar is made possible by the new era of openness. Coproduced by International Film Seminars, the Latvian Cinematographers Union, and the Union of Cinematographers of the Soviet Union, it will bring together forty-five U.S. film makers, scholars, and critics and forty-five Soviet counterparts for five days of screenings and discussions on the Baltic coast near Riga, Latvia. This will be followed by several days of travel and screenings in nearby Soviet cities. The conference center is a hotel equipped with excellent screening and simultaneous translation facilities and lodging.

Each delegation will contribute equally to the film and video programming. The programmers for this Seminar have chosen the theme "The Legacy of Flaherty and Vertov". Programming the U.S. part of the Seminar will be Erik Barnouw, film maker and author of Documentary: A History of the non-Fiction Film; Amos Vogel, Film Society pioneer and author of Film as a Subversive Art; an independent film maker Raul Zaritsky, who is also chairing the U.S. delegation.

The Soviet Seminar will provide a unique forum for exploring questions concerning nonnarrative works: the documentary and TV journalism; issues of media access and ethics; regional and ethnic representation; and creativity and innovation in the documentary form. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have a rich documentary history, making the potential for exchange especially exciting.

#### Application procedures

Special guests are being invited to show and discuss their work. Others wishing to be included in the delegation should send a short letter and vita to the Soviet/Flaherty Seminar, Attention: Sally Berger, Executive Director, International Film Seminars, Inc., 305 West 21 Street, New York, NY 10011, telephone (212) 727-7262.

Application materials should be received by April 30. Applications received thereafter will be considered only if space is available. Applicants will be informed of acceptance at the earliest possible date.

#### Registration

The cost of participation includes a Seminar registration fee of \$975 and \$1097 for the round-trip air fare between New York and the Soviet Union. Participants will leave from New York on September 13 and arrive back in New York on September 27. This is an inclusive package covering the program, lodging, food, and internal U.S.S.R. travel. A deposit of \$400 is required within one month of notification of acceptance, payable to International Film Seminars, Inc., 305 West 21 Street, New York, NY 10011. The registration balance of \$575 is required by July 31. Registration fees are non-refundable.

### Travel arrangements

Travel arrangements are being made by Stewart International in Boston. Christine Stewart should be contacted as soon as possible after acceptance. The air fare quoted is an advance purchase excursion and the lowest available at this time. However, fares are subject to change and increase. Stewart will produce U.S.S.R. visas for a fee of \$45. Air fares are to be paid directly to Stewart International, 87 Boylston Street, Brookline, MA 02146, telephone (800) 441-8666, fax (617) 738-8215.

### Grants-in-aid

Limited financial assistance is available to qualified candidates. Applicants are considered without regard for race, color, sex, and national or ethnic origin. Those interested should state and explain in their letter of application the minimum amount needed to make their participation possible.

### Registration for the 1990 U.S.-Soviet/Flaherty Seminar (abbreviated format)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone (home) \_\_\_\_\_  
(business) \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ Business  
address \_\_\_\_\_ Title, affiliation, or credits (as  
you wish to appear on the participants' list).  
Please include some information about your  
work, study, or special interest in film or  
video. Amount enclosed \_\_\_\_\_ \$975 full  
payment \_\_\_\_\_ \$400 deposit. I wish to share  
a room with \_\_\_\_\_ Special medical or dietary  
needs \_\_\_\_\_

#### For more information:

Sally Berger, Executive Director IFS,  
at (212) 727-7262  
International Film Seminars, Inc.,  
305 West 21 Street, New York,  
NY 10011, USA

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## WORLD NEWS AND REPORTS

### VIDÉANTHROP

Fondé en 1975, Vidéanthrop produit, sur demande, des documents audio-visuels touchant principalement le domaine de l'anthropologie (archéologie, ethnologie) et servant d'outils pédagogiques ou d'information à différents niveaux. Il finance également sa propre production de documents audio-visuels (diaporamas, vidéos) sur la préhistoire et l'histoire des Amérindiens et des Inuit. Il réalise aussi, à l'occasion, des montages audio-visuels en langue autochtone.

Vidéanthrop dispose en outre d'une très importante banque spécialisée de photographies (diapositives) de plusieurs photographes ou anthropologues (Marc Laberge, Clotilde Pelletier, Colin Scott, Adrian Tanner, Rémi Savard) couvrant les sujets suivants:

- le Nord
- les Amérindiens et les Inuit
- l'histoire de la terre (glaciation, volcanisme, géologie, etc.)
- l'archéologie (sites, artefacts).

À cette banque de photographies s'ajoute une collection d'illustrations originales (tableaux, dessins) élaborées à partir de données anthropologiques et reconstituant par exemple:

- la vie quotidienne des Amérindiens et des Inuit à différentes époques
- la traite des fourrures
- les techniques préhistoriques de chasse et de pêche
- les formes d'habitation traditionnelles, etc.

Cette entreprise de reconstruction, appuyée sur des informations précises, est l'un des principaux objectifs du travail poursuivi par Vidéanthrop et constitue une documentation unique et originale pouvant répondre à des besoins variés, que ce soit en éducation ou en édition, ou pour des expositions dans des musées ou des centres d'interprétation, ou encore pour des productions audio-visuelles.

### **Une nouvelle iconographie des Amérindiens**

Généralement tirée des documents d'époque (principalement les oeuvres de Champlain et de Lafitau) et abondamment implantée dans nos manuels d'histoire et dans des publications sur la préhistoire,

l'iconographie actuelle des Amérindiens recèle des inexactitudes, voire des erreurs, et contribue ainsi à propager une image inadéquate de ces cultures. Or les chercheurs doutent que ces images représentent avec justesse la réalité ethnographique. Présentés comme toile de fond des activités européennes en Amérique, les Amérindiens y constituent plutôt le révélateur de notre identité (Gagnon 1984; Vincent et Arcand 1979) qu'une représentation objective de leur véritable spécificité.

Notre travail de recherche ne vise pas à analyser les biais et les travers de l'imagerie existante. Il se situe plutôt du côté de la création d'une nouvelle iconographie des Amérindiens par des reconstitutions exécutées à partir des données ethnohistoriques antérieures à 1760 et des résultats des recherches archéologiques et ethnologiques. Notre activité comprend deux principales opérations: le dépouillement systématique des sources et la production de nouveau matériel visuel. Jusqu'à présent, aucune démarche constante n'a permis d'accomplir cette tâche.

Il existe, en effet, une littérature d'époque relativement abondante que nous dépouillons systématiquement afin d'en extraire des informations détaillées sur une foule de sujets tels les vêtements, les coiffures, les formes d'habitation, la culture matérielle, l'alimentation, ainsi que divers rituels - dont les rites funéraires, certaines moeurs et coutumes, etc. Des recherches archéologiques récentes ont aussi mis au jour quantité de matériel et d'informations qui permettent de corriger l'iconographie des Amérindiens. Nous nous consacrons en particulier aux Amérindiens du Nord-Est qui forment, à divers égards, un ensemble socio-culturel relativement homogène. Cette homogénéité tient, malgré les différences linguistiques et culturelles, à l'unité ethnohistorique qui lie les groupes amérindiens de la région des Grands-Lacs, du fleuve et du golfe Saint-Laurent jusqu'à la période de contact. En effet, ces groupes, Algonquiens du Subarctique, Algonquiens maritimes et Iroquoiens, faisaient partie d'un réseau de communication et d'échange où les interrelations de toute sorte étaient alors fréquentes (Delâge 1985). D'un point de vue

méthodologique, cet ensemble correspond aussi à une unité des sources documentaires.

Les sources primaires qui servent à la reconstitution de l'iconographie des Amérindiens du Nord-Est proviennent de trois origines: il s'agit de documents anciens publiés (sources primaires publiées), de documents d'archives (sources primaires non publiées) et des résultats des fouilles archéologiques (sources primaires archéologiques); le maximum de données iconographiques contenues dans ce corpus sont extraites et analysées à la lumière des recherches ethnohistoriques, ethnologiques et iconographiques.

#### **Quelques exemples de nos réalisations**

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- Le Québec d'avant Jacques Cartier
- Les Algonquiens: société de chasseurs-cueilleurs
- Préhistoire des habitants du Québec arctique
- Histoire événementielle des droits territoriaux des Amérindiens du nord-est de l'Amérique
- L'ours étant mort... ou le sens des rituels algonquiens envers les animaux

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##### Collection de plus de 150 dessins et illustrations

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- Algonquiens: camps saisonniers de chasse et de pêche, migrations, nomadisme
- Premiers contacts entre Amérindiens et Européens des XVIe et XVIIe siècles, traite des fourrures, postes de traite, destruction de la Huronie, coureurs des bois
- Amérindiens contemporains: chasse à l'ours, au caribou, festin ritualisé, chant au tambour, danse
- Nous concevons également des dessins à partir de concepts ou d'idées, par exemple:
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  - les conférences constitutionnelles
  - la rivière Restigouche...

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- glaciations, Béringie
- mouvements migratoires des populations préhistoriques
- répartition des populations préhistoriques
- routes du commerce des fourrures

Pour en savoir plus long, vous pouvez contacter:

Marc Laberge  
Vidéanthrop (514) 279-9545  
6742, rue Saint-Denis,  
Montréal (Québec) H2S 2S2

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#### **FUNDING ANTHROPOLOGICAL FILM AND VIDEO PRODUCTIONS**

Postscript

by Sabine JELL-BAHLSEN

I wrote on the problems of obtaining funds some time ago, (published in CVA Newsletter October 1988). I have, since then, been able to obtain funding for my film and would like to present here, some additional observations, based on my personal experiences.

In retrospect, one of the major problems I faced finding funding was related to my nationality. This resulted in two serious obstacles:

- 1) I intended to work in Africa with an African film crew. However, as this would not provide jobs in the USA it was not considered a desirable criteria, especially from the point of view of U.S. government funding agencies.
- 2) Though a resident - and taxpayer - I am not an American citizen. As a foreigner it was virtually impossible for me to raise money in the USA in order to make a film in another country.

In spite of these problems, I received a small grant for research and pre-production from the Center for New TV in Chicago, for the film I intended to produce in Nigeria. I used this seed money to travel to Nigeria, negotiate a collaboration on the film project with the Nigerian TV Authorities and to approach foreign companies operating in Nigeria. I also approached the Nigerian National Commission for Unesco and the Nigerian Department of Culture.

While I did not receive any support from foreign companies operating in Nigeria, I

was able to obtain support from the Nigerian side. NTA could not give cash, but provided important moral and logistic support. The Nigerian Department of Culture provided some funding towards researching the project. In the end, the Nigerians suggested that I approach my native country and directed me to the German Embassy in Lagos. I approached them and received some support through their cultural program.

From Nigeria, I travelled to Germany. There, I met a documentary film producer, who helped me obtain the support of a local TV station. I was finally able to produce a one hour documentary film in Nigeria, for roughly \$60,000 - which would be considered a shoe string budget by American funding agencies.

In Germany, my native country, I encountered other types of problems worth mentioning.

1) The first problem was rather personal, but probably applicable to all foreign students. Since I had received my training in anthropology and film from the USA, to go in search of funding from Germany placed me in an awkward situation.

2) In the end I collaborated with a commercial documentary film producer in order to save my project. However, later on, the production company encountered some problems and was dissolved. I was adversely affected by the whole situation as production on my film suffered as a result of the producer's problems. My co-producer and I are still caught up in legal squabbles over the film. I would seriously warn anyone who is considering this avenue to reconsider and would not recommend working with commercial producers, if at all possible.

3) Producing for television raises a whole new set of issues:

a) television production is directed at "general audiences".

b) TV production has to operate within certain time limits. Thus, I had to sacrifice six important minutes of my film to the 58 minute axe. In these 6 minutes, I intended to establish how a water spirit is perceived in the modern Metropolis of Lagos, in contrast to the villages. I was forced by the TV editor to remove my opening sequence about Lagos, because, as he said, "The TV audience decides within the first five minutes what they want to see."

c) TV stations are compartmentalized according to European/American viewing habits, viewers' analysis and Western categories of thought. Thus, there are categories for children, family, politics, culture, sports, entertainment, economics, etc.. These categories do not correspond to life in an African village where, for instance, everything is based on kinship, politics are defined by the elders who are at the same time religious leaders, and where children are part of everything. It is, therefore, difficult to fit an ethnographic film on the African living experience into existing TV programming structures.

To summarize my experience in attempting to obtain funds: the issue was not so much, how to get the money, rather how much of the anthropological content would be compromised in order to get the film funded. Thus, the main problems appears to be the fact that there exists no specialized funding source - unlike what is available in other fields - geared towards the special needs of ethnographic film and visual anthropology.

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## NEWS FROM THE HUMAN STUDIES FILM ARCHIVES

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The Human Studies Film Archives has continued to grow since our last report in the CVA *Review*. The collections have expanded through the acquisition of several significant film and video projects. Use of the Film Archives' resources has also increased as scholars look to moving images as important research documents.

Among materials recently acquired by the Film Archives are film and video shot by Madeleine Richeport in urban Brazil. Dr. Richeport has worked extensively among members of Brazil's growing umbanda religion, recording interactions between cult leaders and their clients. The collection also includes footage of Carnival and documents aspects of daily life in urban Brazil. The Film Archives has also received two historic films of Bermuda and the British West Indies, and, through the American Film Institute's National Center for Film and Video Preservation, nitrate prints of several silent educational and

documentary films dealing with the peoples of various lands including Indonesia, the Leeward Islands, and Borneo. The study collection has also grown with the acquisition from a non-theatrical distributor of titles such as Nanook of the North and The Hunters.

The Film Archives continues to process and safeguard collection materials in order to make them available for research use. We are working with the Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, College of Charleston, S.C., to preserve the films of Joseph Towles shot among native peoples in Zaire, Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. Much of this footage was shot in collaboration with anthropologist Colin Turnbull documenting the Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri forest and the Ik of Uganda.

In related collection work, we are processing and organizing the 146,000 feet of 16mm footage that constitutes the [Film Studies of the Lifestyle of the Western Caroline Islands, Micronesia] produced by the former National Anthropological Film Center. When this project is completed it will be available for research use and information about the collection will be distributed to appropriate scholarly organizations and publications.

Last January the Film Archives began a quarterly film seminar series. Anthropologist Paul Stoller, inaugurated the series with a screening and analysis of Jean Rouch's film, Les Maîtres Fous. In a presentation entitled "Ciné-Fact, Ciné-Fiction: The Ethnographic Films of Jean Rouch", Stoller examined Rouch's filmic style and explored the ethnographic context for Rouch's work.

Upcoming HSFA seminars include a presentation in May by South African documentary filmmaker and film scholar, Keyan Tomaselli. He will discuss the imaging of the Bushman in Jamie Uys' release, The Gods Must Be Crazy II. In August, filmmaker Stephanos Stephanides will screen and discuss Hail Mother Kali!. This film portrays the cultural pluralism of the Caribbean region by focusing on the spiritual traditions maintained by Kali worshippers whose forbearers immigrated from India in the mid-1800s to work on the sugar plantations of Guyana.

Recent research studies at the HSFA have used the collections in a variety of ways. Museum professionals have studied the African collections in order to produce videos for

museum exhibits. Several Native Americans, some of whom have been interns at the Museum of Natural History's American Indian Program, have screened and annotated film/video materials relevant to their own tribal backgrounds. Film researchers seeking footage for the documentary films have also examined collections materials.

The HSFA sponsored a session at December's AAA meetings on some of the scholarly research conducted at the Film Archives. Patricia Zimmerman gave a paper on home movies-as-ethnography based on her research with 16mm travel footage. The paper, "Our Trip to Africa: Home Movies as the Eyes of the Empire" appears in the March issue of Afterimage. Kathleen Kuehnast, an HSFA Fellow, discussed issues of gender representation in ethnographic film. She is currently preparing an article on the [Pashtoon Nomad Film Project], one of the Film Archive's larger collections. Finally, HSFA staff anthropologist John Homiak compared Melville Herskovits and Maya Deren's imaging of Haitian vodun practices.

The staff continues to promote the work of the Film Archives. In March, Wendy Shay attended "A Century of Field Recording," a conference organized by the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. She showed footage from the Laura Boulton Film Collection and discussed the archiving of field recorded moving images. Smithsonian curator and Film Archives' Advisory Group member, Adrienne Kaeppler presented the used footage from the HSFA to demonstrate the connections between Polynesian music, song, and dance. Also in March, John Homiak spoke to the Temple University Graduate Association for Visual Anthropology on archival research in visual anthropology, introducing the students to the resources of Human Studies Film Archives.

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

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

THE CENTER FOR DOCUMENTARY  
STUDIES  
AT DUKE UNIVERSITY

The Center for Documentary Studies officially opened on January 23, 1990. It is dedicated to capturing the reality of people's diverse experiences in our complex culture and reflects a commitment to documenting their daily struggles, using varied approaches to understand the human condition. The Center will work hard at supporting such elusive and often-touted values as scholarship, literary skill, activism and self reflection.

The Center has roots in the traditions of documentary writing, photography and film that go back to the early years of the twentieth century. Driven by a commitment to social justice, reformers such as Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine documented in words and photographs the lives of poor people in America.

In the 1930's photographers commissioned by the Farm Security Administration and writers working for the Federal Writers' Project described conditions in Depression-era America and recorded reminiscences of ordinary people. James Agee, Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange and others brought a compelling moral vision to this kind of social investigation. In 1936 the Federal Writers' Project sent interviewers throughout the southern states to gather the stories of former slaves whose narratives today are considered invaluable sources for understanding plantation history from the perspective of African Americans. The University of Southern Carolina Press's director, William Couch, supervised other FWP interviewers who recorded the life stories of hundreds of southerners from a wide variety of occupations. Their work culminated in an important collection of life histories, These are Our Lives. Continuing this intense interest in our regional studies, Professor Howard Odum and others built the UNC Institute for Research in Social Science, a center dedicated to documenting through innovative empirical studies the social and cultural life of the South. While the pioneering work of the Institute uncovered conditions of rural poverty, it also focused on positive aspects of southern experience as expressed in regional folk culture. Extending this tradition, in 1965 Duke University created the Center for Southern

Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences, headed by Edgar Thompson.

Writers of fiction have also contributed significantly to the documentary tradition. James Agee, Eudora Welty and Reynolds Price, for example, have written novels plays and stories that make a strong social commentary. Photography and story telling stand alongside the work of humanistic social scientists and historians to comprise the documentary record. The Center for Documentary Studies grows out of this complex background and hopes to nurture a new generation of writers, photographers and filmmakers who will continue to work in this tradition. Education and research are principal objectives of the Center.

The Center's steering committee has elected to focus initially on four areas of research: the American family, African American life and race relations, law and politics, ecology and the environment. The Center plans to invite the participation of associates from other disciplines and to help associates develop collaborative research projects. In disseminating the results of these efforts, the Center will work with publishers on book projects and will organize exhibitions and conferences.

While many of the Center's initial projects will evolve out of the work of its associates, long term plans include raising funds to support documentary fieldwork, across the South and initiating a documentary book prize and a program to provide grants for field projects.

Because documentary work has often been done by people working outside of institutions, the Center provides a link between this independent tradition and the academy. As part of its efforts to incorporate documentary studies fully into the life of Duke University, the Center plans to raise funds to construct a building on the Duke campus by the mid 1990's.

#### Teaching

The Center's associates will teach courses in the documentary tradition in cooperation with appropriate academic departments at Duke. Students will study documentary books and films and will participate in fieldwork outside the university setting. Students will also join in associates' research projects. A preliminary list of courses

to be taught under the Center's auspices includes:

- *American Light: Raymond Carver and Edward Hopper*
  - *Land of the South: An Ecological Approach to Southern History*
  - *American Communities: A Documentary Approach*
  - *Women's Words: Oral History and Performance Theory*
  - *Social Movements of Twentieth Century America*
  - *The Educational Experience of Migrant Children*
  - *Fact and Fiction*
  - *Children's Photography Workshop*
  - *The Return of the Death Penalty in the United States - 1960-1990.*
- Collaborative Projects**

The Center For Documentary Studies brings together people who work in different aspects of the documentary tradition. While the Center's associates pursue their individual creative and scholarly work, through the Center they are also engaged in developing collaborative projects with one another and with outside researchers.

#### **The South Africa Initiative**

In 1985, with support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Center for Documentary Photography began a partnership with a multiracial group of South African photographers and writers. The Center's goal was to assist South African photographers and writers in communicating with other South Africans and with the rest of the world. From this collaboration South Africa: The Cordoned Heart was published by W.W. Norton in 1986.

Despite a strictly enforced state of emergency in South Africa, two new books by South African photographers and writers were published in 1989 under the joint imprint of the Center for Documentary Studies and Aperture, Inc. Beyond the Barricades, by twenty South African photographers, presents in images and words the widespread resistance to the apartheid regime. The Transported of KwaNdebele, by David Goldblatt, reveals aspects of the social, economic and moral failure of the South African homeland system.

In September 1990 the Center will launch the South African Documentary Photography Fellowship Program in

collaboration with the Center for Documentary Photography at the University of Cape Town. With support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, two South African photographers will come to the United States to work under the Center's auspices.

For more information, please write:

Center for Documentary Studies  
Snow Building, Suite 511  
331 West Main Street  
Durham, North Carolina 27701, USA

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**CENTER FOR VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN  
CALIFORNIA**

**SUMMER SCHOOL  
ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM  
May 29th - June 29th, 1990**

The Center for Visual Anthropology is conducting an intensive summer school program in ethnographic film. The courses will provide an opportunity to utilize the center's resources to cover a wide range of theoretical and practical issues in ethnographic filmmaking. This small and intensive program caters to both the experienced student of visual anthropology looking to deepen critical and production skills and at the novice aiming to become familiar with the concepts and practices of ethnographic film and filmmaking.

#### **Course descriptions**

Anth. 510 - Urban Anthropology (4 units) (Moore, Singer). This course will examine a corpus of films which have attempted to represent the city. These include a variety of genres, television documentaries, ethnographic and selected feature films. Supported by selected readings in urban ethnography and urban theory, we will examine Los Angeles as a representative world city - both the cradle of the American film industry and an example of the emerging community form of the contemporary global village. With Andre Singer we will examine future prospects for urban documentaries and ethnographic films. Students will write critical analyses of films and carry out individual projects which complement their fieldwork.

Anth. 499 - Special Topics. Ethnography and Ethnographic Filmmaking (4 units) (Marks, Singer). Students will shoot film and video in Los Angeles and will later edit short visual projects from their material. Projects will be critiqued and discussed both in class and individually with the instructor. The class will also discuss a number of ethnographic texts which illustrate classic and current concerns in ethnographic practice. We will discuss the relationship of film and video to ethnography and the implications for our understanding of the ethnographic enterprise. Some familiarity with the ethnographic literature is essential but no prior film or video production experience is required. Practical instruction will be tailored to suit the needs of students.

#### **Costs and Enrollment**

Tuition costs are \$445 per unit (\$1,780 per class). Applications must be received before April 23rd. Enrollment in the summer school is limited and successful applicants will be notified no later than May 1st, 1990. Deposit checks will be returned in the event that the summer school is cancelled due to low enrollment.

#### **Classes and Facilities**

Students will have access to the facilities of the Center including its film and video library, production equipment (16 mm and video rigs), film and off-line video editing rooms. Classes will be held mornings and afternoons three days of the week, and labs will be held during the remaining two days.

#### **Instructors**

Andre Singer. Adjunct Professor, USC and Commissioning Editor for Documentary Features, BBC Television. Formerly editor of Granada Television's "Disappearing World" series and the maker of more than 40 anthropological documentaries.

Alexander Moore. Professor, USC, has done fieldwork in Guatemala, Panama, New York City and Los Angeles, he has also written about the relation of ethnographic observations to ethnographic films and the application of anthropological perspectives to film criticism.

Daniel Marks. Research Fellow at USC. Conducts research in Los Angeles on police and gangs. Co-director of "Gang Cops", nominated for an Academy Award in

1989, he writes on documentary and experimental films and filmmakers.

#### **Entry form**

Please reserve me a place at the summer school in ethnographic film. Enclosed is a \$120 deposit (payable to USC).

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

#### Further information:

Debbie Williams  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Southern California,  
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0021, USA  
Tel.: (213) 743-7100  
Fax: (213) 747-4176

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#### **ANTHROPOLOGY FILM CENTER**

The Anthropology Film Center in Santa Fe, New Mexico, offers an ethnographic and documentary film training program. The students receive nine months of practical training developed in part for those who wish to become visual anthropologists who, as principal investigators, wish to produce ethnographic films, and for those who wish to become documentary film writer-director-producers.

New technologies and understandings have expanded the possibilities, choices and opportunities within these professions. For over twenty-five years, the Anthropology Film Center has committed its training programs to addressing the new and, perhaps more importantly, future worlds of these professions. Likewise, an understanding of the cultural component in the field of Communication is essential for the professional of tomorrow. The Anthropology Film Center's training programs integrate this central factor into the daily course work.

The Anthropology Film Center houses a production studio, editing and projection facilities, and the practical associated materials for the Center's programs, in addition to a specialized library in the fields of visual anthropology, film production, culture and communication, perception and cognition. Professional 16mm camera, sound, lighting and editing equipment are available for student

use only on class assignments. Class size is limited to allow each student to become familiar with film technology, vocabulary, theory and procedures through lectures, classroom instruction, tutorials, the execution of technical and theoretical film exercises, and the development of a project proposal with research design or script, schedules and budgets.

The program begins in the Fall with a few forty hour weeks of introductory basics in photography, film making and ethnology as well as overview survey lectures on subjects that will be covered later in the program. Several months of hands on training follow which include story boarding, camera, sound, editing and lighting exercises. With these skills and understandings, the student can better comprehend budgeting, scheduling, proposal development and the research, business and administrative course work that follows.

All students are exposed to the practical use of computers in their work as visual anthropologists and film makers. Group and individual tutorials are available for students' special needs that each student have a computer for their work at the Center. The Commodore-Amiga or Apple-Macintosh are preferred at this time. The Center has two Amiga 1000s available for student use.

The nine month program is held five days a week, full time (all day), plus an average college evening homework load. When the technical lab classes wind down, the students have more time to work in libraries, archives and museums to complete their assignments. This shift in the program's work rhythm is usually in the Spring. Daily and weekly schedules are very flexible, adjusting for guest lecturers, group dynamics and weather. Students are expected to devote full-time attention to the program and promptness and attendance are a must.

Founded in 1965, The Anthropology Film Center is located in a large adobe studio on two acres of wooded foothills in a secluded canyon on the outskirts of Santa Fe. Located at 7,200 feet in the high desert of the Sangre de Cristo mountains, Santa Fe experiences four seasons and offers a peaceful and aesthetic locale for study. An international community, renowned for its visual beauty and arts-oriented atmosphere, Santa Fe retains a small

town ambience amid a remarkably cosmopolitan population.

Tuition and Costs: \$9,600.00 covers the costs of tuition, materials and services associated with the assignments, exercises and required books. However, we recommend that an extra \$350.00 might be useful for specialized books, available at the Center's bookstore, which students might like to acquire for study and reference. Students must supply their own personal notebooks, pencils, etc.

Qualifications: Classes are open to undergraduate and graduate students, teachers, researchers and practitioners with special interest in film, social and humanistic studies. It is not necessary to be enrolled in the Temple University Masters in Visual Anthropology Program to attend courses at the Anthropology Film Center. A good command of the English language seems to be important, especially for foreign students.

Credit Options: A MVA degree is available through a joint program with the Department of Anthropology of Temple University and other academic credit may be arranged through a parent university or college.

Financial Aid: The Anthropology Film Center has no program for financial assistance and cannot qualify for federal loans such as BEOG. Loans or awards may sometimes be arranged through your present school or university.

Note: The Anthropology Film Center reserves the right to introduce new programs, to cancel or withdraw existing programs when necessary, and to modify tuition rates, program schedules, contents and staffing without notice.

Calendar: Classes begin the first Monday after Labor Day, and conclude the first Friday in May, with a Christmas vacation. Other holidays and free days may be scheduled.

Inquiries and applications contact:

Admissions, AFC Film Program  
P.O. Box 493, Santa Fe  
New Mexico 87501-4127, USA  
Phone (505) 983-4127.

For the Anthropology Film Center:  
Temple University, Masters in Visual  
Anthropology Program contact:

Dr. Richard Chalfen,  
Coordinator, MVA Program,  
Dept. of Anthropology,  
Temple University  
Philadelphia, PA 19122, USA

Applications received by the AFC are processed as received throughout the year. If you want to be on our mailing list for special workshops and summer programs, please send a letter or card to above address Attn: Special Programs.

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#### FILM AND PHOTOGRAPH PRESERVATION AND DOCUMENTATION EFFORTS

In 1908, when Robert E. Peary embarked on his last expedition to the Arctic, he had among his crew two men who would continue to work in the North for approximately fifty more years. They were Robert A. Bartlett, an experienced ice captain, and Donald B. MacMillan, a Maine outdoorsman and scholar teacher.

##### **Robert A. Bartlett and Donald B. MacMillan**

Between 1910 and 1917 Bartlett commanded four different ships in voyages to the eastern and western Arctic. During this time MacMillan travelled in Labrador by motorboat and canoe, and led an expedition to Ellesmere Island and North Greenland. MacMillan and Bartlett were again together in the Arctic in 1917, when Bartlett rescued MacMillan, who had been stranded in North Greenland for two years.

In 1925 Bartlett became the owner of a two-masted schooner, the Effie M. Morrissey. Between 1925 and 1945 he and his "little Morrissey" regularly plied eastern Arctic waters. They carried scientists, students and big game hunters north. At the request of zoos they carried live musk oxen, polar bears and walrus south. Following instructions from museums, they collected natural history specimens and made plaster casts of sea mammals. Professional film makers were on board the Morrissey during many of these voyages, shooting film for documentaries and news programs. They recorded the work of scientists, the exploits of sealers, whalers and big game hunters, and the life ways of the settlers of Labrador and the Inuit of Labrador, Baffin Island and Greenland.

When Donald MacMillan returned from North Greenland in 1917, he was determined

to avoid future strandings in the North. Thus, he designed a small, strong schooner that could be maneuvered through pack ice easily. In 1921 he launched the schooner Bowdoin, named after the undergraduate college he and Peary attended. Between 1921 and 1954 MacMillan sailed her to the eastern Arctic eighteen times, overwintering on three separate occasions. These voyages were interrupted by World War II. While his schooner was used by the Navy, MacMillan flew on intelligence missions throughout the eastern Arctic.

Like Bartlett, MacMillan took scientists and students north on the Bowdoin. He also helped the Moravian Mission establish and maintain a school for Inuit children in Nain, Labrador, and pioneered the use of radios in the North. Beginning in 1913 MacMillan carried still and motion picture cameras on his expeditions. Animals, flowers, icebergs, and geological formations were captured on film, as were the activities of native and western peoples he met.

##### **Arctic Museum Collection Preservation**

The Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum and Arctic Studies Center at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, houses 90,000 feet of film taken on Bartlett's expeditions from the 1920s to the 1940s, as well as journals, logs, correspondence and still photographs from those and earlier years. Much of the motion picture footage is on highly flammable nitrate film stock. The museum and the Library of Congress have entered into an agreement whereby the Library of Congress will transfer the deteriorating nitrate film to safety-film stock and the Museum will help inventory some of the Library's Arctic film holdings. Both the Library of Congress and the Museum will retain masters of the Bartlett films, while the Museum will also make videotape copies of the footage. The videotapes will be used for research and education activities. The Museum is seeking funds for the cataloguing and video-transfer of portions of the Bartlett film project.

Bowdoin College also houses Donald MacMillan's logs, journals, manuscripts and correspondence, as well as his extensive still photograph and motion picture film collections. The Museum has approximately 176,000 feet of 35 mm and 16 mm MacMillan safety footage. Much of the film is shrunken, brittle and suffering acetic acid decomposition. The Museum is currently seeking funds to transfer

this collection onto safety-stock and videotape as well.

Due to the fragility of the film collections, the Museum's film archive has been closed to researchers. After consulting with film archivists it was determined that to allow use of the films in their present condition would place them at unacceptable risk. Thus, the archive will remain closed until the films have been transferred and catalogued.

#### **Arctic Museum Collection Documentation**

One of the Museum's greatest concerns after preserving these collections will be making them accessible to the communities recorded in the films. One Bartlett film, transferred to videotape for fund raising purposes, has been shown to descendants of Peary and Bartlett, and to Inuit of North Greenland. Members of these groups, particularly those in their 70s and 80s, have been able to identify people appearing on the screen. Indeed, in one case 70 year-old Eginguak Odak, son of Ootaq, the lead Inuit on Peary's 1908-09 North Pole expedition, identified himself as a child, as well as his famous father.

The Museum also houses black and white photographs, hand tinted glass lantern slides, and 35 mm color slides taken by various explorers, travelers and scientists working in Labrador, Baffin Island and Greenland beginning in the mid-19th century. The Museum has been copying endangered images, while repackaging the remainder of the collection in acid-free envelopes. Currently, the Museum is involved in still photograph identification projects with individuals in the communities of Qaanaaq, North Greenland and Nain, Labrador. As a result of this work, the Museum's collections are being further documented, while images from the archive are being used in locally produced publications, broadcast and school programs.

Ultimately, the Arctic Museum's film and photograph conservation and cataloguing efforts will provide scholars, film makers and native heritage organizations a rich body of information concerning Arctic maritime history, the history of film and photography, exploration, and culture change in the eastern Arctic.

The films Bartlett and MacMillan produced, as well as the photographs they and

the others published in the popular press, provided Americans and Canadians with strong impressions of the Arctic and its peoples. The Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum eagerly anticipates the return of these images to the screen and printed page, believing that new insights can be gained through the study of the one-hundred years of eastern Arctic history recorded in visual form.

#### For more information, please contact:

Dr. Susan A. Kaplan, Director  
The Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum  
and Arctic Studies Center  
Bowdoin College, Brunswick  
Maine, USA

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#### **IDERA FILMS**

IDERA Films is part of the International Development Education Resources Association, a non-profit society established in British Columbia in 1974. IDERA's mandate is to provide educational resources and information on international issues and concerns. Ours resources are used by individuals, educational institutions, NGOs (non-governmental organizations), women's groups, and a variety of community and voluntary organizations.

IDERA Films maintains one of Canada's most extensive collections of films and videos on international development, including the most comprehensive collection of films on Southern Africa in Canada. With over 300 titles in our film/video library, we cover a broad spectrum of international issues and themes.

IDERA maintains a print resource library which contains over 100 journals on international concerns from around the world, publishes a bi-monthly "Calendar of Events" on international themes and the "IDERA Clipping Issues", containing up-to-date news and analysis of political, economic and social developments from around the world.

IDERA's programs include conference participation, display tables, an International Film Festival, and special cooperative projects. Currently, the "Global Education Resource Guide" is being produced in conjunction with the British Columbia Teachers' Federation and

an Advisory Group made up of teachers, students, and post-secondary educators. These programs are designed to provide information on international development to a broad range of constituencies and individuals.

IDERA's funding comes from donations, special project funding, the service fees we charge for our resources, and an annual grant from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

For more information, please contact:  
IDERA Films  
2524 Cypress Street, Vancouver,  
B.C. V6J 3N2 Canada  
Tel.: (604) 738-8815  
IDERA Resource Centre:  
(604) 732-1496  
Fax: (604) 732-9141 Attn: IDERA Films

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#### ALTERNATIVE MEDIA RESEARCH: ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE COMMUNITY / ACADEMIC RELATIONSHIP

##### Introduction

"Alternative media" in South Africa is expanding at a rapid rate. Recent months have seen the formation of a number of organizations of progressive media workers who seek to challenge the dominant order. Whilst these organizations are still in their early stages of development, there has been a concerted effort to employ research based approaches to foster the consolidation of these initiatives, as well as to develop strategic ways of moving forward.

The Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit (CCSU) has over the past six months, been involved in two such efforts:

- (i) A research project into the viability of establishing a "Media College" in the Natal region in collaboration with the Durban Media Trainer's Group (DMTG);
- (ii) A "participatory" video project on the history of Lamontville in collaboration with the Lamontville Unity for Cultural Activities (LAUCA).

Within a Cultural Studies paradigm media is seen as a way of expressing or articulating culture. "Alternative media"

therefore, articulates "alternative" culture. The CCSU approach to culture can be further defined as being "... concerned with culture as a process: in particular being interested in the process of the 'underclasses' releasing a 'cultural energy' as they strive to organize their resistance to apartheid". (Louw, 1988:26)

Inevitably, the state has not taken kindly to alternative media and has engaged in both overt and covert repression of such initiatives. Furthermore, despite the accolades surrounding FW de Klerk's reform policy the withdrawal of restrictions on media remains low on the agenda.

##### The Media College Project

The Durban Media Trainers Group was formed in 1988 and grew out of an awareness that (alternative) media training in Natal had been sporadic and unsustainable. In March of this year the group approached CCSU for assistance in developing and assessing the concept of a media college to be established in the region. The research group was comprised of CCSU students, representatives from the DMTG and a part-time researcher employed by the DMTG.

The research design covered the following areas:

- (i) An analysis of alternative media as employed in the process of struggle in other countries notably Chile, Nicaragua and the Philippines, as well as approaches developed locally such as the grassroots popular democratic model. Examples of community media in the British context were also drawn on.
- (ii) A strong emphasis was placed on integrating likely beneficiaries of the college into the project. Two one-day workshops were run, one for trade unions and another for youth and community groups. The informal and open approach adopted at the workshops allowed the user groups to clearly express their needs and provided the researchers with valuable further insights.
- (iii) A formal questionnaire was distributed to likely user groups.
- (iv) Various media forms were identified as areas to be developed for training. This extends to the processes of media planning and strategy, as well as developing critiques of dominant media.

The project itself is seen as a "work in progress" with the first phase being a

theoretical development of the media college concept from which guidelines and recommendations on the way forward are drawn. Subsequent phases would involve evaluation and further extension as the project becomes more established.

#### **The Lamontville Video Project**

During 1988 the CCSU was approached by LAUCA to make a video of their cultural day to be held in July. The group is a youth movement that "organizes ignorant youth by mobilizing through culture: for example, gumboot dancing, recitals of political poetry, drama, chants and sloganeering, toyitoyi, and mapantsula... starting where the young people are at as consumers of discotheque and African pop music". (Lazarus, 1989:11)

Several hours of footage were recorded and two members of LAUCA were integrated into the editing process. This process took place against a background of considerable state repression within the township as well as Inkatha/UDF conflicts, and saw both LAUCA participants going into hiding.

The request for a video on the history of resistance in Lamontville was taken up by the 1989 honors group, and LAUCA members were once again integrated into the production process. A researcher from the Department of History was also drawn in.

The project itself has been fraught with difficulties. Equipment available through the campus Audio-Visual Centre (domestic VHS camera/recorder) has proved to be totally inadequate - first because domestic quality recordings do not edit well, and secondly the equipment on offer is in a poor state of repair. The crew have thus had to rely on borrowed equipment, since budget constraints do not make hiring a viable alternative. The crew also occupy differing levels of practical competence in equipment use and production techniques. Attempts to work in the township have been frustrated by the presence of the South African Defence Force and South African Police, as well as sporadic violence in the area.

These factors have also made it difficult to maintain contact with LAUCA members, and indeed to sustain the project. What has emerged however is a deeper and more profound understanding of the process within which the group was engaged. The final product, i.e. the completed video has become

less important, and has been superseded by the need to develop an understanding of the academic/community interface.

#### **Accountability**

The two research projects demonstrate the possibilities that exist for tackling research that emerges organically from the community and is addressed through breaking down the power relationships that often exist between researchers and "subject" communities. The emergence of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) provides an opportunity for researchers to engage the community, and to contribute to the process of democratization in this country. This process is twofold - firstly researchers have an obligation to facilitate the process of change away from apartheid, and secondly to contribute to the development of approaches and structures that can flow into the development of a post-apartheid society. The MDM has built into it an extensive network of accountability and researchers also need to be aware of how to negotiate within these structures. This is not to suggest that researchers sublimate their needs completely to the organic demands of this Movement, but rather that the power relations that often exist under the guise of research be brought into the open and that these be negotiated with communities.

#### **References**

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- LOUW, E.  
1989 "The alternative media project", Proceedings of a seminar on socially relevant research at the University of Natal, University of Natal - Pietermaritzburg

#### For more information:

Warren Parker  
Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit  
University of Natal,  
King George V Ave.  
Durban, South Africa  
Tel: (031) 816-2505

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL  
STUDIES UNIT  
1 JANUARY 1989- 31 DECEMBER 1989

CCSU Annual Report

The Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit - CCSU - under the directorship of Prof. Keyan G. Tomaselli has been actively involved in various grassroots efforts to carry out participatory research using media training and video-making. The institute offers a graduate cultural studies program which focuses on alternative media as a means of cultural resistance to apartheid and as a vehicle of change through the cultural process. Some of the honors courses offered in 1989 include: Theories of Culture; Theories of Alternative Media; Culture and Literature; Film/Video and Cultural Production; African Philosophy and Ethnographic Film; Education and Culture.

The Unit provides research facilities and library services, and has assisted various organizations, both local and international, in research work and publications etc. . It also provides research data, as well as unpublished information on media, broadcasting and cinema in South Africa.

Community oriented activities such as seminars and lectures on media education, intercultural dynamics and educational strategies using the visual media and drama are another area of activity. A journal of cultural studies entitled Critical Arts is published twice a year on behalf of Critical Arts Projects. Some additional activities include:

**Print Media:**

Alternative Press Project: is comprised of over 30 publishing organizations aimed at documenting the development of an alternative media and formulating strategies for its survival in the face of state repression.

Durban Media Trainers: This project aims to provide skills and theoretical training to anti-apartheid media workers in the greater Durban region. The CCSU has been actively involved with the DMTG, helping to establish a Media College and to provide training to students entering the program.

Save the Press Campaign: An alliance formed by the Association of Democratic Journalists

and media trainers to fight state's censorship of the media.

Center For Development Studies: The CCSU has been associated with efforts to establish a branch of the CDS in Natal - an initiative which attempts to bring together progressive academics in order to conduct research into a post-apartheid South Africa.

**Video Production:**

Imijondolo: Durban's Shadow Suburbs (20 Minutes). This video documents the Durban Central Residents Association campaign against evictions. It was screened at the weekly Mail Film Festival in Cape Town, 1989.

LAUCA Cultural Day (40 Minutes). A video depicting the Lamontville Unity for Cultural Activities' (LAUCA) cultural day.

Media Resistance in South Africa (30 Minutes). Scripted and presented for Paper Tiger Television - a public access programme in New York.

Censorship (60 Minutes). Extensive interviews conducted by global vision producers of the weekly South Africa Now, New York (October 1989)

History of Resistance in Lamontville - a video made in association with LAUCA

**For more information:**

Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit  
University of Natal,  
King George V Ave.  
Durban, South Africa  
Tel: (031) 816-2505

## PUBLICATIONS

### EYES ACROSS THE WATER

BOONZAJER FLAES, Robert, M. (ed.) Eyes Across the Water: The Amsterdam Conference on Visual Anthropology. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis. 1989

#### Introduction

*Robert Boonzajer Flaes*

The Anthropological and Sociological Film:  
Production Strategies in the Next Decade

*Rolf Husmann*

Ignorance or Modesty

*Colin Young*

The Decolonization of Ethnographic Film

*J. Stephen Lansing*

Commentary: Some Preliminary Definitions

*Claudine de France*

Interpretive Ethnography: From 'Authentic'  
Voice to 'Interpretive Eye'

*Douglas Harper*

Photography and Anthropological Research:  
Three Case Studies

*Paolo Chiozzi*

The Sociological Imagination and Documentary  
Still Photography: The Interrogatory Stance

*Charles S. Suchar*

Lines of Descent: Photography for Evidence or  
Interpretation?

*Terence Wright*

Native Participation in Visual Studies: From  
Pine Springs to Philadelphia

*Richard Chalfen*

American Indians and the Ethnocinematic  
Complex: From Native Participation to  
Production Control

*Harald E.L. Prins*

Applying Visual Anthropology: Ethnographic  
Video and Policy Ethnography

*Edvard Thorsett*

Visual Ideologies of the Street Homeless:  
Comparing Editorial Cartoons to Fieldwork  
Observations

*Maurice Penner & Susan Penner*

Urban Anthropology and Sociology

*Charles S. Suchar*

Visual Studies in Rural Life

*Franz J. Haller*

Visual Ideology: Analysis of Visual Material  
*Adolf Ehrentraut & Barbara Luem*

Visual Ideology: Problems of Subjectivity

*Marcus Banks*

Filing and Retrieval of Visual Documentation

*Allison Jablonko*

Native Participation in Visual Studies

*Harald E.L. Prins*

Visual Studies and the Public

*Antonio Marazzi*

Visual Studies of Music and Dance

*Mattijs van de Port*

Papers

Films

Participants

Credits

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### ISSUES IN VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

CHIOZZI, Paolo, HALLER, Franz (eds.)  
Issues in Visual Anthropology: Proceedings of  
the 1st Conference on Visual Anthropology in  
the Alpine Region. Maretsch Castle, Bozen/  
Italy: Alano edition heredit. 1989.

PART ONE: PERSPECTIVES AND PROBLEMS  
IN VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Rethinking Ethnographic Film: Visual  
Anthropology and the Dynamics of Change

*P. Chiozzi*

From Ethnographic to Ethnologic Film?

*W. Petermann*

Film: A Stepchild at the Universities

*H. U. Schlumpf*

Towards a Visual Ecology

*M. Canevaacci*

Space in Ethnographic Film

*N. Kriznar*

The Qualitative Social Research and its  
Significance for Filmmaking in Subcultures

*R. Girtler*

The Use of Ethno Visuals in Museums

*F. Haller*

Culture Comparing Movie and Sound  
Documentation in Ethnology

*I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt*

Urban Anthropology and Filmmaking:  
Perspectives from the Backyard

*K. Ekstrom*

Chances and Restrictions of New Media for  
Documentation of Moving Sciences

*W. Hellenthal*

**PART TWO: VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE ALPINE REGION**

The Cinematographic Study of the Community:  
The Ladini of Fassa and the Mocheni Series

*R. Morelli*

Material Culture in Visual Documentation

*A. Berbenni*

The Custom of Scheibenschlagen - the Beating  
of Incandescent Discs in Upper Vinschgau

*F. Haller*

Issues in Anthropological Film Documentation  
in the Alpine Region

*O. Bockhorn*

The Film Section at the Swiss Folklore  
Association (SVG)

*H.U. Schlumpf*

Shrovetide Customs in Documentary Film: The  
Wolach Project of the IWF, Gottingen

*R.W. Brednich*

When Cinema Celebrates

*D. Pelligra*

**PART THREE: FILMOGRAPHIES**

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**TEACHING VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

CHIOZZI, Paolo, (ed.). Teaching Visual Anthropology. European Association for the Visual Studies of Man 1989.

**PART ONE: INTRODUCTION**

The Teaching of Visual Anthropology

*Jay Ruby*

Is a Didactics of Visual Anthropology an  
Emergency?

*Paolo Chiozzi*

Visual Anthropology: Some Notes

*Colin Young*

**PART TWO: VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITIES**

Signs of Life Teaching Visual Anthropology in  
Britain

*Paul Henley*

Teaching and Research in Film-anthropology at  
the University of Paris X - Nanterre

*Jane Guéronnet*

Some Notes on Approach and Didactics in  
Visual Anthropology

*Franz Haller*

**PART THREE: VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

The Use of Ethnographic Film in Secondary  
High Schools as Teaching Aid in the Human  
Sciences

*Jay Ruby*

An Experience in Teaching Visual  
Anthropology in Italian Secondary High  
Schools

*Paolo Chiozzi*

Worlds Apart: Some Notes on an  
Uncomfortable Encounter with the Commercial  
World

*Toni de Bromhead*

Showing Us Doing Visual Anthropology in an  
Elementary School

*Judith Narrowe*

**PART FOUR: ISSUES IN THE PRACTICE OF VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

The Presentee in Ritual and His Place Within  
Ethnographic Film

*Claudine de France*

The Making of "the Saint"

*Antonio Marazzi*

Video and Anthropology: The Polka Project

*Robert Boonzajer Flaes*

The Voice Off in Mingozzi's "La Taranta":  
Informative Function and Narrative Function

*Angela Gregorini*

Introductory Bibliography

*Paolo Chiozzi*

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**OBTAINING SUBSCRIPTIONS TO VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

It has come to my attention that some of our colleagues find it difficult to obtain subscriptions to Visual Anthropology because they must pay in U.S. dollars or British pounds. Gordon and Breech/Harwood has contracts with several import agencies. They allow subscribers to pay for subscriptions in their local currency. Here is the list they provided. Should your country not be on the list, please contact Chris Schneider, International Sales Director, STBS, P.O. Box 786, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276, USA and he will assist you.

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HemRusski 6

Sofia

**Czechoslovakia**

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Artia  
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CS-116 27 Prague-1

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SU-113095 - Moscow

**Yugoslavia**

Mr. Milan Pavlovic  
Nolit Export-Import  
Terazije 13/VIII  
YU-11000 - Belgrade

Jay Ruby, Editor  
Visual Anthropology  
P.O. Box 128, Mifflintown,  
PA 17059 USA

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**NEW VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
PUBLICATIONS IN GERMAN  
(titles translated)**

HUSMAN, Rolf (ed.). Mit der Kamera in fremden Kulturen. Aspekte des films in Ethnologie und Volkskunde (Looking Through the Camera at Other Cultures. Aspects of Ethnographic Film.) Emsdetten: Verlag Andreas Gehling, 1987.

Contributors: Walter Dehnert, Patrick Deshayes, Alois Döring, Frank Heidemann, Leonard Henny, Rolf Husmann, Barbara Keifenheim, Karsten Krüger/ Andreas Löwenstein, Andreas Kuntz-Stahl, Elliott Leib/ Renee Romano, Barbara Lüem/ Michele Galiza, Hans-Ulrich Schlumpf, Klaus Stanjek, Ivo Strcker, Karl Erich Weiss.

**CONTENTS**

- I. Introduction
- II. What is an Ethnographic Film?
- III. About Making and Showing Films
- IV. The "Other" in Our Culture
- V. Appendix

---

HOHENBERGER, Eva. Die Wirklichkeit des Films. Dokumentarfilm, Ethnographischer Film - Jean Rouch. (Jean Rouch: Realism in Documentary and Ethnographic Film). Hildesheim/Zurich/New York: Georg Ohms Verlag, 1988.

**CONTENTS**

Preface

Introduction

DOCUMENTARY FILM THEORY

- I. Documentary Film and Reality
- II. Film Realism as Text
- III. The Documentary Film Genre

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM

- I. Definitions and Classifications
- II. Ethnological Science and Ethnological Film
- III. Ethnoscience Film
- IV. Ethnomethodological Film: The Wedding Camels by Judith and David McDougall
- V. Summary

ON "SCIENCE" AND THE DOCUMENTARY:  
JEAN ROUCH

- I. The New Wave of Ethnographic Films and Cinéma Vérité
- II. The Films of Jean Rouch: an Overview
- III. Techniques, Procedures and Ideas
- IV. Storytelling: an Aspects of Film Realism
- V. Moi, un Noir: A Case Study

Epilogue

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Gardner und seine Filme. (Rituals About Life  
and Death: The Films of Robert Gardner).  
Munchen: Trickster-Verlag. 1989.

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Visions of the Real: Film Medium as an Option  
*Reinhard Kapfer/Werner Petermann*

Maintaining the Ethnographic Impulse  
*Robert Gardner*

Some Notes on Robert Gardner's Films  
*Asen Balikci*

Moral Tales of a Traveller  
*Karen Rosenberg*

Robert Gardner and the Anthropological Film  
*Jay Ruby*

Rivers of Sand: Towards a Re-interpretation  
*Peter Loizos*

Dead Birds: Reality and Fiction  
*Johannes Rühl*

Robert Gardner and Akos Ostor on Forest of  
Bliss

*Robert Gardner, Akos Ostor*  
Further Thoughts on Forest of Bliss

*Harry Tomicek*

Appendix

Film References

Selected Bibliography

Authors

Filming Ritual  
Round-table discussion  
introduced & chaired by  
*David MacDougall*, pp. 19-23

2. Visual Anthropology, Vol. 2, N° 2, 1989

Reflections on a Meeting,  
*Toni de Bromhead*, pp.197-205

For more information:

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France  
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Fax: (1) 42 61 67 92

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SOCIÉTÉ FRANÇAISE  
D'ANTHROPOLOGIE VISUELLE

REGARDS SUR LES SOCIÉTÉS EUROPÉENNES

Our meeting of 1987 in Budapest  
generated two main publications which most of  
you have probably read. For those who have  
not and are interested, I will make them  
available on behalf of the authors. Please send  
3\$ for mailing.

1. SVA Newsletter, The Society for Visual  
Anthropology, Vol. 5, N° 1, Spring 1989

Filming Ritual  
Introductory remarks  
*Colette Piault*, pp. 15-17

Filming Ritual  
(Paper given in Budapest)  
*Marc H. Piault*, pp. 17-19

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**LOK VIRSA: NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF  
FOLK & TRADITIONAL HERITAGE**  
Promoting the Cultural Heritage of  
Pakistan:

Lok Virsa undertakes projects which serve to document and promote Pakistani culture. It has a nation-wide network which keeps it informed on regional cultural events as well as carries out documentation on regional cultures.

One area of current research to be undertaken by Lok Virsa includes video documentation of Sehwan Sharif

For more information contact:

Lok Virsa, P.O. Box 1184,  
Garden Road Shakarparian  
Islamabad, Pakistan  
Tel: 812267, 812578

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### **VIDÉO TIERS MONDE**

Fondé en 1985, Vidéo Tiers Monde est un organisme sans but lucratif dont l'objectif est d'appuyer des groupes qui, dans les pays du Sud, utilisent la vidéo de façon indépendante à des fins d'éducation populaire et d'information.

Avec eux, Vidéo Tiers Monde trouve des ressources pour soutenir des projets au Sahel, au Brésil, en Afrique australe, en Erythrée, au Chili. Il crée du matériel pédagogique, recrute et encadre du personnel, organise des sessions de formation. Il offre son expertise pour l'achat et l'installation d'équipement

Au Canada, Vidéo Tiers Monde double des vidéos réalisés dans le Sud, fait la promotion auprès des distributeurs, télédiffuseurs et organismes de coopération/développement. Il participe à des réseaux alternatifs (Sud/Nord et Sud/Sud) d'échange et de distribution et contribue à en créer de nouveaux. Ainsi se tissent des liens originaux de solidarité.

Pour tout renseignement:

Vidéo Tiers Monde  
3575, boul. St-Laurent, suite 608,  
Montréal, Québec, H2X 2T7 Canada  
Téléphone: (514) 982-0770  
Fax: (514) 843-5681

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### **MARGARET MEAD FILM FESTIVAL**

The Margaret Mead Film Festival is currently previewing and locating films for its 14th annual event which will take place at the American Museum of Natural History from September 24-27.

This year as in the past the festival will celebrate ethnographic and documentary films from all around the world. Filmmakers will attend the festival and engage in a question and answer session after the screening.

Submissions have been arriving from China, Japan, Poland, Hungary and from all over western Europe and the United States. About 48-50 films will be selected. Previewing will continue through the first week in May.

If you are not yet on the mailing list and would like to receive a copy of the program please contact:

American Museum of Natural History,  
Margaret Mead Film Festival  
79th Street & Central Park West,  
New York NY 10024, USA  
Tel: 212-769-5305 Fax: 212-769-5233

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### **CORRECTION**

Please note the following correction: Colette Piault was reported to have delivered a paper at the final day Generalist Session of the Amsterdam International Visual Conference. The correct presenter was Claudine de France.

Doug Harper  
Postdam College of the State  
University of New York, Postdam,  
New York 13676-2294, USA

La Maison des Sciences de l'Homme propose  
un nouveau lieu  
**UNE VIDEOTHEQUE**  
consacrée à l'anthropologie

Un service de consultation de documents vidéo est offert aux chercheurs et enseignants, aux étudiants, aux élèves mais aussi au public professionnel (journalistes, formateurs, agents de voyages...) ou non (érudits ou curieux). Trois postes de consultation individuelle sont mis à la disposition du public pour permettre de visionner sur place des documents. Le catalogue des documentaires disponibles comprend à ce jour 70 films vidéo consultables à la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Dans un premier temps, il sera possible de consulter en prenant un rendez-vous par téléphone. La Maison des Sciences de l'Homme dispose également d'une Unité Audiovisuelle.

Responsable de la vidéothèque:  
Martine Zack Tél: 49 54 20 45  
Bureau 445 - 4e étage  
La Maison des Sciences de l'Homme  
54, boulevard Raspail (métro Sèvre-Babylone) 75006 Paris, France

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**GAVA**  
**GRADUATE ASSOCIATION FOR VISUAL**  
**ANTHROPOLOGY**

Temple University

The graduate students in Visual Anthropology at Temple University (Philadelphia) formed an organization in the fall of 1989 which has quickly gained success in furthering discussion and research in visual anthropology topics. The organization, The Graduate Association for Visual Anthropology, or GAVA, is currently presenting lectures from a variety of guest speakers representing diverse interests within the field. The lectures have received healthy attendance by members of the academic communities of Philadelphia. Among the guests have been John Homiak, Pamela Blakely and Sarah Elder.

GAVA is planning a film festival for the fall of 1990 and is organizing a panel of

papers for the upcoming American Anthropological Association meetings in 1990.

Inquiries about future events and on-going projects may be directed to:  
GAVA, c/o Dept. of Anthropology  
Temple University, Philadelphia  
PA 19122, USA

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**CARAVAN OF DREAMS PRODUCTIONS**  
**VIDEOS**  
**JOURNEY TO OTHER WORLDS**

The Caravan of Dreams Productions offers a series of videos entitled Journey to Other Worlds representing cultures which for thousands of years have lived in harmony with their environment. A list of the videos available and a short description are provided below:

**Rainforest Rhythm**  
Darien, Panama

In the Rugged Darien Border Land between Central and South America live Choco Indians who reveal a life harmonized with natural rhythms of the rainforest.

**Prince Laupepa's Vision**  
Western Samoa

Polynesian Culture seen through the eyes of Prince Laupepa whose ancestors won chiefly title nearly one thousand years ago.

**Chambal the Untamed**  
Rajasthan, India

A small mining community in Rajasthan caught in the tyranny between feudal control and banditry. On the one side, the legendary Dacoit bandits who live in their dreaded hide-out the Chambal Ravines, on the other, a feudal family which continues to control the area's mining economy. Here, workers have been mining and shaping the rocks that have served to build the great monuments of the Mogul Empire, the Raj and more recently the modern hotels of India.

**An Actor's Afternoon**  
Espiritu Santo, Vanuatu

In a remote Melanesian village, a villager/actor, as in an ancient Greek chorus, steps forward to incarnate a role and demonstrates to the village the consequences of certain actions.

### **Dreamtime Walkabout**

West Kimberley, Western Australia

Having completed the rodeo and cattle roundup, a young Aboriginal is taken on walkabout by the "last old man of the desert," an Aboriginal elder who can sing to hills. A journey to the beyond.

### **The Moment-by-Moment Harvest** Northeast Thailand

West of the war-torn Mekong River there is time enough to appreciate the trail of sunlight in the water, to enjoy the rhythms of harvest and the making of silk; a way of life preserved by Buddhist culture.

### **Where the Gods Dance**

Kathmandu Valley, Nepal

Nepal - abode of the gods, theater of wonders, rooftop of the world - where Shiva, symbol of the power of creation and destruction, still dances over the body of sleeping humanity. A Hindu funeral and cremation inspires a young man to seek a teacher and master the Dance of Shiva.

### **Secrets of Kataragama**

Southern Sri Lanka

Revelations of the festival at Kataragama, where initiate yogis, seeking the ecstasy of transcendent wisdom, perform practices which would enable them to go beyond the senses, mind, and emotions. The festival reaches its climax in the dances accompanying the sacred elephant procession.

### **Queen of Sheba's Bequest**

South Yemen

The beauty and glamour of the Arabian Desert, the ancient spice routes which brought great wealth to the Kingdoms of the Hadramaut and Shabwa. The Yemeni traders still thrive today, living in adobe "sky-scraper" cities whose mud brick buildings stand nine storeys and are over five hundred years old.

### **Konso Chronicles**

Konso, Sidamo, Ethiopia

Tilling rocky fields by hand, these hard working terrace farmers have established a subsistence economy in beautiful architected hillside villages. They hold a weekly market, and enjoy the fruits of hard work as well take time from their tilling and plowing to dance in celebration of a local marriage.

### **Warriors at Home**

Omo River, Ethiopia

Considered by many to be one of the last unexplored wilderness areas, the Omo region

maintains its remote character by virtue of its crocodile infested waters, wild cheetah and boar, and semi-nomadic warring tribes. The women of the Omo adorn themselves with large clay and wood lip plates. The warriors keep in shape by fierce stick fighting.

### For further information write to:

Caravan of Dreams Productions,  
312 Houston Street, Fort Worth,

Texas 76102 USA

Tel.: (817) 877-3332

Fax: (817)-877-3752

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### **LE DIABLE À LA FOURCHETTE (1989)**

"Lou diable de mar" ou foulque en Languedoc, est un oiseau migrateur que les hommes des marais chassent au début de l'automne, après les vendanges et le départ des taureaux de la petite Camargue.

Ces chasseurs sont installés aux cabanes de Lunel, Marsillargues, Lansargues, Mauguio... À peine quelques kilomètres de chemin défoncé, de roseaux, de canaux et de petites digues, les "lévadons" séparent les colonies touristiques du littoral de ces petits villages de cabanes, en contrebas de voies rapides, à contre-sens du littoral urbanisé... L'une de ces cabanes s'appelle "La Fourchette".

Un film réalisé avec le concours du Conseil Général de l'Hérault, de la Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles, de la Région Languedoc Rousillon, et de la Fondation Européenne des Métiers de l'Image et du Son.

Réalisateur: Luc Bazin  
Recherche: Michèle Taurines  
Caméra: Alain Dumas et Eric Henry  
Montage: Mariette Gutherz  
Musique: Alain Rodier  
Format: 16mm - couleur  
Durée: 26 minutes  
Production: A.R.I.S.  
31 rue St Guilhem  
Montpellier, France  
Tél: 67 66 02 09

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## LATE NEWS

### A LETTER FROM MARK SOOSAAR

Festival Organizer  
Pärnu  
International Visual Anthropology Society  
P.O. Box 150, Pärnu 203 600  
Estonia, USSR  
Phone 7 (01444) 43869  
telex 173 134 ESTO SU

Dear Asen Balikci,

Dear members and correspondents of the  
Commission on Visual Anthropology,

We would like to welcome you to the  
IV Pärnu International Visual Anthropology  
Festival which will be held October 21-29,  
1990, in Pärnu, Estonia.

Our festival and scientific conference  
are important meetings between Western and  
Eastern filmmakers, scholars, critics and  
journalists with an interest in visual  
anthropology. This year we are going to  
concentrate on the cultural survival and  
necessary documentation of Nordic societies.  
As in last year's festival, we are again  
planning a workshop where Western  
cinematographers and film professors will  
share their experiences on contemporary  
recording technology.

We hope to invite to the conference  
some shamans from Siberia. There will be  
several lectures and films on the mythology of  
Siberian peoples. This part of the festival is  
planned for the last days of our meeting which  
is linked to another conference, organized by  
the Estonian Academy of Sciences and entitled  
"Traditional Folk Beliefs Today".

We do hope to have all the guests  
together in Pärnu on Sunday, October 21 for a  
dinner with the Estonian government officials.  
So we could start with competition screenings,  
conferences and serious work on Monday  
morning. The award ritual is planned for  
noontime, Saturday, October 27 and followed  
by the two days conference "Traditional Folk  
Beliefs Today". For the guests who would  
like to travel, again we will try to sail for two  
days to several Estonian islands, rich in  
folklore, rituals and medieval architecture. But

this depends on the good will of the Baltic sea,  
in October it is quite stormy.

If you intend to send the films or  
videos for competition, please remember the  
deadline for preselection - August 25, 1990.  
If you want to show your programme only on  
the free-screenings, which will be scheduled  
after dinners, or if you are coming without  
films, let us know before September 10, 1990.  
For the formal invitation we need your  
passport number, date of birth, citizenship,  
address. Having these data we can send an  
invitation to you and to the Soviet consulate  
nearest to your permanent residence.

Cordially yours,

Mark Soosaar