

AN ASSESSMENT OF HISTORIC AND CONTEMPORARY MODELS OF NATIVE
REPRESENTATION FROM ETHONO-ENTERTAINMENT FILMS TO
EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION FILMS

by

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ABSTRACT

Ethno-entertainment is a term that makes apparent the merger of entertainment and science in the depiction of the Native presence in film. This approach to filmmaking is assessed and is determined to be defunct. Experiential-education filmmaking is offered as an alternative approach. It is suggested that Native science can inform this approach in a way that allows a contextual understanding of Native language and culture. My video thesis work, *K'anecho'xdekdiigh- I'm Not Going to Teach You*, is suggested as an example of how the prominence of Native science may promote survivance rather than perpetuate ethno-entertainment's focus on absence.

INTRODUCTION

Ethno-entertainment is a term that makes apparent the merger of entertainment and science in the depiction of the Native presence in film. The implications of this conglomeration are the primary focus of this thesis, which provides an application of multi-disciplinary theory to flush out the attributes and implications of ethno-entertainment. Through textual analysis of historical and contemporary works, I build grounds for an alternative approach to Native representation.

Experiential filmmaking offers this alternative approach. Threaded through this essay are examples of such participatory filmmaking. The way in which the experiential is embraced by filmmakers varies between films. At times it is in collusion with ethno-entertainment, but it can offer not only an alternative approach, one which subverts the features of ethno-entertainment directly. My own filmic work provides the final example, a move from ethno-entertainment toward experiential education. Native science is a comparative and alternative cosmology to Western science. This thesis concludes with the suggestion that Native science may inform an epistemology in contemporary experiential filmmaking.

This thesis begins with a historical accounting of French physician Felix-Louis Regnault. Fatimah Tobing Rony presents 19th century social science as part of a circus that defined race by the visual. From this arena, a way of cinematic understanding developed in the wake of colonialism, defining the non-European as the “Other.” The assumed authenticity of the mechanical gaze contributed to the immediate function of the camera as a positivist, scientific tool.

In the United States, we see a variation of this image dominance that reflects the social mentality of the early twentieth century. The assumed right to portray any sphere of Native life in any context is illustrated by the work of Edward Sheriff Curtis and Robert Flaherty. The role of narrative reconstruction prominent in their work testifies to the inception of ethno-entertainment. Flaherty's landmark film *Nanook of the North* clearly makes the association between science and story by a weighted attention to the following of "acts" and a way of understanding these acts through Hollywood cinematic and narrative convention. However, also beginning with Flaherty, the participatory components of filmmaking reveal trans-cultural influence, an alternative modality of representation. In this vein the innovative work of the French anthropologist Jean Rouch in the 1950's, particularly *Les maitres fous* demonstrates a participatory and experiential approach to ritual that confronts, rather than perpetuates, colonization.

Contemporary ethno-entertainment, as illustrated by the BBC/Discovery channel series *Going Tribal*, and the TNT mini-series *Into the West* attempts to incorporate a participatory aspect into its science/spectacle framework with varying success. This accounting of contemporary ethno-entertainment suggests that claims of authenticity and narrative presentation of identity remain entwined and suspect due to subsequent de-contextualization. The "ethno-" in ethno-entertainment forwards an institutional claim of authenticity. Attention to ceremony is the visual proof of assigning identity. The "entertainment" portion of the term resides in the sale of image and the narrative reconstruction of identity to appease the masses.

My own filmic work provides the final example, and redirects the process of image-construction from ethno-entertainment toward experiential education.

K'anecho'xdekdiigh- I'm Not Going To Teach You: an experiential video, attempts to create a contextual understanding of “ways of coming to know” language. The film suggests that the process of “coming to know” varies according to the material presented. Since what is being presented is Native science, there is an effort to incorporate Native science into an epistemology. Gregory Cajete defines Native science as a creative participation with the natural world expressed in personal and communal relationships.¹ An understanding of these relationships can offer a methodology that will abandon the perpetuation of loss, in favor of generative education:

Just as new forms of life are evolutionary-created out of older forms-so new forms of knowledge and systems of learning must be created out of the most promising spiritual and cultural heritages of the past. . . An eco-education would draw from the knowledge, understanding, and creative thinking of past and present in order to prepare for a sustainable future. These sources are multidimensional, multicultural, and multi-situational.²

THE EMERGENCE OF ETHNO-ENTERTAINMENT:

REGNAULT, CURTIS, FLAHERTY

Fatimah Tobing Rony explores constructions of race as spectacle and science in *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema and Ethnographic Spectacle* (1996). I am going to briefly rely on her work on French physician Felix-Louis Regnault to expose the foundations of ethno-entertainment. In Paris in 1895, Regnault attended the Exposition Ethnographique de l'Afrique Occidentale with the chronophotographe camera, invented by physiologist Etienne-Jules, to record birds in flight. Regnault recorded a woman's walk across the frame. As a comparative example to her "savage locomotion," a Frenchman walks in front of her.³ Not unlike photographer Eadweard Muybridge⁴, Regnault, with the aid of new photographic technology, dissects the acts of human motion in the interest of science.

Regnault however, unlike Muybridge sought to apply his data of acts to supporting a notion of human evolutionary theory. Regnault might be thought of as an early practitioner of positivist cinematic ethnography. He writes, "It provides exact and permanent documents to those who study movements. The film of movement is better for research than the simple viewing of movement; it is superior. . .it eliminates the personal factor,"⁵ Predicting the future path of anthropology, he proposed the archiving of images and audio recordings, a cataloguing of the Races of men. It was a new century, and race was to be defined by the cinematic representation of the body in motion.⁶

Anthropology in the late 19th century was a new discipline seeking scientific validation. The offspring of colonialism, anthropology was defined by the question of

the “Other”, the non-European. Rony emphasizes that “visualism,” the belief in the ideological primacy of vision, is at the core of the anthropological endeavor. Nineteenth century anthropology is a public enterprise defined in the seeing of race in the physical: skull collections in Natural History museums, wax diaramas, photographs, and ethnographic fairs.⁷ Of the ethnographic fairs Rony writes, “Part human zoo, part performance circus, part laboratory for physical anthropology, ethnographic expositions were meaning machines which defined what it meant to be French as well a what it meant to be west African in the late nineteenth century.”⁸ Out of such carnivals, an entertainment form—and in the pursuit of defining race through the filmic deconstruction of acts of the body, an ethnographic enterprise—the cinema of ethno-entertainment emerged.

The binding of media with scientific or historical institutions to create documentation essentially served social and political needs. The father of the British documentary movement, John Grierson was the first to recognize and proclaim non-fiction film as a tool capable of social change. As Grierson writes, “Cinema is neither an art nor an entertainment; it is a form of publication, and may publish in a hundred different ways from a hundred different audiences. . . Of the most important field by far is propaganda.”⁹ Grierson looked toward film as a means to an end, where “the basic force behind it is social not aesthetic” and “the ‘hang over’ effect of film is everything.” His agenda was one of social reform and he believed he could accomplish this through the presentation of the everyday, resonant in the social mentality and therefore potentially

productive of positive social changes. His films focused on areas such as cleaner air, improved working conditions, and adequate housing.¹⁰

Propaganda and nation building based on non-fiction depictions of Native Americans was already common practice within the United States prior to the advent of cinema. It is the power of documentation—the signing of treaties with Native nations—that legitimized the U.S. in the eyes of the established European powers. Ward Churchill suggests that this relationship based on documents functioned as a tool of colonization. By authoring a Native identity based on dichotomies like civil/savage or religious/heathen, early colonizers used definitional power to position Native Americans in a void without a present, past, or future. As Churchill reflects, “The national identity of the colonizer is created and maintained through the usurpation of the national identity of the colonized, a causal relationship.”¹¹ Through writing, a means and justification for cultural conquest and expansion was realized. The writing of image as a claim to land continues to be a relevant discussion. As Russell Means writes:

Therein lies the meaning of the whites’ fantasy about Indians—the problem of the Indian image. Underneath all the conflicting images of the Indian one fundamental truth emerges—the white man knows that he is alien and he knows that north America is Indian—and he will never let go of the Indian image because he thinks that by some clever manipulation he can achieve an authenticity that can never be his.¹²

From early false testimonials in the guise of very popular “capture narratives” in the seventeenth century, through to James Fennimore Cooper’s *Last of the Mohicans* or Longfellow’s *The Song of Hiawatha*, propaganda and aesthetic rationale became the justification for the writing of texts with little understanding of the cultures they portrayed. Together a historic social record developed based on fictionalized historic

events, whose authenticity emerged from preceding pseudo-historical accounts. This process perpetuated the recycling of base stereotypes drawn from popular entertainment and history.

The right of being able to represent anything is at the heart of the democratic rational. Churchill argues:

The justifying aesthetic rationale is itself an aspect of the European cultural context which generated the literate format at issue. Hence, utilizing aesthetic “freedom” as a justifying basis for the distortive literary manipulation of non-European cultural realities is merely a logical circular continuum. It may perhaps be reasonable that Europe is entitled in the name of literature to fabricate whole aspects of its own socio-cultural existence. However the unilateral extended proposition that such entitlement reaches into the cross-cultural area seems arrogant in the extreme. Little more than a literary” Manifest Destiny”¹³

Ethno-entertainment, a product of this same culture, results from a similar *cinematic* manifest destiny. The right to record Native communities—including the sacred acts of these communities—was found not only to be acceptable, but also of commercial interest and value. Photographer Edward Sheriff Curtis was among the first to exploit this situation. As early as 1908, Curtis filmed the Hopi Snake Dance, and around 1911, he recorded the Yebichi Navaho ceremony. He took these images out of their traditional context in order to tour with them, incorporating the films into his lectures, slideshows, and “picture opera”.¹⁴

The cinematic relationship with ceremony began early. This is a relationship that continues to evolve, as contemporary filmmakers search for a balance. The immediate draw of anthropologists and filmmakers to ceremony might be explained by performance theory. As Elizabeth Fine and Jean Speer state: “Studying performance . . . is a critical way for grasping how persons choose to present themselves, how they construct their

identity, and ultimately how they embody, reflect, and construct their culture.”¹⁵ Ethno-entertainment films give attention to many of the same areas on which performance scholars focus: social dramas, cultural performances, and sacred and secular rituals. Rather than serving as a basis for understanding and contextual communication, however, these performances are re-contextualized only toward saleable ends.

The sale of image and culture as entertainment is a defining feature of ethno-entertainment that has early historical roots. Curtis was the professional photographer who photographically defined the Native American image in his forty volume, thirty year work *The North American Indian*; he was less known for his cinematic efforts. He was an ambitious man who marketed his work based on the assumed loss of its referential source, as seen in this enticement quote from a film prospectus he issued: “Exceptionally substantial dividends are promised not least because the proposed films will, because of their historical and ethnological importance, have increasing value.”¹⁶ The marketing of Native spirituality is a contemporary concern, as Laurie Anne Whitt expresses in her essay, “Cultural Imperialism and Marketing”:

When the spiritual knowledge, rituals, and object of historically subordinated cultures are transformed into commodities, economic and political merge to produce cultural imperialism. . . In the case of indigenous cultures, it undermines their integrity and distinctiveness, assimilating them to the dominant culture by seizing and processing vital cultural resources, then remaking them in the image and marketplaces of the dominant culture.

Whitt shows the expansiveness of the appropriation of Native culture. The politics of property extends beyond land rights to cultural property and to what Western science considers intellectual property. For instance, the Human Genome Diversity Project (HGDP), a collateral study to the Human Genome Project, proposed collecting DNA

from some 722 “rapidly disappearing indigenous populations.” The rationale of the project, as described by the popular journal *Science*, is that:

Indigenous people are disappearing across the globe. . . As they vanish, they are taking with them a wealth of information buried in their genes about human origins, evolution, and diversity. . . [E]ach(population) offers “a window into the past”. . . a unique glimpse into the gene pool of our ancestors. . . Already, there are indications of the wealth of information harbored in the DNA of aboriginal peoples.¹⁷

This type of justification based on imminent loss is a common feature of ethno–entertainment films as well. As one would expect, intimately linked with loss is preservation, the final qualifier. It is likely that Curtis felt that Native documentation served the function of preservation for education. Again, the prospectus that Curtis issued for his motion picture production company makes the point:

The question might be raised as to whether the *documentary material* would not lack the thrilling interest of the fake picture. It is the opinion of Mr. Curtis that the real life of the Indian contains the parallel emotions to furnish all necessary plots. . . All the pictures made should be classed among the educational, and should be presented as part of the documentary material of the country.¹⁸

This statement exemplifies the circular components of ethno-entertainment: “real” Native life is linked to: a plot-driven representation of the Natives, to marketing, to education, to historic/cultural preservation, all of which in turn is tied back to a Western construction of what it means to be Native American.

Curtis’s 1914 feature, *In the Land of Headhunters* (originally titled, *In the Days of Vancouver*) was a monumental \$75, 000 dollar undertaking. The preparation of the film, the weaving of costumes, carving of poles, and building of war canoes took three years. The filmic melodrama takes place in a distant time. An inter-title indicates the mythic

scope of this story: “Motana again builds his fire on the heights, where he fasts and dances, still seeking spirit power. The sorcerer’s daughter resolves to spare him and win his love, but he spurns her and she returns to her father with Motana’s hair and neck-ring.”¹⁹ Based on a tribal tale, the story was influenced by George Hunt of the Kwakiutl (Kwakwaka’wakw) tribe who was a skilled interpreter and worked with anthropologist Franz Boaz for twenty years.²⁰

The film is a visually poetic telling of a story enacted by Kwakiutl tribe members. The story incorporates traditional ritual practices amidst the epic tale of love, warring headhunters, and beautiful wildlife filmmaking. There is a convergence of storytelling modalities, which become indistinguishable from each other. Filmmaker David MacDougall questions in his essay, “Whose Story Is It?” (1992), if the inclusion of indigenous narrative, “is making an indigenous statement or merely absorbing a device into its own narrative strategies.”²¹ While easily visible here as absorption, it remains as an early example of the overlapping of narrative traditions.

The implications of MacDougall’s question become far more complex as film takes on not just story details but the story structure of the community filmed. In this instance, the story takes on the crowd-pleasing formulae of seduction and savagery, while giving great attention to the aesthetic details of Kwakiutl culture. What is ultimately accomplished by this production is the preservation of Kwakiutl acts like dancing and hunting, and objects like canoes and totem poles, but all without a culturally appropriate context. The assigned context is the American past. As Curtis himself explains in the forward to the book of the same name, “The film gives a glimpse of the primitive

Americans as they lived in the Stone Age and as they still were living when explorers touched the shores of the Pacific between 1774 and 1791.” This statement draws a bizarre link to a categorized age of a pre-technology, and the primitive technological state of the Native community as Europeans claimed discovery.

The *New York Times* review of the film from 1914 makes the same strange connection, “The movie drama took several years to complete and represents a period in American history of the first exploration of the North Pacific coast.”²² Associating this work with a claim of discovery is an echo of the explore/conquer/claim mentality of the travelogue film that was the dominant cinematic entertainment of the time. Ethno-entertainment sells the merger of authenticity and entertainment to address contemporary political and social identity issues.

The beginning of the twentieth century marked a time of response to industrialization. Championed by public figures such as Roosevelt, the return to nature offered a way to remasculate oneself in a society threatened by “physical and moral effeminacy.”²³ The early expedition films, financially backed by reputable institutions like the Smithsonian and the Museum of Natural History, consisted primarily of the systematic killing or capturing of wildlife. The excitement in these films was derived from the authentic presentation of the conquest of the wild. Increasingly unable to experience nature first hand, the urban public to whom the films appealed, went to the theater seeking an authentic wilderness experience. The adventure/safari films’ visual presentation of the hunt was in and of itself not compelling enough for audiences. When the public was presented with a more exciting and innovative fictional alternative, they

preferred it. This is evident by the greater financial success of Colonel Selig's staged production of Roosevelt's adventures, *Hunting Big Game in Africa* as compared to Cherry Kearton's on-location account, *Teddy Roosevelt in Africa*.²⁴

Robert Flaherty understood the need to respond to conventions established by Hollywood narrative filmmaking. As visual anthropologist Jay Ruby notes, "Flaherty elevated the non-fiction film from the often superficial dreariness of the travelogue and the adventure film to the documentary through the imposition of a narrative in order to cinematically tell dramatic and compelling stories of real people."²⁵ Robert Flaherty is considered by many to be both the father of documentary and ethnographic film, yet it is his ability to utilize narrative structure and cinematic artifice that is the defining characteristic of his work. In Flaherty, we see the dramatization of Native life sold as a higher truth. Calder-Marshall quotes the filmmaker: "Sometimes you have to lie. One often has to distort a thing to catch its true spirit."²⁶

As part of the Romantic tradition, Flaherty sought to portray the best of Man in his struggle with Nature; he sought to illustrate transcendence of spirit over natural adversity. As Richard Barsam notes of Flaherty, "He believed as Rousseau did that the most primitive and the least advanced people are the happiest and the least corrupt, and like Rousseau, Flaherty believed that the arts and sciences that actually comprise what we call civilization actually corrupt man's native goodness."²⁷

In Flaherty's landmark work *Nanook of the North* (1922), this Rousseau ideology is imposed upon the Eskimo character of Nanook narratively through the staging of simplicity. The scene at the "trading post" is the only scene in which Nanook is brought

in contact with the West and is illustrative of this staging. Flaherty, who was being funded by the fur company, Revelon Feres, could not overtly condemn the trading company as an active component of cultural Westernization, but he manages to get in his anti-technological viewpoint through Nanook. Nanook is shown a gramophone record by the trader. Nanook is amused and tries to bite the record, an enacting of a “primitive” sensory understanding of an object. The gramophone, a symbol of modern technology centered on leisure, is shown to have no rightful place in the Eskimo culture of subsistence.

Although Flaherty did entrust his camera maintenance to his Eskimo assistant, Harry Lauder, the truth of Eskimo culture for Flaherty is not modernity and technological understanding, but the simplicity of a Man vs. Nature struggle. Flaherty emphasizes the genial Eskimo disposition during this struggle: the light-heartedness of Nanook is consistently featured next to physical acts of struggle for subsistence. For example, when Nanook catches a seal on his line, great attention is given to his playful rolling around in the snow as he attempts to pull in the seal.

Flaherty continues to develop ethno-entertainment via his attention to physical acts. Making use of the cinematic convention of visual suspense, Flaherty follows unfamiliar acts methodically, creating a visual study of them. This technique asks the audience to participate in the observation. We watch step by step as Nanook constructs an igloo, then we see Nanook go to the water and cut a piece of ice. By withholding narration, Flaherty keeps the audience unaware of Nanook’s intent. We watch as Nannok seals the ice block into the igloo and then sets in place a snow block perpendicular to it.

The act is not understood until its dramatic visual crescendo, as reflected sun beams bounce off the “reflector block.”²⁸ The significance of this is far reaching, and really marks the first gesture toward a culturally educational cinema, image-making we might define through its encouragement of the audience’s visual and mental participation in order to understand the knowledge of another culture.

Flaherty believed that cinema could best present the Eskimo character through an intimate presentation of such acts. Flaherty felt that film was a particularly well-suited medium for recording, in his words: “primitive people whose lives are simply lived and who feel strongly, but whose activities are external and dramatic rather than internal and complicated. I don’t think you could make a good film of the love affair of an Eskimo because they never show much feeling in their faces but you can make a very good film of Eskimos spearing walrus.”²⁹

Again, derived from a science/drama merger common to ethno-entertainment, cinematic Natives are best understood through the physicality of subsistence acts. In support of this premise, the Native relationship with nature is distorted to portray dramatic conflict. As early as 1922, Flaherty wrote about bringing together science and drama. He says frankly, “It seems to me that it is possible to record the life of primitive people in such a way to serve the scientific accuracy and yet make a picture which has vivid dramatic interest for the average man and woman.”³⁰

Although *Nanook of The North* was released as an ethnological work, Flaherty sought performances. Flaherty regularly held field screenings so “ [referring to the Eskimo community] they would accept and understand what I was doing and work

together with me as partners.”³¹ This participatory approach allowed a refinement of acting through a recognition of self-image and performance. The partnership extended into production as well. The building of an oversized igloo by the Eskimo community, to allow the filming of interior shots, has been alluded to as a community effort that by its nature recognized and supported the artifice of filmmaking. While this participation might be thought of as crew and cast participation, participatory dynamics as related to authorship was even further developed by Jean Rouch in the 1950’s and remains the central premise of collaborative filmmaking today.

Despite this participatory input, Flaherty’s social ideology was the final arbitrator of his representations. Like Curtis and Regnault, before him, Flaherty set out on a mission of preservation, to capture, in his own words, “the former majesty and character of these people, while it is still possible—before the white man has destroyed not only their character, but the people as well. . . .”³² Curtis and Flaherty both sought to present an epic past of purity before Western influence. The identity construction in both instances was determined by Western narrative conventions of character and story.

If we jump ahead to 2001, a time of Inuit self-representation, we see a contrasting representation of the time before Western influence. The film *Atanarjuat—The Fast Runner* tells the Inuit legend of Igloodik, a story a millennium old. Written, produced, directed and acted by Inuit, the production is self-declared as “part of this continuous stream of oral history carried forward into the new millennium through a marriage of Inuit storytelling skills and new technology.” Over the generations the legend was passed down by Elders to teach young Inuit the danger of setting personal desire above the needs

of the group.³³ Whereas Flaherty looks to construct a past because of an assumption of a disappearing present, Inuit director Zacharias Kunuck tells a traditional story, and affirms cultural identity in the telling of story. One is an active process sustaining of culture and the other is a cataloguing of culture, very humanistic, but nevertheless still a cataloguing.

With Regnault, Curtis and Flaherty we see the foundation of ethno-entertainment, as filmmakers impose Western ideology onto an indigenous culture modified to accept Western perceptions of these cultures and re-written to serve social and political ends. Regnault does this through visual focus on the body and social theory, Curtis does this through a recreation of distant time labeled historic, and Flaherty through the narrative focus on characters and their subsistence acts. Regnault, Curtis, and Flaherty together define the three driving principles of ethno-entertainment: 1) the camera suggest a truth about Native people that can be found in their acts; 2) narrative provides entertainment and allows an accessibility to a greater truth; and 3) the value and justification for the work is both as a saleable commodity and as a preservation of authenticity which is in imminent danger of being lost.

A BREAK WITH THE TRADITION OF ETHNO-ENTERTAINMENT: JEAN ROUCH

In the 1960's and 1970's, ethnographic film as a discipline entered a mature phase. In a response to what some have called a "crisis of representation," a focus on a more dialogical style of representation emerged. Faye Ginsburg concisely notes the following historical, intellectual and political developments as contributing factors to this anthropological overhaul: "The end of the colonial era with the assertions of self-determination by native people," "the radicalization of young scholars in the 1960s and the replacing of positivist models of knowledge with more interpretive and politically self-conscious approaches," and "A reconceptualization of 'the native voice' as one that should be in more direct dialogue with anthropological interpretation."³⁴

In the 1950's, prior to this response to crisis, Jean Rouch had begun to explore an alternate approach to ethno-entertainment. While ethno-entertainment is not anthropology, it derives its "ethno" component from the social theory of anthropology, as discussed above. Through participatory and collaborative filmmaking, Rouch redefines cross-cultural cinematic engagement in a manner that yet has been truly matched in its originality.

Rouch is often discussed as an avant-garde documentary filmmaker, a founder of the French cinema-verite style and heavily influential on French "New Wave" cinema. Considered a pioneer in many areas, it is his actions as a "radical empiricist" that interests me the most. As Stoller argues in his monograph, *The Cinematic Griot* (1992), a radical empiricist: "confers equality of status on all the intellectual and spiritual activities of man. It shows up the superstition that science alone is in touch with the real and can say

anything useful about it.”³⁵ This epistemological approach, as applied to participatory and collaborative filmmaking, redefines the role of camera and filmmaker as active agents responding to the dynamics of the pro-filmic moment. The space in which this occurs is a unique one: it is a cine-space where the rules of discourse are determined by the shared utilization of the medium.

Rouch’s best known and most controversial work *Les maitres fous* is a graphic and poetic evocation of a Songhay possession ceremony. Songhay emigrants leave the pressures of Accra, capitol of the Gold Coast, for a yearly Hauka ritual.³⁶ We are witness to Hauka possessions; men foam at the mouth, eat dog flesh and march about possessed by colonial British administrators. When presented in 1955 at the Musee de L’Homme, the film was violently rejected by ethnologists as unscientific and by African scholars as racist. The film was banned both in the Gold Coast and Great Britain as an insult to the Queen.³⁷ The film addresses the complexities of colonialism and de-colonization through ceremony. The participatory nature of *Les maitres fous* de-colonizes the act of representation because the meaning of the camera and role of the filmmaker is willingly re-appropriated into the context of the ceremony.

The production of *Les maitres fous* began at the bequest of the priests of the Hauka cult who had seen Rouch’s footage and wished to incorporate filming into the ritual. The taboo presence of the camera was intended to contribute to the ritual. In Rouch’s own words:

You see when they first decided to eat a dog, it was really breaking a very strong taboo. They were doing something very bad, and maybe if they had used the film there would have been a fantastic emergence of all the Hauka power at the same time. Well, they were ready to try a kind of experiment because they felt

they could command any aspect of the European-based technology, including cameras and films.³⁸

Rouch here advocates a “shared anthropology.” He accomplished this by participating in a cine-dialogue. This dialogue might be thought of as a performance where individuals “modify themselves” to utilize the medium, which consists of both the camera and Rouch himself. In this instance, the institution of cinema is appropriated by the filmed in a manner resonant with their own belief system. This in turn is a function of Rouch’s physical participation. Rouch does not merely command a passively observant camera but directs a camera of provocation. The presence of the observer cannot be neutral he shares, because to disrupt the flow would be to break the trance. Rouch explains: “Whether he wants to or not, he himself is integrated in the general movement, and his slightest actions are interpreted with reference to this particular system of thought. . . In fact, they react to this art of visual and sound reflections the same way they react to the public art of possession or the private art of magic and sorcery.” The role that Rouch plays as a filmmaker is akin to the magician, the sorcerer, and the possessed. The Songhay-Zarma possession is based on a notion of a double, or *bia*. Rouch has speculated that his imaging act made him a double-taker. So the meaning of his participation, his provocation, is what becomes willingly appropriated. Rouch writes: “The camera played the role of a ritual object. The camera becomes a magic object that can unleash or accelerate the phenomena of possession because it leads the filmer onto a path he would never had dared to take if he did not have it in front of him, guiding him to something we scarcely understand . . .”³⁹

Influenced by Dziga Vertov, Rouch speaks of the camera as a “cine-eye” and the microphone as a “cine-ear.” In an interview with Enrico Fulchignoni, Rouch recites, “To be able to leap from one point to another is my essential dream. Making a film for me, means writing it with your eyes, with your ears, with your body. It means entering into it.”⁴⁰ Rouch returns the organic back to the machine, moving beyond the deconstructing mechanical eye of ethno-entertainment. The cine-dialogue hereby is a shared cine-performance where the participants relate to each other and to the camera in a way that is particular to this one cine-experience. Authenticity becomes irrelevant because everything exists in a cine-reality that is both a reflection of an outside reality but also constructive of its own reality.

Karl Heider in *Ethnographic Film* (1976) discusses a systematic theory of how films can be made more ethnographic. He labels *Les maitres fous* in his category, “Inadvertent Distortion of Behavior.” He comments: “the possession ceremony in *Les Maitres Fous* . . . had such high levels of energy of their own that the filmmakers were virtually ignored.”⁴¹ I would argue that there is a physical and conceptual appropriateness (even if it is taboo) in the camera’s occupation of space; the camera presence was not ignored but recognized in a different context than the one Heider assumes.

A brief look at the film *Moi Un Noir* will illustrate another example of Rouch’s collaborative filmmaking. In this film, Rouch follows the lives of migrant workers from Niger living in the port of Abiidjin, Ivory Coast. Fictional narrative structure, which is often dominant in ethno-entertainment, becomes a vehicle of identity construction. The

initial voice-over is passed to a “character.” As ethnographic scholar Peter Loizos recognizes: “We see where they live, what they eat, what jobs they do and how they spend their free time. But most significantly, we hear these things in their own words and these words speak not only of who they are and how they live, but who they would like to be and how they would like to live, matters hardly discussed in written ethnography.”⁴² The importance here is not the film’s relation to written anthropology but how the transference of voice allows the work to project into the future and be generative. The camera is collaboratively used in the construction of contemporary and projected identity.

Rouch often refers to Dionysus; he is a believer that in a shared moment, when you are fortunate, something poetic happens. This sharing of inspiration he refers to as “grace.” As he explains, “grace is not something learned; it arrives all of a sudden, it works. . . My African friends, when they see me filming a ritual. . . come up to me at the end to say: ‘Ah, Jean, today it’s a good one’ and other times they come and say, ‘It’s a flop’.”⁴³

What Rouch calls “grace” might also be thought of as the “flow” between chaos and creativity that Gregory Cajete suggests is an essential aspect of Native science. Cajete writes, “Our instinctual ability to ‘flow’ with the stream of chaos and creativity leads us metaphorically to the ‘vortices’ of individual and collective truth.” This truth, he suggests, is in constant flux, “not a fixed point, but rather an ever-evolving point of balance, perpetually created and perpetually new.”

Rouch contributes to the search of a collective truth through his embrace of chaos as creativity. Rouch recollects:

I learned with the Dogon that the essential character in all these adventures is not God, representing order, but the foe of God, the Pale Fox, representing disorder. So I have a tendency, when I'm filming, to consider the landscape. . .the work of God, and the presence of my camera as an intolerable disorder. It's this intolerable disorder that becomes a creative object.⁴⁴

Rouch's work is an example of how an experiential model of filmmaking that evokes physical and conceptual participation creates the possibility of a shared stage.

CONTEMPORARY ETHNO-ENTERTAINMENT ASSESSED

If we return now to ethno-entertainment we see a legacy of de-contextualization for entertainment purposes which deeply permeates Native presentation today. This next section explores degrees of adherence to or divergence from the precedents of ethno-entertainment within two contemporary Native representation works, *Going Tribal* and *Into the West*.

Going Tribal

“Going Tribal” is an ethno-entertainment work in the form of a contemporary travelogue series with an experiential twist. Bruce Parry, the former Royal Marine and “extreme” traveler, is the explorer and guide to the exotic on a vicarious journey for the audience. By traveling to remote communities in Venezuela, Gabon, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Mongolia and India and immersing himself in the tribal cultures for approximately a month, a participatory relationship designed around media presentation emerges.

“The term ‘going native’ is employed to refer to the trepidation felt by the European colonizers in Africa that they may become desecrated by being assimilated into the culture and customs of the indigenous peoples.”⁴⁵ The character of Captain Dunbar in *Dances With Wolves*, after being captured by the U.S. Army and beaten, is derogatorily accused of “havin’ gone in-jin”. Going “X” is an imperial construction that on one hand *Going Tribal* seeks to subvert, but on the other hand is perpetuated due to how the show is inserted into the dominance of broadcast ethno-entertainment featured on the Discovery Channel.

Discovery Channel has specifically marketed *Going Tribal* as a glorification of the experience of “going tribal.” The BBC had previously released the series under the name *Tribal*. As “re-versioning” is standard policy for Discovery Communications, one can assume the series that broadcast on Discovery Channel in 2006 was a re-version focused on a U.S. audience. The introduction, work done by an outsourced specialized company, is like an image from Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*. The only words one hears, amongst a jungle of green broadleaves with black shadows, peering black faces painted white, and the haunting technologically-tweaked cries of monkeys and cats is, “I’m getting scared.”

As one would expect, the marketing of the program relies heaviest on base stereotyping and appeal to a fear of the “Other”. It is commonplace in introductory sequences—as with “trailers” designed to intentionally de-contextualize and create exciting new narratives that hit you hard and fast—to have minimal relation to the work itself. I think these assemblies of images are read in a specific viewing context as advertising, and there is a differentiation made between the work and the trailer. However a continual de-contextual fragmentation contributes to a viewing position framed by these base ways of understanding the work.

Each episode defines the community it goes to initially by the lack of accessibility to that exotic region. When he visits the Adis for example, Parry stands in front of the border-guard checkpoint and states:

Few have traveled this road. . . A forgotten land tucked in the foothill of the Himalayas. To preserve its tribal culture India gives this area special protection. This means it’s very tough to get in. It has taken three or four months in planning to get permission to come into the area. And for me it’s a great privilege because

even Indians can't just cross this border it takes everyone a long time to get in. The place has been closed for now on 60 years. There are very few Westerners who have ever been here so for me this is a very special moment.⁴⁶

As film theorist Bill Nichols suggests in his critique of ethnographic film, travel underwrites the authority of such films by the suggestion of bodily presence, the being on-site/location gives the individual the right "to know" because he/she was there.⁴⁷ The "Otherness" and anticipation of new knowledge is accented by distance and inaccessibility.

Nichols develops a startling comparison between ethnography and pornography focusing on a discourse of dominance. Domination, he suggests, is born of the desire to know by possessing and possess by knowing. The paradigmatic representation of these two states is symbolized by voyeurism in pornography and the panopticon of ethnography. Distance becomes the defining factor as he develops this argument. Nichols states, "Distance, a separation between subject and object, is the prerequisite for sight, realism, desire, and power."⁴⁸ "Going Tribal" seeks to eliminate this distance by participation, as Rouch did. With Rouch we saw that various levels of cinematic participation by both Rouch and the filmed community, define the role of camera contextually within distinct but dialogically compatible cosmologies. The question becomes, Can participation within ethno-entertainment de-colonize the gazing function of the camera?

As with the ethno-entertainment of the past, "Going Tribal" foregrounds defining acts of physicality, like subsistence activities and ritual. Rather than solely following the acts of the individual/s of a community we follow an experiential Bruce Parry performing

these activities. It is in this way he “goes tribal”. Performance scholars tend to look at performance as gauged to an audience. As performance scholar Ervin Goffman says:

I have been using the term “performance” to refer to all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers. It will be convenient to label as “front” that part of the individual’s performance which regularly functions in a general fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance.⁴⁹

The observers in this case are two-fold, they are the community present and the assumed broadcast audience. Bruce Parry’s company Endeavor Films is a talent agency, in their words, “for selected television presenters and outdoor specialists.” Bruce Parry is a “presenter” and is presenting to the broadcast audience. This is a very particular front that is very readable, and would seem to be understood cross-culturally based on the apparent genuine acceptance he finds within these communities. I would still ask, Can an individual be present in the cultural context and simultaneously be transforming the essence of those acts for an outside audience?

In each episode the imminent encroachment of cultural change is highlighted, as is Parry’s desire to experience the acts of the culture before this occurs. The presentation of the experience is a calculated aspect of the production. The experiencing before the camera takes precedence over the cultural context in which these acts would be experienced. The presentation to camera during the experience also takes precedence over the experience with the individuals present. For example take the following scene where Parry drinks blood “with” the Suri men. Voice-over narration first establishes the exotic nature of the act, “It’s my second day and the villagers can’t wait to give me a

special experience, though I had already eaten milk and porridge in the hut there were more exotic things on the breakfast menu.” Then Parry addresses the camera directly, “One thing everyone said to me last night when I moved in is you must drink blood with us, you must drink with us, so that’s what’s we’re to do here.” The meaning of the act is suggested as a bond with the community. The cow is pierced in a rather matter-of-fact manner as Parry watches. He is seated on a stump; a Suri man squats next to him, observing. Blood is given to Parry to drink and he turns to the camera in full explication of his likes and dislikes of the experience. He describes, “tastes like a very nutritious shake. Kinda salty. . . .Not all pleasant but not disgusting.”

The Suri tribesmen with whom he is sharing the experience make their own suggestions during the performance. One man says as Bruce hesitates, “He must drink it quickly before it clots.” Another man says, “Look at his forehead. He’s frowning.” The subtitled statements of the men are addressed to each other and not to Parry because he is occupied with the camera. The audience and the Suri both observe Parry’s “presenter” front. By the second day of his visit with the Suri, Parry has introduced the “addressing of a third party audience” into the dynamic as one of the ways he will experience aspects of their culture presented to him.

Arguably what he misses out on here is the possibility of an emergent dialogue that might have taken the experience into Suri space and a Suri way of sharing. The last statement Parry makes within the scene takes advantage of the communication gap. Confiding in the audience Bruce states, “ you know when I said it wasn’t disgusting it was because I only had a bit.”⁵⁰ This comment bluntly emphasizes that the

communication is not with the man next to him but the audience. In this instance participation seems to segregate the two cultures.

As with other ethno-entertainment works, a focus on ritual is central to this series.

The Discovery Channel's description of one episode states:

Bruce faces one of his toughest tests as he is inducted into the Bwiti, a rainforest religion practiced by the Babongo people of Gabon. He's right to be worried –on occasion the ritual, which involves consuming an overdose of a powerful hallucinogenic, Iboga, has proved fatal. This dramatic episode follows Bruce's build-up to the ceremony, as he goes hunting, collecting forest honey and spends time getting to know his new friends, as they judge if the time is right for his "rebirthing" ritual.

The Iboga ceremony becomes a prize won through participation. Sacred knowledge gets put into a production schedule and the traditional path of knowledge displaced as a voyeuristic commodity. The cameraman is asked to leave at a particular "closed" part of the vision quest. The camera films from outside the hut at a distance. Parry is framed by the light of the door. Bruce narrates to us that he is not able to speak of the knowledge in the vision, but proceeds to describe the experience, leaving out details, but nonetheless being descriptive and creating the payoff for the viewer of shared sacred knowledge.⁵¹ Nichols might make the analogy of this to the pornographic climax. One has to wonder if the spirits of all these communities are going to strike him down for his commercial-based performances of ritual and ceremony.

Rather than his participation in ceremony, which seems to be the contemporary travelogue's proof you have possessed one of the "deepest" aspects of a culture, this episode might have focused on story. As Parry notes, "the people of Makokko undoubtedly have something we have lost in our society: time for each other.

Traditional hunter gatherer people often have to work just three to four hours a day to satisfy their needs, the rest of the time is spent just hanging out. They play with their children, they groom each other, they smoke, tell stories, sleep.” The pace and substance of the program does not reflect these aspects of culture in the least. I have used “Going Tribal” to set up an analysis of contemporary ethno-entertainment as it is deployed against Native Americans.

Into The West

In the Summer of 2005 *Into the West* aired on Turner Network Television (TNT). Budgeted at over \$100 million and with Steven Spielberg attached as executive producer through DreamWorks Television, they set forth to tell the story of the West with a declaration to tell both sides, of what Spielberg calls (on the “Making Of” DVD), “the greatest story ever told on the American and Native American character.” The two-hour opening installment brought in 6.5 million viewers. Each of the six weekly installments was played three times over the course of its respective weekend. The series tells significant historic events in Native/US relations as an epic saga.

Into the West might be considered ethno-entertainment for three reasons. First *Into the West* stakes claims to authenticity and historicity by righting the wrongs of representations past, through its own representations. Secondly it focuses on a narrative of Native acts, in this instance the Ghost Dance. Finally, the driving purpose of the work is as commercial entertainment.

A chorus of directors and producers involved in *Into the West* assert the value of their work as a historical document that will educate children. Director Simon Wincer says, “it will be entertaining, wonderfully entertaining because the grand adventure but it will be something that schools will be able to appreciate for the next fifty, sixty years because it is very historically accurate, very educational, very entertaining.” There is a declared intent for the work to find its way into the home and the schools, a culturally expansive domain of educational influence. In all likelihood the sheer volume of the historic representation *Into the West* takes on will ensure the work will be received and utilized in mass education.

The series accomplishes historicity in a number of ways. Informed by a handful of Native advisors the use of Native language and an approximation to Native lifestyles and practices creates plausible cultural representations. Extensive research and a subsequent meticulous attention to object detail (tribe-specific tipi construction, dye colors, beadwork etc.) establish an aesthetic historical space. A chronological likeness to the historical sequence of events transpired, emphasized by introductory timeline graphics, titled date and location for events (for example, November 29, 1864 Sand Creek) suggests a document of historical scholarship. The show emphasizes the presentation of historical turning points within U.S./Native relations: the Sand Creek Massacre, the Wounded Knee Massacre, and the establishment of the Carlisle Indian School. Perhaps most significantly, the incorporation of historic figures like Chief Black Kettle, Chief Sitting Bull, Chief Bigfoot, Chief Kicking Bear, Chief Red Cloud, Colonel Custard, and Colonel Chivington places a non-fictional human presence in the historic

accounting. The year 1890 marks the ‘massacre’ at Wounded Knee. Considered the end of the Indian Wars, this calculated and brutal slaughter of men, women, and children continues to occupy significance in the historical and political consciousness of the Native community. Both the Ghost Dance⁵² and the Wounded Knee Massacre are focused on in *Into the West*.

In his discussion of “Native Documentary as Collective Identification”, Steven Leuthold suggests that the Ghost Dance movement emerged as a pan-Indian movement in the 1890’s and the associated rhetoric of this movement, moved through time to empower the American Indian Movement during the stand-off with the BIA in 1970’s, and continues to motivate contemporary Native filmmakers, its message spanning media vehicles.⁵³ Leuthold develops an argument that Native film is rhetorical by nature, in the act of documenting, and in the subject matter of the documentary. *Wiping the Tears of Seven Generations* (1991) a presentation of the December 1990 250 mile “Bigfoot Memorial Ride” and *The Spirit of Annie Mae Aquash* (2002) a look at her relationship to AIM and the circumstances surrounding her death, are both works which reflect this position. Native identity is affirmed in the continuation of past rhetoric.

Into the West assumes the right to represent past rhetorical acts of Native resistance and history, like the Ghost Dance. Narratively, *Into the West* condemns such representation by the press of the past and assigns responsibility to the press for the escalation of events leading up to the Massacre at Wounded Knee. In the *Into the West* re-coverage of the Ghost Dance, aspects of the dance are briefly enacted, but the weight of focus is on the Ghost Dance as a political movement. It is appropriate to ask,

assuming Native film is rhetorical in its preservation of the rhetoric of the past, What does cross-cultural representation of past rhetorical statements indicate? Would this be a shared statement or a misappropriation of rhetoric?

Into the West uses the Ghost Dance as a platform to explore different notions of resistance. For example a young Native man who has returned to the reservation from the Carlisle Indian School is shown to question the efficacy of ceremony and ceremonial objects versus writing as a tool of resistance. Similarly, Margaret Light Shines becomes the primary character of resistance through her use of a camera. She is approached by a photographer who wants to buy a Ghost shirt⁵⁴ from her. Light Shines negotiates a trade for his camera. She takes control of the tools of representation at the cost of trading her Ghost shirt. The camera becomes the preferential tool over the ceremonial object. In both scenarios, there is a forced choice between spiritual resistance and media resistance. Spiritual resistance is displayed as ineffectual whereas the power of the camera grows in domain. In Black Kettle's camp, the voice-over narration argues: "People's spirits were lifted by the magic of the shadow box."

As Margaret sits with Black Kettle she shows him a glass photo plate and explains, " many white people will see the Cheyenne as they really are. They will understand that your spirits are peaceful." Black Kettle pleased with the photograph of him and his wife, tells her, "this is good medicine." Here we are being told that the camera, in the right hands—in Native hands—has the ability to represent the true character of Native people. Imaging is a healing act, the camera a healing object. Within the final scene of the series, Margaret Light Shines walks through the bodies of the

Wounded Knee Massacre and takes photos, recording the horrific event. She by chance meets the same photographer; and she turns the camera back on him, assigning responsibility with her Native photographic gaze. Documentation and photographic confrontation evolve as resistance. Rhetoric in *Into the West* takes a photocentric form.

This story of the image and of photographic rhetoric at times becomes a mask. The photographic image in the representation of the Sand Creek massacre becomes an escapist object, an object of historic adulteration. Considered one of the most significant slaughters in Native history, Sand Creek is spoken of by Ward Churchill as epitomizing the way in which the United States took the West. His thoughts on how literature has re-invented that which cannot be admitted is just as relevant to contemporary film;

In the post-holocaust era there is no viable ability to justify Sand Creek, the Washita and Wounded Knee. Rather, these are to be purged through a reconstitution of history as a series of tragic aberrations beginning and ending nowhere in time. The literal meaning of such events must at all cost be voided by the sentiment and false nostalgia rather than treated as parts of an ongoing process. The literal is rendered tenuously figurative and then dismissed altogether.⁵⁵

The depiction of Sand Creek is diluted beyond any relation to the horror of a mass murder. The event is attributed to the aberrant lunacy of the commanding officer, Chivington. The majority of the murders are illustrated metaphorically. The images on glass photographic plates shatter and fly apart sequentially representing the deaths of the people imaged. The only lamenting of death is by Margaret Light Shines for her murdered non-native husband.

The representation of the Sand Creek massacre as a symbolic destruction of image and the loss of a non-native fictional character seems an inadequate representation,

indicative of the need for Native historic self-representation that the text of the film itself suggests. The massacre is made palatable to a mass audience that wishes to view this with their children. Director of episode five, “Casualties of War,” Tim Van Patten says: “One of the most rewarding aspects about it [being involved in the production], is this is something I will be able to watch with my children and them with their children.”⁵⁶ In this we see the typical ethno-entertainment use of history to serve the purpose of entertainment.

Native media presence emerges in counterpoint to these misrepresentations. Russell Means plays a character in *Into the West*. Means also led AIM’s occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, an event and space forged in the rhetoric of Native resistance. Gerald Vizenor calls Means a “postindian” warrior in an interview with A. Robert Lee in *Postindian Conversations* (1999). Vizenor suggests that *indians* are simulation in the Baudrillardian sense of absence. In contrast to this is the postindian, a Native presence of both resistance and survivance. Vizenor comments, “The presence of the postindian teases the reader to see the absence, the simulation of the other as a problem. . . [Means is] a strong man, never weak, and since he moved from radical politics to movie sets, he has never tilted to victimry. Means turns simulations into contract, and at the same time poses as a warrior of authenticity.”⁵⁷

This description of Means is perhaps applicable to many of the actors in *Into the West*. Joseph Marshall III (Loved by the Buffalo-Elder) is Sicangu Lakota Sioux, the main Lakota advisor on the film, who has recently published a book of stories illustrating Lakota values, is a craftsman of Lakota bows and arrows, and a founder of Sinte Gleska

University. Irene Bedard (Margaret Light Shines) is Inupiat and French Canadian/Cree; she is the voice of Disney's Pocahontas, was named as one of People Magazine's 50 Most Beautiful People in 1995, and is involved in educating on Aboriginal issues about sacred land.⁵⁸ Vizenor states, "The postindian stands for an active, ironic resistance to dominance, and the good energy of native survivance."⁵⁹ This postindian party of warriors generates a contemporary statement of a Native presence. Simon R Baker, a First Nation Cree from the Cowsesses band in Broadview Saskatchewan, Canada plays the character of Loved by the Buffalo. Among his many acting credits are roles in *The Sweet Hereafter*, *Smoke Signals* and *I, Robot*. Can Baker's participation in the controversially recreated Sundance be looked at as a kind of ironic postindian resistance?

Into the West represents the Sundance at much detriment to its cultural creditability. As the *Lakota Journal* states in a coverage article, "Hits and Misses", following the premier broadcast: "Tradition mandates that it should never be filmed, and even this staged Sundance is more than most people who are familiar with the ceremony will be comfortable seeing on television."⁶⁰ A questioning of what the advisors and consultants were thinking follows. It is noted that the filmed Sundance has elements of an Arapaho Sundance performed by the Crow tribe. The final offense the staff writer recognizes is an editorial one. The Sundance is parallel edited with the non-Native protagonist crawling through a tight tunnel and finding his faith through this trial. It can be assumed that this thematic inter-cutting was a result of a lack of understanding of the Sundance ceremony. The Sundance ceremony is not a dated relic but a current practice of collective spiritual renewal for the world with contemporary significance.

It was just two years prior, March 2003 that Chief Arvol Looking Horse, 19th Generation Keeper of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe, called a meeting of Spiritual leaders and Bundle keepers of the Lakota, Dakota, Nakota Nation, Cheyenne Nation and Arapaho Nation to discuss the protection from the abuse and exploitation of ceremonies. Following this meeting he issued the controversial statement banning all non-natives from, in his words, “Ho cho ka” (our sacred altar) during the Wi-wanyang-wa-chi-pi (Sundance Ceremony). The statement reads:

The only participants allowed in the center will be Native People. The non—Native people need to understand and respect our decision. If there has been any unfinished commitment to the Sundance and non-Natives have concern for this decision; they must understand that we have been guided through prayer to reach this resolution. Our purpose for the Sundance is for the survival of the future generations to come, first and foremost.⁶¹

The boundaries of ceremony and the sacrosanct nature of spirituality are not recognized in *Into the West*. Spirituality is another aspect about which the show assumes public domain for story and narrative construction. In the first episode, “Wheel to the Stars,” Lakota Medicine man Growling Bear (Gordon Tootoosie) tells of this vision:

The prairie opened up like a dog mouth yawning
I looked down into the darkness
and the buffalo went into the hole
I saw the last Buffalo go back into the earth
I saw our people starving and living in square lodges

In 1932, Lakota Medicine Man Black Elk tells a very similar account in *Black Elk Speaks: The Story of A Holy Man of the Ogala Sioux as Told Through John G. Neihardt (Flaming Rainbow)*:

A long time ago my father told me what his father had told him, that there was once a Lakota holy man, called "Drinks Water", who dreamed what was to be- He dreamed that the four-leggeds were going back to the Earth, and that a strange

race would weave a web all around the Lakotas. He said, "You shall live in square gray houses, in a barren land; and beside those homes the people starved" Sometimes dreams are wiser than waking.⁶²

Along side the Vision of Growling Bear (Drinks Water's vision) is the dream of writer/executive producer William Mastrosimone. His dream becomes the inspiration for the fictional narrative and the vision given to the young medicine man Loved by the Buffalo. Loved by the Buffalo lays out in front of the Elders two wheels, one of branches and the other of stones. In his vision he tells them, "the wood breaks the stone." The dream/vision is the story of the conquest of the West by the settlers in wagon trains.

Black Elk also speaks of being brought a vision. He says the vision gave him the "power to make over," a power to make things favorably different: "The Grandfathers had shown me my people walking on the black road and how the nation's hoop would be broken and the flowering tree be withered, before I should bring the hoop together with the power that was given me, and make the holy tree to flower in the center and find the red road again."⁶³ This active conviction of purpose and presence is similar to Vizenor's concept of the postindian: "Postindians create a native presence, and that sense of presence is both reversion and futurity. Yes, and the reversions are tricky and ironic, as they have always been in native stories, but never so easy as cultural victimry."⁶⁴

Although Black Elk's vision offers two roads, one dark and the other red, Mastromone's dream offers only what Spielberg refers to as, "the overwhelming of one nation's way of life by another's."⁶⁵

This is not a vision of possible futurity. The camera in place of spirituality is suggested as futurity. It is Margaret Light Shines who takes the rhetorical stance with her

camera as *Loved by the Buffalo* burns the hair of those who have died. He closes the series looking out over the railroad tracks at a sunrise; he is an old man, his bleak vision having come to pass. The sunrise is a sunset shown in reverse. This scene is described by director Michael Watkins as symbolizing the “beginning of the end,” a statement of cultural victimry.⁶⁶ Rouch often refers to the success of his work as a sharing of dreams.⁶⁷ Although Mastrosimone attempts to offer his dream along side historic visions, his dream is beset by the notion of Indian as absence.

The Montana State Legislature recently passed into law HB528, “Indian Education for All.” The law states, “It is the constitutionally declared policy of this state to recognize the distinct and unique cultural heritage of American Indians and to be committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural heritage.”⁶⁸ There is a current scramble amongst educators contemplating how to implement this within the classroom. Were *Into the West* included into a history curriculum, this would be disastrous without an appropriate framing. As legislators are beginning to recognize the importance of Indian education within our educational institutions, media authorship needs to assume a greater responsibility as to the presentation of material labeled educational regarding Native culture and history.

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION APPLIED TO NATIVE REPRESENTATION

My thesis film work is entitled, *K'anecho'xdekdiigh- I Am Not Going to Teach You, an experiential film*. The film was completed prior to the conception of this written work but nevertheless can be discussed as attempting to negotiate some of the difficulties associated above with ethno-entertainment.

The film was funded by the National Science Foundation through an EPSCoR (Experimental Program to stimulate Competitive Research) grant. In two consecutive years awards of \$2,500 were given. This funding was matched by outside contributions, primarily family. The applicable EPSCoR mandate in this instance was Science outreach; the function of the film was to present the work of a currently NSF funded scientist. Gary Holton's linguistic work in Alaska with the community speaking the Tanacross language became the entrance into an exploration of contemporary language education and preservation, as expressed in the actions and words of the members of the Tanacross community, Northway community and Linguistic community.

The pre-production /production/ post-production of *K'anecho'xdekdiig* occurred from 2003 to 2006. The actual filming took place from September 24-September 29 2003 and from September 11- October 1 2004. While this is certainly not the Geertzian "thick description" the anthropological community suggests has validity as a cultural statement, the film present itself not as a statement of science in explanation of a people, but as a sharing of thoughts surrounding language in the immediacy of the experience.

Native science is both a philosophy *and* cosmology. In *Native Science*, Gregory Cajete suggests that, "the ambiguity, conflict and tension being experienced at all levels

of modern life are a reflection of our inability to come to terms with an essentially dysfunctional cosmology, a cosmology that can no longer sustain us at any level.”⁶⁹

Monotheistic religions believe in a G-d that has dominion over all things and creatures. The religious expectation that humans will transcend over things and creatures is at the core of this dysfunction. To mirror this cosmology in the filmmaking process is incongruous of the knowledge it is presenting.

Cajete describes the epistemological nature of Native science: “Native science is a metaphor for a wide range of tribal processes of perceiving, thinking, acting, and ‘coming to know’ that have evolved by human experience with the natural world.”⁷⁰ My thesis video work explores ways of ‘coming to know’ by both the mainstream science and the Native science community, and therefore attempts to depict on film both these ways of knowing.

Experiential education filmmaking suggests the profilmic experience can be carried into the reception of the work. The culturally relevant context finds form through participation profilmically. An educational experience is thus derived from the active process of coming to know within a culturally relevant context.

The title of the film is based on an Athabascan expression of “coming to know.” Elder Ellen Demit points with an eagle feather to a hanging beaded purse high on the wall of her home, “my daughter first, first one. . . and (s)he was going to throw it in the fire and I said, No--- And I have it in this house for long long time, that’s my daughter’s, Dasani, that’s her first one. I never taught my daughter how to *sewing*, maybe one day, then I told her go ahead do your own, *k’anecho’xdekdiigh*.”

For the benefit of the film, the verb is explained by Gary Holton in an interview. He explains that you look to the end of the word for the main meaning and find *diigh*: to learn, to teach, to experience. As you move to the left you come to, what is pronounced *ek*, this suggests the speaker is doing something or causing something to happen, and farther left, *ch'* meaning something is being taught, and finally *ne'*, meaning the teaching is happening to the hearer. The *ka'* in the front as well as the high tone in the end indicate negation. The six word literal translation might read: *I am not going to teach you*. With this verb, Ellen describes a way of learning. Gary explains that figuratively she may be suggesting that, “these are things one needs to acquire by experience.” The video tries to highlight and embody characteristics of this mode of education. The presence and identity of the camera is led by the experience, the merging of action and awareness.

There is a journey that takes place here that is very different than Nichols’ critique of travel in ethnographic film. As Cajete writes:

In the Western mind-set, getting from point A to B is a linear process, and in the Indigenous mind-set, arrival at B occurs through fields of relationships and establishment of a sense of meaning, a sense of territory, a sense of breath of the context. The psychologies of thinking and approach differ. A parallel in Western thought is the artist, as artists also do this kind of meandering, The value of the effort, the coming to know, is found in the journey, in addition to or rather than, the end result. Consequently, this is why Western artistic traditions find greater affinity with Indigenous thinking than does the scientific mind-set. There is a kind of natural connection between these processes, an intersection.⁷¹

The viewer is presented with many different ways of knowing language. This includes understandings of the sound of the language, what the language looks like when written,

how preservation and archiving participate in knowledge, and how the language is taught institutionally.

From a Native science perspective, language is presented in the context of identity, place, community, traditional education and interconnected relations. There is significant cross-over and shared spaces between the two communities which is emphasized in the video as well. You cannot cut and hang fish while you are watching a TV screen but you can actively listen to and experience language.

Language specialist Irene Arnold and Elder Avis Sam visit the Tanacross Village School class (K-7th grade). This was the children's first in-class experience with the language. Irene Arnold and Avis Sam demonstrate for them a question and response, with three different queries. The questions at times are carried around the circle of children, from student to student, and at times from Irene to student. While Irene is not teaching directly to the viewer, the cadence of the filming (a swivel chair in the center of the circle) and the movement of language throughout space, is meant to suggest participation.

The video presents the Tanacross Village School class educational experience at three different times. As participatory learning is demonstrated and discussed by individuals throughout the body of the work, the opportunity to participate in learning language continually re-emerges. The viewer is given three opportunities to "join in." The classroom becomes a familiar space. Familiarity with the way Irene teaches, and the way the camera presents her teaching, is meant to further encourage a learning dynamic.

This is one way of coming to know, while subsistence acts are presented in a very different way.

Acts of subsistence within the video, rather than being isolated and deconstructed, become a doorway into understanding how knowledge is passed on through experience and observation. Elder Roy Sam explains, “ We learn by, when we go with older people when we were kids, we learn by watching how they cut the meat up. . .And then while they cut the meat up they name all the parts.” The scene that follows features Elders Kenny Thomas Sr. and Roy Sam naming moose parts in their respective smokehouses. Roy Sam suggests that ‘this is a way to learn” and then an opportunity to participate in learning in that way follows as they name the moose parts.

Nature is very much responded to and recognized as a contributing voice in this dialogue about language as a way of “coming to know.” For instance as Avis Sam is explaining how to care for meat, a camp-robber flies onto the cutting table, Avis uses this opportunity to teach language, describing the action in Athabascan. The natural context itself becoming the impetus for language use and a way of “coming to know.”

The contextual understanding of language grows continually over the course of the work. The notion of language as place and identity is presented. The word “Tanacross” itself is a modern construction, a language contraction of the name Tanana Crossing. It was a name given to both the village and the linguistically unique language spoken in and around the village. Kenny Thomas Sr. suggests understanding place not as Tanacross Village but based on clan: “Our culture from way back, me, how I am, Altsii Dendey, my wife Dik’agou my father comes from Ditthad.” At another point Kenny says,

“Altsii Dendey is a High word, I am talking about where my roots are from where mama’s from.” Both place and identity are shown to be inseparable from language. This offers a different mode for conceiving of language.

Methods for understanding language are also shared by the youth who themselves are in a transitional period of potential language loss. Jerry Isaac Sr.’s son Herbie Demit says, “you can piece it together from the English.” This may seem quite obvious, but Athabascan with English inserts is often used in a very understandable way throughout the video, if it is not overlooked and tuned out as non-understandable without subtitles. Herbie also comments that you can understand at times through hand gestures. This again signals an expectation of the viewer to incorporate this into his/her way of understanding. The video requires one to learn how to understand during the course of viewing. This privileges the viewer to understand in a greater way what follows.

At one point Kenny Thomas Sr, illustrates with his hands the slicing of moose head for soup. After he demonstrates the motion once, the audio intentionally drops out and forces a gestural understanding. The audio gap is filled with an explanation of how knowledge and skills of everyday life are reflected in a potlatch. Now keen to understanding through gesture, the video presents opportunities to practice. For example, Kenny Thomas Sr. makes a speech in English regarding the effect of subsistence regulation. Kenny is cutting up moose meat as he addresses the camera first in English, motioning with his hand to indicate a line in the air, the meat on one side and the law on the other. He turns, and the camera records from a different angle as he explains the same thing in Athabascan, this time creating the line in the air with the knife, overlaying

the motions of the previous statement, and essentially teaching the viewer through performance while making a contemporaneous rhetorical statement during this subsistence act. Although not translated, due to the repetition of content from the previous statement, the few English words Kenny throws in like “law,” along with his gesturing, makes Kenny, even speaking mostly Athabascan, understandable to the assumed English-speaking viewer of the video. Furthermore, a more complex level of understanding is implied, as the viewer begins to utilize the cultural norms of the community.

As Jerry Isaac Sr. explains, “I was instructed to learn based upon a wide spectrum, everything in there has a connection to one another.” He goes on explaining, “My learning is like, language is related to your environment, your environment is related to your spirituality, your spirituality is intermixed with your psychology. I got to learn as much about these things as I would if I were to understand my satisfaction, my appreciation for setting a trap to catch a fox.” A discussion of language is interconnected with many other aspects of the culture.

In the Lakota language, Mitkuye Oyasin, “We Are All Related,” as analyzed by Gregory Cajete personifies “the integrative expression of what Indian people perceive as Community.” He continues, “Understanding the inclusive nature of this perception is key to the context in which traditional Indian education/Native science occurs. Context is essential in education/Native science and determines both the meaning and application of teaching and learning.”⁷² Native science is presented as interchangeable with traditional education, each finding context in community.

A discussion of language commands a discussion of the potlatch ceremony. Ceremony enters into the video in this way as individuals of the community, in particular as Kenny Thomas Sr. and Jerry Isaac Sr. return to descriptions of the potlatch in explanation of place, identity, community, and clan. The potlatch is also explained as a manifestation of contextual learning and understanding. Jerry says of the potlatch:

What is expected at a potlatch in terms of skills, character stability, knowledge, intelligence; is what your everyday life is geared toward; your everyday life will factor into a potlatch someday; that's where you show your strength your weakness your positive, your negative side, your knowledge. They reinforce that through a number of things during potlatch not just singing and dancing but they make speeches; and the way you conduct yourself; all these are commanded, they command the way everyone raises their children.

The explanation of the Potlatch ceremony by Jerry and Kenny Thomas Sr. began a year prior to the funeral potlatch recorded. I did not set out to record the potlatch. The potlatch was always present in the video as a concept because it was often the explanatory centerpiece of what people determined was vital to share. When an Elder from Northway passed away Jerry Isaac Sr. the Village Council President from Tanacross notified Lorraine Titus the Village Council President of Northway of our presence and discussed the possibility of recording the potlatch. In turn she discussed it with the Village Council and the family and determined the potlatch ceremony should be recorded.

The potlatch context is drawn from the direct explanations in interviews. It also presents itself in conversation having to do with knowing language. For example when Peggy Charlie asks the class, "Have you heard the language anywhere else before?" The class answers no. One boy in the classroom says, "But I've heard tsin'ee a bunch of times

at Potlatches, where they are talking their Native tongue and they say,” motioning with his arm, “tsin’ee to thank you for everybody.” Not only is he familiar with the word, but his understanding of it is directly based on the context of the potlatch. The pervasiveness of the potlatch as a space of traditional learning establishes its own context by constant referencing of young and old alike.

The presentation of the potlatch is probably the least experiential aspect of the video. The potlatch is watched from the outside, not with a participatory camera that is evocative of ritual. The potlatch is not performed for the camera, and the camera is non-disruptive with its participation. The context of ceremony within the film takes precedence over the visual representation of ceremony.

The greatest difference between experiential education and ethno-entertainment is that experiential education is based on a community context that supports survivance. As a young man in urban gear, cap and jersey, mixes the soup for the potlatch, Jerry Isaac’s narration points out: “You *can* live in two different environments, because it is here already; and the struggle is between going forward in one or the other: they cancel each other so they’re kinda like stuck in the middle. Myself, I’ve proven that I’m a strong believer in culture and language and yet successfully handle the business, meetings, the traveling, meeting new people. . .” Jerry believes in tribal self-sufficiency as grounded in a modern involvement in culture and language.

Survivance is also portrayed in the address by Kenny Thomas which is non-translated. The address was made in his language and not broken by English because it was an address to Tanacross speakers. He says, “We should teach this” and then

continues in Tanacross. This address assumes a position of survivance by Kenny's assumption of an audience who can understand and respond to his address. It also places a responsibility on the filmmaker to make it accessible for viewing to those people.

Finally, I see survivance through the experiential nature of the work. I see a contribution to survivance emerge in at least three different ways in this video. First, an experience of the language is crucial to the film. Most often, the speakers can be said to use the language within a teaching context. Language is therefore often being used in recognition of itself, in a demonstrative way. Individuals in the film implicitly and explicitly at times say, "listen to what I am saying, and understand there is meaning to how and why I am saying it." The second experiential aspect of the film is treating language as "a way of coming to know." I see this derived from the dynamic in the profilmic moment being appropriated to this cause. At times the camera is addressed as a learner and at other times as a fluent and culturally versed member of the community. Finally the film is experiential if you are of the Native community because it is culturally relevant. My hopes are that this is a work that will be repeatedly watched within the community to the extent that the language and understandings shared within the text are familiar and generative. At one point Roy Sam forgets the word for ribs, the silence is played at length, then edited in is his recollection from a few days later, as he says, "and the rib is ch'ichaan, I couldn't remember it the other day." Language loss is evaded through Roy's efforts to remember and "loss" becomes subordinate to education, thus directly indicting the focus on loss in ethno-entertainment.

CONCLUSION

Not without exception, Native representation by Western science has proven to be plagued by notions of dominance based on visualism and hierarchical discourses.

Representation based on entertainment has been found to misrepresent by decontextualizing to serve dominant ideology. Participatory and experiential filmmaking have emerged and been explored in various ways and with varying success, not necessarily based on a chronology of progression but on very particular understandings between individuals and communities. The potential for experiential film is recognized in both the entertainment and science communities. Film theorist/ethnographic film critic Bill Nichols and ethnographic film scholar Jay Ruby, although adversarial on almost all points regarding Native representation, do agree that phenomenology is a discipline that is under-explored and may provide insight into the filmmaking process because of its focus on experience. Yet rather than again looking to a Western model, I believe we should look to Native Science as an epistemology that may inform the experiential filmmaking process. As Gregory Cajete writes, “Native science embodies the central premises of phenomenology by rooting the entire tree of knowledge in the soil of direct physical experience of the earth.”⁷³ If knowledge is based in physical experience how can knowledge be transferred through video reception?

My understanding of film as a dialogical text I imagine to be influenced by the Judaic tradition. This mentality not only manifests itself in the cultural neurosis of our families and ways of verbal exchange but also in an approach to the reading and

interaction with texts. In a discussion of the reading of classic Jewish texts, Holtz notes a phenomenological approach to Torah study. He states:

Torah calls for a living and dynamic response. The great texts are the records of that response, and each text in turn becomes the occasion for later commentary and interaction. The Torah remains unendingly alive because the readers of each subsequent generation saw it as such, taking the holiness of Torah seriously, and adding their own contribution to the story. For tradition, Torah *demand*s interpretation.”⁷⁴

The influence of this cultural “way of knowing” on me is my fundamental belief that texts have the potential to support survivance in a profound way. Integral to this is an active way of reading, and a community involvement in the reception of text. A Torah study approach to a film text would not be appropriate for Native content, but an approach to reception informed by Native science may be conducive to contextual understanding.

Indigenous Issues Forums and Rural Alliance Inc., create spaces where reception of a film expands beyond simply viewing. The film becomes an object around which mediations takes place in a cultural framework. For example the discussion guide for the film *Chiefs* offers the following suggestions: listen to each other attentively and respectfully, speak from the heart, silence is respected but “courage in encouraged,” and consider your ancestors, future relatives, and those not present.⁷⁵ The film becomes the means to embody a discussion with this dynamic. Additionally, the film is embraced in a sensory conception that is then related to a reflection on community and personal relations. Take the following discussion guide exercise:

Paying attention to the natural world through our senses is a gift we seldom use in our everyday lives. The following questions are formed with the intentions of

engaging youth to use their senses. This circle exercise will help youth reflect on shared experiences they can express after watching *Chiefs*.

Gather youth in a talking circle.

Make it clear that youth will talk one at a time.

The facilitator should begin by setting the stage and encouraging the participants to open up their senses: Think about the gym, the sounds, the excitement, the murals on the walls, the smell of the popcorn, the sound of. . .Put yourself in that space before beginning your discussion. Here are some questions to consider while your senses are open:

In the film *Chiefs*, you can see and hear the crowd cheering for the players at the games. What do you think that felt like for the player? For yourself as a player? As an observer? Recall a time in your life when your community cheered you on, shook your hand and supported you as an individual. Describe it.

In the film several players came back to the gym to watch a game and or to play independent ball. They seem drawn to their old haunt. Speaking from your heart, how do you see this play out in your community?⁷⁶

The ideal of experiential-education film is an awareness of cultural context in both process and reception. With process, the awareness of context directs the path of experience to be informed by culturally-relevant understandings and ways of knowing. With reception, when presented in a dialogical framework as illustrated above, an exercise designed to encourage participation creates a context of personal and community relations. Outside such a space, for example in a home, this engagement must come from a framework internal to the video. A work informed by Native science provides this framework by the inherent creative participation suggested in the active process of “coming to know.” It is my feeling that a film which represents Native presence must first provide a framework based on a “coming to know” through interconnected relations with a universe in constant flux. An experiential process coupled with an informed reception offers one hope for overcoming the dominance of ethno-entertainment in our culture. Experiential-education films strive to serve the purpose of cultural utility and thus sustainability.

ENDNOTES

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- ³ Fatimah Tobing Rony, The Third Eye. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996: 21-23.
- ⁴ Greg Mitman, Reel Nature. Harvard University press, 1999: 8. In 1877 Muybridge photographed a running horse with twelve cameras triggered by trip wires to prove that at a point in time four legs of the horse do not touch the ground.
- ⁵ Rony, 47.
- ⁶ Rony, 63.
- ⁷ Rony, 23-43.
- ⁸ Rony, 37.
- ⁹ Richard M. Barsam, Non-Fiction Film: A Critical History. Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1973: 80.
- ¹⁰ Barsam, 81.
- ¹¹ Ward Churchill. Fantasies of the Master Race: Lierature, Cinema and the Colonization of American Indians. San Francisco: City Lights, 1998:12.
- ¹² Means, 16.
- ¹³ Means, 7.
- ¹⁴ Brian Winston. "Before Flaherty, before Grierson: The Documentary Film in 1914," Sight and Sound, Autumn, 2001: 277-279.
- ¹⁵ Jay Ruby. Picturing Culture: Exploratin of Film & Anthropology. Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 2000: 245.
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- ¹⁸ Winston, 278.
- ¹⁹ Valerie Daniels. "In the Land of the Head-Hunters." Edward Curtis: Selling the North American Indian. June 2002. 28 Feb. 2006. <<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MA02/daniels/curtis/movie.html>>.
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- ²³ Mitman, 15.
- ²⁴ Derek Bouse. Wildlife films. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP: 2000: 46-48.
- ²⁵ Jay Ruby, Picturing Culture: Explanaton of Film & Anthropology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000:
- ²⁶ Karl Heider, Ethnographic Film. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976: 23.

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- ²⁷ Barsam, 47-48.
- ¹⁰ Heider, 24.
- ²⁹ Ruby, 86.
- ³⁰ Ruby, 86.
- ³¹ Ruby, 88.
- ³² Ruby, 89.
- ³³ Atanarjuat The Fast Runner. 3 Mar. 2006 <<http://www.atanarjuat.com>>
- ³⁴ Ginsburg, Faye. "Indigenous Media: Faustian Contract or Global Village?" Cultural Anthropology 6, no. 1 (1991): 95.
- ³⁵ Peter Loizos. Innovations in Ethnographic Film: From Innocence to Self-Consciousness 1955-1985. U of Chicago P, 1993:47.
- ³⁶ The Hauka cult first appeared in Niger in the 1920's as a response to colonial control. Hauka roots lie in traditional possession cults among the Songhay and Djerma. The cult members would serve as "horses" to the new gods. Possessed by administrators they would enact a 'horrific comedy' embracing the taboo. There were at least 30,000 practicing cult members in Accra when the film was shot 1954.
- ³⁷ Jean Rouch. Cine-Ethnography. Ed. Steven Feld. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003: 188-192.
- ³⁸ Rouch, 192.
- ³⁹ Rouch, 183-185.
- ⁴⁰ Rouch, 147.
- ⁴¹ Heider, 99.
- ⁴² Loizos, 50.
- ⁴³ Rouch, 150.
- ⁴⁴ Rouch, 155.
- ⁴⁵ Sinead Caslin. "Going Native." The Imperial Archive: Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies. 16 Aprl. 2006 <<http://www.qub.ac.uk/en/imperial/key-concepts/Going-native.html>>
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- ⁴⁸ Nichols, 209-223.
- ⁴⁹ Erving Goffman. "The Presentation of self in Everyday Life." New York: Doubleday, 1956.
- ⁵⁰ Going Tribal: "Dangerous Game: The Suri." BBC for Discovery Channel INC., 2004.
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- ⁵² In 1890 Native American religious leader Wovoka had a revelation that identified him as the messiah of his people. He taught his people to perform the sacred Ghost Dance a mixture of Paiute spiritualism and Shaker Christianity. The Dance was said to bring back the Great Spirit and rise dead to witness the destruction of the whites and the renewal of the land and game. The dance was one of the first pan-indian movements and was outlawed by the US government. The events which followed ended in the Massacre at Wounded Knee.

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- ⁵⁴ Ghost shirts were garments made for Ghost dancers. Some Lakota believed the shirts to be imbued with the power to stop bullets.
- ⁵⁵ Churchill, 15.
- ⁵⁶ Into the West. TNT Originals, INC., Time Warner Co, Dreamworks, 2005.
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- ⁵⁸ Nestor Ramos. "Into The West: Hits and Misses." Lakota Journal 10-17 June, 2005, B1+.
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- ⁷⁶ Yellow Hawk, 6.

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