Popular cultural production and political action: a study of the use of video by the Indian population of Brazil

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POPULAR CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND POLITICAL ACTION: A Study of the Use of Video by the Indian Population in Brazil

by

Silas J. De Paula

A Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Loughborough

May, 1996

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Department of Social Sciences
THESIS ABSTRACT

POPULAR CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND POLITICAL ACTION: A Study of the Use of Video by the Indian Population in Brazil

by

Silas José de Paula

The main objective of this thesis is to analyze the use of video and its social function among the Indian tribes in Brazil, and to understand the significance of the videos for non-Indian audiences. To achieve this understanding it was necessary, first, to look at the specific set of practices by means of which symbolic forms are created, circulated and appropriated inside the Indian villages. Second, it was necessary to work among non-Indian people, in different social classes, in order to understand what kind of meaning arises in the audience when they watch the videos.

This work begins with a review of previous research about cultural identity, in order to locate theoretically my own study. This is followed by a discussion of the importance of popular cultural mediation for identity formation. It is argued that cultural identity is always manufactured and constructed by social process.

As new technologies of communication play a key role in this process, this thesis also contextualizes 'alternative' media work, specially video work done by popular groups in Brazil and other countries. It is argued here, that video is a useful tool in the struggle for survival, ethnically and physically.

In this sense, this thesis works with the hypothesis that the Indians show a positive self-presentation throughout the videos that helps to gain support from the new social movements in Brazil.

Through audience research, this work explores questions of documentary form as a political tool, i.e. in which way these documentaries affect the viewers perception of the Brazilian Indians' cultural identity and claims.
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1.1. INTRODUCTION

It appears that the anthropologists usually have more problems getting into modernity than the social groups they study. (Canclini, 1989)

Although the media are generally assumed to powerfully shape culture and communication, few attempts have been made to look at the complex relationships between ethnicity and the cultural media. Even so, it is widely argued that electronic mediated interactions are reshaping both social situations and social identities.

The media, of course, are not the only causes of behavioural changes, but the electronic mediated interactions are no doubt reshaping both social relationships and perceptions of self. Communication media formerly kept society together by building a common culture which fed people in different parts of the country a similar diet of news and entertainment. The media also
have begun to play a different role with emphasis on marketing to separate audiences. While the communication media once built a mass audience by looking for commonalities, today they may actually reinforce differences between groups (Fitzgerald, 1991). The mass media can no longer afford to exclude minorities. In responding to diversity, many authors see an end to 'mass' media influence.

However, Fitzgerald sees this conclusion as "too simplistically formulated, as both cultural homogenization and social diversification seem to be happening simultaneously. The influence of the media is still a present reality" (Fitzgerald, 1991:194). Even though more and more people share an overlapping culture influenced by the process of globalization, which is affecting cultural identities all over the world, there is a new tendency for certain groups to see themselves as symbolically distinct. Roosens calls ethnogenesis this process of 'emerging or re-creation of ethnicity'. As Fitzgerald points out, "people are becoming more culturally uniform, but some ethnic groups try at the same time to differentiate themselves by deliberate appeals to traditions (the survival of cultural baggage metaphor) and reinterpretations of past history" (Fitzgerald, 1991:195)

Indians or What?

At the time of independence and the definition of the state in Latin America, the liberal and the Napoleonic political conceptions were the most influential. A concept of democracy, based on universal citizenship and a homogenous and centralised nation, was incompatible with an acceptance of ethnic and cultural
diversity which led to a denial of the political personality of the Indian civilisation. New forms of degradation of the natives followed, destroying ethnic identities that, nevertheless, survived.

In Brazil today, there is a growing movement of people who are beginning to tell their stories. A people who have been utterly disregarded in the interests of material accumulation by national and global powers, and who are now getting the chance to articulate and express their deepest human feelings about the realities of their lives. Among them, I would include the indigenous groups.

Cultural survival is still a major problem for these people, in Brazil; as they constitute ethnic minorities under the control of a dominant majority. In this long process of domination, they are not only losing their rights to their land, but also losing their rights to self expression. They have been separated from their myths, their legends, their beliefs and their superstition. Thus, to overcome this situation, they have started to exchange recorded information about their troubles and their culture.

In a video about Xingu National Reserve\(^1\), the narrator says: "In the past, all 16 tribes living in Xingu used to be warriors. Today, they are all pacified. They do not fight each other any more; on the contrary, they must unite to preserve their rights and their land against the white man. The warrior heritage is remembered in a ritual where male adults and teenagers are gathered together. The war is today a symbolic act where groups - facing each other in rhythm of dancing - simulate the practice of attack and defence".

\(^1\) "Xingu", series made by TV Manchete, 1986.
Making war as a symbolic act and involving children in the performance is a way of memory preservation. Even though they have already acquired some habits of the 'white man' it is also a way of preserving their cultural differences. Furthermore, instead of fighting each other they have been trying continuously to articulate themselves as a large and homogeneous group; for instance, the creation of Indian organizations like UNI (Indian United Nations) and several other similar organizations.

Put this way, it seems an inversion of their traditional behaviour: five hundred years ago they were differentiated groups, like particular nations in a huge territory that today is called Brazil. Now, these various groups - named Indians by colonizers - reaffirm that homogeneity created by the same colonizers, in order to survive ethnically. Ironically, this 'homogeneity' (forced upon them by the white man and which also has supported the process of ethnicity destruction) has been worked out as a way of preserving that which remains; i.e. the term 'Indian' was not recognised by the native activists as a proper word to be referred to by. According to them, this was not a simple descriptive term. It had been the colonial code for a relationship of domination and subordination between the colonials and the colonized.

This term was also used by the Brazilian government in order to settle together different groups - even rival groups - in the same reserve. The Xingu National Park is a good example: sixteen different native groups were put together, on the same piece of land, under the general classification of 'Indians'.

Now, the 'code' has been re-worked and re-constituted in and through a variety of political and
cultural processes in Brazil and Latin America. The term 'Indian' has been adopted by native organizations and activists since the 1980s. They were influenced by other ethnic groups' struggles - mainly the Black Power movement in the USA - which had turned the concept of 'Black' on its head, divested it of its pejorative connotations in racialised discourses, and transformed it into a confident expression of an assertive group identity. It is certainly the case, that the native activists' mobilisation of the term 'Indian' was an attempt at reclaiming a pre-Columbian heritage, that had been denied to native people in Brazil (and the rest of America as well).

In Brazil, most of the indigenous life representation has been done by national and international media corporations. Facing these different discourses about their life, Indian activists in Brazil are interested in the new media way of representation - for instance, documentary videos - to represent, from their own point of view, the world in which they live. As Megaron, a Kayapo leader, said: The video camera is a weapon for us." In other words they are 'speaking back'.

Their documentaries are intended to be seen as 'authentic representation', as a testimony not only to a personal vision - like documentaries made by commercial television or independent outside producers - but as 'the testimony' to the very existence of their world. Moreover, as many demonstrations and campaigns show, the concept of 'Indian' was mobilised as part of a set of constitutive ideas and principles to promote collective action. As a social movement, Indian activism has aimed to generate solidarity.

2. Megaron Txucarrame in the video "Video in the Villages".
Chapter 1

1.2. AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

Paulo Freire characterised oppressed social groups and oppressed regions of the world as having 'cultures of silence'. However, the expansion of new technologies of communication, and the new audio-visual environments, are expanding those concepts. 'Culture of silence' is today more than an inability to speak the word, it is also the inability to produce the image and the technological sound. As Fontes points out "the ability to speak in modern societies is directly tied to having access and knowing how to use the technologies of communication that enable one to be heard and seen in a public audio-visual sphere. Since this access and knowledge is denied to the majority of people, and specially to those who are the poorest and most oppressed, they remain silent and invisible to one another and to the society as a whole" (Fontes, 1992:4).

Thus, oppressed people have had little opportunity to construct meaningful and empowering realities in their lives. At worst, the socially constructed realities of the oppressed, as official status categories and definitions, are the intrusively imposed views of the dominant, which are also internalised by a few of the oppressed (Fanon, 1967; Memmi, 1965). At best the oppressed can construct their own worlds as modes of action in private spheres only, hidden from the eyes and ears of the dominant, such as in racially oppressed communities and institutions. But such private reality constructions of the oppressed are restricted by the parameters of 'objective reality' constructed by the dominant (Stanfield, 1994). Thus, no matter how ethnic minorities define themselves, there are still the more powerful stereotypes embedded in public culture that
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define their status and identities within the cosmos of the dominant.

In multiethnic nation-states such as Brazil, the United States, South Africa etc., correlating perceived intellectual abilities, personality, moral fibre with real or imagined phenotypical attributes are fundamental to human developmental issues such as self-concept, concept of others, and making routine and critical life decisions (Stanfield, 1991). The question put by During is relevant here: "how to deal with the 'speaking as' (e.g. as an African American, a woman, a gay, a Chicano, a Jew, a Caribbean) and the 'unauthenticities' that this process of selection entails?" (During, 1993:193).

Spivak argues that the "question of representation, self-representation, representing others, is a problem. On the other hand, we cannot put it under the carpet with demands for authentic voices; we have to remind ourselves that, as we do this, we might be compounding the problem even as we are trying to solve it" (Spivack and Gunew, 1993:198). She also argues that tokenism in this context forces everybody from their cultural heritage, and that this proliferation of 'unauthenticity' has a positive aspect: "The question of 'speaking as' involves a distancing from oneself. The moment I have to think of the ways in which I will speak as an Indian, or a feminist, the ways in which I will speak as a woman, what I am doing is trying to generalise myself, make myself a representative, trying to distance myself from some kind of inchoate speaking as such. There are many subject positions which one must inhabit; one is not just a thing. That is when a political consciousness comes in" (ibid.:194).
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Multicultural theory very often invokes ethnic difference as in itself a discursively and politically subversive category. Spivak puts it "as a strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest" (Spivak, 1988:13). In addition, Sneja Gunew has argued that multiculturalism can 'deconstruct' the dominant unitary national narratives, that it can become a strategy which interrogates hegemonic unities and that it might thereby establish the basis for constructing signifying breakthroughs the preconditions for a revolutionary, non-repetitive, history (Gunew, 1984).

However, for Spivak (1988) it is essential in that strategy to ask whether the subaltern 'Other' can speak. More than that, for her 'Who should speak?' is less crucial than 'Who will listen?'. She asks that researchers stop trying to 'know' the Other or 'give voice' to the other and listen, instead, to the plural voices of those Othered, as constructors and agents of knowledge. That is what this thesis is intending to do. The purpose is to analyse the use of video and its social function among the Indian tribes and to understand the significance of the videos for non-Indian audiences.

In Brazil, the major political issues for native peoples during the past half-century have been protection of their cultural and political autonomy, and improved material conditions for those living on tribal lands. A decade ago, they started exchanging recorded information about their troubles and their culture. Today, the use of videotape as a preserver of the Indians' culture is a confirmed fact. They have been recording their rites, stories, games and troubles to be seen by their own people, by other tribes and by non-Indian audiences.
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It is clear that for any individual there may be more than one identity and, further, that each identity is in a continuous state of enactment and change. Native Indians in Brazil face a continuing series of dilemmas including the potential tensions between being Indians and Brazilians, being an individual and a group member. In addition, members of the group are faced with out-group assimilationist pressure and discrimination. As a result Indian ethnic identity and the video work - as cultural communication and political tool - are problematic, provocative and important areas of study.

In order to achieve an understanding of the social function of these videos within Indian life, it was important to work in two different areas. Firstly, to look at the specific set of practices by means of which symbolic forms are created, circulated and appropriated inside the Indian villages. Secondly, to work among non-Indian people, in different social classes, in order to understand what kind of meanings arise in the audience when they watch the videos. The audience research relies on Morley's seminal work: "The Nationwide Audience: Structure and Decoding".

Allowing for the fact that I am also concerned with the cultural 'mediations' that occur through video work, and given the difficulties of participation at every stage of video production, I intend to use quotations and interviews in my thesis, in order to minimise the loss of some parts of the production and exhibition work inside Indian communities.

1.3. OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is composed of eight chapters.
Chapter Two will give a theoretical background on Cultural Identity, reviewing and evaluating the relevant literature on this issue. At the same time, it will discuss the importance of popular cultural mediation for identity formation.

Chapter Three will examine the use of new technologies of communication, and especially video work, as an 'alternative media' by popular groups in Brazil. It also refers to other groups - in other countries - experiencing the same process.

Chapter Four further develops the previous chapter, by introducing the video work done by indigenous people in Brazil. By utilising data from participant observation and other sources, it describes the Kayapo and Tikuna groups' experience with this new technology of communication.

Chapter Five presents and analyses the documentaries shown and discussed in the audience research.

Chapter Six reviews the encoding/decoding model and the debates about active audiences, in order to theoretically support the audience research in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven explains the methodology used in the audience research and analyses the answers given by the respondents.

Finally, Chapter Eight presents the major conclusion and implications of this study, and suggests areas for further research.
2.1. INTRODUCTION

Some theorists argue that national forms of cultural identity are under threat. According to them, regional and community identities are becoming more and more significant, as national forms of cultural identity are being weakened or undermined by the economic and cultural globalising process, i.e. they are being 'homogenized'.

Facing these arguments the purpose of this chapter is to build a theoretical framework to demonstrate that cultural identity is part of a dynamic process and as such, it can be changed. For example, the Brazilian Indians' movement in trying to 're-create their ethnicity'
Chapter 2 Cultural Identity

- the process which Roosens (1989) calls 'ethnogenesis' - is not new. As Hall points out, "societies of the periphery have always been open to Western cultural influences and are even more so now. The idea that these are 'closed' entities - ethnically pure, culturally traditional, undisturbed until yesterday by the ruptures of modernity - is a Western fantasy about 'otherness': a 'colonial fantasy' maintained about the periphery by the West, which tends to like its natives 'pure' and its exotic places untouched" (Hall, 1992:305). The Indians' cultural identity is always being 'updated', even though the myth of the 'pure' Indian is still alive.

It will be shown that cultural identity can be explained by the manner in which culture is recounted. The narrative of the 'Indian Nation' as a discourse, either by the national media or by the Indians' documentaries and video work, which constructs meanings and stimulates practices which contribute both to the preservation of their cultural identities through 'invented traditions' and 'revival' of rites and to their adaptation to the demands of the present. Hobsbawm argues that "traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented. (...) The term 'invented tradition' is used in a broad, but not

3. Roosens (1989) defined ethnogenesis as how people feel themselves to be a people and how they continue to maintain themselves as such, even in the face of contradictory historical evidence.

4. Culture - whether national, ethnic, professional, organizational, or gender based - is defined as social organization. This means that a culture comprises the common patterns of interaction and perception shared by a group of people.

5. The several indigenous groups in Brazil are recognized as different 'indigenous nations'. The organization by which they are represented is called 'Indian United Nations' (UNI). "The word nation refers both to the modern nation-state and to something more ancient and nebulous - the natio - a local community, domicile, family, condition of belonging" (Brennan, quoted from Hall, 1992:296).
imprecise sense. It includes both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period - a matter of a few years perhaps - and establishing themselves with great rapidity" (Hobsbawm, 1992:1).

Through the action of the new social movements, new political subjects have been created, asserting the unfixed character of identity. A cultural politics of resistance, exemplified by black politics, feminism and gay liberation, has developed struggles to turn sites of oppression and discrimination into spaces of resistance. The native indigenous people all over the world should be included in these groups.

2.2. MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY AND IDENTITY

The socio-cultural project of modernity is rich, full of possibilities and as such, it is complex⁶. For this reason it has had contradictory developments. As an aspiring and revolutionary project with endless possibilities, modernity made many promises but it did not accomplish all of them.

The capitalist societies are going through deep transformations but they are still capitalist. The social

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⁶ According to Santos, modernity is based in two main points - regulation and emancipation - linked to each other by ways of correspondences. They are complex points constituted by three basic principles:
- Regulation is constituted by the principle of State, the principle of market and by the principle of community.
- Emancipation is constituted by three types of logic of rationality: the aesthetic-expressive rationality of art and literature; the moral-practical rationality of ethic and law; and the cognitive-instrumental rationality of science and technique (Santos, 1994).
sciences are not able to predict if, how or when they will change. More than that, the social sciences do not know which form they will take, if such a change should happen. Nevertheless, social scientists have some training to interpret signs. That is why it is possible to say that capitalism has exhausted the modernity project although it is still feeding off it and trying to be perpetuated through it. On the other hand, the vacuum produced is so extensive, so global, that it cannot be filled in by the modernity paradigm. This explains why the vigour of capitalism, as an economic system, runs side by side with the weakness of many of its principles. The wider this weakness, the weaker will be the ideological claims for principles that should be opposed to it; for example, the socialist tenets (Santos, 1994).

The modernity project is not responsible for this situation. Regulation and emancipation, the two basic points of modernity, have become just one: regulation. According to Albert Hirschman capitalism can not be criticized for being repressive, alienating or unidimensional. It realised precisely what was expected from it: to repress the human being and to produce a human personality less multifaceted, less unexpected and a more unidimensional (Hirschman, 1977). The critical thought in the modernity paradigm, which was powerful and even revolutionary, changed through time and 'vanished in the air'.

According to Santos, to assert that the modernity project has become exhausted is to affirm that it exceeded in accomplishing some of its promises and left, at the same time, many debts (Santos, 1993). The relationship between modern and postmodern is, therefore, contradictory. It is not a complete rupture nor a linear
continuity. It is a transitional situation which has moments of rupture and moments of continuity. It can even change from one period of time to another or from country to country, as put very convincingly by Andreas Huyssen (1986) when he demonstrated the postmodern's different emphasis in countries like France, Germany and the United States.

One of the main philosophical characteristics of modernity is that it made the human being the centre of the world, the measure of all things, as against the old theocentric view which prevailed in medieval times. "The birth of 'sovereign individual' between the Renaissance Humanism of the sixteenth century and the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century represented a significant break with the past. Some argue that it was the engine which set the whole social system of 'modernity' in motion" (Hall, 1992:282). Renaissance Humanism represented the paradigmatic cradle of individuality as subjectivity. The identity's first modern name was, therefore, subjectivity.

With the Enlightenment, the human being became the 'subject', the basis of all things. The Enlightenment subject was based on a fixed and essentialist conception of the human person as a 'fully centred', 'unified individual'. But originally, this conception of the subject was abstract and individualistic, separated from history and social relations. This is why the modern philosophical concept of identity was based on the belief that the subject's inner core emerged when the subject was born, like a soul or essence, and which in spite of being able to develop different potentialities in time, remains essentially the same throughout the individual's existence, thus providing a sense of continuity and self-
recognition. This essential centre of the self is a person's identity.

This given self was what René Descartes (1596–1650) tried to prove by arguing that if there is thought there is bound to be something that thinks. Descartes posits two distinct substances - spatial substance (matter) and thinking substance (mind). At the centre of 'mind' he placed the individual subject, constituted by its capacity to reason and think: Cogito, ergo sum. Ever since this conception of the rational and conscious subject at the centre of knowledge has been known as 'the Cartesian subject'.

Another critical contribution was made by John Locke, who was sceptical about Cartesian dualism and denied all importance to identity conceived as sameness of metaphysical importance. Locke argued that the continuity of consciousness over time was crucial in the constitution of the subject. Personal identity depended on memory: "as far as this consciousness can be extended backwards to any past action or thought, so far reaches the identity of that person" (Locke, 1948:251). The continuity or sameness of consciousness allowed identity to exist, and such an identity was the basis of moral accountability.

Hall points out that "this discursive conceptual figure or discursive device - the 'sovereign individual' - was embedded in each of the key processes and practices which made the modern world. He (sic) was the 'subject' of modernity in two senses: the origin of 'subject' of reason, knowledge, and practice; and the one who bore the consequences of these practices - who was 'subject' to them" (Hall, 1992:283)
Chapter 2 Cultural Identity

In Kant, the subject assumes an abstract and transcendental character, becoming more than a concrete individual: the subject becomes consciousness in itself. For Kant, human beings belong to both the world of phenomena (nature) and the world of noumena (the intelligible). But what constitutes the true self is the latter, that is to say, the ability to go beyond the world of senses in order to conform with the practical moral laws provided by reason. So, ultimately, reason is the creator of the subject; by establishing the moral law it unifies the self and makes the self responsible and accountable (Goldman 1988).

Hegel added a historical dimension and the reference to the other, to the Kantian ahistorical, supra-temporal and abstract subject. For Hegel the word is conceived as a unity referred to the subject, but it is in constant historical change. Additionally for Hegel self-consciousness entails a necessary reference to the other: "Self-consciousness exists in itself and for itself, in that, and by the fact that it exists for another self-consciousness; that is to say, it is only by being acknowledged or recognised" (Hegel, 1971:229).

Marx was one of the first authors within modernity to attack both the individualistic conception of the subject typical of the old materialism and the idealist conception of Hegel. For Marx (1973), subjects do not act entirely according to their free will; they are conditioned by the objectified products of their own practice; they are socially determined. However, although circumstances condition human beings, human beings can change circumstances.

According to Marx, Hegel reduced the subject to thought and failed to posit real subjects as the starting
point. This resulted in an inversion whereby the real subjects became only results and consciousness became the real subjects.

Scepticism about the subject has accompanied the development of modernity from the beginning. Yet for a long time this contestation of the primacy of the subject was marginal and by no means pervaded most of the intellectual spheres of society. Certain tensions appear within and between theories of identity, as well as within the modern individual. From Descartes’ cogito, to Kant’s transcendental ego, to the Enlightenment concept of reason, identity is conceived as something essential, substantial, unitary, fixed, and fundamentally unchanging.

In spite of that, anxiety becomes part of the experience for the modern self. The modern self is aware of the constructed nature of identity. One is also anxious concerning recognition and validation of one’s identity. Modernity involves a process of innovation, of constant turnover and novelty. Modernity signifies the destruction of past forms of life, values and identities, combined with the production of ever more new ones (Berman, 1983). Thus, this debate revolves around three related issues: the relationship between time and space; the potential of politics; and the construction of identity.

2.3. CULTURAL IDENTITY

It is well accepted now that the modern age has given rise to a new and decisive form of individualism, i.e. a new conception of the individual subject and its identity. A different conception from the previous one based on an individual’s personal existence and his function in the rigid hierarchical medieval society.

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This change resulted in what Hall calls 'the birth of the modern subject' - the sovereign individual - a human subject 'centred' in the discourse and practices which have shaped modern societies. On the other hand, "since the modern subject emerged at a particular time (its 'birth') and has a history, it follows that it can also change and, indeed, that under certain circumstances we can even contemplate its death" (Hall, b1992:281).

The recent discourses of postmodernity create problems in the notion of identity, claiming that it is a myth and an illusion. From the postmodern perspective, the subject has no fixed or permanent identity, it assumes different identities at different times and that there are contradictory identities which cannot be unified. Thus, it appears that the globalization and the acceleration of change in the late modernity has been able to dislocate the sense of self - its unity - fragmenting and 'de-centring the subject'.

However, Jorge Larrain reminds us that "this is not new and has been recognised since the early twentieth century. What may be more authentically new is the fact that these various identities lack a coherent or integrated self; they lack a unity. What for Mead and others were exceptional cases of dissociated personalities would seem now to be the normal situation" (Larrain, 1994:150).

Marx and Engels (1970) were already aware of the dramatic change that capitalism was bringing about by the mid-nineteenth century - by referring to uncertainty, quick dissolution of relations and rapid change.

A postmodernist will argue that the world Marx and Engels knew has substantially changed and that the
present forms of globalization and change are much more radical in their effects upon the individual. The increasing pace and rapidity of change have eroded the notion of well-integrated identity. New forms of organization and new technologies are created within shorter and shorter lengths of time, thus increasing the obsolescence of products, ideas, labour processes and all sorts of practices.

It is a process seen by many theorists as a new phase in what Marx once called 'the annihilation of space by time'. As put by Larrain "the quicker the pace of change in all sorts of relations the more difficult it is for the subject to make sense of what is going on, to see the continuity between past and present, and therefore the more difficult it is for the subject to form a unitary view of itself and to know how to act. But there is a big jump from this to accepting the total fragmentation of subject. The alleged decentring of the subject corresponds to the supposed triumph of objectivity, the supposed victory of unconscious structural forces which totally destroy the sense of unity of the individual. But to accept this is to accept the final loss of agency and purpose, the inability of the subject to attempt to change the circumstances, its inability to posit any rational alternative future" (Larrain, 1994:153).

The postmodern image culture offers an abundance of subject positions which in turn help to structure the individual's own identity. In this way, the individual identity is certainly subject to new determinations, i.e. these images project role and gender models, appropriate and inappropriate forms of behaviour, style and fashion. But, rather than identity disappearing in a postmodern
society, the individual can identify with certain subject positions while avoiding others.

This variety of subject positions creates highly unstable identities while, on the other hand, providing new openings to restructure one's own identity. It is possible to think of cultural identity in, at least, two possible ways: one, essentialist, narrow and closed, i.e., as an accomplished fact, as an already constituted essence. The other historical, encompassing and open; as something which is being produced, always in process, never fully completed.

What is important here is the second one, the historical, because most modern nations consist of disparate cultures which were only unified by a lengthy process of violent conquest. Also, because nations are always composed of different classes, gender and ethnic groups. And finally because modern Western nations were also the centres of empires or neo-imperial spheres of influence, exercising cultural hegemony over the cultures of the colonized. Therefore, it is necessary to turn to the question of what is happening to cultural identity in late-modernity, or to put it more precisely, how these processes are affecting national identities, and by extension, affecting specific cultural identities among national identities.

First of all, instead of thinking of national cultures as unified, we should think of them, as Hall suggested, as discursive devices. National cultures are cross-cut by deep internal divisions and differences, and 'unified' only through the exercise of different forms of cultural power. Yet - as in the fantasies of the 'whole' self of which Lacanian psychoanalysis speaks - national
identities continue to be represented as unified (Lacan, 1977).

The national culture into which we are born is one of the principal sources of cultural identity. It is said that without a sense of national identification the modern subject would experience a deep sense of subjective loss. Hall quotes Roger Scruton to say that: "The condition of a man (sic) requires that the individual, while he exists and acts as an autonomous being, does so only because he can first identify himself as something greater - as a member of a society, group, class, state or nation, of some arrangement to which he may not attach a name, but which he recognises instinctively as home". (Scruton quoted by Hall, 1992:291). A performance exhibited by a Kayapo leader in the Brazilian Congress, in 1989, is a good example:

During a discussion about Indian rights in the Parliament, a group of Indians were invited especially to show their viewpoint. A Kayapo leader, feeling that the issue was not being properly treated by the congressmen, held the national flag in his hand and started a speech with the following phrase: "We are Brazilians like you, we are Brazilian Indians"7.

National identities are formed and transformed within and in relation to 'representation'. A nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings - a system of cultural representation. What was given, in more traditional societies to the tribes, religion or region, is now transferred to the national culture. Regional and ethnic differences were gradually subsumed beneath the same nation-state. This process

7. Documentary "Video in the Villages", 1989, 9'- CTI
turn out to be a key feature of industrialisation and an engine to modernity. The formation of a national culture helped to set up a single language as the dominant medium of communication throughout the nation and to create the sense of being legal citizens participating in the 'idea' of a nation.

Thus, a national culture should be seen as a discourse. It constructs meanings which influence and organize both our actions and our conceptions of ourselves. By producing meanings about the nation - i.e., (hi)stories as memories which link the past with the present - the national culture constructs identities. These identities are then ambiguously placed between past and present, and sometimes national cultures and even ethnic groups, are tempted to restore past identities.

There is, among the Indians in Brazil, an attempt to restore their dignity as an ethnic group. It is also an attempt to restore their sense of a symbolic community, their 'indigenousness' in order to generate or renew their sense of identity and allegiance. Using Hall's (1992) five main elements with which he explains how the narrative of the national culture is told, it is possible to relate, in almost the same way, the movement for the Indians' cultural identity.

First, the narrative of the Indian nation as a discourse to construct meanings, provides a set of stories, images, scenarios, historical events and rituals which represent the shared experience, sorrows and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to their 'nation'. As members of such an 'imagined community' they see themselves in their 'mind's eye' sharing in this narrative.
Secondly, the [Indian] identity is represented as primordial. The narrative emphasis is put on origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness. The essentials of the Indian character remain unchanged.

A third example of the narrative strategy is the invention of tradition, i.e. traditions which appear or are claimed to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented. The invention of tradition goes together with revival of rites.

For instance, the Gaviões tribe are trying to restore their rituals. As nobody can remember how to perform the ceremonies properly, they decided to do it in the way they 'think' their ancestors did in the past. Most of the acculturated tribes in Brazil are doing the same. The Tapeba group are performing dances and rituals that have never existed before. They also present themselves with a 'new look', totally different from their ancestors' (Oliveira, 1989).

A fourth example is that of foundational myth. As in the narratives of national cultures, the story of the Indians' culture locates their origin so early in the past 'that they are lost in the mists of, not real, but mythic time'. The Wayapi believe they are the first people to appear in the world.

And finally, Indian identity is symbolically grounded on the idea of a pure, original people.

So, it is possible to agree with Hall, that national culture is not as modern as it appears to be; and that indigenous culture functions as a source of cultural meanings, a focus of identification and a system of representation for a large population in Brazil.
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However, it does not mean that the 'indigenous culture' and the 'Indian identity' they construct are actually unified; even though the policy of several governments has been to unify them - although not under a general 'Indian identity', but as a great family in the national society. A national family that is also a cultural hybrid: the non-Indian Brazilians are formed by mixed people from all over the world.

Globalization and Cultural Identity

The process of globalization is, in some way, affecting cultural identity all over the world by new temporal and spatial features. Through the most significant aspects of globalization - which results in the compression of distances and time-scales - the world is getting smaller and smaller and distances shorter. Events in one place impact immediately on people and places a very long distance away. A Colombian student with grant and financial problems, told me - after receiving a letter from his family - how happy he, his family and his family's neighbours were with the coffee price in the international market. A hail storm in the Southern part of Brazil, put the coffee price sky high, and this would give them a much better life. The speeding up of global processes, the 'time-space compression' made it possible.

However, what is important here about the impact of globalization on identity is that time and space are also the basic coordinates of all systems of representation. Every narrative translates events into time sequences, and visual systems of representation translate three dimensional objects into two dimensions. Nevertheless, these time-space coordinates have been
combined in different ways in different cultural epochs. The rational ordering of space and time are very different in the Enlightenment, the modernity of the beginning of the century, and this end of the twentieth century.

Some theorists argue that this process of globalization is undermining national identities and the unity of national cultures. However, there are, "the argument and the observation that alongside the tendency towards global homogenization, there is also a fascination with difference and the marketing of ethnicity and 'otherness'. There is a new interest in the local together with the impact of the global" (Hall, 1992:304). In addition, globalization is very unevenly distributed. There is an unequal relation of cultural power between the West and the rest. Foreign populations have always been the subjects and subalterns of western empire, but at the same time, the western colonizer has come to face the 'interesting alien' and 'exotic culture' of its 'other'.

Since globalization is unevenly distributed, the increasing number of identity choices is higher at the centre of the global system than at its peripheries. It appears that the phenomenon of cultural homogenization is a Western phenomenon. People at the 'centre' are confronted by a much bigger range of different identities by the global marketing of styles, places and images and by globally networked media images and communications systems.

On the other hand, as in the wider economy, global cultural homogenization and global standardization in the cultural industries reflect a potential achievement of greater economies of scale. What is being created by the new global cultural corporations is a new electronic cultural space. But the process of globalization is, in
fact, more complex and diverse. Actually, it is not possible, nor is it a good strategy, to eradicate or transcend differences. Cultural products from all over the world are turned into commodities: ethnic arts, fashion and cuisine, aboriginal painting and Third (and Fourth) world writing and cinema. The 'exotic', the 'primitive', are decontextualized to be repackaged for the world bazaar. "The so-called world culture may reflect a new valuation of difference and particularity, but it is also very much about making a profit from it" (Robins, 1992:318).

**Time-Space Compression and Sense of Place**

As explained above, the process of globalization of economic phenomena has been accelerated in such a way that it affects all countries and regions of the world. Communications, politics and culture are affected by the process of globalization. Global mass culture is dominated by American influences mainly through television and film. Entertainment and leisure are now dominated world-wide by electronic images.

Unlike modernity - where space was taken for granted, and time was taken as the main category through which progress and development could be understood - this new phase (named by many as postmodernity) appears as having drastically reduced the spatial barriers; spatial categories have come to dominate time categories, and time has become spatialised.

Harvey (1989) uses the term 'time-space compression' to highlight the sense that under the pressures of technological and economic change, space and time have continually collapsed. He also uses the
'Lefebvrian matrix' as a way to think through how places are constructed and experienced as material artefacts; how they are represented in discourse; and how they are used in turn as representations, as 'symbolic places, in contemporary culture' (Harvey, 1993:17). Giddens explains globalization as "expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distanciation. Globalization concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations 'at distance' with local contextualities" (Giddens, 1992:21).

It is the emphasis on the production of space that has been taken up in attempts do produce a political economy of space, most powerfully in the work of Marxist geographers such as David Harvey, Doreen Massey, Neil Smith and Ed Soja. As financial and productive spheres are increasingly controlled by multinational companies, the speeding up of technological and organizational change has helped an increased global mobility of capital, such that a new international division of labour appears to be emerging. This global mobility of capital seems to be the reason for those who argue about time-space compression, as they usually do, from the very particular view of its determination, i.e. it is a result determined overwhelmingly by the actions of capital.

For instance, Harvey argues that "a recognition that the dimensions of place and time matter and that there are real geographies of social action, real as well as metaphorical territories and spaces of power that are

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8. Lefebvre is best known for his perceptive analysis of how the twin myths of transparency and the illusion of realism represent space as a neutral and passive geometry. These myths mask the fact that space is produced and reproduced and thus represents the site and the outcome of social, political and economic struggle. This is what Lefebvre calls the "illusion of transparency" such that "within the spatial realm the known and the transparent are one and the same thing".
the sites of innumerable differences that have to be understood both in their own right and within the overall logic of capitalist development" (Harvey, 1993:3). Central to this, as he suggests, has been the creation of the first truly global financial system, with twenty-four hour a day trading.

However, to see this new phase of accelerated time-space compression as determined only by the actions of capital is clearly an insufficient argument (Massey, 1993). "Money, especially in the form of capital, occupies a central role in the process of production and reproduction of uneven development. But to understand the mechanisms of this uneven development, capital must be examined as a social process where differences are discursively formulated through a cultural system" (Ghani, 1993:50). It is necessary to bear in mind that there are other things that clearly influence that experience, for instance, ethnicity and gender.

According to Keith and Pile "the social, the political and the economic do not just take place in 'time' and 'space', they are in part constituted by temporality and spatiality" (Keith and Pile, 1993:27). There is a sense in which every person's sensibility is spatialised. They also argue for an equivalence between historicity and spatiality where "historicity provides the forces of dislocation which always block the formation of complete objects but also, in blocking, affirm their very existence. Any articulation of identity or object formation is only momentarily complete, it is always in part constituted by the forces that oppose it (the constitutive outside), always contingent upon surviving the contradictions that it subsumes (forces of dislocation). In such a fragile world of identity
formation and object formation, political subjects are articulated through moments of closure that create subjects as surfaces of inscriptions, mythical and metaphoric, invariable incomplete. In this sense, identity emerges through difference, just as all object formation is always partial because always relational" (ibid.:27).

Therefore, there is no doubt that the cultural politics of difference arise from the working of power. In addition, as the social, political and economic are 'in part constituted by temporality and spatiality' the working of power is exercised in both material and imagined forms. According to Soja and Hooper "hegemonic power produces and reproduces differences as a key strategy to create and maintain modes of social and spatial division that are advantageous to its continued empowerment. At the same time, those subjected, dominated, or exploited by the working of hegemonic power and mobilised to resist by their putative positioning, their assigned 'otherness', struggle against differentiation and division" (Soja and Hooper, 1993:184). They call the cumulatively concretised and historically and geographically socio-spatial differentiation as 'uneven development'. Yet notions of the spatial, and their political consequences, are not fully comprehended. Nevertheless, it is accepted that the individual has to be located within the struggle somehow (Bondi, 1993; Golding, 1993, Harvey, b1993).

Authentic Community

The value of authentic community as a concept in a highly industrialised, modernist and capitalist world is a complex one. In this context the problem of authenticity
is itself a modern value. The Waiapi group\(^9\) is a rooted community which lives deep inside the rain forest, faraway from the industrialised world, and is far from having museums and societies for the preservation of the past. They do not feel, yet, that they need to prove to others and to themselves, through documents and artefacts, that they are 'authentic'. Their rites, games, totems are enough to give them a sense of symbolic community. More than cultivate, they already have a sense of place.

However, it is a different kind of experience from having and cultivating a sense of place. For example, the native Tikunas who lost most of their land, have also changed their original custom\(^10\) since they have been in touch with the 'white man' for a hundred years. "The decline of 'custom' inevitably changes the 'tradition' with which it is habitually intertwined" (Hobsbawn, 1992:3). Thus, they start looking for new ways to improve their actions regarding the preservation of the past. They created, in 1986, a documentation and research centre called 'Maguta\(^11\)' that has a small museum with crafts, tools and Tikunas' history. The changes that have been particularly significant in the past 300 years and the problems arising from those changes led them to evoke - deliberately and consciously - a sense of place and of the past.

This argument about the location of the individual in struggle and the common-sense of spatial

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9. Native Indian group living in the Amazon Forest.

10. The difference between 'tradition' and 'custom' is well illustrated by Hobsbawn: "Custom is what judges do; traditions (in this instance invented traditions) is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualized practices surrounding their substantial action" (Hobsbawn, 1992:2-3).

11. See Chapter 4.
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metaphors has led some authors to argue that there is a danger implicit in drawing on received notions of space: any mobilisation grounded in reconstituting the spatial may have unintended or even reactionary elements (Harvey, 1993; Radcliffe, 1993; Revill, 1993). Revill argues that community as a concept also has negative connotations. It can be seen as a threat to identity as it has been articulated by conservative and reactionary thought. It is so often viewed as something static that it poses limits on identity controlled by tradition and passively accepted local culture (Revill, 1993). Radcliffe in 'Women's Place' argues that the "identity which motivated and sustained the Mothers of Argentina (Madres de Plaza de Mayo) was one of domesticity, female parenting roles and Catholic notions of duty and suffering. As female subjects of the Argentinean nation, with all the specific historical and political relations which that connotes, the Madres reinscribed their feminine identities in different places and with different activities during the military regime, but they did not fundamentally change their subjectivity. In other words, the move from 'private' to 'public' represented a shift in activity spaces, but did not transform their identity in relation to gender, power relations, nationalism or violence" (Radcliffe, 1993:112).

Even though there is a danger in reconstituting the spatial, it is becoming more and more important for these groups to construct a politics of place as the political way forward to an authentic existence. The sense here is that space is more than the outcome of social relations. Indeed, space can be seen to be full of gaps and contradictions, but it is an active and necessary component in the social composition. From this perspective, radical politics may be seen as the effort to change the stories told about contested spaces. The Madres
de Plaza de Mayo had created an alternative space through transgression, i.e. a new space of resistance to the military authorities. The Madres provided an effective community of resistance to the military authorities, although, the progressive transformative potential of the collective identity revealed its limitation in the return to democracy.

Identity and the 'Other'

It is well accepted today that cultural identities are neither rigid nor a static fact. Even apparently consolidated identities - like man, woman, European, Latin-American, African, etc. - hide a sense of negotiation in constant process of transformation. Identities are, therefore, identifications in progress.

The formation of cultural identities presupposes the notion of the 'Other'; the definition of the cultural self always involves a distinction from the values, characteristics and ways of life of others. Whenever there is an encounter between different cultures, be it by means of invasion, colonization or extensive forms of communication, the issue of cultural identity arises. It does not usually arise in situations of relative isolation, prosperity and stability. For identity to become an issue, a period of instability and crisis, a threat to the old established ways, seems to be required, especially if this happens in the presence of, or in relation to, other cultural formations. As Mercer has put it "identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (Mercer, 1990:43).
Several authors suggest that a 'crisis of identity' is fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject, i.e. the old identities which stabilised the social world for so long are now in decline. (See Larrain, 1994; Santos, 1994; Gilroy, 1992; Hall, a.1992, b.1992; Nash 1989; Roosens, 1989; Brandão, 1986). The past decade has witnessed an explosion of new cultural movements, from cults and religious revivals to primitivism, a new traditionalism, in an effort to establish a new culturally defined identity. All of these activities have been accompanied by an increasing 'national' and ethnic fragmentation in Europe and an increase in culturally based political movements, collectively referred to as the 'Fourth World': Amerindians, Hawaiians, Aborigines, etc. Thus, the debate about 'identity' has become a crucial point in Social Theory. Treatment of difference and otherness is "something that should be omnipresent from the very beginning in any attempt to grasp the dialectics of change" (Harvey, a1993:3).

This so-called 'crisis of identity' is seen as a marked change in the cultural state of the world, i.e. "as part of a wider process of change which is dislocating the central structures and processes of modern societies and undermining the frameworks which gave individuals stable anchorage in the social world (...) modern identities are being 'de-centred', that is dislocated or fragmented" (Hall, 1992:274). It means that the inner core of individuals which used to be a stable 'sense of self' is fragmented by a distinctive type of structural change that is transforming modern societies in the late twentieth century; for example, the developments in our technologies of communication and travel which have increased our exposure to each other. The production of
images and discourses is an important facet of activity and it has to be analysed as part and parcel of the reproduction of any social order (Harvey, 1993). We have become 'saturated' with the voices of others. Events transmitted to us through communication media play an intimate part in who we feel we want or ought to be.

Identities: Traditions and Translations

At this point, it seems unlikely that globalization will simply destroy national identities, even though many theorists are still convinced that the 'unity' of national cultures is under threat. Nevertheless, it appears that globalization does have the effect of contesting and dislocating the centred and closed identities of a national culture. It does produce a variety of possibilities and new positions of identification. Identity, then, becomes more political and diverse; less fixed, unified or trans-historical.

Everywhere, cultural identities are in transition between different positions. They are, in reality, the product of cultural mixes which are increasingly common in a globalised world. Identities, then, are gravitating between what Robins (1992) calls 'Tradition' and 'Translation'.

The 'Tradition' movement thinks of identity as destined to return to its 'roots' or to disappear through assimilation and homogenization. The 'Translation' movement describes those identity formations which are composed of people who have been dispersed from their homeland. They still have a strong link with their place of origin and their traditions, but without any chance to return to the past. They belong to 'cultures of
hybridity', i.e. they are "the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, belonging at one and the same time to several 'homes' (and to no one particular 'home')" (Hall, 1992:310)

Hall (1992) describes 'Translation' as a result of identity formation far from their origins. But he uses 'far' as being another place, another territory, another country, different from the individual's origin. If this is the sole element (the far in its naturalistic denotation) which could be said to differentiate the social distance, then Hall is misconceptualising the complexity of the existing reality. He also argues that 'cultures of hybridity' are one of the distinctly novel concepts of identity produced in the era of late-modernity. This could be another misconception - maybe because the 'natives' in Western Europe are the dominant culture. For instance, the Latin American countries are, in reality, the result of sedimentation, juxtaposition and hybridisation of indigenous traditions (especially Central America and the Andes areas): colonial Spanish and Portuguese Catholicism, politics, educational actions and modern communications. Those people are not 'far' from their places of origin, and we can say that they also have a culture of hybridity.

However, it is true that social-geographic distance also produces this hybridisation. Many works of art and literature which have been seen as paradigmatic interpretations of Latin American identity were actually done outside the continent, or at least outside the author's original countries or region. These authors usually paint, write songs or books, or whatever, from a cognitive and aesthetic standard assimilated in Madrid,
Mexico City or Paris; all of them hybridised cities, very different from their place of origin (Canclini, 1989).

There are attempts to reconstruct purified identities, ('Tradition' movement) to restore coherence in the face of hybridity and diversity. For instance, the resurgence of nationalism in Eastern Europe and the rise of fundamentalism. Eastern Europe is showing a powerful revival of ethnic nationalism and ideas of both racial purity and religious orthodoxy while the Western side is struggling for economic and political integration. In addition, the rise of fundamentalism which began with the Iranian Revolution, seeks to create religious states in which the political principles of organization are aligned with the religious doctrines and laws of the Koran.

The Latin American Indian who has for a long time been confined in a populist and romantic rhetoric, has been recently seized upon as the only authentic thing left. "Everything else is contamination and loss of identity" (Martin-Barbero, 1993:189). Thus, it is quite evident that the discourse or the trend towards 'global homogenization' is facing a powerful revival of 'ethnicity' all over the world.

Re-creating Ethnicity.

Karl Marx predicted the extinction of ethnic groups, asking, 'Why should one continue to belong to archaic cultural groupings when one could become a worker'? It is clear that Marx could not foresee a century ahead. However, what do 'ethnic', 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic group' actually mean?

According to Nash, "ethnic, ethnicity, ethnic group are words and ideas that seem to have a clear and
solid meaning, a referent in the world, and to be the sort of self-evident social reality that needs no other explication. But ethnicity and ethnic group are among the most complicated, volatile, and emotionally charged words and ideas in the lexicon of social sciences" (Nash 1989:1).

The criticism made by Fredrik Barth (1969), of the concept of an ethnic group as a culture-bearing unity, is an appropriate point of departure for the clarification of such concepts. First of all, a distinction should be made between, on the one hand the ethnic organization of a group and the ethnic identification of individuals ("I am Kayapo") and, on the other hand, the investigatable culture by which the ethnic group was conceptually defined, up until the late 1960s, when the terms culture and ethnic groups were often used interchangeably.

Secondly, it is better to think of ethnic group as an 'organizational type', since the ethnic group is a form of social organization in which the participants themselves make use of certain cultural traits from their past, a past which may or may not be verifiable historically. It may well be that, in certain cases, the actors impute these cultural traits to themselves. This is what Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992) call "the invention of tradition". In short, "by concentrating on what is socially effective, ethnic groups are seen as a form of social organization" (Barth, 1969:13)

On the other hand, we have to bear in mind that the intensity with which groups and individuals stress their ethnicity depends also on spatial-geographic and social contact between groups. According to Roosens, "ethnic groups are generally the most clearly delineated in areas that have one or another form of overarching
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political organization" (Roosens, 1989:13). Ethnic self-affirmation is always related in one way or another to the defence of social or economic interests. Ethnicity becomes a call to action when such a group organizes for political and economic ends. In democratic societies where the government acquires more and more power to subsidize industry, to manage the environment, to redistribute wealth to the less advantaged, and so forth, pressure groups become ever more effective, since politicians and leaders are selected by elections.

As Roosens points out, "in these societies, ethnic groups are appropriate instruments for applying pressure. Being just as anyone else becomes almost a kind of natural right, since nobody can help what his or her origin is. It becomes more interesting to appear socially as a member of an ethnic group than as a specimen of a lower socio-economic category. In a world where a revaluation of 'oppressed' cultures is in vogue in many circles, this is a way of self-valorization that cannot be achieved by considering oneself, for example, a member of the working class or the lower middle class. If one identifies oneself as a member of a lower class, one places oneself at the bottom of the social ladder. The class division is vertical and is thus a hierarchical division of groups of people; the ethnic division is horizontal, and it creates equivalencies rather than hierarchies (Roosens, 1989:13).

Pressure Groups with a Noble Face

There were few advantages in Brazil or any part of Latin America at the beginning of the century, in defining oneself visibly as a member of an Indian community. According to João Carlos Rodrigues "a German
language newspaper, from Santa Catarina State, referred, in 1911, to the 'Xokleng' tribe in this way: Wipe out those unmanageable people who are against the rising course of our civilization" (Rodrigues, 1987:38).

When one considers the current situation in Brazil and the rest of America it is possible to conclude that ethnic groups emerged so strongly because ethnicity brought people strategic advantages. For instance, it would have been unthinkable some time ago for the World Bank to suspend, in 1988, the financial support for the construction of the Tucurui Hydro-electric dam in Brazil because 'some Kayapo Indians' insisted on the constitutional rights of their people. Also, in Canada, Judge Malouf stopped a billion dollar project of Hydro-Quebec in Northern Quebec, in 1975 for the same reason (Roosens, 1989).

Roosens, affirms that ethnic groups, through media dialogues, become 'pressure groups with a noble face'. Ethnic identity, then, is a powerful psychological reality whether based on authentic culture or not. Referring to the black subject and black experience in Britain, Hall (1992) suggests that 'ethnicity' is constructed. It is constructed historically, culturally and politically. Thus, ethnicist discourses seek to impose stereotypic notions of 'common cultural need' upon heterogeneous groups with diverse social aspirations and interests. This means that a group identified as culturally different is assumed to be internally homogeneous. But we need to be attentive to the ways in which needs are socially constructed and represented in various discourses (Brah, 1992).

Many authors these days support the interpretation of 'ethnic groups as pressure groups'. They
argue that, since ethnic groups allow a positive self-image to be formed and have the need and the right to be culturally themselves, "politicians can hardly say no to an ethnic group without running the risk of being branded as racists. If they refuse to favour the less economically advantaged or the members of a trade union, they are, at best, 'capitalists' or 'conservatives'. Militant ethnic groups can thus be considered pressure groups with a noble face" (Roosens 1989:14).

In addition, indigenous groups who remain committed to 'traditional' values have a political advantage. Being indigenous residents means that their claims are likely to be seen by others as more legitimate than, for instance, the claims of immigrants. The Federal Government assured the ownership of the land for the Caetanos - a black community, in Para State, whose people are descended from slaves that escaped from their lords centuries ago. Similarly, through the 2933 Act (1995), the Rio de Janeiro State Governor gave the ownership of the land to any community which lives more than fifty years in places that are considered ecological reserves. The Caçaras - a community of fisherman descended from Portuguese colonists and Túpinambás Indians - has already had the ownership of their land legalised.

Turner argues that the ability of a group to objectify its own culture as an 'ethnic identity' is actually a condition of success and the only way of cultural and political survival. It can serve to mobilise collective action in opposition to the dominant world

12."Traditional refers to the values of hunters and gatherers or pastoralists that are difficult to reconcile with industrialism and capitalism. Modern is understood here as values consistent with capitalism and industrialism and the bureaucratic structures both require. Modern and traditional should not be equated with progress and backwardness" (Riggins, 1992:4).
system. "The objectification of their own cultures typically forms one side of the struggle for cultural and social survival, whose complementary aspect is the hybridisation of their cultures in Hall's sense through the incorporation of elements, techniques and perspectives of the dominant culture. Indigenous media play a key role in both aspects of this struggle" (Turner, 1992:32).

This means that indigenous people, like the Kayapo, Gaviões, Tikunas, are not looking for the maintenance of cultural virginity. On their own social and cultural terms they tend to be far more concerned with the pursuit of intercultural adulteration. For instance, this passage reported by Turner is worth quoting:

"The Kayapo, at least, with characteristic panache, have thrown themselves into inter-cultural adultery on a grand scale. Since communal ceremonies are for them the supreme expressions of shared sociality, it seemed, to the Kayapo village of Kubenkranken, a logical step to appropriate the most important national ceremony of Brazilian society, the celebration of national independence of the 7th of September. The appropriation of ceremonies from other indigenous societies such as the Juruna and Karaja is itself a traditional feature of 'authentic' Kayapo culture. These 'borrowed' ceremonies retain many of the original songs, elements of costume and choreographic patterns, but are recast into the forms of Kayapo social organization, with dancers grouped by gender and age set. In the case of the Kubenkranken celebration of the Sete de Setembro, they were advised and in part led by the new Brazilian teacher sent into the community by FUNAI\(^\text{13}\).(...) They also acquired a videocamera to record

\(^{13}\) Federal Bureau for Indian Affairs.
the occasion, with revenues from its new timber concessions" (Turner, 1992:33-34).

The ceremony of the Sete de Setembro was abandoned after just one more performance the following year, because 'they didn't like it'. "The inexorably compelling gaze of the dominant West was in this case stymied by a simple cultural yawn from the unimpressed other" (ibid.: 35).

2.4. NEW TECHNOLOGY, RESISTANCE AND IDENTITY

Lately, much research about the impact of new technologies of communication in Latin America, has shifted the focus of the questions from the technologies themselves, to a model of production which they imply and to the modes of access, acquisition and use of these technologies. (See Martin-Barbero, 1987, 1993; Mattelart and Schmucler, 1983) The shift is from technology in the abstract to the process of imposition, deformation and dependence the technologies imply, to domination; but also to resistance, recycling and redesign.

As Martin-Barbero points out, "the slogan of a capitalism in crisis and in dire need of expanding consumption is: adapt to information technologies, or die" (Martin-Barbero, 1993:183). Satellites, cable, videotext, teletext, etc., have been the protagonists of Latin American communications since the end of the 1980s. These new technologies represent a new stage in the process of modernity that now "takes a qualitative leap from the industrial revolution to the electronic revolution. No country can afford, culturally or economically, not to be part of this leap ahead" (ibid.: 183). As a result of their modus operandi, and the rationality these new
communication technologies materialise, a crisis in the 'fiction of identity' on which national cultures rest in Latin America has been produced. The redesign of communication technology, is possible, if not as a strategy, at least as a tactic. There is a 'semantic hole' in the argument which pushes the daily consumption of technologies without any reference to the context in which they are produced, a hole most people end up filling with the language of magic or religion. Take for instance the experience of a group of women in Peru:

"In a poor slum of Lima, a group of women attempted to better organize the market place. In the market area, they found a tape recorder and some loudspeakers which were being used only occasionally by the administrator. With the help of a group from a communication centre, the women began to use the tape recorder to interview people of the neighbourhood as to what they thought about the market and to provide music and celebrations on festival days and other holidays. And so they continued until they were criticized by a person of higher status, a nun, who ridiculed the way they talked and condemned their audacity to speak over the loudspeaker 'without knowing how to talk properly'. This caused a crisis and for some weeks the women did not want to have anything more to do with the loudspeakers. But then some of the women went to the communication centre to announce dejectedly, 'We discovered that the nun was right. We don't know how to talk and in this society those who don't know how to talk have the least possibility of defending themselves or doing anything. But we also have understood that with the help of this little machine - the recorder - we can learn how to speak'. And from that day the women of the market decided to tell stories about their own lives. They no longer used the recorder just to listen to others
but began to use it to learn how to speak" (Alfaro, quoted by Martín-Barbero, 1993:186).

The New Social Movements

Since the last decade, social scientists all over the world have given a great deal of attention to the study of the new social subjects and the new social movements. As the working classes became gradually isolated politically, new social subjects and new practices of social mobilisation arise. Dalton and Kuechler define these new social movements as "a significant sector of the population that develops and define incompatible interests with the existent political and social order and carry on with by way of non-institutionalised forms, having a potentiality to use physical force or coercion" (Dalton and Kuechler, 1992:224).

This definition includes sociological realities so diverse that they make it imprecise. The new social movements in the central countries are constituted by ecological movements, feminists, pacifists, anti-racists, consumers, i.e. the new middle class. However, in Latin America, the new social movements or 'popular movements' are much more heterogeneous. In relation to Brazil, Scherer-Warren e Krischke point up urban social movements, ecclesiastical movements\(^{14}\), urban and rural unionism, feminist movement, sector of youth movement, etc. (Scherer-Warren e Krischke, 1987:41). Kärner's list is even more heterogeneous. It includes the powerful democratic and popular working class movement in Brazil

\(^{14}\) Movimentos Eclesiais de Base - CEBs: movement organized by Catholic Church adepts which follows the Liberation Theory.
that turned out to be the Labour Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores - PT) whose leader is Luís Inácio da Silva (Lula); the Sandinism in Nicaragua; the various struggles by popular movements in Peru\textsuperscript{15}; the new experiences of national civic strikes carried out by Trade Unions, political parties and popular organizations (ecclesiastical communities - CEBs, student groups, women committees, cultural groups, etc.) in Ecuador, Colombia and Peru; the urban and rural squatter movement in Brazil (the landless movement), Mexico and other countries; the 'favelados\textsuperscript{16}' self-management attempt to organize their place in big cities like Caracas, Lima and São Paulo; Human Rights Committees and associations created by, and named as, Relatives of Arrested and Disappeared People (Kärner, 1987).

These lists are revelatory of the partial identity's similarity among the social movements in central countries and those, in Latin America. The special differences is a criticism of both capitalist social regulation and socialist social emancipation. The new social movements reveal the excess of modernity regulation when they point out new ways of oppression which are not specific of the production relation such as wars, pollution, sexism, racism. They also reveal this excess when they make claims for a new social paradigm based more on the culture and life quality instead of just based on wealth and material welfare.

In this sense, it is a criticism of Marxism's, traditional working class' and socialism's vision of

\textsuperscript{15} Young People Movement (Pueblo Jovens) organized in districts (barrios) and Regional Front for the Defence of the Interests of the People (Frente Regional para Defesa dos Interesses do Povo), organized regionally.

\textsuperscript{16} People who lives in shanty-towns (favelas)
material welfare and technological development of productive forces as emancipation factors. The new social movements see them as factors of regulation. In addition, the emancipation that they fight for is an attempt to change the oppressed's everyday life here and now, instead of a future and remote change. In the presence of change in everyday life, the common sense and the simple daily routine (public or private) become single opportunities for personal and group agency (Santos, 1994)

The *Mestizaje* Issue.

Communication has become a strategic arena for the analysis of the obstacles and contradictions that move societies which are now at the cross-roads between accelerated underdevelopment and compulsive modernisation. "Communication in Latin America has been profoundly affected by external transnationalisation but also by the emergence of new social actors and new cultural identities. Because communication is the meeting point of so many new conflicting and integrating forces, the centre of the debate has shifted from media to mediations. Here, mediations refer specially to the articulations between communication practices and social movements and the articulation of different tempos of development with the plurality of cultural matrices" (Martín-Barbero, 1993:187).

In addition, the recognition of the 'mestizaje' or 'hybridisation' that constitutes Latin American people, represents the appearance of a new political sensibility. It is open to the institutions and realities of daily life, to the subjectivity of the social actors and the multiplicity of loyalties that are operating
simultaneously in Latin America (...). Once we take as the starting point of observation and analysis not the linear process of upward social progress but 'mestizaje', that is 'mestizaje' in the sense of continuities in discontinuity and reconciliation between rhythms of life that are mutually exclusive, then we can begin to understand the complex cultural forms and meanings that are coming into existence in Latin America: the mixture of the indigenous Indian in the rural peasant culture, the rural in the urban, the folk culture in the popular cultures and the popular in the mass culture (Martin-Barbero, 1993).

Therefore, the purpose today is to think of the Indian as part of the history. To do so, as argued by several authors in Latin America, it is necessary to see them as part of the impurity of the relations between ethnicity and class, between domination and complicity. The purpose is to re-conceptualise the Indian issue within the theoretical and political realm of the 'popular', that is, cultures which are simultaneously subordinated and dominated, but which have also a positive existence with their own values and are capable of a dynamic process of development. As Nash argues - referring to the Mayas - "culture, worldview and identity commitment may be the weapons of the weak, but they have staying power beyond the momentary glories of both empires and nations" (Nash, 1989:111).

17. The popular is not understood in the commercial, mass media sense which it is throughout the advanced capitalist world; nor as part of the process of nationalization and homogenization of the masses, which the state, through the media apparatus, education, and other means, is concerned with producing. Rather it is grasped at the level of the particular forms of cultural practice and expression in which those who are not part of the hegemonic culture are engaged. This conceptualization stands in contrast to 'deductivist' approaches which, while demonstrating the importance of imperialist domination throughout Latin America, have contributed to the over-estimation of the impact of the dominant on popular consciousness" (Reeves, 1993:45).
Chapter 2  Cultural Identity

Culture and Politics

In the past ten years, the titles of seminars and congresses dealing with communication in Latin America have had a dominant presence of issues such as 'globalization', 'transnationalization', 'democratization', 'culture' and 'popular movements'. The Intercom, the most important communication conference in Brazil, had the title 'Globalization' for its 1995 conference.

In addition to this new conception of politics, there has emerged in Latin America, a new evaluation of culture. This reconceptualisation places "popular culture with its multiple forms of existence and its activity not just in memories of the past but in its conflictive and creative presence in the present" (Reeves, 1993:44). Therefore, it is necessary to perceive communication from the perspective of its role in the formation of culture. Some authors have shifted into what can almost be regarded as a post-modernist phase in which there is an emphasis on the 'popular' (Reeves, 1993). Popular practices and expression may involve the reconstruction of cultural commodities and messages produced in the dominant media institutions, but used in oppositional ways. The widespread development of alternative, grass roots media, including popular radio, community theatre, and the use of video for group-level raising of self awareness, demonstrated the independent capacity of 'the popular classes' for cultural creativity and resistance to transnationalizing and homogenizing culture.

Martin-Barbero (1993) notes that these movements have opened a new arena of political action which is largely cultural. They have provided communication
strategies for the redefinition of the meaning of social development and the meaning of Latin American identity in terms of everyday life, and lived experience of oppression.

In important respects, the 'rediscovery of the popular' to use Martin-Barbero's words, is an approach not far removed from subcultural analysis in British sociology and cultural studies, and the post-modernist emphasis on the collapse of mass structures. As Reeves points out, "it is a response by many Latin American intellectuals to the recognition of the failure of both bourgeois parliamentarianism and the left strategy of the 'united front' dependent of the primacy of the role of the proletariat" (Reeves, 1993:64).

The popular groups in Latin America, and among them, the ethnic minority groups such as the long submerged Indian minority, have discovered the value of the published word and the electronic image. This may prove to be the decisive force in bringing into being an enduring policy of self-determined cultural pluralism. Even though the Indians have always been eager to adopt the knowledge and technology of white society, they carefully adapt these changes to fit into their own culture. The following chapters will also demonstrate that this is quite often the rule.

2.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This chapter has shown that our sense of self, our social identity, is being 'de-centered' or fragmented. Unlike modernity, where a more social conception of the subject appeared, this 'late modernity' has brought with
it what Hall (b1992) points out as befalling the Cartesian and sociological subjects.

The process of globalization is affecting national cultural identities in a way that was unthinkable some time ago. But, although it is quite clear that the individual identity is subject to new determinations, the sense of identity is not actually disappearing. Being subjected to a great variety of possible identifications might create highly unstable identities, but at the same time provides new ways to restructure one's identity. The powerful revival of 'ethnicity' all over the world, therefore, contradicts the discourse of 'global cultural homogenization'.

In addition, Martin-Barbero (1993) points out that one cannot even take the 'nation' itself for granted, as new problems of identity are now appearing at the level of the nation-state. The syncretic nature of popular cultural practices contributes both to the preservation of cultural identities and their adaptation to the demands of the present. His arguments suggest that the process of popular cultural mediation contains the capacity to resist and transform dominant cultures in ways undreamed of by simple theories of domination.

The new social movements' trajectory represents a rupture with previous organized ways and hegemonic political styles. According to Santos (1993), the impact on culture and political agenda in countries where it happened with great intensity exceeds the movement's trajectory itself.

Finally, cultural identity is actually something 'manufactured and constructed' in the social process rather than purely and easily imposed by the dominant
society. As such, it is always going through a dynamic process, i.e. accepting and resisting the dominant culture.

In short, this chapter has suggested that the process of popular cultural mediation contains the capacity to resist and transform dominant cultures in order to restore a group's sense of symbolic community. The new technologies of communication play a key role in this process.
3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the use of new technologies of communication, and specially video work as 'alternative media' by popular groups in Brazil. It refers also to other groups - in other countries - experiencing the same process.

A tendency in recent writing on visual work is to stress that it represents the potential of technology and the efforts of society to reproduce experience and practice through images. It is also stressed that questions about the use of visual technologies and their effects upon society are related to questions of power; that is, control over the production and distribution as well as over the reception of visual messages. It appears that under the domination of advanced capitalism and the intensive commercialisation of the private sphere, the
manipulation of individuals continues to rely on the effectiveness and directness of visual images.

However, oppositional forces in society may be equally skilled in making use of visual technologies and strategies of propaganda which could effectively help change or destroy traditional power structures and help sustain an alternative regime. For instance, the new media forms that indigenous and minority people are creating, are innovations in the social process and are expressive of transformation in cultural identities in terms shaped by the local and global conditions of the late 20th century. "Such alternative 'multicultural media' have become both fashionable and more visible in the latter part of the 1980s: museum shows in the United States, the Black Film workshop sector in the United Kingdom, and a Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) in Australia are just a few examples of this increased interest" (Ginsburg 1991:92).

The Latin American indigenous productions, and specially the Indians' productions in Brazil, should be added to this list. Lowland Amazonian Indians are using video cameras to help them in their struggle for survival. Many have come to video by working with Video in the Villages, a project run by Vincent Carelli at the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI) in São Paulo.

After an analysis of the current cultural cycle in the industrialised countries of the West, Bell postulates that more people identify themselves ethnically than in years past because the ethnic unit is one of the few organizational forms that, on the macro level, offers stability in a time of decline of authority in all its forms (Bell, 1975).
At different moments, the Indians have succeeded in mobilising feelings and actions by appealing to 'traditions'. For this reason 'to look like Indian' is an important strategy to reach their goals. That is what most groups in Brazil are trying to do: from the urbanised Tapebas to the rural Nambiquaras, all known acculturated Indian groups are in process of ritual revival and invention of tradition. In short, they are in the 'process of ethnogenesis' (Roosens, 1989).

The Nambiquara is a very good example. After taping a puberty ritual, a Nambiquara group viewed the tape and found their representation was corrupted by the way they were dressed, i.e. they did not look like Indians but rather like white men. Then, they repeated the ritual in the traditional way and conducted, for the first time in a generation, a male initiation - taping it all (See Chapter 5). As put by Nash, "tradition is the past of a culture, as that past is thought to have continuity, a presence and a future. These features of tradition bestow upon the past a weight of authority; the very fact of survival, pastness, and continuity give an aura of authority, legitimacy, and rightness to cultural beliefs and practices" (Nash, 1989:14).

Thus, the ritual revival may be seen as a political strategy to give them authority and legitimacy, as native Indians in Brazil. Therefore, even though there exist similar experiences of ritual revival in classic ethnographic films, this moment appears to be different. The Indians are using - consciously and deliberately - the ritual revival as political strategy to be recognised as Indians. In a world where a revaluation of 'oppressed cultures' is in vogue in many circles, this is a way of self-valorisation. Being Indians they have rights; for
instance, rights upon their land. As explained before (Chapter 2), ethnic self-affirmation is always related in one or another to the defence of social or economic interest. The 'authentic natives' in Brazil can demand the land for themselves, according to the Indian Act, and reject illegal occupation by others. The conflict over land forced the development of conscious and militant ethnic groups. Thus, "the study of ethnicity needs to be rooted in a definite time period, with an eye to the malleability of the combination of elements that go into its construction at different times and places, all this with a sensitivity to the continuum of cultural-political-natural which also has a dynamic shaped by history, circumstance, politics, and economics" (Nash, 1989:6-7).

Moreover, the video work has helped to make the Kayapo the best-known Brazilian Indians internationally. They have become expert at attracting media attention to their issues, by playing on Brazilian stereotypes of Indians.

In this chapter I shall be discussing specific dilemmas posed to popular movements in general and to indigenous Brazilian people in particular by the introduction of video work. I prefer to use the term 'popular video' because it is seen as work with an explicit commitment to social issues. 'Alternative media', as used by different authors, has a wider concept which does not apply to this work.

3.2. POPULAR VIDEO

Since the late seventies, video has been used in Latin America as a tool in the struggles of women's and peasant's groups, neighbourhood associations, clerical
organizations, native tribes and unions, among others. These organizations have used video to document their struggles, communicate their experiences, organize their constituents, and strengthen their own internal democratic processes. Out of these different video experiences a variety of methods, strategies and purposes in the use of video have emerged. These purposes range from the education of unorganized individuals at a micro-social level, to the constitution of a democratic grassroots media environment in each country and in Latin America as a whole.

Popular video as a process has never gained organized expression in the United States and Europe - despite some important isolated experiences - but it has flourished in the Third World and particularly in Latin America. Since 1988, people who work in the area of popular video in Latin America have been meeting annually to define goals and strategies for the Latin American video movement. The Latin American Video Meeting held in Montevideo in 1990, demonstrated the diversity of Latin American video production. The video production boom in Brazil is mainly the result of the struggle to democratise the media. The mass media in Brazil are, compared to other countries in Latin America, the most powerful and centralised. In addition, television is an integral part of Brazilian daily life, and the Brazilian audience is accustomed to high technical and artistic quality in their television. There are more than 260 stations and television retransmitters. Nevertheless, the structure of national television is still vertical, with national networks that distribute via satellite, and concentrated
private ownership. There is little room for regional cultural production or for local news and information\textsuperscript{18}.

During João Goulart's government in Brazil which began in 1962, a social movement called the 'Popular Culture Movement', directed by Paulo Freire, undertook a vast literacy campaign among adults in the Northeast, the poorest region of Brazil, which at that time had 16 million illiterates out of 25 million inhabitants. This movement was formed by an important sector of committed teachers and students in the National Student Union as well as the Movement of Education at the Base, supported by the Brazilian Episcopate (Catholic Church).

Following Paulo Freire's participatory philosophy, these popular movements in Latin America and in other areas of the Third World, started practising alternative video, which gave rise to an international popular video movement. This international movement has led to a broad definition of popular video such as:

- "Video programmes directly produced by popular movements.

- Video programmes utilised by institutions that advise and/or collaborate with popular movements.

- video programmes produced by groups independent of popular movements but elaborated from the

\textsuperscript{18}According to the Comite Nacional pela Democratização da Comunicação (National Committee for the Democratization of Communication) nine families control ninety percent of the flow of electronic and published information in the country. They are the families of Roberto Marinho (Globe), Silvio Santos (SBT) Saad (Bandeirantes), Adolphe Bloch (Manchete), Frias (Folha de São Paulo), Nascimento Brito (Jornal do Brasil), Mesquita (Estado de São Paulo), Levy (Gazeta Mercantil) and Civita (Abril) (Santoro, 1992).
point of view and stemming from the interests and needs of popular movements, which constitute its central audience.

- the process of production of video programmes with the direct participation of popular groups in their conception, production, and exhibition, including the appropriation of video equipment.

- the process of exhibition programmes of interest to the popular movements, produced in video or using video, for the purposes of information, entertainment, discussion or mobilisation" (Santoro, 1992:3).

There are some core principles which define the nature of popular video and guide its different practices. One of them is that popular video is steeped in the processes of popular education and 'consciousness raising', i.e. popular video is committed to a transformative and liberating project. The 'process' and the 'product' are both part of a 'political reflexivity\(^{19}\)' which might result in the development of critical consciousness and action among popular groups.

The principle of participation is the fundamental element in the 'video process'. Some authors even argue that the participation of popular groups in production is the 'paradigm' of the popular videos because it facilitates the emergence of critical consciousness and

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\(^{19}\) "Political reflexivity" is described by Nichols as "that form of reflexiveness which operates primarily on the viewer's consciousness, 'raising' it in the vernacular of progressive politics, decentering it in an Althusserian politics in order to achieve a rigorous awareness of commonality. Both the Portuguese conscientização and the Spanish conscientización stress a reference to social or collective awareness rather than the personal pilgrimage and its attendant topography of an improved or superior self that the English term "consciousness-raising" sometimes implies" (Nichols, 1991:69)
the development of democratic participatory processes of action; it also enables popular groups to speak for themselves, and creates more egalitarian forms of communication power (Valdeavellano, 1989; Calvelo, 1989; Criticos and Quinlan, 1991).

However, other authors and practitioners are now focusing more and more on the quality of video as product and arguing that popular video needs to reach the mass audiences of television (Roncagliolo, 1989, Santoro, 1992). "Today, various groups and institutional projects are seeking to overcome this dichotomy between 'art' and the 'social/popular' by striving for higher production values (including the professionalisation of scripts) to improve the general quality of programmes without losing sight of their political objectives and concrete social effectivity. Thus, they are attempting to valorise the final product without giving up their links to popular movements, joining the 'video process to the 'video product" (Santoro, 1992:4).

The strategy of video-product practitioners is to reach large mass audiences by entering into the circuits of dominant television. As cultural studies have shown, although people make their own appropriation of mass mediated symbols, mass culture still constitutes the basic terrain in which the imagery of whole societies operates. In this context, to create and articulate mass mediated symbols is an important element in an overall strategy to oppose mass television and hegemonic ideologies. Video-products assume that the meanings intended by producers will be appropriated by the masses. However, most reception studies agree that the meanings intended by the producers can be appropriated in different ways.
In short, "while video-process can be seen as a praxis of constructing participatory democratic social structures at a micro level, video-product is a practice of representing liberatory social processes and ideas at macro and intermediate levels of society" (Fontes, 1992:9). Even though the 'video process tendency' is still spread throughout the continent, there are strong inclinations in the Latin American video movement, to give more importance to the video product than the video process. Roncagliolo (1989), argues that this is not a choice between one form of video practice over the other. Both have their strengths and weaknesses and form part—along with other forms of alternative video—of an overall strategy of the Latin American Video Movement to conquer the audio-visual space of the continent.

3.3. COMMUNICATION AND ALTERNATIVE MEDIA IN BRAZIL

Television in Brazil

Until the 60s, television in Brazil was like an extravagant toy for the elite. A television set was very expensive for the majority of the population and the programmes were not submitted to audience research. Classical and modern drama, erudite music, news, debates about politics and a few popular shows was the 'menu' for those who owned a television set. But, unlike American TV broadcasting, the companies in Brazil did not have a solid base in the movie industry, so, the Brazilian television—visually illiterate—started working like a radio station, in its structure, its professionals and its broadcasting scheme. That precarious knowledge often caused the producers to swing from the sublime to the ridiculous, or vice-versa. In addition, the small audience
did not fill companies and the industries with enthusiasm to support them with advertising. In spite of these problems, foreign advertising agencies which have had experience with that vehicle in their countries, began to sponsor new programmes and to determine everything about them. It only remained for the broadcasting station to broadcast them (Silva, 1985).

When video tape equipment came onto the market, at the beginning of 1960, a new standard for television started in Brazil, a process that reached its zenith with TV Globo, in 1965. The technical quality began to change with this new equipment.

Beside their need for new technology, the support given to them by the Brazilian Government to obtain this video tape equipment had, at first, a simple objective: to show the inaugural ceremony of Brasilia City. It was necessary because, at the beginning of the 60s., only Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro were interconnected by a public system of telecommunication, so they were able to transmit programmes directly from one city to another. However, they could not broadcast from Brasilia to other cities in Brazil. The video tape solved the problem, it recorded the images and the tapes were sent by plane to every region in the country. In the same way, most of the live programmes were subsequently recorded, so their quality had to be improved. The programmes began to be circulated all over the country, from one broadcasting station to another, creating the embryo of the future networks in TV broadcasting, like 'Globo', 'Manchete' and 'TVS'.

The introduction of video tape had an impact as well on a genre that was already appreciated in Brazil: the 'telenovelas' (like soap operas in USA, but better
quality). According to Luis Eduardo P. de Carvalho, in his Master Degree's thesis - about Brazilian TV broadcasting - the video tape through the telenovelas occupied in a short space of time a fundamental place in Brazilian television, by planting a strategic horizontal programming, i.e., division into hourly bands, to be repeated each day of the week with the intention of creating a habit. In addition, an economic fact had a big influence over TV broadcasting: the increasing production of TV sets. This brought the prices down and the consumer market expanded. Moreover, national and international companies put more money into advertising by television. Furthermore, its contents became more popular, in response to the demands of the growing audience.

In 1972, colour television consolidated the dominant standard of quality in TV Globo. Obviously, the themes showed never criticized the government attitudes or policy. Journalism in TV, with new video tape cameras, improved in mobility and aesthetics but it remained muzzled by censorship throughout the decade.

In 1980, new facts changed the scenery of Brazilian television. The TV Tupi - one of the biggest networks, but with financial troubles - was shared between Adolpho Bloch (owner of a powerful publishing house) in Rio de Janeiro, and Silvio Santos (a big manager) in Sao Paulo. TV Manchete (Adolpho Bloch) and TVS (Silvio Santos) were soon broadcasting in every region of Brazil, forming two new networks.

Competition increased and improved television quality. The programmes exported by TV Globo - at first restricted to Latin America - expanded progressively until they reached more than a hundred countries all over the world. But the most important fact was the accelerated
spread of independent video production, facilitated by the 'boom' of domestic video cassette recorders (VCR), in 1982. A new generation of producers started struggling for a share of the market.

Groups like 'Olhar Eletronico', 'Produtora Manduri', 'Intervideo', 'VideoVerso' among others, are regularly broadcasting their productions in the television network or city stations. However, it is necessary to understand that there are differences among those groups. Some of them only have commercial perspectives and their purposes are to remain inside the network. So, they equate their productions with the canon of broadcasting companies or they imitate conventional models directly. Their 'independence' is more technical than programmatic, i.e. from an aesthetic-cultural point of view, their productions do not make any contribution to the regular scheme of work. The most creative and fruitful experience has been produced by 'Olhar Eletronico' which introduced a new way of 'how to make television', with a high level of creativity.

It has never been easy, and still is not, to get a space within the official networks. Firstly, the independent groups had to confront the boycott by the companies franchising the television channels (mainly TV Globo). They were afraid of competition from those companies with small capital but real talent. As the franchise monopoly belonged to the State, the channels were distributed among those sponsored by the military regime, i.e. managers averse to innovation and critical intervention (Silva, 1985).

Nevertheless, broadcasting using electromagnetic waves does not constitute the only, or the best, perspective to creative video makers. Ignored by the
strong and centralised mass media, popular oppositional movements sought alternative electronic and printed channels of communication, such as union newspapers, loudspeaker radios and video productions. Many have been supported by Brazilian NGOs and their international co-operation projects, which has facilitated access to significant financial resources in the area of communication and especially in video. Santoro points out that "many video groups have recently improved their technical capabilities, obtaining sophisticated equipment and even sufficient funding to earmark specific production budgets. ONGs like IBASE, ISER, CECIP, FASE, WORKERS TV, TV VIVA, and others are working with BETACAM or U-MATIC SP and developing projects to work through existing TV channels rather than simply emphasising alternative circuits and group exhibitions" (Santoro, 1992:7).

Alternative Media

Since 1965, when the first video cameras came out with a small recorder, a kind of private television set has covered the complete circle of production and display in closed circuits. This equipment which is cheaper than professional hardware, and is simple to operate, was put on the market by Japanese electronic industries and disseminated as consumer goods for middle class leisure. However, it also made it possible for cultural and political groups to produce for themselves programmes in closed circuits.

The difference is clear between this kind of work and the broadcasting model. The utilization of electromagnetic waves by television broadcasters reaches a mass audience, so it makes them the most powerful characters of our time.
In spite of not being as strong as TV broadcasting, the video work is a TV of small groups who are brought together by common interests. It covers the activity of political militant groups as well as radical experiments of language in video art. This simple and cheap equipment can also radically alter the social structure of electronic communication, because it puts the capacity to produce and to show programmes in the hands of an infinitely wider range of people than TV broadcasting professionals.

In Brazil, the first people who produced works in video, outside commercial TV, were not properly what we know as video makers, but plastic artists looking for new ways of using languages for their production. There is no certainty about the first creative work made with electronic media. The only concrete fact is that the artists who were working with video came from two big nuclei, in 1970: the 'Cariocas' - from Rio de Janeiro - in the Art Modern Museum of Rio de Janeiro, and the 'Paulistas' - from Sao Paulo - in the contemporary Art Museum of Sao Paulo. (There was also an isolated intervention by Paulo Bruski, from Recife, Pernambuco).

It was very difficult to work with political aims at the beginning of the 1970s. The country was under a military dictatorship and whoever tried to do something against government policy could be arrested and sent to jail; but public opinion began to change, when Vladimir Herzog - Director of Journalism in TV Cultura of Sao Paulo - was murdered, in 1975, by the Brazilian Army in the jails of DOI-CODI (Department of Organization and Information of Army). In addition, the problems of supporting the military government grew with the oil crises in 1973, when the economic problems became bigger.
During the first 10 or 12 years under military government (1964-1985) in Brazil, the political groups used newspapers as alternative media. These journals entitled 'Independent' or 'Nanico' (short) had been trying to occupy the vacuum left by the biggest newspapers and magazines under censorship or allied to the military dictatorship. In addition to censorship of the news, journalists were arrested, printers were destroyed, the alternative newspapers like 'Pasquim', 'Opiniao', 'Movimento' etc. resisted until the government began - what they called - a slow and gradual overture.

When censorship was minimised and public opinion began to change, the traditional newspapers were better equipped to gather and to distribute information all over the country. It was impossible for independent newspapers with small structure, voluntary workers and no advertising in their pages, to compete with the traditional enterprises in Brazil, so they went bankrupt.

In response to the death of independent newspapers, urban groups started to use the radio as a new means to disseminate their ideas. Called 'Pirate Radio', these groups operated in different places each day. To avoid Embratel (Brazilian Enterprise of Communication) officers, they had to change their locality of transmission everyday, but they tried to reach the same public with their programmes. In the same way and called 'Pirate TV', other political groups began, in 1985, to broadcast their material illegally, using television transmission to protest about the nature of regulation on the airwaves. Groups such as 'TV Cubo' and 'TV Bixiga', in Sao Paulo and 'TVento Levou', in Rio de Janeiro, crashed broadcast TV frequencies with short two hour bursts of alternative news, political comment and satire.
before shutting down their transmission to avoid capture. In addition, group communication, where video has a fundamental role, is increasingly considered to be an effective means of resisting and even replying to the conforming structure of the mass media, especially television.

In the last few years, the use of video in Latin America has multiplied, along with other audio-visual and communications technologies. This is seen in the large number of video machines being used, and in different ways, whether for profit, for social development or for counter-information by grassroots movements.

At the beginning of the 1980s new groups with political aims started to open new ways for alternative video. This new generation of video makers opted for documentary video instead of video art. In their documentaries, the new generation looked to break the sense of authority between them and the people who were being interviewed. So, the recent proliferation of video groups in Brazil does not arise only from the existence of a new communication technology, but also from the possibilities offered by the Brazilian political situation. The victory of the opposition parties in the election of 1982, in the large urban centres, was followed by a general relaxation of censorship in the mass media, though there were still moments of social tension.

In Brazil today, there are about a hundred groups active in video, spread throughout the country, in both rural and urban areas. They are linked to unions, neighbourhood and cultural associations, organizations that support the grassroots movements, the Church, or they are independent. The total volume of finished productions by these groups is estimated at 400, and the Brazilian
Association of Video in the grassroots movements has just published the First Catalogue of Grassroots Video Programmes, listing more than a hundred of these productions, it will be distributed among video-producing and-using groups.

A number of groups connected with the organized grassroots movements have been able to distribute their programmes quite successfully. As an example, the video 'Abrindo o Pacotão' (Opening the package), about the economic measures introduced by the Government in February 1986, was produced by the Metalworkers' Union of Sao Bernardo and Diadema (Sao Paulo State) and was copied and distributed in 15 states and seen by thousands of Union Leaders. In addition, the metalworkers' Union, the main protagonist in obtaining workers' rights in contemporary Brazilian society, created the Workers' TV, in 1986. Its objectives are to use video in the Union Training School (São Paulo), for documentation, for cultural expression, as a support for the trade union and grassroots movements, as support for the CUT (Workers Only Confederation), and as collective memory. This project, a pioneer in Brazil and Latin America, is growing with the broad support and participation of the workers.

Another group of people in Nova Iguacu, Rio de Janeiro, is creating a different experience. They created CECIP (Centre for the Creation of Popular Images), an independent, non profit making association dedicated to producing educational materials using graphic media (booklets, posters, comic strips, illustrated manuals) and audio visual media (slide sets and, especially, video) aimed principally at an audience composed of the poor sectors of Brazilian society. Their way of producing video has changed over the years, according to C. Ceccon: "We
are a long way from when a finished product had to be created and viewing organized for nothing. To begin with, a small group of people produced, filmed, edited and showed the videos, including animating the groups. Twelve regional sections of the Resident Association were visited each month and a large number of grassroots communities were animated by diocesan groups. A video cassette recorder and a monitor were brought to the association or community. People came to see themselves, their leaders, their artists, their reality" (Ceccon, 1989:27). Besides, there are themes that ask for more extended research and need more careful treatment than is possible in their daily activity. Videos about a Constitutional Assembly that was to be elected, and about the health situation of Rio's slums for a popular audience, demands imaginative efforts. Such alternative video attempts to provoke a critical attitude towards what is presented in a process of information/reception in which feedback plays a fundamental part.

This kind of activity occurs mostly in the South and Southeast of Brazil (industrialised areas); but there are groups in the Northeast, in the Midlands and the North the country, with the same purpose and similar activities. The video group TV Viva, based in Recife, Pernambuco State, produced a number of short video programmes each week, which were screened at regular times in various public locations around the city. In 1984, TV Viva obtained foreign funding by a trade union delegation, the FNV (Dutch Federation of Trades Unions) to produce a series of video tapes about the particularly harsh working conditions of the Pernambuco sugar-cane plantations. They were made in association with Fetape (The Agricultural Workers' Union).
In the 1980s, the Latin American video movement improved the quantity and quality of its production and its organization. Each nation has produced formal or informal associations of popular, independent and/or alternative video makers. They exist formally in Brazil, Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and Mexico, and informally, in Chile and Uruguay. In this decade, video was also included in all the major festivals of the region: the Festival del Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano in Cuba, FestRio in Brazil, the Cartagena Festival in Colombia. In Havana in 1987, video-makers published a manifesto where they assert that "the attempt to engage in democratic and participatory communication is most visible in video and its uses by non-governmental social, community, labour co-operative, political, cultural and religious organizations. A good part of the recent history of our peoples has been recorded on video rather than with the traditional audio-visual media\textsuperscript{20}, as, for instance the video work done by the Brazilian Indians.

The Brazilian Indians' Experience

The Indian's life in Brazil is regulated by the so-called Indian Act. It means that every Brazilian Indian is under the tutelage of the State which is represented in a monopolistic way by FUNAI (Federal Bureau for Indian Affairs). Also, the Indians - from a judicial point of view - are considered 'relatively' incapable.

However, the Brazilian government has failed to protect the Indians' rights. According to CEDI (Ecumenical

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Final document de los 'Videastas Presentes en el IX Festival del Nuevo Cine Latino Americano: A Veinte Años the Viña del Mar: Por el Video y la Television Latinoamericana} (cited by Santoro, 1992:7)
Centre for Documentation and Information) there are 250 thousand Indians in Brazil (Manchete, 1991). Most of them - about 140 thousand - are spread over 78.2 millions of hectares in the Amazon region. To remain as owners of such a land - a big source of raw materials, a big space for colonization, seems a big struggle, even when the Brazilian government is pressed by international public opinion to preserve the rain forest.

The Indians have been working with organizations like CEDI, CTI - Centre for Indian Work, UNI - Indian United Nations, CCPY - Commission for Creation of the Yanomamy Reserve, etc. These organizations were created to amplify the Indian voices around the country or even around the world. Furthermore, many tribes have started to record, through a video-camera, their stories, their games, their problems in order to improve their discussions (see Chapter 4). At the same time their leaders have been showing the videos across the country, trying to get support from non-Indian audiences.

It appears that video work is seen as a useful tool also in the struggle for survival by other groups around the world.

The Australian Aborigine

The Aborigines in Australia have always devoted an extraordinary amount of time and resources to the arts and religious ceremonies. Visual and oral expression have always been very elaborate. The enormous production of visual art for the Australian and international markets, of film and video for internal community and external exhibition, and of music, appears to be a modern development of this emphasis in visual and oral
expression. According to Marcia Langton (1994), the most well-known aboriginal people of the Australia, in the film and video area, are Tracey Moffatt, Michael Riley, Essie Coffey, Wayne Barker, Bryon Syron and Rhonda Barker, Gerry Bostok and Robert Bropho, who have participated in co-productions such as *Lousy Little Sixpence*, *Munda Nyurringu*, and the community of Borrooloola which co-produced *Two Laws*.

There are also several media groups in Central Australia. These are Warlpiri Media Association in the Central Desert Aboriginal community of Yuendumu: CAAMA - the acronym for the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association located just outside the town of Alice Springs and Imparja Television based in Alice Springs, but serving all of the Northern Territory and large parts of South Australia as well. (Michaels, 1995)

The Media Association's idea came out of a project initiated by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in 1982 to minimise the impact of the AUSSAT satellite. "Its launching in 1985 was to bring the possibility of television to remote areas, including many Aboriginal settlements and communities, for the first time. While Yuendumu and many other Aboriginal communities had not received a steady flow of broadcast television, it is important to point out that they were acquainted with Western film making practice through community viewing of rented films, attending cinemas in towns, and most recently, through the circulation and viewing of materials through their own video cassette recorders" (Ginsburg, 1991:99).

Eric Michaels, an American researcher, was hired to work with Aboriginal people at the Yuendumu community to develop video based on Aboriginal concerns that might
be programmed instead of the imagery of standard commercial television. They produced between 1982 and 1984 fifty tapes which started to be broadcast in April 1985 by a local low-power television station via a home-made transmitter. The development of media similar to Yuendumu is happening in other remote communities such as Aurukun and Ernabella, while other production units in cities such as Perth, Sydney, Darwin, reflect the distinctive interests of urban Aboriginals (Ginsburg, 1991).

Kurt Japananga Granites, a Warlpiri member said during a video interview: "The satellite was a threat to the Aboriginals, but now we have our own TV and video, we can put our things on too. We can fight fire with fire ... We could have been watching ABC News all the time and nothing of our own culture ... We like to watch our own things on the video. Now that we've got our own equipment we're able to do this ourselves instead of Europeans doing it for us. Europeans only show what they want to show, not what we want to show" (cited by Michaels, 1995:189).

Eric Michaels finishes his article about the Aboriginal television by arguing that: "...it should be noted that both Yuendumu Aborigines and media development advisers conceptualise local television not as an isolated facility but as a node on a larger network of many stations. Evaluation of Yuendumu television, in isolation from such a network, can only be speculative. For the local system to work, it will need to be linked to other stations, identified as a class for training, funding, licensing, programme exchange, and other essential support and services. In short, it will need to be part of a regional or national Aboriginal communication scheme, not merely an interesting, but exceptional experiment" (Michaels, 1995:216).
Chapter 3
Alternative Media

Other Experiences

There have been other experiences in other places and on different levels. In New Zealand, the Research Unit for Maori Education has just produced a video about Maori land claims. The video 'The Fiscal Envelope: The Generation Gap', explores the history of the Sealords Deal (over New Zealand fisheries), in particular the inclusion of a special clause within the deed of settlement. According to the video, this clause sets a precedent for the Crown to place fiscal limitations on any treaty settlements. It also sets a precedent for the extinction of treaty rights and therefore, their inalienable right as 'whenua rangatira' (first peoples). The video is seen as a catalyst for wider information.

In Canada, the Native Broadcasting Policy and the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program represent a framework for the development of an Indigenous Media.

However, none of these groups has achieved the same development as the Aborigines in Australia, it seems that more and more indigenous groups are looking for their own means of representation.

3.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The participants of a recent international meeting on 'Cultural Politics' affirmed in a final document that "the formulation of cultural policies cannot be the exclusive right of the State nor something the State negotiates with private enterprises. The public is not a synonym of the state. Cultural polices must be the
product of an imaginative social consortium that includes, besides the State and private enterprise, educators, professionals, cultural workers, and social movements. Only from this diversity and plurality shall we arrive at the design of democratic policies that solidify and expand the freedom of creation and of expression, liberating the creativity of our audio-visual space”.

Film and video have demonstrated the power of these media to assert cultural autonomy and diversify political debate. Both film and video have been used for social and political mobilisation – sometimes by the same people who also happily watch imported and national commercial entertainment in prime time.

Because of its technological accessibility in both production and distribution, video is open to a far greater and more flexible usage than film has been. Throughout Latin America, video has become more than a tool of organizing and fund-raising, it has become a true inheritor of the mandate to describe and affirm cultural identity. The same experience in Australia and other parts of the world reaffirm this possibility.

In this way, video can be adapted to meet the very particular needs of small or large groups of people, because control of the technology has been removed from central authorities. Video is a medium with perhaps more promise than that ascribed to some of the previously developed communication technologies.

CHAPTER 4

INDIGENOUS VIDEO: THE BRAZILIAN CASE

4.1. INTRODUCTION

"What matters (...) is the exemplary character of production, which is able first to induce other producers to produce, and second to put an improved apparatus at their disposal. And this apparatus is better the more consumers it is able to turn into producers, that is readers or spectators into collaborators"

(Benjamin, 1992:216)

The task of the present chapter is to introduce the video work done by the indigenous people of Brazil. It looks at how such work started and is promoted, by those practising it in Brazil. The main data has come from the Kayapo group. They are the most representative indigenous group which deal with audio-visual media in Brazil. Watching their videos, realising they have been successful in their actions, other Indian groups are following in their footsteps. Unlike some years ago, they can now show their problems and struggles from their own point of view.

Movies about national Indian groups have always portrayed a stereotyped view which has been accepted by a large sector of society. One of the most typical attitudes
of Brazilian society about the Indians, has been Idealism. This tendency has evolved, with some help from French philosophers, into the theory of the 'noble savage', which characterises the 'Indianismo'. This movement - to which belong Jose de Alencar's novels and Gonçalves Dias' poems - shows the Indians as 'pure', as 'ingenuous', as an 'archetypal inhabitant of a golden age of humanity'.

Since the silent cinema, our movie-makers have demonstrated their affinity with Idealism and their preference for Jose de Alencar's novels. There were four versions of 'O Guarani' before 1930; three versions of 'Iracema' and one of 'Ubirajara'. These novels and the movies inspired by them, were purely idealistic. Unhappily, nothing remains of these movies, especially the older ones, except for some still pictures. However, in those pictures it is possible to see that there are few similarities with the customs and habits of the real Brazilian tribes. To the audience, as well as to the early movie-makers, the Indian was an archetype. His looks did not matter, if it looked real to the viewer. Even the actors never looked like ethnic Indian types.

Unlike other American countries, Brazil has never had movie-makers from the Indian race, or even half-castes with strong cultural feelings - like the Mexican Emilio 'Indio' Fernandes or the Bolivian Jorge Sangines.

Hence, for a long time, every audio-visual production about the Indians' life in Brazil has been done without any form of control by the indigenous people. Now, however, the availability of new and cheap forms of audio-visual media has given rise to the appropriation and use of those new technologies by Brazilian indigenous people for their own ends. Indian groups are using tape and video recorders to exchange information with other indigenous
groups; to record their rites and songs; and to show more successfully to non-Indian audiences their struggles and claims about their rights.

The first step into those new communication technologies was the use of audiocassette recorders. During the 1970s, a Xavante leader - Juruna - became famous in Brazil for carrying his tape recorder whenever he had to talk with politicians or governmental officials. According to him, recording everything they said was a way of forcing them to keep their promises.

The Indians have also used the audiocassette to record and play back their own ceremonial performances and to send communications from one village to another. Electronic audio and visual media, in short, appeared as a new technology of great power and strategic importance, which was at the same time directly accessible to illiterate people like themselves.

According to Ginsburg (1991) the appropriation of visual media by indigenous peoples typically occurs in the context of movements for self-determination and resistance. Their use of video cameras tends to be 'both assertive and conservative of identity', focusing both on the documentation of conflicts or claims against the national society, and the recording of traditional culture.

Some groups in Brazil, like the Kayapos and Gaviões, have become widely known in the last few years for their remarkably bold and successful actions in defence of their lands, rights and environment. Audio visual media have played a central role in these actions, not only in the usual forms of film, video, and television coverage by Brazilians and foreign crews, but also in that
of video coverage by themselves using their own audiocassette recorders and video cameras.

This phenomenon of using video technology by indigenous people has only recently begun to receive attention in its own right from anthropologists and media theorists. Thus, there are only a few ethnographic studies or descriptive accounts of specific cases of indigenous media use (Michaels 1986, 1991, 1995; Turner 1991, 1992; Ginsburg 1991; Galois and Carelli 1992).

In addition, to work with indigenous people in Brazil, any researcher will necessarily face a lot of bureaucratic problems. For instance, to go to Indian villages it is necessary to get permission from both Indians and the Brazilian Government. Living in reserves and protected by the so-called Indian Act, every Brazilian Indian is under the tutelage of the State. So, it takes time to get through the bureaucratic system of Federal Bureau for Indians Affair-FUNAI. A letter asking for permission to go to Gaviões and Kayapos tribes was sent to FUNAI in October/91, but no answer was given for 6 months. It was necessary to go to Brasilia - Brazil's capital city - to solve the problem. Whilst I was there it was possible to get in touch with some Kayapo leaders and obtain the permission, because they quite often go to FUNAI to discuss their problems. Furthermore, Megaron Txucarramae - the Director of Xingu National Reserve, and therefore a FUNAI employee - is himself a Kayapo. However, Megaron told me that the level of malaria among his group was very high at that specific time. (It is possible to avoid risks of infection when the level is low, even though malaria is an endemic disease in Kayapo region, but it is almost impossible at such high level times). Also,
he told me it might take a long time to make contact with the Gavioes because their radio was out of order.

Given that situation, I decided to start working with a Kayapo group in Brasilia. They were discussing the image quality and editing of some videos recorded a few weeks earlier.

As I was not able to get in touch with the Gavioes, the next step was the Ticuna group in the Solimoes River region (Amazon), near the border between Brazil, Peru and Colombia. Permission was given by 'Capitão' Pedro Inacio, leader of the Ticuna's Council, through researchers of Maguta Centre. The next sections will present the development of this work.

4.2. THE BEGINNING

For a long time the Indians had been visited by outsiders who introduced them to new communication technologies (photography, film, radio, video cameras, etc.). Most of these outsiders exposed them to the outside world, beyond the limited circle of local Brazilian frontier society and national government officials. These visitors also valued their culture and were generally inclined to support the Indian's political and land rights. The Indians also learned how audio and visual media had become a major channel of communication throughout this outside world. Travel to Brazilian towns revealed to them the importance of media such as commercial radio, television, journalistic photography, and cinema in Western culture. They became interested in learning and acquiring this new technology and its associated power for themselves.
Chapter 4

Indigenous Video...

The first attempt to teach film technology to the Indians in Brazil occurred in 1977. A project named 'Inter Povos' (Inter People), and supported by an independent producer - Andrea Tonnaci - aimed to teach film/video technology to the Indians, without the conventions of Western production and editing. The work had to stop after four months due to a lack of funds, though they did manage to edit a documentary called 'Inter Povos'.

The difficulties faced by the 'Inter Povos Project' were mainly due to its pioneering characteristics. At that specific time, video cassette recorders (VCRs) and video cameras were not so popular in Brazil as they are now. For this reason, supporters of the Indian cause hesitated between the uncertainty of the quality of the final product and the excessively high cost. Only at the end of the 80's did this pioneering and unique attempt begin to produce results. It started with a group of independent video producers - Veneta Video, in 1985. They went to Xingu National Park because they heard that the Indians wanted to learn how to use a video camera.

Megaron Txucarramãe - a leader of the Kayapo and the National Park's administrator - had asked them (Veneta Video) to record, on video, the re-integration of two villages which had been apart for ten years. The villages' separation was caused by a federal road constructed across the park by the government. The Txucarramãe (Kayapo Group) was then the first group to explore the possibility of using electronic media. The group of producers recorded what the Indians suggested: the building of the new Indian villages, hunting trips, Kayapo myths, oral histories and traditional ceremonies. Soon, two young Indians were
designated to learn how to handle the equipment. The group travelled to other Kayapo Villages (Gorotire and Aukre). The Gorotire village with the best economic situation was the first Indian group to obtain its own video equipment, a few months later.

At the beginning of 1987, the Gorotire obtained from a British TV company - Granada Television - a complete unit of camcorder, VCR and TV set. In 1989, returning for a second 'Disappearing World' film, the same company brought a third camcorder. According to Turner, "both of these video cameras, with their attendant batteries, VCR, monitor and numerous blank video tapes, were paid for by Granada as part of the quid pro quo presented to the Kayapo for their co-operation in the film" (Turner 1991:34).

One year later, Megaron called the Veneta Video group again and asked them to further enhance the Indian's video skills. Megaron and Paiakan - both Kayapo leaders - were the main supporters to develop the video work among their groups.

These same producers, Veneta Video, went to the Solimões River in 1987, to instruct a group of Educational Project workers among the Ticunas, in the use of new video equipment. In addition, the Salesian Mission had already changed their 16mm. projector for VCRs. Hence, many Xavante villages gained access to video and wanted to produce their own videos.

The CTI (Centre for Indigenous Work) introduced at the end of 1985, a video among the Nambiquara in Mato Grosso and Gaviões in Pará. In the first video exhibition among the Gaviões, the leader said: "That is exactly what I needed!"
When Kokrenum - the Chief - saw the video-camera for the first time, he was really impressed and decided to buy similar equipment. He did so and at the same time he hired the CTI crew to record the 'Festa de Iniciação dos Jovens - Pemp' (Pemp - the youth initiation ceremony). The several TV sets in the village, which had exerted so much influence on the young people, became a tool that worked for the cultural project of recovering traditional life: "These recordings will be seen by my grandsons" said Kokrenum, "and even when I'm dead they will learn our ancestors' rites".

Today, the evening video-show is a routine in the village. They can see themselves through the video, and they can have more information about other tribes in Brazil, watching documentaries and fictional movies about the Indians.

Nowadays, the Gaviões refuse to accept 'outsiders' in their village. They are aware about the way the media always picture them (they are quite often portrayed as 'millionaire Indians' or 'big consumers' by the media). Furthermore, the Gaviões always say: "those people are making lots of money using our image and they never return here to show us any photo or movie".

Other tribes are joining this video experience. The Kayapos' and Gaviões' successful actions in the 'white man's world' has shown to other tribes that it is possible to achieve a better life if they use a similar political strategy. The video work, among other actions, seems to be a good way of doing it.

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22. Documentary "Pemp", colour, 27 min.

23. Documentary "Pemp", colour, 27 min.
Four basic objectives are very important to the Indians:

1. The video work as a way of preserving their culture. So, it is very important that ceremonial life is recorded. Also, they were eager to document their own way of living.

2. The video works as an organizing tool. It is useful for exchanging information, and also for appealing for assemblies, whenever it is necessary, with other Indian groups.

3. Video could be used to record important events and the Indians leaders' actions in the 'World of the Whites', and then show it to their own group when they returned to the villages.

4. And, finally, in their own words: "We are going to learn to avoid the 'white man' coming here to film us".

4.3. VIDEO-MAKERS: A NEW WAY OF (HI)STORY-TELLING

Video In The Villages: A CTI Project

The CTI - Centre for Indigenous Work - is a non-governmental organization that supports the Indian's cause in Brazil. Located in São Paulo, they raise money from national and international organizations to develop several projects in the indigenous area. Nowadays, the CTI is one of the main supporters of the Indian's video work. In 1986, they started a project called 'Video in the Villages'.
According to Carelli (1987), their purpose is to help the indigenous community evolve a critical perspective on the process of domination they have been subjected to since their contact with the wider society, and to help them to bring about their utopia. Carelli also suggests that through the CTI participation in this project - where the Indian himself is the agent in the process of transformation - it will be possible to understand the models through which the Indians are elaborating and re-elaborating their vision of the world.

Since 1985, the CTI has been visiting several Indian groups showing videos about the indigenous reality in Brazil. At these meetings, the Indians also have the opportunity to handle the equipment, to record what they want, or at least to ask the CTI crew to record it. According to Gallois and Carelli "the Indians' encounter with their image has produced moments which are extremely lucid, informative and creative. During these moments they can review the image they have about themselves and bring the process of documentation to serve their own cultural projects. It is also evident that the cultural specificity and the historical moment in which each group lives, generates reactions, curiosity and distinct cultural projects" (Gallois and Carelli, 1992:2).

For example, in January 1990, the project 'Video in the Villages' initiated its activities among the Waiãpi. The CTI showed videos and some unedited material about other Indian groups (Nambiquara, Xavante, Kayapo, Gavião, Guarani, Enauenê Naue, Krahô, Parakanã, Zoró) and TV reportage about the Yanomami and Tupi. After this first experience, the CTI crew left the video unit (generator, tape recorder, TV set and tapes) in the village. A house was then specially built to install the
equipment. The CTI are still sending recorded material about Brazilian Indians to the village.

The 'TV house' became the central focus of the village. New houses were built surrounding it. Regular sessions now take place, and relatives from other villages visit them, especially when they receive new material.

These sessions, and the collective debate about Indian problems provoked by the videos, have resulted in improvements in their political statements, and a new rhetoric about 'how to talk to white men'. "This new rhetoric has been created from other Indians' bravura style, specifically from the Kayapos they have watched in the videos" (Gallois and Carelli, 1992:18).

The Kayapo Experience

According to 'Time' magazine "the Kayapo are the most politically astute among Brazil's 250,000 Indians because, in less than a decade, they had gained control over virgin reserves three times the size of Holland and, as a people who for millennia had lived in harmony with the forest, looked eminently qualified to guard a precious resource" (12 July, 1993 - pg. 42).

They are divided into 14 autonomous communities spread over the South-east of Pará, North of Tocantins and North of Mato Grosso. One of these communities, Gorotire, made peaceful contact with Brazilians 50 years ago; the majority of the others established peaceful relations during the 1950s.

The first couple of decades of peaceful co-existence with Brazilian society, brought the Kayapo the
same array of catastrophes suffered by other Amazonian peoples under the same circumstances. Epidemics eliminated a significant percentage of their population, large areas of their traditional lands were seized, either by the state or private agents, and they were reduced to dependence on representatives of the alien dominant society for a variety of medical, technological, and economic needs. At that time, following the first contact with Brazilians, the Kayapos experienced a deep self-devaluation over their ethnic identity. Like other Indian groups, they had started to look at themselves through a 'white man's eyes'. Hence, at that specific time they tried to look like 'white man' or at least to eliminate those fundamental signals characteristic of their identity: they discarded their 'batoques'\textsuperscript{24}, wore 'white man's' clothing and submitted themselves to surgical operations. Unlike some other Amazonian peoples, however, the Kayapo were able to maintain their traditional social institutions and ceremonial practices, and by the end of the 1960s they had begun to learn and take control of administrative, technological and medical functions within their own communities. Their population had also begun to increase. The extant communities have now reached the demographic level they had before the establishment of peaceful contact.

Improving their political and economic situation

The Kayapo from Gorotire decided, at the beginning of the 1980s., to regain their control of the gold trade. Supervised by the Kayapo warriors, the gold prospectors can now extract the gold and have to pay 12% to the Gorotire community - around 800 Kayapo live in

\textsuperscript{24} A small wood dish used in the lower lip.
Gorotire. The companies which buy the gold also pay 1% of the total to the Indians. Today, 11 out of 14 Kayapo villages deal with gold. As an example, in 1990 the Kayapos received 4 million dollars from the gold prospectors and the companies (PIB/CEDI, 1992).

They also sell wood, or more specifically mahogany, which represents a significant part of the Brazilian mahogany exports. It represented 69% in 1987, 61% in 1990 and 48% in 1991 of the Brazilian mahogany trade. Most of that mahogany was extracted from Gorotire, A'Ukre, Kikretum, Kokraimoro, e Kuben-Kran-Ken. They received 6 million dollars in 1990 from the mahogany trade (PIB/CEDI, 1992).

The Mayor of Redengao - a city near the Kayapo village - reported that they are responsible for 40% of the ICM (Goods Circulation Tax) in the State. They always travel by plane - they have 5 planes - and pay everything in cash.25

According to the anthropologist and video-maker Renato Pereira, the Kayapo know better than any other Indian group in Brazil how to articulate themselves as a 'pressure group'. They have expanded their articulation power extensively in the last 5 years. They did it on an internal level with the Government and the Brazilian media and, on an external level by increasing their partnership with the Body Shop, in England. They have also been on many trips around the world, talking about their problems.

25. Paiakan, Tutu Pombo and Kube-I - three of the most richest Kayapo leaders live in Redençao, a small city in the Para State, Northern Brazil. All their business is carried out through the Bank of Brazil in the city, and they also buy most of the supplies for their people in the city shops.
and about environmentalism. Some years ago, with the support of the British rock star Sting and the Rain Forest Foundation, the Kayapo leader Raoni travelled across Europe and the United States to raise money for the demarcation of a Kayapo area. Sting managed to collect one million dollars in donations. The new land demarcation started in July, 1992.

The Kayapos realised that one important point to reach their ends is to be recognised as 'real Indian'. The Brazilian population always consider there is a big difference between the Kayapo and other tribes that live in the rain forest and those Indians living near the cities. The Indian stereotype remains as the real Indian identity for most Brazilians (see audience research chapter). The Kayapo have managed to appear before 'white man's eyes' as being clearly Indians. They have marked these differences visually, using it as a political instrument.

They have also acquired the skills of attracting themselves to media attention through political acts. As an example, in 1984, the Txucarramãe (Megaron's group) kidnapped a gold prospector and a member of FUNAI and seized their boat, creating a strong political point, and appearing over a period of 14 days in the 'Jornal Nacional' - the most important television news in Brazil, which is broadcast at prime time by TV Globo. Also, during the Brazilian constitutional convention in 1988, the

26. In October 1988, the Kayapo leaders, Paiakan and Kube-I, went to the World Bank Headquarters in Washington to protest against the construction of the Xingu Hydroelectric dam on their land. They managed to postpone the financing until a study about the impact of the dam construction over the forest had been made.

27. Amount confirmed by Olimpio Serra, the manager of The Mata Virgem Foundation (Virgin Forest) the Brazilian twin of the New York City-based Rain Forest Foundation International.
Kayapo not only sent a delegation to lobby delegates debating the sections on indigenous rights, but video-recorded themselves doing it, and were duly photographed doing so by every news photographer covering the event. Furthermore, in February 1989, they staged a big event in Altamira (Para State) to discuss and protest against the construction of the Xingu Hydroelectric dam. Indigenous people from the U.S.A., Canada, Malaysia and several environmentalist groups from all over the world, were invited to participate in this international meeting.

Performing their ceremonials, songs and making political speeches, almost 1,000 natives from the 14 Indian nations that live in the Amazon Basin, opened the event before nearly 3,000 people: the Brazilian authorities, journalists, and environmentalist and the support groups for Indian's cause (O Globo, 21/02/89). The event lasted for 6 days. The Kayapo's video cameras at Altamira not only recorded the event but were themselves one of the events most recorded by journalists of the World Press and documentary crews.

The Video-Maker Status

I met Megaron and Raoni in Brasilia in 1992, during my field work. Megaron was working for FUNAI as Xingu National Park's administrator. Raoni was there trying to help some ill Kayapos who had contracted malaria and needed specialist treatment in the hospital.

Through the Fundação Mata Virgem (Rain Forest Foundation) I managed to have an appointment with Megaron at his office. For three days, I repeatedly explained to him and to other Indians, the objectives of my work. Basically, they wanted to know if there would be any
benefit to the Indians if they allowed me to stay with them. Finally, Megaron invited me to his flat to watch and discuss some Kayapo videos. Being a professional photographer was an advantage to me, because I could give some advice about camera and video techniques. Wayway and Puiu – two Kayapo Indians – were particularly interested in the discussions on techniques.

The person who handles the video equipment acquires a prestigious role within the community, since it is regarded as a culturally and politically important form of mediation of relations with Western society. It has been one way that people have been able to utilise their position to promote their political careers. For example, Megaron, although being the Xingu National Park's Administrator, is still using a video camera when he goes to the Xingu area, or to areas of conflict between Indians and gold prospectors, farmers or timber companies. Handling a camera among, or on behalf of his own people, places him on a different level of importance compared to other Indians. It shows knowledge and control of the 'white man's world' and it could make his leadership stronger. However, among 'white people', i.e., in the big cities like Brasilia and Sao Paulo, he never handles a camera. This job is always done by other young Indians. He is aware that his political importance as a Kayapo leader among the 'whites' goes beyond the mere exotic image of the cameraman.

On the other hand, Raony – one of the main Kayapo leaders, older than Megaron and also his uncle – never handles a camera, even among his own people. As the main leader in his village, he can even decide who will be a cameraman.

According to Turner,
"the act of shooting with a video camera can become an even more important mediator of their relations with the dominant Western culture than the video document itself. One of the most successful aspects of the series of dramatic Kayapo political demonstrations and encounters with the Brazilians (and other representatives of the Western World system such as the World Bank and Granada Television) has been the Kayapos' ostentatious use of their own video camera to record the same events being filmed by representatives of the national and international media, thus ensuring that their camerapersons would be one of the main attractions filmed by the other crews. The success of this ploy is attested by the number of pictures of Kayapo pointing video cameras that have appeared in the international press. The Kayapo, in short, quickly made the transition from seeing video as a means of recording events to seeing it as an event to be recorded" (Turner, 1992:8).

Personal experience of the Kayapo has also shown me that this is an important point, i.e., to be broadcast by national and international press, handling a camera may put them in the news headlines. However, this image as a 'curious novelty' may not last for long. As a novelty broadcast by media, it may turn out to be a banal fact after some time, i.e., not a fact that is newsworthy. Even so, during a National Conference about agriculture held in Brasilia in 1992, Megaron was invited to talk about the Kayapos agricultural experience, or more specifically about the use of fire to clean up tracts of land for planting crops inside the forest. He appeared in the conference room with a cameraman companion and a group of body-painted Kayapos led by Raony, one of the most well-known Kayapo leaders.
Megaron's talk turned out to be a political speech about environmentalism and indigenous commitment to nature. When he finished his talk, Raony and his group started a performance for the audience. Everything was recorded by the Kayapo cameraman and also by the press and television crews present at the conference. It was May 1992, two months before the Earth Summit, the international conference about environmentalism held in Rio de Janeiro. The same night, they appeared on the television news, and in the press news on the following day.

Megaron told me they want to show, by themselves, their problems, their struggle for the land, and their claims for self-determination. He is planning to promote their video works more widely. According to him, it can be done through some NGOs. (Non-Governmental Organizations), Unions, Universities and even through some Federal Institutions interested in Indian issues. The CTI (Centre for Indigenous Work) and CEDI (Ecumenical Centre for Documentation and Information) have already started an Indigenous Video Archive to promote and distribute the Indians' video work. Also, Paiakan - one of the most well known Kayapo leaders - started a video archive in Redenção, in the Kayapo Foundation.

The video work

Megaron's flat is located in a 'satellite city' on the outskirts of Brasilia. He invited me there to watch and discuss some Kayapo videos. At his home, I met a Kayapo group watching a movie: 'The First Blood' starring Silvester 'Rambo' Stallone.

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28. Brasilia is surrounded by cities (satellite cities) inhabited by workers and civil servants on small salaries.
The experience was full of significance. Firstly, they had no problem in understanding the basic plot, i.e. a Vietnam veteran looking for some old comrades in a small town in the United States is arrested by an authoritarian Marshall. He manages to escape and starts a big fight against the whole police department. During the movie session they frequently shouted to the police and tried to support the veteran soldier. They also demonstrated their sadness when the soldier gave up his fight and was arrested by the police.

Secondly, because they also see themselves as warriors they were sympathetic to the lone fighter and very angry with the police. One of them told me: "He (Rambo) is a great warrior. He is like all Kayapo warriors. We also have no fear of anything". Nevertheless Megaron added: "Yes, we can fight against some 'garimpeiros' (gold prospectors) and farmers to defend our land, but the most important point is to make the Brazilian people understand that the land belongs to us, and we have other rights that must be respected. That's why I always say that the video camera is a kind of weapon for us".

Even seeing themselves as great warriors, they are changing their way of fighting. They already know that ordinary weapons are no longer useful to reach their ends. To get support from the wider society for their cause, it is necessary to fight in another way. Using video seems to them to be one of the good ways of doing it; using mass media is another. As Turner points out, they want to use "their own video and Western telemedia to make their voices heard and to have the 'last word' about themselves if they can manage it" (Turner 1992:30)
And thirdly, watching movies on television they learn or at least get used to, a Western modality of film and this may influence them in their way of making movies.

As soon as they finished watching the movie, Megaron selected a video tape which had been shot by Waiwai, one of the Kayapos present at the meeting. He had just made a video record in the Xingu National Park area.

The meeting began with a discussion about Waiwai's video image quality, such as abrupt camera movements and blurred images. They were both critical about the mistakes and emphatic about Waiwai's poor skills with the video camera. A very common argument was: "This scene is terrible. Kinhiabieti can do it much better than you do. You are far from being a good camera man".

Although several Kayapo from different communities, like Kinhiabieti, have become expert video cameramen, getting access for editing or dubbing is not easy. They need to travel to São Paulo - around 3,000 km. from their home - to do it. Also, they do not have stable storage facilities in their villages which leads to rapid deterioration of videotapes.

Being aware of these problems, Terence Turner - an anthropologist from Chicago University - established in 1991, a Kayapo film archive at the video editing facility of the Ecumenical Centre for Documentation and Information (CEDI), in São Paulo. The establishment of this film archive became possible through a grant from the Spencer Foundation obtained by Turner. Nowadays, skilled personnel of CEDI and the Centre for Indigenous Work (CTI) are teaching editing skills to Kayapo video makers and working

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29. Kinhiabieti is a young Kayapo very good as a cameramen.
with them in a supportive capacity in the editing of their films.

During the video sessions at Megaron's flat I realised how strong is the criticism over an unskilful cameraman. This is, of course, the first basic step on technical criticism, but it also shows a concern about video technique. All Kayapos who always come to the cities and watch television get used to the way the 'white man' makes movies. When these leaders criticize any indigenous video, they are also criticizing it based on their own experience in watching movies and documentaries on regular television. They are also much more critical of those movies intended to be shown to a non-Indian audience. Hence, they are aware that a non-edited video could get some attention from a specific audience - like Indian's supporters - but it might not work for an ordinary audience. So, there is a difference between those videos which are made for Kayapo viewers and those which are made for outsiders.

The first Kayapo-edited videos were made for Kayapo viewers: there was no attempt at voice over, narration, or commentary, let alone translation, subtitles, credits, or written title or logo. Some other videos, however, such as the Gorotire video on environmental problems and community development projects, were made for the purpose of presenting Kayapo reality to non-Kayapo audiences.

The arrangements for distribution remain to be worked out with the Kayapo. Presumably, it will be coordinated through the Kayapo Video Archive. Meanwhile, interest in the Kayapo videos already seems to be growing in the international documentary video and film community. By special arrangement, the two videos of the naming
ceremonies were shown at the Festival of New Cinema in Montreal in October 1990, which devoted its program the following year to film and video of and by indigenous peoples. Copies of those documentaries and many others distributed by CTI—Centre for Indigenous Work—and CEDI—Documentation and Information Ecumenical Centre—have been acquired by several universities in Brazil; mainly by Departments of Mass Media, Anthropology and Sociology. The Visual Media Department of the Museum of the American Indian of New York has also acquired some copies.

The Tikunas Experience

The Tikunas30 are the biggest Indian group in Brazil. According to CEDI—Documentation and Information Ecumenical Centre—theyir population is 19,982 individuals, spread over 65 villages in 14 officially recognised areas. Those areas occupy 982,003 hectares along the river. They have been in contact with the white man since the XVII century.

The religious missions—the Spanish Jesuits at the beginning and Portuguese Carmelites after 1710—promoted the catechism among several indigenous tribes in the region. They created 'missions' and put together Omagua, Tikuna, Cocama, Cayuvicena and other indigenous people in villages which now form current districts (São Paulo de Olivença, Santo Antonio do Içá, Amaturá, Fonte Boa, etc.). The Indians' contact with the outside world was controlled by a Religious Order Superior Priest, the mission manager. Furthermore, the Indian's behaviour and

30. People who live along the Solimões bank river, in Amazon State, near the Brazilian border with Peru and Colombia
beliefs were controlled by an Indian chief, chosen by the priests.

This situation remained until 1757, when the 'Diretórios de Indios' was created. The missionaries role was discarded and the secular power was given to the civil authorities. The 'missions' were transformed into villages and new white settlers appeared to take advantage of indigenous workmanship. The Indian's director - a civil servant appointed by the Province President - was supposed to distribute the indigenous workmanship among the settlers.

After the military coup (1964), the Amazon Basin and its borders became regions characterised as 'national security areas'. The military garrison in Tabatinga (Alto Solimões) had its transport and communication systems updated, its contingent increased in both number and officers' rank and they started to develop many urban assistance services (hospital, emergency service and education). In addition, the regulations regarding national security areas, transferred to the garrison commander the role of presiding over any civil issue in the region.

The Tikunas organize themselves

The leadership among the Tikunas has for a long time been represented by the 'Capitão da Aldeia' (Village Captain) but his authority was limited to his own village. Realising that any political action has no effect when it is approached on an individual basis, the Tikunas have started a process of intense political mobilisation. During a two year period, the village's leadership discussed and consolidated viewpoints and strategies,
establishing criteria and ways of behaviour that resulted, at the end of 1982, in the creation of the 'Conselho Geral da Tribo Tikuna' (General Council of Tikuna's Tribe). The General Council has facilitated the co-ordination of a general political strategy and also the direction of the group's claims without any interference in the internal political structure of the villages. The Council leader is called 'Capitão Geral' and his role is almost similar to a Foreign Affairs Minister, with the only function of directing and going along with general issues related to Tikuna's people among the Civil Society and the State.

Better organized, the Tikunas started looking for new ways to improve their actions inside and outside their land. Thus, they created, in 1986, with help from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, a documentation and research centre called 'Magüta - Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa do Alto Solimões'. They intend to promote, support and direct studies on indigenous people's culture and history in the Alto Solimões and especially on the Tikuna's Group.

The centre is localised at Benjamin Constant - a small town at Solimões River bank - and it has a small museum with crafts, tools and Tikuna's history. They have also acquired five radios and placed four of them in various strategic villages in order to speed up their communication.

The work has already produced a bilingual book, to be used by Tikuna's teacher at the schools, called Torü duü'ügü (Our People). They also create a teachers organization: OGPTB (General Organization of Tikunas Bilingual Teachers. Basically, their aims are:

1) To improve the Tikuna's educational system;
Chapter 4 Indigenous Video...

2) To provide an incentive for teachers' participation in educational processes such as preparing didactic material related to their own culture and their present interest, including the use and importance of the Tikuna language;

3) To increase the Tikuna's responsibility regarding their own education.

On being interviewed, a teacher said: "the Torü duü'ügu course is really important to us. It respects our habits, our culture, our way of thinking and living and, most importantly, it is taught in the Indian villages instead of Benjamin Constant".

In another interview, Constantino Lopes (Cupeatüćü)\(^{31}\), a Tikuna teacher responsible for the museum said:

"The Magüta Museum will revive the Tikuna's culture that many people have already forgotten, specifically those groups who live in villages near the city. Its importance will be enormous. It will be like another memory to Tikunas. A way of preserving a culture that existed 200 years ago, like the use of 'zarabatana' and 'curare'\(^{32}\), because it is still important to know about it, even in the present day.

I'm talking to our people, I'm explaining about the museum. I'm also recording stories and music to show to visitors. For the time being our people do not understand very well what a museum means, but after a while, when all Tikunas have seen it and

\(^{31}\) They use their Portuguese name when they are among the white men and their Indian name when they are among their own people.

\(^{32}\) The dart and the poison used by Indians.
understood it, its importance will become more significant. They will realise that those things are really important to us.

On the other hand, I'm sure this museum is also very important to the white people. I'm saying this because they don't know anything about us. They don't know us properly; they don't know we have a culture. They always say we are no longer Indians but they are quite wrong because they don't know anything about our tradition, like our dances, rituals, music, art and history - the history of our people, the history of our beginnings, how our people have appeared in this land and the way we are living now. The museum will show everything, then the white man will look at our work and will change his perception of us. He will realise we have our art and in doing so, he will realise that everything has a meaning, a history.

That's my way of thinking.

( Constantino Lopes, Cupeatücü)

According to Jussara Gruber33, being an ethnographic museum, it will provide an outlet for direct and active participation by Indians in its many events. It will be also a dynamic and a living space of production, and preservation and a way of sharing and divulging their knowledge.

The Video Project

The creation of Magüta Centre has facilitated new ways of political action among the Tikuna - using video is one of them.

33. Jussara Gruber is linked to the National Museum and Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. She helped to create the Magüta Centre and the Museum.
Chapter 4 Indigenous Video

The Tikunas started to experience the video work in 1988, through a course given by Renato Pereira (movie-maker and anthropologist) at Magüta Centre, in Benjamin Constant. Six Indians from different areas were chosen to learn how to handle the equipment. They were taught how to use the camera, how to prepare a script, to take care of the equipment and, in some cases about light and editing. Their first movie, made under Renato Pereira's guidance, was called Torü Cúa (Our Wisdom) and it focused on the Tikunas' educational issues.

The Tikuna's video project had, at the beginning the purpose of documenting the group, i.e., meetings, trips, courses, rites, etc. and, also to project audio visual materials about the Tikunas and other Indian groups in the villages. Due to a slaughter perpetrated by farmers in 1988 (March) - which resulted in 14 Indians killed, 23 wounded and 10 people disappeared - they have widened their initial proposition.

A political documentary about the slaughter became a priority at that specific time. Using the survivors' testimonies, images from the crime area and speeches made by their leaders, they managed to create a strong audio visual work.

Travelling to big cities, like São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia, giving conferences and showing the video, they have started to appear on the news. National and international organizations like CEDI, CIMI and Survival International initiated a movement to pressure the Congress to support their claims. So, the Brazilian President - José Sarney - and the FUNAI President - José Romero Jucá - decided to meet them and to talk about their problems (A Notícia, 05/04/88).
After their meeting with the President, they were sent to the Minister of Justice - Paulo Brossard. A document with a list of the dead and wounded people was handed over to the Minister and the encounter was recorded on videotape by the Indians. The Minister promised to punish the killers (O Globo, 06/04/88).

In the following year, 11 people were accused of murder. The Indians are still waiting for the trial. According to Pedro Inácio (Tikuna's Captain General), "the farmers' power is very strong and, in addition, Brazilian judicial bureaucracy is too slow".

Although not able to achieve their main goal with this video, i.e. having the murderers on trial, they realised the importance of using it to talk about their problems, to better show their troubles to outsiders, and to increase their recognition as 'real Indians'.

Pedro Inácio said: "video is like a mirror to me. It is good watching ourselves on television and to realise we are still being Indians. We must be proud about that. For many years we have tried to be like 'white man', but now it is over. We are Indians, and I want to keep this land and everything it has for our sons and grandsons. We need this land and we need to be recognised as Indians; a people that have their own culture and their own way of life. But, we have also to know about the white man's world'. It is necessary to survive. The video can help us very much with this".

He told me that he has been invited to go to Brussels to make a speech before the European Community about the Tikunas' problems. So, using video could make his job easier, plus, even using the English or French
languages for the narration voice. The CTI prepare the translation and insert it on video for them.

Despite encountering many problems in establishing a good video archive at the Magüta Centre, because the temperature and humidity in the region are so high that they easily damage the cameras and ruin the tapes, they want to improve their video work. Visiting the Centre in May, 1992, I faced a complete disaster; every tape needed to be restored and recopied - they have already been damaged by mildew and overuse. On the other hand, the CTI, CEDI and Museu Nacional are aware of these problems, and keep the originals in their own archives then send them copies whenever the Tikunas need new ones. The CTI was already preparing new copies to be shown in Brussels by Pedro Inácio.

4.4. FURTHER DIMENSIONS OF THE INDIGENOUS USE OF MEDIA

Two examples of Indigenous use of the media are worth reporting separately. Both of them are related to self-determination, resistance and, of course, a new way of internal and external communication.

The first example, is the Nambiquara experience of using video, which has affected them in a way unexpected by the CTI crew34.

The CTI group went, in 1986, to the Nambiquara tribe to record a Puberty Ritual. They spent a whole day recording everything the chief asked them to do. After several hours recording, somebody remembered the Piercing

Ritual. Since their contact with the white man, twenty years before, the new generation had stopped doing what used to be their main characteristic - the use of a feather in their pierced nose and lips. Suddenly, they decided to perform the ritual again, in front of the camera.

Also, after watching the Puberty Rite on the television, they decided to take off their clothes, and perform the ritual again. (See the video analysis in the next chapter).

The second example is related to the Kayapo group. As previously mentioned, becoming a video camera man, and even more importantly, a video editor among the indigenous group, has created a prestigious role within the community. The act of shooting or carrying a video camera, can sometimes become an even more important mediator of their relations with the dominant Western culture than the video document itself.

The Kayapo's use of their own video cameras to record the same events being filmed by representatives of the national and international media, make their camera men the main attraction filmed by other crews. The success of this stratagem is attested to by the number of pictures of Kayapo pointing video cameras that have appeared in the international press.

The best example is the Altamira Encounter. In 1989, the Kayapo leaders started a mobilisation to stop the construction of a hydroelectric dam on the Xingu river that would have flooded Kayapo land. To better explain to their own people what a big dam does to a river, and the land around it, they made a tour of the huge dam at Tucurui. They brought their own video camera to record for
the people back in the villages. They also invited 'Granada Television' - whose crew was doing a documentary about the Kayapo - to accompany a delegation of 30 Kayapo leaders to inspect the hydroelectric at Tucurui.

'Altamira' was a great opportunity to represent themselves, their society and their cause to the world. According to Turner it was planned with a view to its appearance on film and video media. "The inter-tribal meeting in Altamira (...) was planned from the outset as a demonstration of Kayapo culture and of political solidarity among the different Kayapo villages and non-Kayapo native peoples, that would lend itself to representation by informational media, above all film, video, and television" (Turner, 1991:34).

The Kayapo leaders felt that the impact on Brazilians and world public opinion, via the media, would be more important then their dialogue with Brazilian officials. At the same time, they realised that producing a huge event would bring large numbers of journalists, and their presence could push the Brazilian Government to send representatives to the meeting. In addition, the mass audience would prevent violence against the indigenous participants. As Turner points out, in the event, they were proved correct in all these points. Their cameras not only recorded the event but were themselves one of the events most recorded by photojournalists and documentary crews (ibid.: 36).

4.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has shown that video production is a new way for internal and external communication, for self-determination, and for resistance to outside cultural
domination. Although its existence is still politically and economically fragile among most of the Indian groups, it seems that some successful actions acquired by the Gaviões, Tikunas and mainly by the Kayapos, are pushing other tribes along the same path. Other tribes are learning this new behaviour through the video work. The Gaviões and Kayapos have proved that video work is very important and useful inside and outside their tribes.

As Ginsburg rightly points out, "when other forms are no longer effective, indigenous media offers a possible means - social, cultural, and political - for reproducing and transforming cultural identity among people who have experienced massive political, geographic, and economic disruption. The capabilities of media to transcend boundaries of time, space, and even language are being used effectively to mediate, literally, historically produced social ruptures and to help construct identities that link past and present in ways appropriate to contemporary conditions" (Ginsburg, 1991:94).
5.1. PICTURING REALITY: SEEING IS BELIEVING

The task of this chapter is to present and analyse the documentaries shown and discussed in audience research. The purpose here is to understand how the 'voice\(^{35}\) of the text' is positioned vis-à-vis the 'Indigenous Issue' it intends to depict.

Nowadays, most media studies scholars agree that despite appearances, television or documentary films do not represent a piece of reality, but rather produce or construct it. Everything depicted by the screen is, in reality, a product of discourse - an ideological

\(^{35}\) Nichols defined "voice" as: "that which conveys to us a sense of the text's social point of view, of how it is speaking to us and how it is organizing the materials it is presenting to us ... that intangible, moiré-like pattern formed by the unique interaction of all a film's code" (Nichols, 1983:50).
discourse. They also argue that the trust invested in the image is responsible for the greater degree of trust in television news, i.e. the still and moving images are rhetorical devices that, on the basis of seeing is believing - the camera cannot lie - sustain and authenticate the verbal narrative. "The effectivity of this ideology is enhanced by the iconicity of television by which the medium purports to situate its truth claim in the objectivity of real, and thus to disguise the fact that any 'truth' that it produces is that of ideology, not reality" (Fiske, 1991:78).

As the indexical nature of the cinematic sign is a common feature of both documentary films and television news, they actually share most of those rhetorical devices. Nichols argues that "the cinematic sign system provides a powerful inducement to awe, to the sense of being spellbound, so much so that it is easy to forget completely that we are dealing with a sign system rather than a direct, unmediated duplication of reality. A proposition like 'what you see is what there was' invites us to believe that our access to the pro-filmic event is complete and unmediated" (Nichols, 1981:57).

However, these documentaries are rhetorical devices produced with a clear political purpose, i.e. to change or improve Brazilians' and/or foreign peoples' political and cultural viewpoint on the Brazilian indigenous issue.

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36 One fundamental expectation of documentary is that its sounds and images bear an indexical relation to the historical world. As viewers we expect that what occurred in front of the camera has undergone little or no modification in order to be recorded on film and magnetic tape. We are wont to assume that what we see would have occurred in essentially the same manner if the camera and tape recorder had not been there (Nichols, 1991).
As in Corner, Richardson and Fenton (1989) the following analytic accounts of the four documentaries are partly descriptive and partly analytical. The analysis is organized under three headings: communicative design, thematic development, and visualisation.

In the **communicative design** topic I shall be pointing out how the audience is addressed by the documentary itself.

In the **thematic development** topic I shall be emphasising which aspects of the Indigenous issue are foregrounded and how they are treated.

In the **visualisation** topic I shall be talking about the contribution of visual images to the videos, since here visual material makes a strong contribution to the overall meanings.

**THE DOCUMENTARIES.**

Over the past nine years indigenous groups have been presenting documentary evidence of their struggle for cultural and physical survival. They have been able - with support from different organizations or institutions - to produce a large amount of raw material to be seen across their villages. They have also produced with the CTI's help, eleven\(^ {37} \) 'edited' documentaries from which four samples were chosen:

*Video in the Villages*, produced at the beginning of 1989, introduces the audience to this new medium among Indian tribes. It was produced by the CTI (Centre for Indian Works) as part of a project to support the

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\(^{37}\) Until 1992
indigenous people in having access to this new form of communication.

*Nambiquara, the Puberty Rite*, produced in 1987, addresses the issue of rites and ceremonials that have been forgotten or performed in a different way by the Nambiquara people.

*Pemp, the Gaviões*, produced in 1988, depicts this tribe's culture, struggles and victories in the Northern part of Brazil.

*The Spirit of TV*, produced at the end of 1990, shows the Waiapi group watching the Indian's documentaries and the [videos] impact on them.

### 5.2. VIDEO IN THE VILLAGES

The documentary 'Video in the Villages' is produced from several reels of footage, which had been taken of different Indian tribes by the CTI crew and indigenous cameramen. Its purposes are both to influence other tribes in this kind of work and to present the indigenous video work to outsiders in order to get financial and political support. This it does by emphasising its importance through the use of several Indians' testimony and comments, and by the extensive use of sound and images about their rituals, body painting and/or adornments.

As its title suggests, the documentary focuses on how the Indians started the video work and why they should carry on doing it.
Chapter 5  Picturing Cultural Identity

COMMUNICATIVE DESIGN

The documentary starts in a 'video-clip' style with Indian faces appearing in a quick sequence supported by indigenous music in the background.

Here, the video work is shown as a significant way of helping the Indians in their struggle for cultural and physical survival. The commentator, in his voice-over, starts by saying that:

"For the last two years the project 'Video in the Villages' has worked to bring the Indians together with their own image. While visiting groups that have been receiving economic, legal or political assistance from the Centre of Indian Works, the video crew has tried to meet the request of these communities. The crew has recorded important ceremonies in advance, taking the images to other tribes, initiating the young people in the use of the camera and have offered facilities to those Indians already utilising the video enabling them to edit and exchange their works".

Brief portrayals of different Indians looking at a television documentary and using video cameras and tape-recorders, suggest they enjoy this knowledge and technology. Nevertheless, the video rhetoric affirms that it is possible to adapt these changes to fit into their own culture:

"In the last decade the use of the tape recorders has become increasingly widespread among the Indians. Aiming at the reproduction of the old tradition, speeches, prayers and music".

The documentary reinforces this viewpoint by interviews with the leaders of well-known tribes in Brazil describing the use of new media technology (video and tape recorder) which has been used in their search for missing
'roots' (songs, rituals and ceremonies), and as a political arm:

"The Tikunas's Council of Leaders feels that video has an essential political function. They document a crusade to the capitals of the country with the purpose of obtaining a demarcation of their reservation and to denounce the massacre of which they were victims".

Megaron, one of the main Kayapo leaders is interviewed for the documentary and says:

"The video in the hands of the community for recording what is happening will be a weapon for the community; a weapon to defend itself".

Kokrenum, the Gavioes leader explains his experience with the video camera:

"Let's see if the community will record this film to remember for all time... if anyone is interested in singing like me, he watches the TV and says: I know what to do... I look at TV and I do it".

The statements here are indicative of the highly explicit and emphatic expositional spine given to the documentary. The interviews, the extensive use of beautiful images and indigenous song, places the documentary in the 'expository' mode of representation (see Nichols, 1991). The documentary addresses the viewer directly through a 'voice of God' commentary, and doing so, it reinforces the film maker's political purpose.

THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT

The documentary constructs a propositional account in justification of the hypothesis that video work
can help the Indians to keep their cultural identity alive. The narrative suggests that the video work will enable acculturated groups to recover their 'past and forgotten' rituals and ceremonies.

The documentary also argues that the videos will show different cultures from one tribe to the other, and in doing so, it will be easier to get those different groups united and stronger in their struggle against the wider society. This reasoning is made explicit all over the video narrative.

The key themes which the documentary treats are:

- **Video as a catalytic process**

Here, the Nambiquara's and Gavioes' experiences are seen as the best examples. The commentator says about the Nambiquara's 'piercing rite:

"We never would have imagined, that the video could be a catalyst for such an unexpected decision such as the nose piercing ceremony, a custom that had been unpractised for nearly twenty years".

Regarding the Gaviões Group, the commentator says:

"Television that has had such an influence on the youth, has also worked in their favour. Their youth now participate in the project and document community works and important gatherings".

- **Video as a weapon to face the government officials**

The documentary shows that the Indians started using tape recorders, but they realised that the use of a video camera - whenever they have a meeting with politicians or government officials - would make their
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report on the way back to the tribe more complete. In addition, they will have registered both, the politicians' voice and face for future proof about their promises. The commentator says:

"The tape recorder has come to be an important arm in the Indian's interaction with government officials recording promises made by authorities. Today the video has been integrated with even greater enthusiasm and besides having just words it can document facts and reveal the face who make the promises".

**Video as political tool**

In spite of showing other tribes using video as a political instrument, the documentary shows that the Kayapo group is the tribe which makes the most use of the video:

"Leading the mobilisation of the Indians in the country, they document everything ...the permanent lobby group in the Constitutional Assembly ...the protest in Belem against the judicial protest that threaten their leaders, and now, the movement against the construction of the hydroelectric dam in Xingu".

In addition, the documentary constructs an account where the Indians are depicted as severely traumatised by their contact with the white man. Diseases, and loss of customs and traditions, are part of the same tragedy. To overcome this situation, they should work endlessly to pass on the traditions to the tribe's youth. The first and main step to survive is the recovering of their cultural identity.
VISUALISATION.

It is the images themselves that capture our attention most. The exuberance of exotic and beautiful faces, and painted indigenous bodies full of adornments, establishes a strong contrast with those acculturated faces and indigenous bodies covered with white man's clothing. The image's insistence on the dual presence of the event - the act of its registration and the instant of the history captured - becomes the substance of documentary.

The format of the documentary allows considerable scope for evoking feelings of idealism, i.e., 'the noble savage' must have a place and proper conditions to survive the encroachment of modern civilisation. The documentary also suggests that even the acculturated Indian still has this 'noble savage soul', hidden deep inside, and they should be allowed to recover their past way of life and to exist as an authentic Indian group.

Kayapo Village  Young camera man
5.3. PEMP - The Gaviões

The Parakateye Indian Community is more commonly known as the Gaviões from the Mãe Maria Reservation. Their community is located in the South of Pará, near the margin of the Araguaia and Tocantins Rivers.
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Situated 30 km away from the city of Marabá, the reservation is placed in the middle of the greatest area of development in the eastern Amazon. In the last 20 years, there has been a great concentration of governmental projects, such as the Transamazonic railways, the Tucurui Hydroelectric Power Station and the Carajás Mine railroad.

Contrary to the experience of many Brazilian Indian groups, the Gaviões were able to put up a resistance to the spread of capitalism in the area. They were able to defende their political autonomy, their territory and their culture. This documentary reports their victory.

COMMUNICATIVE DESIGN

Pemp - like the documentary 'Video in the Villages' described earlier - uses the 'expository mode of representation' to address the viewer. The narrative which forms the basis of the communicative design seeks to involve the viewer directly with the problem of being an Indian in a country where, for many years, there has been no respect for their culture, their land, or any other Indian rights. The commentator says at the beginning:

"For those who see the prosperity of the village today, it is difficult to imagine that during the first year of contact with the white man, the Gaviões nearly vanished."
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THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT.

The documentary (re)presents the Gaviões tribe's (hi)story in the last four decades. It shows (a) a scenario where the Indians are almost annihilated by diseases resulting from their contact with the white man; (b) their recovery and victory in the struggle for land property; (c) their re-creation of rites and ceremonials in order to recover their Indian cultural identity, to have it assumed by their own people, and recognized by outsiders.

The first contact and the tragedy

The documentary develop this theme through the use of still pictures taken at the time of the contact between the Indians and the white man and also through interviews given by survivors of that time. Over the pictures of dying Indians the commentator says:

"In 1957, after 15 years of fleeting encounters with government attraction post, the Gaviões group, led by Kokrenum, decided to establish peaceful contact with the white man. The contact resulted in tragedy. So many Indians died from influenza, measles and malaria that the leader Kokrenum believed that his people were doomed".

A survivor reporting those past events reinforces the evidence of that tragedy. The integrity of the interviewee (he is a 'real' Indian) is a cumulative force of evidence which gives sufficient support to the narrative.

"Everyone was really sick and skinny ... no one could endure it. I too was getting thin. I thought things were getting better ... but they weren't. The people were already dying. There was no medicine to cure us. They were falling. Dying. We couldn't even bury the dead. So
corpses were thrown into the forest. Only the vultures benefited from them. Dogs were eating dead people. I said to myself, now the Indians are really finished”.

Recovery and victories

The documentary is still addressing the viewer in the same way. Through a voice, over images of Indians and locals working with chestnuts, the commentator says:

"For many years the chestnuts of Para were harvested by the Indians Protection Service (SPI) and later by FUNAI who utilised the Indians and locals as their labour forces".

"When they took over the ownership of chestnut growth, the Gavioes kicked the FUNAI employees out of the reservation and under the command and inspiration of the chief Kockrenun, they recovered complete control of the land, their business dealing and their lives. Kockrenun managed to unite three traditional rival groups, and he was also able to provide the economic stability needed for the physical survival of the Gavioes".

The issue posed by the commentator acts as an introduction to the Kokrenum's speech. As the leader of the Gaviões, his speech is a political one:

"I worked, I gathered chestnuts and handed them over. Afterwards I saw nothing. Why was that? They're taking the chestnut away and they're not paying right. Who works in the jungle, suffers in the jungle? ...but in the end it's you (FUNAI\textsuperscript{38}) who keep everything. I've put up with you for nine years but won't do so any longer. From now on I won't work for FUNAI".

\textsuperscript{38} Federal Bureau for Indians Affair. It replaced the Service for Indians Protection (SPI).
Kokrenum's speech supports the documentary narrative, which is testimony of a difficult but possible victory against the white man. Getting united and fighting for their rights, could lead them to a better life. The negotiation with governmental companies which wanted to cross their land is sufficient evidence to support this testimony:

"When the hydroelectric dam was built, Eletronorte\textsuperscript{39} intended to install electric powerlines bordering the railway that cut through the M\u00e3e Maria Reservation. FUNAI wanted the Gavi\u00f3es to accept three million cruzeiros as indemnity. After an embargo of the works for several months, the Gavi\u00f3es demanded, in 1980, a payment of forty seven million cruzeiros. With this money, Kokrenum built a circular village with houses made of brick. In this village he was able to reunite all the Gavi\u00f3es. In 1984, the State Company of Vale do Rio Doce, responsible for the mineral exploration of Carajas, built a railroad linking the mine to the port of export, crossing the Gavi\u00f3es territory once again. To allow this, Kokrenum negotiated one million dollars. The community lives on the interest of this money".

**The recreation of rites**

As already stated in the first chapter, the invention of tradition is an example of a narrative strategy that gives meaning to cultural identity. The documentary shows the Gavi\u00f3es working to restore their ceremonies, i.e. re-creating rituals. The commentator says about the Gavi\u00f3es leader:

"Nowadays he is working on his most precious project: the preservation of the ceremonies, and the recovering of some rites he calls 'plays'. An

\textsuperscript{39} Governmental Electricity Company.
exceptional singer, Kokrenun is the main depository of his people's traditions. His obsession is to leave as many ceremonies and plays as possible for future generations, and this is his legacy.

Kokrenun, reinforces this, arguing that:

"Why did we invent these ceremonies? Why have we preserved them until today? Who is preserving them for us? We ...ourselves, are. We were almost finished. Our community almost vanished. I want to do this ceremony right, so everyone can learn. We don't have any old people left today to tell us the right way to do things. There is only myself. I witnessed part of it, so I can explain a little".

**VISUALISATION**

At the beginning, we can see and hear about their sickness and their losses. The use of still pictures - in black and white - showing the Indians faces and bodies, covered by diseases, is denotative of the enormous tragedy faced by the Gaviões.

On the other hand, those pictures became connotative of the Indian people's strength in surviving and finding their own way of living, as the narrative leads us through a sequence of facts that ends with the tribe's recovery of land, identity and self-esteem.

Although, the visual imagery is focusing on the Indian's stereotype, the images constitute evidence of the Indians' world; and the evidence is the material basis for the argument. In addition, "the indexical bond of photochemical and electronic images to that which they represent ... provides endless fascination and a seemingly irrefutable guarantee of authenticity ... the images gains
a historical authenticity regardless of the historical status of what it represents" (Nichols, 1991:149):
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5.4. THE SPIRIT OF TV

This documentary is recorded among the Wayapi group whose members were first contacted in 1973 during the construction of the Perimetral Norte road in the state of Amapa. Unlike the Gaviões and Nambiquaras they did not forget their language or lose their customs. At the time this documentary was made, the great majority of their members did not speak Portuguese and they have never experienced watching television.

COMMUNICATIVE DESIGN

Again, the video makers use the expository mode to address the viewer. Here, the narrative - as in 'Video in the Villages' - is an endorsement of the use of video technology to help the Indians in their struggle for survival. However, this documentary does not use - as in the other videos analysed here - a voice-over, to guide the narrative. It directly addresses the viewer through
the Indians' voices - the Indians talk to the camera. The images serve as illustration.

The whole film is an extensive interview given by the Wayapi people. The documentary shows their impression of the use of video to register the Indian's life. Even though they discuss the video work, the main topic of their conversation is those other Indians they saw in the documentaries.

**THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT**

This documentary deals with two key themes: (a) the video work as a useful tool to exchange information among Indian tribes and (b) the indigenous life:

- **Exchanging information**

  As in 'Video in the Villages' this documentary also tries to construct a propositional account in justification of the hypothesis that video work can help the Indians to maintain their cultural identity. This argument is reinforced by a statement made by the Wayapi chief at the beginning of the documentary:

  "Now, with television it's easy. We can record pictures of everyone and then watch, ...television brings us the person and what he says. If you don't record pictures on TV, nothing will remain. We have to record pictures of all of us. That's how I got to know all the Kayapo. It's good to meet others through television".

  However, what was just an intention reported in the Video in the Villages' documentary, is shown here as a fact, i.e. a real experience of showing different cultures from one tribe to the other is the basic theme underlying
the whole narrative. Learning from other tribes' experience is apparent in this documentary. Comparing the Gavioes' problems with FUNAI and squatters, they say:

"They were like us, they didn't know how to negotiate".

"Here too the government agents used to say they would sell our produce but at the time of payment they fooled us".

"They are all the same: Federal agents, gold miners, trappers, timber workers ... they all answer to the same boss".

A clearer use of video work as an important tool to exchange information is also apparent when the Wayapi - watching Indian groups they have never seen before - find themselves living in the middle of a big Indian nation. They realise they exist as an indigenous group far beyond their land borders. Looking at those different groups they say:

"These Kayapo are different. We don't understand their language".

"But we like to hear the Guarani and know that we have relatives over there. We're very happy, now I understand what they say, they're relatives".

"I've seen the Kayapo. They have the same skin. Just the lips are different".

"The Nambiquara were born from the trumpeter bird. That's why they like to pierce their noses. They are offspring of the Wayapi, that's why they're not aggressive. The Wayapi raised all the Indians. We raised the Brazilians and the French too. But why did we raise them to kill us"?
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The domestic indigenous life

Even though the documentary narrative focuses mainly on interviews about the video experience, the visual imagery deals explicitly and directly with the theme of indigenous life. As the documentary narrative unfolds, the film is able to put as 'evidence' a 'real Indian's life' in the forest. We are offered access to the Indians' world. Though our entry to their world is through webs of signification like language, cultural practices, social rituals, our relation to their world is also direct and immediate.

VISUALISATION

Unlike those other documentaries analysed here, The Spirit of TV deals with the Waiapis' everyday life. Footage of routine daily life is inserted amid the interviews. Children playing in the river, men and women working, fishing, eating and drinking are the main ingredient for the viewer. In addition, the language spoken is - unlike the other videos - a native Indian language. Subtitles in Portuguese translate what they are saying. There is no doubt that the 'threatened innocence' depicted is a powerful emotional appeal to the viewer.
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5.5. NAMBIQUARA: THE GIRLS' INITIATION CEREMONY

The Nambiquara people live in the Guapore River Valley near Brazil's border with Bolivia. At the beginning of this century there were more than 10 thousand Indians. Today, slightly more than 600 hundred people are spread across 20 villages. The contact with the white man reduced their population and their territory. A major part of their forest has given way to pasture and cattle,
surrounded by barbed wire, and transformed into farms for the white man.

However, in the last decade, the Nambiquara people managed to recover part of their losses. They regained control of most of their land, and, in addition, their population started to rise again. Bit by bit they are recovering their rites and traditions, i.e. they are re-creating their cultural identity. This documentary informs us of these events.

COMMUNICATIVE DESIGN

As in all other documentaries depicted here, the 'Nambiquara' also use the 'expository mode' to address the viewer.

Using this classical style the Indian's problems are represented, by 'voicing' them, and also accessing spokespersons who give them authentic expression. As in all other videos analysed here, Indians are interviewed in order to support the commentator's argument.

The documentary subsequently shows some central points about Indians in Brazil today, i.e. the problem with the land and the recovery of their cultural identity.

THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT

The 'NAMBIQUARA' documentary repeats exactly the same thematic narrative seen in 'PEMP: THE GAVIOES'. Here, also, it constructs an account showing that the Indians were severely traumatised by the contact with the white man, i.e. the discourse affirms that the Nambiquara people
faced the same tragedy lived by other Indian groups in Brazil, but they were able to overcome that situation.

The documentary presents the Nambiquara tribe's (hi)story since 1960. It shows (a) the Indians' problems are due to their contact with the white man; (b) their recovery of most of their land; and (c) their re-creation of rites and ceremonials. As with other tribes in Brazil, they are trying to get their cultural identity recovered and assumed by their own people, and recognised by outsiders.

**The first contact and losses**

Here, the commentator explains Capitao Pedro's talk - one of the Nambiquara Chiefs - which summarises very well the problem for the Indian people in Brazil:

"Capitao Pedro tells about their struggle. He says that in the 60s, they were given gifts - mainly sugar - and they were to give 'a helping hand' on the white man's farms. After some time working for the farmers, they were thrown out of their land. The farmers said that the land belonged to them. They accepted being transferred to another place, a very dry and bad place, because the FUNAI's officials convinced them the farmers would come to kill everybody in the tribe".

**Recovering the land**

The documentary here depicts the central point of the Indians problems: land. However, unlike other groups in Brazil, they managed to get their land back. Instead of a pessimistic point of view, the documentary shows that it is possible for the Indians, if they fight properly, to recover at least part of their land. The commentator resumes their fight:
"In the 80s, they got fed up and angry with FUNAI and the farmers, and decided to occupy their territory again. This time, they managed to throw the farmers out of their land. Today, the reserve is officially recognised by the government".

**Identity recovering**

The documentary shows that the recovering of past traditions is Capitao Pedro's main concern. According to him, young women are dying because they have stopped performing the 'girls' initiation ceremony'. However, watching the documentary about their ceremony, they realised their problems were bigger than they thought. Again the commentator explains:

"The confrontation of the self-image with that image produced by video always leads to a reflection on one's own identity. The Nambiquara, for example, after watching the recording of their celebration became disappointed with the lack of ornaments and paint, and the excess of clothing. We've been asked to perform a second ritual. This time with all the formal austerity".

And regarding the piercing ceremony, a rite unpractised for nearly twenty years, one Indian says to another, in order to convince him to participate in the ritual:

"Without such nose, lip and ear adornments you won't be able to prove you're an Indian".

**VISUALISATION**

The contrast between the Indians dressed like 'whites' in the first ceremonial, and the 'real Indians' in the second, strongly supports the narrative discourse.
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The images of the piercing ceremony also reinforces the narrative, through dramatic close ups of the young Indian faces during the process.

The first ritual. Dressed like white people.

Taking off their clothing

The 'Piercing Ceremony
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5.6. SENSITIZING CONSTRUCTS

The videos are approached here by focusing on sensitizing constructs. They may point out the means by which these constructs create ethnic culture and identity and reinforce their commonality.

The study of the native Indians' video work is approached here by focusing on sensitizing constructs that point out the means by which they create ethnic culture and identity and reinforce their commonality. These constructs tell us where to look in the documentaries and audience responses without telling us what might be found.

The sensitizing constructs are:

* core symbols
* life histories
* imagined community of resistance
* ethnic identity

**Core Symbols:** Core symbols are the central features of the code used to interpret the social world. A culture's use of metaphors, stories and myths reveal themes and dimensions that identify the key symbols and tell us how social life is interpreted. (Hecht, Collier and Ribeau, 1993)

**Life Histories:** "Studies of the overall lives of individuals, often based on self-reporting and documents such as letters" (Giddens, 1989:742). In this thesis, the native Indians' videos are the main documents to work through.

**Imagined Community of Resistance:** 'Imagined Community', a term elaborated by Anderson (1983), draws attention to questions of subjectivity and the
manipulation of identity. In articulating the community, one's own identity becomes interpreted. Once "place is being destroyed, rendered 'inauthentic' or even 'placeless' by the sheer organizational power and depth of penetration of the market. This, together with time-space compression, will likely provoke resistance that focuses on alternative constructions of place (understood in the broadest sense of the word)" (Harvey, 1993:12).

**Ethnic Identity:** "Ethnic identity is defined as perceived membership in an ethnic culture that is enacted in the appropriate and effective use of symbols and cultural narratives, similar interpretations and meanings, and common ancestry and traditions" (Hecht, Collier and Ribeau, 1993:30). Ethnic group is seen here as an 'organizational type' (Barth, 1969).

*Core Symbols*

Core symbols here represent the definitions, premises and propositions regarding the universe and the place of the Indians. In this way, the documentaries try to sensitize us to cultural beliefs about the management of nature, toward the central ideas and concepts of the Indians' culture, and the everyday behaviours that characterize its membership.

"Without such nose, lip and ear adornments you won't be able to prove you're an Indian" (an Indian leader to a young Nambiquara).

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40. For the concept of organisational type, see Re-creating Ethnicity - Chapter 2, in this thesis.
"Why did we invent these ceremonies? Why have we preserved them until today? Who has preserved them for us? We ... ourselves, are" (Kokrenum, a Gavião leader).

Hecht, Collier and Ribeau argue that "the symbols are identified through recurrent patterns of message use, repeating categories of verbal and nonverbal conduct and shared interpretations of these messages and categories. These messages convey both a symbolic category and the meanings associated with the symbol" (Hecht, Collier and Ribeau, 1993:23). In this sense, the videos show a scenario where the rituals are essential even for the Indians' physical survival. Without those cultural values they have no future.

"The girls were dying because we stopped doing the puberty rite for a long time" (Capitão Pedro, a Nambiquara leader).

Two main core symbols are expressed throughout the videos. One reflects collectivism: the core symbol of sharing which is played out in a variety of communicative forms: relationship intimacy, ritual, games, etc. This variety of communicative forms helps tie a group together and affirm its members' interconnectedness. They demonstrate allegiance to the group and communicate an identity. For example, when a young Indian says, "I want to learn all those games and rites that our ancestors used to do in the past", he is communicating a commitment to sharing with the group in common activities.

Assertiveness is another core symbol expressed in the videos. As core symbol, assertiveness means standing up for oneself in the face of oppression (Jenkins, 1982), i.e. it means taking charge of your own existence. The Gaviões taking over the ownership of
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chestnut growth and kicking the FUNAI employees out of the reservation; the Kayapo's delegation to lobby delegates during the Brazilian constitutional convention; the Altamira Encounter and many other actions show their assertiveness. However, non-Indian audiences can take these actions as literal expressions of violence and violent intentions. The audience research will clarify this point.

* Life Histories

Life histories here are related directly to ethnic self-affirmation in such a way that they should be instrumental in obtaining material and socially symbolic goods.

The videos depict a scenario where: firstly, they were almost annihilated by the 'white man'; secondly, their victories in their struggle for land property and cultural recovery; thirdly, the recognition by groups and institutions - even by the State (Constitutional Act, 1988) - as a pre-Columbian ethnic group in Brazil, and as such, having some rights. For example, rights upon their land and as a differentiated culture.

However, to be recognized by the State in Brazil does not mean necessarily that they will achieve what they are fighting for. In addition to be recognized as having some rights, they should be seen (as put by Roosens, 1989), as 'pressure groups with a noble face'. That is what the video work is trying to do.

They discuss and remember the dismantling of their culture by outsiders. Indeed, professional historians talk about the facts in the same basic tone,
for the Indians do have a tragic past. They picture themselves as a victimized people:

"We were almost finished. Our community almost vanished" (Kokrenum, a Gavião leader).

"We raised the Brazilians (...). But why did we raise them to kill us"? (Capitão Pedro, a Nambiquara leader).

Also, the life histories show the presumed Indian bond to nature. The Indians know nature, with which they have lived for a long time. They respect the plants and the wild animals, in contrast to the colonizing whites who pollute the rivers and kill animals purely for pleasure. Indians are also much more skilled and competent than whites at surviving in nature.

The impression is given that 'the Indian culture' is truly vital, even among those groups in which assimilation has, indeed, occurred, and the detrimental influence of the whites has had its effects on the Indians. This Indian culture, which has survived all assimilation attempts, involves a lifestyle that differs sharply from the white lifestyle and surpasses the white culture in a number of respects: on the human and moral level, the Indian culture is of a higher character than that of the whites.

**Ethnic Identity**

As for a long time acculturated indigenous people have been named as 'bugres' and 'caboclos'\(^1\), the Nambiquara's decision to revive the Piercing Ceremony, and

\(^{41}\) These are pejorative terms for half-caste people.
to take off their clothes in order to perform another ceremony, appears to be an active effort to change that situation, i.e. they are deliberately seeking for a positive self-presentation. Also, they are looking for a 'competent communication'. The Gaviões and other groups, too. Megaron's statement (a Kayapo leader) about the video work - "the camera is a weapon for us" - points this way. To exchange information among them, and to present themselves as an ethnic group is directly concerned with group formation, and thus with power relation. It seems that they want to be sure that their image will not fit those negative stereotypes. As put by Gudykunst and Hamer (1988) and Pettigrew (1979), comparisons are always made and the person is perceived as more or less typical of his or her social group. When someone violates the stereotype this may disrupt the view of the group as homogeneous (Wilder, 1986).

'Competent communication' must be appropriate and effective\(^\text{42}\) to achieve positive outcomes (Spitzberg and Cupach, 1984). However, there are many different approaches to conceptualize 'positive outcomes'. Hecht, Collier and Ribeau "believe that these outcome are what members of the culture define them to be" (Hecht, Collier and Ribeau, 1993:126). Thus, what people consider to be the reason for communicating effectively and what they consider to be the norms and behaviours leading to competence are profoundly affected by the ethnic culture they share. In short, communication is problematic, and the preferred meanings are not necessarily read as such.

\(^{42}\) The appropriateness criterion means that the competent communicator is capable of adjusting to the environment and requires of 'what' is going on and how to deal with it. Effectiveness emphasizes communication behaviour that accomplish some desirable outcome (Spitzberg and Cupach, 1984).
On the other hand, to look like an Indian, to re-create their ethnic identity, as expected by both external and internal groups seems to be an important strategy to achieve their goals. This strategy goes clearly through positive self-representation. The documentary about the Wayapi group that focuses mainly on their everyday life is another good example. As suggested by Roosens, "it does not seem to be advantageous to demand modern conveniences in the name of ethnic equality just because one is poor and of another culture. In this case, 'equality' does not work. The protest and demands of Huron have not been heard for centuries. And the present-day Turks and Moroccans in Belgium or Germany are voiceless because they have no muscle. Ironically, claims must be formulated by people who are already equals in some way and who have power. Along these same lines, one can actively promote one's case by projecting a positive image, as do many Indians of North America. Indeed, they have succeeded in becoming popular in many parts of the world, which has considerably increased their power. There is no evidence of comparable sympathy for foreign workers in Europe - they have negative profile and are merely a problem" (Roosens, 1989:154). The Kayapo group also have succeeded in becoming popular through a positive self-representation. Other indigenous groups are on the same path.

* Imagined Communities of Resistance

There are some constructs in the videos that support the idea of imagined communities of resistance:

- Native Indians' descent shares a common experience of trouble and struggle.
- Present in their culture is a non-material element of resistance to the assault upon their traditional values.
- Their culture is based upon a very traditional value: harmony with nature.

The videos also show that a different sense of space needs to be involved in order to empower alliances with other groups. As argued by Massey, a sense of space no longer static and passive, no longer devoid of politics (Massey, a1993 and b1993).

Certainly, in the Indians' actions there are changes in uses of spaces. The use of media represents a new way to prioritize certain aspects of their identity through a symbolic space. In articulating priorities and demands within the context of indigenous life in Brazil, the videos intend to reproduce discourses of resistance which may resonate through both the Indian and non-Indian world. The purpose is clearly to enable the formation and maintenance of political alliances.

"The Tikunas' Council of Leaders feels that video has an essential political function". (Video in the Villages)

"If you don't record pictures on TV, nothing will remain. (...) That's how I got to know all the Kayapo. (a Waiapi leader)

5.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Corner, in the preface to *Documentary and Mass Media*, points out that "documentaries must necessarily be organized according to compositional principles, using material (film and soundtrack) itself produced by countless processes of construction and selection"
The importance of this organization (construction and selection) is mainly due to the continual need to guarantee fidelity to the 'Real'.

The Indian documentaries/videos which appear to be navigating between the old direct cinema style and a non-neutral political rhetoric has - as any documentary - that continual need to guarantee fidelity to the 'Real'. Nevertheless, as any documentary (even those of the direct cinema), they entail a sign of openness or plurality.

However, as all the interviews are subordinated to the arguments offered by the documentary via a 'voice of God' who speaks on behalf of the text, one can say that "the rhetoric of the commentator's argument serves as the textual dominant, moving the text forward in service of its persuasive needs" (Nichols, 1991:35).

*Nambiquara*, the *Puberty Rite* and *Pemp*, the *Gaviões*, use their narrative as 'instruments for political denouncement. It shows that indigenous groups, through contact with the white man, have lost everything they had before. The beautiful images of healthy and wealthy Indians today, and the crude images of ill Gaviões and Nambiquaras, infected by flu, measles and malaria after their first contact with the white man, are factual arguments to reinforce this position.

The key point in *Video in the Villages* and *The Spirit of TV*, is an explicit discourse that video can trigger off catalytic processes among the Indians. The 'Piercing Ceremony' and the 'Puberty Ritual' are the best examples. All the evidences, i.e. those factual materials recruited to the arguments, with their indexical bond with the 'Real', can give a strong persuasive support to the 'voice' of the text.
Chapter 5 Picturing Cultural Identity

The approach by focusing on sensitizing constructs has shown that the documentaries depict the Indians' life and culture from a positive viewpoint, a positive self-presentation.

However, the 'voice of the text' may direct us toward the world but they also remain texts. Hence, they share all of the implications of fiction's status. "Documentary differs though, in asking us to consider it as a representation of the historical world rather than a likeness or imitation of it ... indexicality plays a key role in authenticating the documentary image's claims to the historically real, but the authentication itself must come from elsewhere and it is often subject to doubt" (ibid. 153).
6.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to examine some of the debates about audience research, and to give theoretical support to the audience research in the next chapter. It will be argued that when the members of the audience are familiar with documentary/programme forms and production processes they are more critical in their reception. Critical in the Marxist sense, i.e. critical rational argumentation is essentially emancipatory and, therefore, political.

'Reception Studies' have been under 'heavy fire' from different scholars. Labels and concepts such as 'new revisionism', 'active audience', 'bottom-up power', the power of television or its lack of power, are still feeding the debate. As Silverstone points out "the pendulum has swung between competing positions. The unfathomable complexities of the audience's significance
(and how to understand it) have been raised by those defeated by what, on the face of it, seem to be both the most obvious and the most important questions of all: does television have any influence; does it matter what people watch?" (Silverstone, 1994:133)

Studies about media in Brazil have always been characterised by research about producer institutions or about messages dispersed by them. The reception is one aspect which has been neglected. This lack has been stimulating the academic community and mass media professionals to conjecture about the collective behaviour of the Brazilian population. These national conjectures corroborate that the mass media determine the national consciousness and how the Brazilian people 'see and discern' the events. They forget that there are other social agents acting on the people (schools, Church, trade unions, family, etc.), changing or affirming their critical sense. Even so, television is the main source of information on national and world events for most of the Brazilian population. They are by no means passive receptors; they interact with films; they decode texts using their interpretative strategies and ideologies and they eventually constitute textual meanings.

During the 1980s dramatic shifts in theory and research practices have changed the ways media audiences are understood. While both industry measurement and effects studies have their roots in empirical research, the most recent developments in audience research - reception studies - come from a critical tradition that has more to do with literary and film theory than with the social sciences. Most of these theories now recognise that the production of meaning is the consequence of more than just the arrangement of signs 'within' the text; it also
results from the mobilisation of socially acquired discourses by audiences as they read.

As Victoria Bilings points out, "the audience, regardless of the medium, has not historically been passive or inconsequential in shaping its participation in, or the content of, popular culture. Rather, audiences emerge as significant spurs to innovation once they are considered in various media, in a variety of historical settings, and as collectives rather than an amorphous mass. Furthermore, sociological factors of institutionalisation, political consciousness, and collective behaviour, rather than the prominent technical feature of directness or indirectness of the medium, account for variations in audience participation" (Bilings 1986:87).

For political activists and social scientists in Brazil it has been very surprising to discover that from 1974 to 1979, the large movement for 'redemocratization' was not directed by political parties but by the unions and new social movements (Vinck, 1988). Nowadays, they are still very active and the neighbourhood movements, with their working class character, are playing an important role in the development of the Brazilian socio-political process.

Over the last 20 years, there has been a remarkable growth in the use of media in popular movements. There is now a rich infrastructure of radio stations, small newspapers, documentation centres with small offset presses, networks of video production and exchange, and popular theatre. Collectively they come to be of enormous importance in basic education, in the expression of popular cultures, and in giving these movements a democratic voice in the political process.
With democratisation, the popular movements are rightly demanding a greater voice in communication policy and greater support for their media efforts. As an example, the Associação Brasileira de Video no Movimento Popular (Brazilian Video Association of Popular Movement), that began in 1984 linking 40 groups, is now part of a movement that includes formal organizations in Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Mexico, as well as informally in Chile and Uruguay (Fadul 1991).

In a paper presented at the IV ITSC (International Television Studies Conference - 1991) in London, De Lima and Really pointed out that "politics in media centric culture are characterised by scenarios of representation that shape knowledge through media structures and logic. ...to resist these scenarios, an oppositional critical pedagogy of representation would offer new codification of experience and new perspectives of reception which would unmask the political linkage between images, their means of production and consumption, and the ideological and social practices they legitimate" (Lima and Really 1991:4).

Through this trend, video arrives in the hands of popular movements and associations as one more component to be used in their struggles. Also, given its characteristics, video has the technological advantage of being easily adaptable for projects of social intervention and popular communication. Thus, at the simplest level, video has been utilised to exhibit recorded materials to 'specific audiences' and, at its most complex, to produce original messages. "The popular movements are trying to bring into existence social actors and cultural identities which, coming from the regional and local levels, could give visibility to the existence of the other (popular)
modes of communication" (Martin-Barbero 1987:156). Therefore, 'popular video' which has an explicit commitment to social issues, forms a significant part of oppositional discourse in Brazil. Santoro (1992) suggests that despite the existence of countless independent video-makers and production houses in 1980s Brazil, the 'popular groups' made the most socially significant use of video.

However, even reaching a particular audience (popular movements) which is also supposed to have an 'oppositional discourse', documentaries are not a 'straight-forward tool for transmitting ideas' (to use Hall's words). In order to re-work the text/reader model and to rethink the problem of 'reading, Morley suggests that "we need to attend to the mechanisms of engagement: the ways in which, in our attention or inattention, the television audience incorporates, and in that incorporation constructs, the meaning which the medium offers. ...It's a concern with the 'how' of the relationship between the 'texts' and 'readers of television. ...To do so involves not just considering television's textuality as rhetorical, but the relationship between text and audience as textual and therefore rhetorical" (Morley 1992:208).

Audience research has been strongest in television programming. As Martinez points out, "despite the impact of films on an increasingly large viewership, there is a notable absence of studies of ethnographic film spectatorship. Films are still seen as the result of epic enterprises in 'the field', embodying a 'truthful' knowledge which viewers must come to understand one way or another. Underlying this attitude is the assumption that the construction of anthropological knowledge about other
cultures is the exclusive domain of the anthropologist/author" (Martinez 1992:131).

Therefore, this work intends to understand what kind of meaning arises in the audience in a country where the public opinion is shaped by a media centric culture, but, on the other hand, where 'popular movements' play an important role in the development of democracy. In short, the audience research is designed to explore the viewer's reading of videos about native Indian culture and the struggle for their rights.

To find out the significance of the Indians' videos for the audience, the research design relied, initially, on Morley's work 'The Nationwide Audience' (1980). The author worked with the assumption that basic socio-demographic factors (age, sex, race, class), the involvement in various forms of cultural frameworks, and identifications with trade unions, political parties and different sections of the educational system, potentially alter the meanings perceived by the audience. In Morley's work three positions were presupposed, which the viewer can occupy in relation to the professionally encoded message:

1) decoding according to the dominant code, i.e. the implied or preferred reading;

2) from a 'negotiated position', decoding according to the preferred reading, but modifying or partially inflecting the meaning;

43. Popular Movements, are seen here as defined by the "Document de São Bernardo" (São Paulo) signed by the leaders of labour groups and communities associations: "All the mobilizations and organizations of urban and rural popular classes. Neighbourhood associations, mothers' clubs, organizations and groups struggling for land rights, and, also, other forms of popular struggle and organizations are considered popular movements. Labour movements, which are by nature class-based, are also a part of the popular".
3) an oppositional decoding in which the viewer sets aside the decoding framework and interprets the message from an oppositional viewpoint.

Before going on to look in detail at the audience research about the Indian videos it is important to set out the alternative model of the text-reader relationship that informed David Morley's work.

6.2. On Audiences

The encoding/decoding model

A paper presented by Stuart Hall, 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse' at the University of Birmingham, seems to be the catalyst for much of the Birmingham group's work in the 1970s. Hall thought the process of communication (Mass Communication) "in terms of a structure produced and sustained through the articulation of linked but distinctive moments - production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction" (Hall, 1994:200). According to Moores, "his encoding/decoding model also sought to successfully combine semiotic and sociological concerns - connecting up approaches to the study of meaning construction with perspectives on cultural power and social relations." (Moores 1993:16).

For Hall, media 'language' is not a straightforward 'tool' for transmitting ideas, or a transparent 'window' on the social world, but a necessarily refractive sign system. The moments of 'encoding' and 'decoding' are 'determinate moments' in relation to the communicative process as a whole. In TV news and current affairs, for example, a 'raw' historical event cannot, in that form, be
transmitted, i.e., events and issues have to be constructed as a discourse, as a text. As Hall points out, 'the event must become a 'story' before it becomes a communicative event' (Hall, 1994:201). In doing so, the 'story constructing' is subject to the symbolic work of encoding, i.e., it is subject to all the complex formal rules by which language signifies. However, this is only part of the process, because at the other end of this communicative event, the audience members are engaged in semiotic labour too. It means that the codes of encoding and decoding may not be the same.

There will be very few instances in which signs organized in a discourse signify only their 'literal' (that is, near-universally consensualized) meaning. Therefore most signs will combine denotative and connotative aspects, and they are always open to more than one possible reading - they are polysemic. However, "polysemy must not...be confused with pluralism. Connotative codes are not equal among themselves. Any society/culture tends, with varying degrees of closure, to impose its classifications of the social and cultural and political world. These constitute a dominant cultural order ...This question of the structure of 'discourses in dominance' is a crucial point. The different areas of social life appear to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organized into dominant or preferred meanings. ...we say 'dominant' because there exists a pattern of 'preferred readings'; and these both have the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted in them and have themselves become institutionalised" (Hall 1994:207).

Hall elaborated the notion of 'meaning systems' that the sociologist, Frank Parkin (1971) employed in his
study of social class and political order. He [Hall] identified three 'hypothetical' positions from which the decoding of televisual discourses may be constructed. In the first of these positions, the viewer accepts the preferred meaning which has been encoded 'full and straight', i.e., he interprets within the 'dominant code'. In the second position, the viewer adopts a 'negotiated code', i.e., decoding according to the preferred reading, but modifying or partially inflecting the meaning. In the third position, the viewer decodes the message in a 'globally contrary way'. According to Hall, "he/she detotalizes the message in the preferred code in order to retotalize the message within some alternative framework of reference. ...He/she is operating with what we must call an oppositional code" (Hall 1994:211).

Hall's hypothesis about the differential interpretation of TV messages were applied in the Birmingham Centre's Nationwide project. A research project about a BBC programme called 'Nationwide' was developed and written up as a monograph by Charlotte Brunsdon and David Morley (1978). In addition, Morley went on to supplement the textual analysis done in that monograph with a qualitative survey of readers' interpretation. Conducting interviews with viewing groups from different levels of the education system and from various occupational backgrounds, he sought to draw precisely the kind of 'cultural map' of the audience that could flesh out Hall's preliminary notes on decoding.

However, despite being followed by other researchers, Morley's work has been seen to have some problems that should be solved to work properly as a model. Even Morley, in his book Television, Audience & Cultural Studies, discusses some of the problems in the
Nationwide work. He offers "an expansion, or (at points perhaps, merely a reiteration) of the uncertainties expressed in the 'Afterword' of that publication" (Morley 1992:119). He found that Hall, in following Parkin (1971) had overemphasised the role of social class in producing different meanings and had underestimated the variety of determinants of readings. Nevertheless, "this work of Morley helped to establish ethnography as a valid method of studying television and its viewers. The object of ethnography is to study the way people live their culture. Its value for us lies in its shift of emphasis away from the textual and ideological construction of the subject to socially and historically situated people." (Fiske, 1987:63)

Text and Social Subjects

Silverstone points out that the focus on the text as the site of mass media's mediatory power is perhaps the oldest of all. During the inter-war period there was a broad consensus among many researchers that the mass media exercised a powerful and persuasive influence. "Effects research and its model of the audience as the patient receiving the influential syringe was devoted to understanding, through laboratory experiments, what kind of textual stimuli would generate the greatest effect" (Silverstone, 1994:140).

This encouraged a relatively uncomplicated view of the media as all powerful and, in addition, its effects on audience were both measurable and measured. However, these studies did not provide any adequate basis - neither empirically nor theoretically - for an understanding of text-audience relationship. The text was always decontextualised from its position alongside other texts.
which appeared in the media, but also, and crucially - from the context of reception. The dynamics of viewing, genres and variations in social and demographic characteristics, raised as important points by almost every study in contemporary audience research were taken for granted, and generally ignored as independent variables.

A break which occurred within the sociological approaches of 'mainstream American behavioural science', that commanded the field from 1940s to 1960s, brought with it the emergence of an alternative, 'critical' paradigm. This shift is characterised in terms of a movement from a behavioural to an ideological perspective. It signalled a return to some of the fundamental questions about material and mental production which had long occupied Marxist cultural critics, but which had been missing from mass communications research since the 1940s. (Hall, 1982)

However, if the writings of Marx and Engels - and most importantly the thesis that in every epoch it is the ideas of the ruling class which are the ruling ideas - provided a crucial point of departure for critical media inquiry, their work nevertheless lacked a fully elaborated model of signification. There was no explanation in the Marxist classics of exactly how social meanings which may serve the interests of the dominant are made.

In order to better understand the text-readers relation, several academics in British media and cultural studies, in the 1970s, began looking to psychoanalysis as a way to remove the absence perceived in the original works of Marks and Engels about an 'adequate theory of subjectivity', i.e. "the mechanisms by which consciousness (not to mention the unconscious) is socially shaped" (Moores, 1993:11).
With the application of structuralist, post-structuralist and psychoanalytic theories of language and discourse to the study of the filmic text, mainly represented in the pages of the film journal Screen, a more sensitive approach to the television and film text emerged. This tendency sought to provide a theory of spectator-text relations in the cinema, and their approach relied much upon French film theory, in the writings of Christian Metz, and the political critique of mainstream cinema which followed the events of May 1968.

They approached culture - which was seen as the primary object of study - by way of the analysis of representative textual forms. The focus of their attention was the forms and structures that produced cultural meanings and so they tended to be less interested in the culturally specific and the historical (Turner, 1990). It was an application of the Lacanian insights to an analysis of film as discourse. The aim was to uncover the symbolic mechanisms through which cinematic texts confer subjectivity upon readers, sewing them into the film narrative through the production of subject positions" (Moores, 1993:13).

However, these approaches, with their rejection of empirical enquiry, still framed the audience as an epiphenomenon. "Both text and audience were inscribed in, and described by, the texts of the analysts themselves who offered accounts of preferred readings, of mythic narratives, or of the positioning of the viewer as subject which brooked little, or no, qualification. What these analyses did provide was an account of the television text as something much more complex than the early effects researchers had presumed." (Silverstone, 1994:142) Furthermore, when audiences are understood as textual
subjects, as in Screen theory, they are seen as relatively powerless and inactive. It appears that the subject is always successfully interpolated, or positioned, by the text.

The semiotic theory and the emerging cultural studies, particularly in the work at the Birmingham School of Contemporary Cultural Studies under Stuart Hall, marked the starting point for "the shift away from this tyrannical textual preoccupation" (Silverstone, 1994:142). Silverstone also points out that, "the key lies in the identification of the text as processual phenomenon. Not structure but structuration; and not text but textuality, in which texts were to be seen not as complete or static but as incomplete and dynamic - requiring the activity of reading for their completion (or in some more radical formulations, for their construction)" (ibid:142).

Putting an emphasis on readers as active producers of meaning and on media consumption as a site of potentially differential interpretation, the Birmingham group strongly contested Screen's model of text-audience. While recognising the text's construction of subject positions for the spectator, they pointed to readers as the possessors of already-constituted cultural knowledge and competencies which are drawn on at the moment of the interpretation.

The subjectivity results from 'real' social experience and from mediated or textual experience. The very fact that people have a history, live in a particular social formation (a mix of class, gender, age, region, etc.) and are constituted by a complex cultural history that is both social and textual, makes the actual television viewer, primarily a social subject (Fiske 1987). As Barthes (1994) suggested, a meaning of a
literary text has no authorial authority: it is produced by the reader’s reading and not by the author’s intention.

The Active/Critical Audience

Suggesting an elaboration of Hall’s model, Fiske (1987) points out that it is more productive to think of structures of preference in the text that seek to prefer some meanings and close others off rather than of a singular preferred meaning. There are few perfectly dominant or purely oppositional readings, and consequently viewing television is typically a process of negotiation between the text and its variously socially situated readers, i.e. meanings are determined socially.

He (Fiske) argues that this approach does not mean a mechanistic, singular, cause and effect process; it just delimits or sets the boundaries. The ‘active viewer’ spans the whole range from the dominant to the oppositional as evidence of the activity that derives from the intersection of his/her social history with the social forces structured in the text. Social relationships carry immediate rewards and sanctions which make them much more powerful in their effectivity than any television program.

However, even though Fiske properly describes the antagonism between television (top-down power) and its audience (bottom-up power) as a ‘two-way force’ struggling for meanings, he tends to exaggerate the strength of the latter by seeing the struggle as the moment where the partners are implicitly considered separated but equal. His recent work - which has widely (and to some extent unfairly) been seen to celebrate ‘the power of the audience’ at the expense of ‘the power of the text’ - has precipitated a kind of counter-reaction, in which audience
study has been equated with a kind of simple-minded populism.

In a criticism about the new audience research, James Curran (1990) — who proposed the term 'new revisionism' to label this kind of research — argues that the 'radical tradition' of mass communication scholarship has been fundamentally transformed by ethnographic studies of media audiences in a way that revise the classic radical stance which was informed by a (neo)Marxist pessimism towards the all-powerful role of the mass media as the transmitter of dominant ideology. He claims that radical researchers now stress audience autonomy and have implicitly concluded that the media have only limited influence. Since the audiences are now conceived as active producers of meaning and produce a diversity of reading, the role of the media has been considerably diminished, to the point that there might be no dominant ideology at all (Ang, 1994).

In a response to this criticism, Ang argues that Curran's conclusion is a mistaken one: "He could reach it only by adopting a narrow conceptualisation of power, as if evidence of diversity in readings of media texts could be equated with audience freedom and independence from media power! In other words, while the semiotic notion that meaning is constructed rather than given is now recognised, Curran retains the mechanical, distributional notion of power of the transmission paradigm. This, however, is a truncated rendering of the radical scope of indeterminacy of meaning, made possible by objectifying 'communication', 'media', and 'audience', lifting them out of their larger social and historical context" (Ang, 1994:199).
Ang points out that critical theory has changed because the structure of the global capitalist order has changed. Thus, the importance of audience ethnography in these studies should be seen as a documentation of 'how the bottom-up micro powers of audience activity are both complicit with and resistive to the dominant, macro-forces within capitalist postmodernity' (Ang, 1994:202).

Literary theory, that focused on fixed texts, now recognises that actual readers can negotiate meanings. Marxist cultural analysis that emphasised domination and hegemony, now recognises the occurrence of resistance, opposition and subversion. Also, media theory that usually described the audience as passive, mindless, vulnerable, etc., is now accepting the viewer/reader as an active, selective and informed viewer.

Conceptually, the critical viewer/reader derives from the developments of these approaches. The members of the audience are ever more experienced, critical and sophisticated in their reception of the media as they become increasingly familiar with its forms and production process, but, it is essential to take into account the context of viewing in offering any meaningful account of the relationship between audiences and their screens.

McGuigan shows a good example when he quotes Kurt Hesse about research conducted with East German migrants to the West in 1985, i.e. four years before the fall of the Berlin Wall: "In divided Germany in recent years an 'electronic unification' took place in front of the TV sets day-by-day ... Western TV regularly conveyed another world. This was not only a dream-world, which facilitated escape from everyday life, but also a spur to compare realities and act on them. In October 1989 the people of the GDR decided that the time for action had
arrived. This 'October Revolution' would not have happened at that time and in that way without the continual influence of western media, in particular western TV" (Kurt Hesse quoted by McGuigan, 1992:238).

It seems that news and current affairs programmes broadcast by West German television were in some way 'revelatory' of the differences between East and West Germany, and being so, influenced the East Germans' desire to leave.

McGuigan suggests that Hesse's judgement differs from an extreme active audience perspective which takes no account of 'media influence', and also, at the other extreme, from the perspective which sees the media as all-powerfully 'manipulative'. What has to be appreciated, is that television may work differently for different people under different circumstances: it can activate and it can pacify, depending upon audience predispositions and, nowadays, particular conditions of time-space compression.

For Silverstone, "the key issue is not so much whether an audience is active but whether this activity is significant. We can grant television viewing as active in the sense that it involves some form of more or less meaningful action (even in its most habitual or ritual mode) in this sense there is no such thing as passive viewing (an observation which simultaneously makes the simple descriptor 'active' redundant too)" (Silverstone, 1994:153).

It is important to have in mind that early researches into the effects of mass communications tended to treat audiences as 'homogenous', and to regard them as 'passive' recipients rather than 'active' participants in the communication process. Thus, even though the
'significance of this activity' is a very important point - methodologically, the meaning of 'active viewer' differentiates the previous and mistaken audience research from the contemporary research. There is, of course more than one way of conceiving this process of audience differentiation, but the focus on 'active viewer' is still an important one. However, as Livingstone (1994) points out, the term 'active viewer' tends to be confused with 'critical viewer' because the former is often used in different ways.

In this way, Silverstone criticizes Liebes and Katz (1990) when they suggest that critical distance does not necessarily involve challenging the basic referentiality of the text or its ideological force. His kindly (or satirical?) criticism suggests that their findings are extremely important because 'it acknowledges the limits of the power of audience critique' and at the same time it is self-contradictory because 'it undermines the whole notion of critique as in some sense liberatory' (Silverstone 1994:149). Or, to be more precise it undermines the Marxist conception of critical or rational argumentation as essentially emancipatory and, therefore, political.

The problem with reception studies is that they appear to be much more optimistic than the earlier textual studies. They produce information about the audience's creativity with and resistance to the common-sense views of the world offered to them through the media. In this sense, audience researchers seem less concerned about the ideological effects of media messages, and more interested in the ways in which media technologies and their texts become part of the practices of everyday life.
As pointed out by some reception studies' critics, this shift is welcome in the sense that it is a corrective to an overly deterministic view of the power of the media over its audiences. But, on the other hand, as the interest in media audience has been highly localised around television audiences, it participates in a larger shift in thinking on the function of the media that foregrounds the idea of pleasure over meaning, and the agency of receivers over the ideological control of producers.

As Turner suggests, it appears that "the pendulum has swung as far as it should towards the audience and pleasure, and that maybe it is time for it to swing back again towards a more politicised reading of the media in their role as ideological agenda-setters and as key capitalist industries in an internationalising corporatised world" (Turner, 1993:304).

In Brazil, this argument is less vigorously proposed since the trend to reception has been of relatively minor importance; it has produced very few studies which are exclusively ethnographic in their focus. The day-to-day analysis of our media products, the alarming lessons political economy holds for students of the Brazilian media, and the importance of cultural policy within an economically vulnerable nation like Brazil, continue to overshadow reception theory in Brazilian media studies.

6.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The recent flow of audience studies has offered a line of inquiry into how the media are variously interpreted by those who consume them. Morley's seminal
study - Nationwide Audience - has been the vehicle for many discussions about 'meanings', 'media', and 'audience research'. The subjectivity, now, results from 'real' social experience and from mediated or textual experience.

Readers as active producers of meanings, have became one of the main points among scholars who are debating 'reception studies'. An antagonism between top-down power and bottom-up power explains these 'two-way forces' (even unequal), struggling for meanings.

Literary theory, Marxist cultural analysis, and media theory are now accepting the viewer/reader as active, selective and informed, although they emphasise the top down power. Conceptually, the critical viewer/reader derives from the developments of these approaches.
7.1. RESEARCH PURPOSE

This audience research is intended to explore questions of the documentary form as a political tool, especially the ways in which these documentaries affect the viewers' perception about the Indians' cultural identity in Brazil.

The approach adopted here is, as previously noted, theoretical in the sense that the research concepts and findings are to be located in the context of the evidence and interpretations of recent audience studies in Britain. However, it does not actually reflect the gradual shift of attention in audience studies, away from readings of specific texts towards an emphasis on the family contexts in which reading (or viewing) is situated. Even though there has been a shift in research emphasis towards investigating the domestic conditions of television use, in my view, the relationship between specific programmes
and viewer understanding and response is still very important. Therefore, this research has been designed to work outside the context of domestic communication with specific documentaries and with an audience (popular movements) that plays an important role in the development of Brazilian democracy.

The documentaries discussed here are political texts attempting to present the Indians' own representation about the lives and circumstances of their people. The concern here is centred on the elucidation of differentiated interpretations about two main questions which will be drawn from the discussion:

1. **Who are the Indians in Brazil?**

   This question addresses whether the viewers watching the different presentation and portrayal of traditional and non-traditional groups recognise both as Indians. This is the main point, because being officially accepted as Indian can help the recognition of their ethnic identity, and therefore, the only way to recover their rights, i.e. rights as a differentiated culture, right to keep or to recover their land and rights upon land resources.

   For a certain period of time, the word 'Indian' was defined by indigenous activists as a term utilised by the colonizer to label different people in different regions. Ailton Krenak - the chairman of the União das Nações Indígenas (Indigenous United Nations) - used to say: "Indians as such don't exist. There are Xavante, Kayapo, Kraho..." Also, referring to themselves, most of the indigenous people usually said: "I'm a Gavião"..."I'm Kayapo", etc.
Nowadays a significant shift about identity explanation characterises the activist Indian's speech. It seems that, politically, they believe this is the moment to build up a singular and unified identity between different communities. This 'unified' identity can provide a new outlook of an organized category of a new political resistance among different Indian tribes in Brazil. Furthermore, the emergence of indigenous movements has received official global recognition in the United Nations' declaration that 1993 was to be the year of the indigenous people.

2. Are the documentaries really working as intended by the Indians?

Based upon the understanding and interpretation of the documentaries, viewers were asked to give their opinion about what they saw in the videos. By addressing this question it is possible to explore the process that might lead to possible effects. If the viewers are impressed by value systems portrayed in the videos, it could indicate that audience members are potential supporters for the Indians cause.

The purpose of most documentary films/videos is to reproduce historically specific occurrences for us. Thus, it is necessary to understand the audience's responses to the nature of representation, i.e., the feelings about authenticity or non-authenticity of the image. For it is always said that: what we see and hear before us happened in a particular place at a particular time; what is pictured is not a fabrication meant to approximate actual events; documentaries testify to
presence - i.e. the filmmaker was there, the evidence proves it.

Besides, any form of documentary accounting involves a process of 'fact production', i.e. a process with a purpose; therefore, political. In what way does the audience respond to the sort of pictures about the Indians' struggle which these documentaries provide? In what way is the authorship within these documentaries perceived by the audience? Is the 'author' seen as a legitimate (hi)story-teller for establishing an impression of objectivity towards a historical subject?

However, the purpose here is to rely on identity and the way it is perceived through the videos; other questions will surely appear later in the discussion. An important one is the problem of the land. Most of the national and international media seem to support the Brazilian Indians' struggle over their land, but there are groups lobbying in the Brazilian Parliament to minimise the native claims about land demarcation. Their argument is that, in a country like Brazil with lots of land problems, the Indians - being so few - are claiming an excessive part of Brazilian territory. Most of the organized groups are aware of these problems; some of them are even protagonists in these events. Therefore, do the documentaries just confirm these positions or do they reveal some new aspect of Indian struggles? Also having problems with land, how do the groups feel about the Indians' claims?

Documentary films, quite often, are intended to be a 'factual representation' of the reality. In being so, they might reveal new or different aspects about the 'portrayed reality'; they might confirm the audience's viewpoint/knowledge about the 'portrayed reality'; or,
they might confront the audience's viewpoints about the 'portrayed reality'.

Even agreeing with Morley that it might be possible to develop a model of text/audience of wider application, the aim of this research is actually to understand the specific relation of significance between popular movements and Indian documentaries. Therefore, this research may not have a model of wider application but it might have a model that could be applied to understand the significance of documentaries for popular movements in Brazil.

The group-based approach has the advantage of offering the opportunity for participants to negotiate with one another their possible conflicting responses to the documentaries. In some cases, this may work to produce more consensus than would be the case of an individual-based approach, but as organized groups they are supposed to have some consensus in order to put their aims into practice. The collective, negotiated production of meaning is part of their routine as a group.

7.2. THE SAMPLE

Most of the audience groups have been chosen from the new social movements. The reason for this choice is, as previously suggested, because the unions and new social movements were responsible for the large movement for redemocratization in Brazil in the 1970s. Nowadays, they are still playing an important role in the development of the Brazilian socio-political process. As the documentaries are intended to be a political tool,
these groups represent a very important sector to obtain support from.

Also, the political parties cannot, nowadays, avoid discussion and having a political position regarding the 'indigenous issue'. Most of the regulations governing the Indians' lives are made by the Congress. As indigenous people and other minorities are both part of and supported by strong pressure groups, they can make the politicians' lives harder. In addition, the politicians need their votes. For this reason, the political parties were also chosen as part of the sample audience. The net was extended to include professional groups, University lecturers and students.

The intention here was to reach a sample that could represent viewpoints from political party militants, ethnic groups, working class, intellectuals, students and organized professionals, i.e. a sample of political activists since the videos, as a political tool, are aimed at these groups.

Groups interviewed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group No.</th>
<th>Profile of Group</th>
<th>Size of Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Federal University</td>
<td>Lecturers in Sciences 4 women, 2 men. All white, aged 32-46; Middle Class background (MC)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lecturers in Human Sciences. 3 women, 2 men. Mainly white, aged 35-52. 'MC'</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Undergraduate students in Media. 5 men and 4 women. Mainly white, aged 20-23. 'MC'.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Undergraduate Students in History. 8 women and 5 men. Mainly white, aged 18-20. 'MC'.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Postgraduate Students in Technology. 8 men 3 women. Mainly white, aged 25-29. 'MC'.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Gender</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sindipetro Union</td>
<td>9 men</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Sindiaagua Union</td>
<td>12 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rural Workers' Union</td>
<td>13 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Journalists Union</td>
<td>6 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Religious Group</td>
<td>5 men</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Meditation Group</td>
<td>4 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Labour Party</td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Social Dem. Party</td>
<td>6 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Liberal Party</td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Varjota Community Association group</td>
<td>21 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Pirambu Community Association group</td>
<td>7 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Balbino Fisherman's Village Community Association</td>
<td>39 women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total |                                           |          | 220     |

**a) Universidade Federal do Ceará**

The Federal University belongs to the Federal Government and it is the biggest university in Ceará. Their educational standard is seen as higher than other similar institutions in Brazil. In addition, the tuition fees are very low. So, there are people from every social class studying there.
· Lecturers in Sciences.
   They are all militants at the Lecturer's Union, and they voted for a social democratic party in the last election.

· Lecturers in Human Sciences.
   They are also militants at the Lecturer's Union, and they voted for the Labour Party in the last election.

· Media Students.
   They are all militants at the Students' Union. Predominantly 'against the government' but only four voted for 'Labour' in the last election.

· History students.
   They are all militants at the Students' Union. Predominantly 'against the government'. They were too young to vote in the last polls.

· Postgraduate Technology Students.
   They are all militants at the Students' Union. Predominantly 'pro government', they voted for PFL - Liberal Front Party (see political parties).

b) Trade unions

· Sindipetro. (Oil Workers' Union)
   They all work for Petrobras, the Brazilian giant state oil company. They are quite well paid compared to other workers in the country. Their standard of living locates them in the middle class, with the professionals being the upper-middle class in Brazil. In the last election four people voted for Labour and ten voted for the Social Democratic Party.

44 All academic departments in Brazilian Universities have a Students Academic Centre (Centro Acadêmico) linked to the National Students Union (União Nacional dos Estudantes-UNE).
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· Sindiáguia. (Water Workers' Union)
This union supports the water company workers. The company belongs to the State. Their standard of living ranges from the working class level to middle class. Predominantly 'against the government', they are divided among Labour, Socialist and Communist Parties.

· Canindé Rural Workers Union.
Canindé is a small city located a hundred miles from Fortaleza. The region is very dry. It is usual to have several months without rain. This trade union is linked to the CUT - Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (Workers Unique Confederation) which supports the Labour Party. Most of them are peasants working for big landowners.

· Journalists Union.
This group has been formed by media professionals.

c) Religious groups

· Grupo de Comunicação.
These are artists and professionals linked to the Catholic Church and working as voluntary helpers for Indian rights in Ceará. They all have very low income. Predominantly 'against the government', but they are not linked to any political party.

· Grupo de Meditação.
These are all well paid professionals. They are a group of friends - married, divorced and single people - not linked to any religious institution. According to them, their intention in meeting is to discuss their personal problems, to meditate, to pray, and to look for a spiritual way of life. They are divided between the Labour and the Social Democratic Parties.
d) Political Party Militants

- Labour Party.

The Labour Party is increasing its influence on the political process in Brazil. It almost won the last presidential election, in 1989. A recent survey for the next election, in 1994, places Luis Inácio da Silva - Labour's chairman - first among five candidates. Labour is the only party which has a clear political opposition to the government. Being 'Labour' means to be viewed as radical left wing by their rivals. Also, there are several groups 'fighting for power' inside the party. Some of them would still prefer an armed revolution in Brazil. The chairman Lula and his group are believed to be fighting for a democratic social process.

- Partido Social Democrata Brasileiro - PSDB

PSDB is considered a 'left of centre' party in Brazil. Its' candidate, Henrique Cardoso, has been elected as the President of Brazil.

- Partido da Frente Liberal - PFL.

PFL is a political party that has supported the last two presidents of Brazil. Their members belonged to ARENA, a political party which supported the military dictatorship in Brazil. To avoid the 'dictatorship stigma' they changed the party's name to PFL - Liberal Front Party.
e) Community Association\textsuperscript{45} groups

Three community associations were chosen from different areas of the city. They decided to watch the videos in a big group instead of different sessions with small groups. According to them "that is the way they always gathered together to make any decisions or talk about any problems".

- Associação dos Moradores da Varjota.
  Most of Varjota's residents are workers, pensioners, or civil servants with small salaries. They all have a television set at home. Their living place is surrounded by middle and upper-middle class residents.

- Associação dos Moradores da Praia do Balbino.
  Balbino is a fisherman's village 20 miles from Fortaleza - the capital city of Ceará State. Powerful landowners are trying to remove the residents from the village in order to build new houses for the upper-middle class and to increase tourism. There is only one television set in the village and it is located in the community association hut. This group consisted of 39 people from the fishing village. Its population is around three hundred people. They are all 'mestizos' with a very low income. Like the Tabepas, they also have problems with their land. The videos were seen by men, women and children at the Community Association hut. It belongs to the Community Association. They are predominantly 'against the government' but not officially linked to any political party:

\textsuperscript{45} Community Association is seen here as organized actions of individuals that live in a common condition and in the same "barrio". It is not only a sociological (static) but also a political concept, i.e. an active group, participative, interested in improving the community residents' life.
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- Associação dos Moradores do Pirambu

They are linked to the Catholic Church and they meet, at least once a week, to pray and discuss the neighbourhood's problems. Predominantly 'against the government'.

7.3. THE VIDEO SESSIONS

Group discussions were based on four out of eleven 'edited' documentaries made from 1988 to 1990, by different Indian groups supported by CTI - Centre for Indians' Work:

* Video in the villages (1989, 9').
* Pemp, the Gaviões (1988, 24').
* The Spirit of TV (1990, 18').
* Nambiquara, The Puberty Rite (1989, 18').

This is a fairly representative sample, because the number of edited Indian videos are quite small. Also, CTI is one of the main supporters of this kind of work in Brazil and these videos are intended to depict the Indigenous Issue to non-Indian audiences, i.e. the main purpose of these videos, is to show the Indian issue from the indigenous people's viewpoint.

The procedure was to show all four documentaries to each group in their own environment, i.e. community association huts, trade union meeting rooms, students union, etc. The groups consisted mainly of between five and twelve people, but three groups decided to meet in the same way that they usually do, i.e. everyone who

46. Three community associations.
decides to watch the videos could come to the video session. The discussions were tape-recorded and later transcribed to provide the basic data for the analysis.

Following the viewing of the documentaries, the audience members were guided through a group discussion of some questions. ('Is video a good way to tell their stories'? 'What does it say about their culture, their habits'? 'What do you think about their claims about land'? 'Who are the Indians in Brazil'? etc.)

Questions (not necessarily presented in any precise order) were put to the group as a whole rather than to specific individuals. As Morley points out "much individually based interview research is flawed by focus on individuals as social atoms divorced from their social context" (Morley 1980:33). Of course, group interviews do not give equal weight to every individual's reaction to the documentaries, but a group's dynamics are such that opinion and participation are not equally weighted; some people have disproportionate influence. Also, discussions in popular movements (even, in everyday life) are like that. Opinions arise out of interaction, and "opinion leaders" have disproportionate influence.

The tape recordings of the discussions were transcribed by the interviewer himself and translated into English. The response analysis focus is mainly on cultural identity and whether or not the audience feels the videos to be an indigenous realistic representation. These are the main points, since the legal acceptance of their indigenous identity is the only possible way to recover their land or to have their claims accepted by the government.
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The accounts are arranged by types of groups - trade unions, university groups, etc. - in order to present a more objective view of the audience group's attitudes to the videos.

Thus, the analysis that is applicable to the discussions from the beginning to the end, deals with the viewer's attitude to what is represented (the Indian's life), and to the adequacy of video technology as a representational system for such a group. The attitudes identified in respondents' responses will be apparent in the accounts which follow.

7.4. AUDIENCE RESPONSES

UNIVERSITY LECTURERS AND STUDENTS

Group 1
This is a white, middle class group of lecturers in Sciences. Militants at the Lecturers' Union. Four women, two men, aged 32-46. Predominantly 'against the government' in political orientation, they voted for PSDB (Social Democratic Party) in the last election.

Most of this groups' initial responses are largely critical ones. They find the images beautiful and the videos edited too professionally. Amateurs could not produce such material. Their responses assume that the videos were produced by outsiders. It appears as a denigration of the Indians' abilities to learn and to cope with new technologies of information:

47. Ceará Federal University belongs to the Federal Government and it is the biggest university in Ceará. Their educational standard is seen as higher than other similar institutions in Brazil. In addition, the tuition fees are very low. So, there are people from every social class studying here.
- 'I don't think the Indians can edit videos as well as that'.
- These documentaries are really beautiful but they are not Indians' work.
- 'It's an instrument they can't control properly. They depend on outsiders to support this work.'

In addition, they strongly state their rejection of the use of video technology among the Indians. This technology is not appropriate for use by them. This kind of technology will be a major interference in the Indian's culture. Authenticity, in this context, appears as being mired in theoretical nostalgia. As explained before, 'the Latin American Indian has been recently seized upon as the only authentic thing left'. The responses suggest they should be kept as such:

- 'They've started to believe in this technology as essential for their development. It's a mistake'.
- '...like television being a good thing for cultural preservation, only because it may carry images to the future, to their grandchildren.'

However, after some discussion the whole audience start to see the documentaries as a necessary tool to help the Indians, and as providing a realistic view of their life. As lecturers in Brazil who are always building alliances with social movements against the government, they know that to join forces with other

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48. The condition of nostalgia is usually taken to refer to this loss of home in the sense of physical locale (Davis, 1974). But in addition to this 'homesickness', it is has also been used to point to a more general loss of a sense of wholeness, moral certainty, genuine social relationship, spontaneity and expressiveness (Turner, 1987).

49. It seems that their experience as political activists leads them to a political position of 'democratic centralism', where they should have - as a group - a unified viewpoint.
groups is a good strategy. They negotiate with one another their conflicting responses:

- 'What else can they do?'
- 'They need help from outside...'
- 'CTI has always done a good work in helping the Indians.'
- 'They have the right to choose their own destiny.'

They accept the video's definition of the values of the Indians' rites, and despite their criticism, the documentaries seem to be revelatory of many aspects of Indian culture. In spite of being directed by outsiders, the use of video appears to be appropriate to the Indians' struggle:

- 'I think they show what is going on with the Indians in Brazil.'
- 'They suffered a lot...'
- 'They were almost decimated...'

The audience responses assume that indigenous identity - more than other 'civilised identities' - is fragile.

- '...for instance, those people originally from India who are living in Britain. They went there to work, to live, but they're still wearing their original costume. They keep their habits, their language and most of their tradition'.
- 'There is a lecturer from India in my department, and he doesn't speak Portuguese. The only way to talk to him is in English. Also, his wife is still wearing the same kind of costume they wear in India.
- 'They are different people...'
- 'That's the only way they can differentiate themselves from ordinary people. If we paint the Brazilian people in the same way the Indians do, most of us will look exactly like an Indian'.
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Also the responses suggest they are learning how to cope with this fragility. The Indians are looking for new ways to resist and to increase their power as an ethnic group. Some responses suggest they are able to manipulate the media in their own interest:

- 'I don't think they are naive any more. I mean, at least the Indian activists aren't naive at all.'
- 'They know exactly what they want.'
- 'They know they can get support from lots of organization and they know how to use the media for their interest.'

The general feeling is that the Indian people should live in their own land. To keep their identity alive they need a place to live. The discussions, or the disagreement, are about the land size and the use of natural resources. Some of the audience members are worried about the Indians' attitude to nature preservation:

- 'I've got nothing against Indians or any kind of people having cars, or using technology to help them. I'm just worried about nature preservation, and the Kayapos don't look like behaving properly about this matter.'

But most responses suggest that they know that differences exist among the groups. Even though some groups violate the stereotype the audience has a positive impression about the indigenous people as a whole:

- 'You can't say... 'the Kayapos'. Raoni's also a Kayapo, and he's not destroying the forest. Megaron as well.'
- 'They're looking for a different way to use their resources.'
- 'Only a few Kayapo groups are extracting gold and wood in this way.'
'Waaiapi, Yanomamy, they all have a different behaviour.'

Group 2
A group of lecturers in Human Sciences. Three women, two men, mainly white, aged 35-52, with a middle class background. They are also militants at the Lecturer's Union, and they voted for the Labour Party in the last election.

Like group 1, this group also finds the videos to be edited too professionally. The responses are similar to those of group 1: 'Indians are not skilful enough to manage this technology':

- 'These documentaries are very nice, but I don't think the Indians can manage so well the equipment.'
- 'There's a good help from CTI video-makers.'

They also disagree with the use of video technology among the Indians:

- 'It seems that they suddenly start to understand their cultural survival through an instrument they don't control.'
- 'This technological stuff isn't a good thing for them.'
- 'It's a naive acceptance of the camera as a window which shows the reality.'

Again, the stereotyped viewpoint about the Indians is stated:

- 'An Indian for me is a human being apart from this society we know, having some characteristics, norms and laws, living in a specific area with specific people we call a tribe. So, if these conditions are modified they are not Indians any more. They are like any other white man group. Rich or poor.'
The interesting point is that after some discussion this group as a whole start to accept the preferred readings. It appears that the discussions lead them to change their first impression about the videos. Similarly to the group 1, they start to see the videos as a good strategy for the Indians' survival:

- 'I think they are doing very well.'
- 'They all know the stereotype we have about Indians.'
- 'They are using this stereotype to help them.'

It seems that they finally agree with Massey (a1993; b1993) that the construction of a sense of place is 'no longer static and passive', and no 'longer devoid of politics'. The use of video technology, even with help from outsiders, is a way to construct a 'community of resistance':

- 'It is an important instrument for them... The Gavioes are finding their way back to their ancestors' culture...'
- 'In my opinion they believe in this technology because they participate in it'.

Although at the beginning they criticize the videos, they enjoy the rituals and ceremonies and choose the re-make of the Nambiquara's Puberty Rite and Piercing Ceremony as the most impressive part of the videos:

- 'They took off their clothes, painted their bodies, and recorded the dances again. The image was crucial for that perception.'
- 'I had the same surprise they had when I saw the first rite in the video. They didn't look like Indians, they were wearing 'civilised' clothes, no painting at all...'
- 'The video image opened their eyes. It was amazing when they said: "Those are not us. Those are other people, not Indians".'
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- 'This is clear when an Indian said to another: You must pierce your nose, otherwise nobody will recognise you as Indian.'

Group 3
A group of mainly white, undergraduate media students. Five men, four women, aged 20-23, with a middle class background. Predominantly 'against the government' but only four voted for 'Labour' in the last election.

As media students, 'group 3' uses its knowledge to criticize the videos' production, i.e. 'who has the power to edit?'; 'to photograph?', etc. Again, the responses suggest the Indians are far from having the 'skills' to manage the equipment:

- 'I really enjoyed watching, but I don't think the Indians even touched it. It's actually CTI's work.'
- 'The camera and the editing is too good to be made by Indians...they are learning...they don't know how to do it yet.'
- 'The photography, the sound... everything is quite professional.'
- 'The documentary about the Waiapi seems to have someone behind the camera...someone who is trying to put everything in the right order...like an anthropologist.'
- 'The video about the Nambiquaras is more spontaneous...'

Some responses show a concern about the influence this kind of technology may exert in their culture:

- 'My concern is about their oral tradition. Will they keep their oral tradition if they start using television to tell stories?'
- 'This technology has come from the outside world, the 'white man's world'. It's an alien device...' 
- 'I think video is a serious interference in their life. ...when that Indian saw, on the screen, a Shaman calling spirits through the sound of a rattle - he panicked. He couldn't sleep at night because he feared he was going to die. He thought the spirits would come through the television screen to kill him.'

However, while some people point out culture and tradition as important elements, most of the group reject the idea of Indians living like a traditional group. For them, 'traditional' is equated with a romantic viewpoint:

- 'I don't agree with this idea about the Indians, it's too romantic ...they have to live far from civilisation, they have to be out of the capitalistic system.'
- 'If they carry on living like primitive people they will be destroyed.'
- 'They've done this for too long. We saw what happened to them.'

As in the two first groups, the behaviour pattern is again repeated. After some discussion they also see the video work as a necessary political strategy:

- 'We must be conscious of the context they are living in now. Tape recorders, video tapes, land recovery, gold, money, everything is part of this new context.'
- '... they are using all this "white man's apparatus" to fight back, and at the same time to affirm: "I'm an Indian".'
- 'The video image has brought them back to their natural look. Without video they wouldn't be able to attain that.'
- 'Most of them are finding their way back to their old culture.'
- 'If they use their image properly, they will get strong support.'
- 'It's interesting because they've realised they should film the puberty rite again.'

It seems that their feelings about the power to edit, to photograph, are overwhelmed by their political view about questions of oppressed people:

- 'Most people want to keep them in the traditional way because it's easier to cheat them, to deceive them.'
- 'The Nambiquarás are using a good strategy. That's the only way to survive. People these days are very keen on environment, wild life, traditional groups...'

To regain control over their land appears to be the only way to keep their culture alive:

- 'Actually, the land is very important to them.'
- 'If they lose their land, they'll disappear as many other groups in Brazil.

Finally, regarding land ownership, they express their feelings about politics in Brazil:

- 'Besides, if they lose it, it wouldn't go to peasants. It will go, for sure, to big companies or big landowners'.

Group 4
A group of mainly white, undergraduate students in History. Eight women, five men, aged 18-20, middle class background. Predominantly 'against the government'. They were too young to vote in the last polls.

This group do not express any criticism about the use of a new technology among the Indians. Actually, their questions rely on cultural recovery. At the
beginning some responses suggest that the only 'authentic' indigenous culture is their ancestors' pure culture:

- 'Cultural contamination is already irreversible.'
- 'I don't think that it's possible to recover what's already been lost. I mean, in terms of pure culture.'

Most of the discussions suggest that the values accepted as common-sense - i.e. the myth about Indians as 'noble savage committed to nature [who] should never deal with money or any civilised goods' - are very strong.

- 'The Gavioes' chief is very keen at money'.

They realise some differences exist among the tribes pictured in the videos. Making business or dealing with money is perceived as a deviation in Indian behaviour. It appears that the more traditional the Indians appear to be, the more accepted and respected they are:

- 'The Wayapi group are purer than the Gavioes'. They don't care about money ... yet.'

However, after some discussions the revival of rites, the recreation of ethnic identity, are perceived as the only political strategy to survive, physically and culturally. But they need help to reach their goals:

- 'Without protection most of those tribes will be destroyed.'

Here again the discussions lead them to accept the videos' rhetoric:

- 'They are different from us, anyway.'
- 'They are different from their ancestors also. But they know now they have to recover part of that culture.'
- '... and their speech about environment is very good. They still know better than anyone else how to cope with it.'

They are also impressed by the 'piercing ceremony':

- 'The videos show their effort to recover their identity as Indians.'
- 'They pierce their lips without any anaesthetic...' 
- 'As warriors they should tolerate pain...' 

It seems that they all agree with Roosens' statement that they are 'pressure groups with a noble face':

- 'It's better being an Indian than a 'caboclo'. Caboclo is nothing, neither Indian nor white.'
- 'They know they can have everything from the white man's world...brick houses, cars, television, fridge, etc., and at the same time manage to keep their tradition and rituals alive.'
- 'They are learning lots of things about the white man. They say it very clearly.'

Space here is seen as wider than the geographic sense. The symbolic sense is perceived to be as important as the territorial, real land:

- 'To maintain their culture alive, to have some power to resist, they must have their own space assured through the media. These videos can do part of that.'

**Group 5**

A group of postgraduate students in technology, mainly white, aged 25-29. Eight men, three women with a middle class background. They voted for PFL (Liberal Front Party) in the last election.
They do not accept the videos as real representation, even though they all agree the Indians do have some rights. However, their approach seems to be that of a more conservative viewpoint:

- 'I think these documentaries are a bit biased... of course they have to survive and to get some land to live in, but the way they put it... that's not right.'
- 'I think the white man has to have some rights as well.'
- 'There is too much protection for the Indians already.'

They have the same criticism as the other groups about the use of video technology among the Indians. In addition, for this group, outsiders are telling the Indians how to behave:

- 'Indians don't know how to use video. It takes a long time to learn, even for a white man...'
- 'It's something that has dropped down from the sky in the middle of their village.'
- 'The camera is just a new toy for them.'
- '...some day they will finish like everybody else... just watching television all the time.'

They reject the idea that the Indians' insight into their identity was developed by Indians themselves. It has to come from outside:

- 'How could they know that piercing their lips and noses after more than twenty years could do anything good for them?'
- 'The NGOs are teaching them how to present themselves properly to the white man.'
- 'More and more people are helping them these days... you know, you can make money, lots of money, you can be famous.'
They do not believe the NGOs are being sincere in their support:

- 'The NGOs aren't really interested in those people. They just want to make money. It's very profitable to fight for the Indians' cause these days.'
- 'One can have a good job doing these things. Lots of people give you money and you can also be seen as a nice guy.'

The most nationally and internationally known Kayapo leader is cited as an example of an Indian's bad behaviour:

- 'Look at Paulinho Paiaka, he appears in the video talking about Indians rights, land, how he was exploited by the white man ... but he is very rich ... he's got cars, plane, farm ... he's very powerful.'

Other indigenous groups are said to have the same behaviour. What is noticed by other audience groups as victories in their struggle, is perceived here as an anomaly among 'pure' Indians. Thus, opposing 'traditional' to 'modern' values the audience seems to see the 'real' Indians as the mythological 'other', the idealistic 'noble savage'. They should not become 'modern/civilised people'. To 'behave like an Indian' does actually express this opposition. They are not seen as 'traditional' Indians:

- 'The Gavioes, the Kayapos are doing the same. These Indians are not naive. Actually, they are very clever.'
- 'The Gavioes are very good businessmen...'
- 'They lost their Indian soul.'

Also, being an Indian appears to be very profitable:

- 'It is very good to be recognized as Indian these days. Paiaka is still dressing himself like an Indian,
making speeches like an Indian, but he doesn't behave like an Indian any more...he lives in a very nice house...he has white servants in his house...he sells timber from his land...he extracts gold, polluting the river, and travels to Europe giving speeches as a 'defender of nature'.

UNION GROUPS

Group 6
A group of nine men and five women. They all work for Petrobras, the Brazilian giant state oil company. They are quite well paid compared to other workers in the country. Their standard of living locates them in the middle class, with the professionals being the upper-middle class in Brazil. In the last election four people voted for Labour and ten voted for PSDB (Social Democratic Party).

This group, as a whole, accept the documentaries as an authentic representation of the Indians' life. They do not question who is making the videos, or who has the power to produce, or edit them. As political activists they compare these documentaries with other alternative videos that they have seen before and they feel impressed:

- 'I've really enjoyed these documentaries. They are beautiful...
- 'They are more interesting than that documentary... 'Xingu' produced by TV Manchete.'
- 'They are not so boring as other alternative videos we've seen...'

They see the documentaries as a good political instrument:

- 'This documentaries gives you a good understanding about the Indians...
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- 'If more people watch them, it will be very good for the Indians' cause.

They feel that this mode of representation can be more 'touching' than other media. They quite agree with the jargon that 'seeing is believing'. In addition, it seems that their culture and ethnicity are not seen as merely an arbitrary construct. They find some incontestable facts in the documentaries:

- 'Watching these images and hearing these people nobody will deny they should be protected'.
- 'Their history is an example of how the government care about them...
- 'The government want them to disappear for ever.'
- 'They're very brave.'
- 'They are resisting together, like a big family'.

As political militants they see the Indians' struggle as an example for them. The political perspective depicted in the video is accepted by the whole audience:

- 'The purpose of their fight is to stay together as a group without any interference in their life.'
- 'They know exactly what they are fighting for.'
- 'The should teach us how to keep together all the time.'
- 'The Indians and the 'landless movement' are the best examples in Brazil today, but the Indians are doing better.'

Land is seen as the big problem to both Indians and peasants. However, it seems that indigenous people have a political advantage:

- 'The problem about Indians and 'the landless' is that the Indians are fighting for a land that they owned before. They were here already when the Portuguese people arrived. The landless are fighting for something that
they should have the right to but that they never owned
before. The landless' struggle is a fight for a space
they never had.'

Group 7
A group of twelve man and five women, mainly white, aged
25-55. They are all Water Company employees and also
militants at the Union. The company belongs to the State.
Their standard of living ranges from the working class
level to middle class. Predominantly 'against the
government', they are divided among Labour, Socialist and
Communist Parties.

The group see the documentaries as a good
method of disseminating information about Indians. The
indigenous issue is perceived from a positive viewpoint:

- 'They show things that you don't see in television
  programmes.'
- 'They tell a lot about Indians.'
- 'It's very interesting to learn these things ...'

They feel that the documentaries have enabled
then to grasp much of what is at issue:

- 'They show the real problem about Indians in Brazil.'
- '...how they suffered.'
- 'They are trying to stop it happening to others.'
- 'All this suffering made them conscious about their
  problems and it has pushed them to fight.'

Although they see differences among groups -
acculturated and non-acculturated - their ethnic identity
is still alive because they are resisting as a community:

- 'Nambiquaras and Gavioes are more civilised...'

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- 'That's because they live near the city. They learned from those people around. But, they just go there to buy some goods.'
- 'They have their own way to resist.'
- 'They've got their own place and they want to stay there.'
- They learn lots of things from the 'whites' but they are still different ... they are Indians, anyway.'

The Indians are the 'Other', they have differences but they also have similarities. As political militants in the Water Union they are sympathetic to the indigenous struggle. The documentaries are seen as a good political tool and they could even help other people's struggle:

- 'They are more conscious about their situation and how to organize themselves to solve their problems, than many workers in this country.'
- 'Their political experience can help us, and other groups, to discuss politics...'
- 'The Gavioes fought a lot to get where they are...'
- 'Because they had this perseverance all the time. That's a good example for everybody.'

As 'leftist' political militants they see the Indians' collectivism expressed throughout the videos as one of the main forces that leads them to some victories:

- 'They see things from a collectivist viewpoint ...'
- 'That's the difference between most Indians and 'whites'.'
- 'That's the way to fight ... they all know that.'
- '... because they behave like that in the daily routine.'
- 'Collectivism is a tradition in their life.'
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Group 8

A group of male peasants from the Canindé Rural Workers' Union, mainly white, aged 25-59. Predominantly 'against the government'. The Rural Workers' Union is linked to CUT (Workers Only Confederation)

For the Rural Workers Union group, everything presented is actually new. Being peasants from the Northeast - one of Brazil's poorest regions - means that they hardly ever have access to any kind of media, although some of them have a radio at home:

- 'It's interesting to know how these people live. I've never seen an Indian before.'
- 'The Gavioes and the Nambiquaras suffered a lot in the past. But now, they seem to be nice.'

Being political militants, they find the Indians' strategy of tape recording their conversation with the politicians and government officials as very clever and useful:

- 'They're very clever. They record everything that the politicians and the officials say. These people are always telling lies.'
- 'We should do the same. They never keep their word. They always change what they said.'
- 'They learned how to face the government officials.'
- 'They learned how to fight.'

The identification of the Rural Workers with the Indians is not made through ethnicity or cultural level, but through the situation they are living in since they have similar problems with land. Their responses also

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50. Canindé is a small city located a hundred miles from Fortaleza. The region is very dry. It is usual to have several months without rain. This trade union is linked to the CUT - Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (Workers Unique Confederation) which supports the Labour Party. Most of them are peasants working for big landowners.
reflect their experiences as Unionist, as political militants:

- 'Their problem with FUNAI is exactly the same as we have with INCRA\(^1\). Those people are always against the poor.'
- 'In this place we're the "Indians", and the landowners are the "white men". It's exactly the same.'

Although they find the Indians, as a group, are in a better situation:

- 'They treat us like Indians...worse, I guess.'
- 'It's worse for us. At least they're getting their land back...we haven't got any.'

Video work is seen as an appropriate way to publicize their claims among other groups:

- 'It's good to know about another people's struggle. We can compare it with our own fight...we can learn a lot'.
- 'If you see, you 'know that's true. You can see everything.'

Even accepting Indian rights upon their land, they do not feel comfortable about the episode between settlers and Gavioes\(^2\). The land problem in Brazil appears to be solved in different ways, depending on the people concerned are peasants or Indians:

- 'I don't agree with the way FUNAI and INCRA managed the problem.'
- '...peasants are always put aside.'

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\(^1\) INCRA - National Institute for Colonisation and Agrarian Reform - is the Federal Department in charge of the Agrarian Reform and also in solving problems with land in Brazil.

\(^2\) INCRA had placed some settler families in the Gavioes' land. The Indians managed to get them out - all families were transferred to another place.
- 'It wasn't a good deal, even receiving some money to compensate their losses.
- 'They had to leave everything behind; their houses, their crops. It happens all the time.'
- 'It's really hard to start everything again and again.'

Although they understand the Indians' position, the answers assume that Indians have more rights than peasants. Being a peasant seems worse than being an Indian:

- 'The Indians have a nice piece of land... plenty of water and wood. It's really good. The Government has given it to them.'
- '...it was their land, anyway.'
- 'It wasn't. They were put there by FUNAI. Haven't you seen in the 'film'.'
- 'They need it to survive.'
- 'But, why does the Government never helps the peasant? We have this problem all over the country. They never help us.'
- '... if they do something, they give us land that's not worth anything.'
- 'I'd like to be an Indian...'

Group 9
A group of media professionals, mainly white. Six men and five women, aged 22-35, with a middle class background. Predominantly 'against the government'.

The Journalists were the only union group to express their feelings about the CTI 'power':

- 'That's a nice job done by CTI.'

As media professionals they realise the Indians will need further help from outsiders to carry on the
work. This kind of technology could make them more dependent on white man's support:

- These tapes and cameras won't last in the forest environment.'
- 'It will require more and more help to have this work done and preserved.

Although, they express their admiration.

- 'Unlike all those documentaries made by TV Globo or Manchete, we can see no white man talking on the Indians' behalf, they speak for themselves.'

The video work is necessary and worth doing:

- 'I think they're very clever in using video for a 'historical rescue'. '
- 'This kind of work is very powerful.'
- 'But they can't compete with the media.'
- 'They don't need to reach everybody in Brazil. Just the right people... those who form opinion.'

They reinforce their opinion using a satirical statement:

- 'It isn't politically correct being against Indian claims these days.'
- 'The politicians have, at least apparently, to be on their side.'

- 'With whom did they learn these things? With the white man. Why do they need a parabolic aerial? They need to know what's going on outside their villages.'
- 'They need to look like traditional Indians to get support.'
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RELIGIOUS GROUP

Group 10
A group of artists and professionals, mainly white; non-unionised, with a middle class background. Five men and four women, aged 28-55. They all have very low income. Predominantly 'against the government', but they are not linked to any political party.

The documentaries are seen as authentic representations of the Indian groups:

- 'It's beautiful the way they paint themselves and the way they dance.'
- 'I've seen some documentaries about Indians. But these are great.'

Also, for this group, the documentaries are good instruments to help them in their struggle.

- 'These videos can show how these people are beautiful, how they need support to survive.'
- 'The Tikunas can make a fuss about the massacre in their village.'

The videos are revelatory in the sense that it is possible to gain some victories for the Indians' cause:

- 'The Tikunas are still fighting. The landlords killed lots of them. Talking and showing the killings to everybody, can make it more difficult to be repeated.

These groups have no criticism about the way the indigenous groups get support from outsiders to do the video work. They see the documentaries as a real document of the Indians' life and struggle:

53 These are artists and professionals linked to the Catholic Church and working as voluntary helpers for Indian rights in Ceará.
- 'That's the only way to show properly what happens to them.'

Also, they understand that the Indians' life and culture has been placed on a higher level than the white man's:

- 'I believe they have a sort of wisdom that is amazing. Something like 'defenders of life and nature' that places them in a higher level of understanding of life ...more than any white man usually does.'
- 'I've seen an interview with an Indian leader saying something like: "The white man must understand that we are the keepers of life!" This is great.'

And, video is seen as an appropriate tool to help in their effort to keep their culture alive:

- 'They are very wise...they know that this technology is useful for them.'

Group 11
A group of professionals, mainly white; non-unionised with a middle class background. Four women and two men, aged 31-45. They are all well paid professionals. Politically 'against the government'.

As group 10, they see the documentaries as authentic representation of the Indians group:

- 'Their culture is very interesting.'
- 'It's very good when you know that the TV Globo is not behind the images.'

54. They are a group of friends - married, divorced and single people - not linked to any religious institution. According to them, their intention in meeting, is to discuss their personal problems, to meditate, to pray, and to look for a spiritual way of life.
The Indians' struggle for survival is well perceived by the audience and their responses suggest that they endorse a preferred meaning:

- 'The Gavioes' situation used to be very bad in the past. Now they are better than any other group in Brazil.
- 'Some Kayapos are in a better situation.
- 'The Kayapos have never faced problems like the Gavioes did.
- 'They are very beautiful and photogenic'.

From a political viewpoint, the Indians show a collectivism that it is not existent among 'the white people':

- 'We have a different mentality about how to use the land. We buy it to have more and more, to have our money increased.'
- 'They use it in another way, in a collective way.'

As in other groups the video here is also seen as an appropriate tool to help in their struggle for survival. They see the documentaries as a good political strategy:

- 'Watching these images, nobody will deny they are right and they have to keep shouting in order to be heard and protected by the whole world.'
- 'The documentaries are helping them to get better organized.'
- 'The Gavioes, Nambiquara and Kayapos are doing very well. They are very well organized.':
- 'When they say "other people will watch this" they know that video is some kind of link with other tribes, other people...
- 'It's an opportunity to overcome distances...that thing about global village.'
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**POLITICAL PARTIES GROUP**

Group 12

*A group of mainly whites, militants in the Labour Party*. Five men and three women, aged 29-42, with a middle class background

As with other groups in this audience research the Labour members' responses assume that the documentaries are directed by outsiders. They see the documentaries from the viewpoint of a political video process, and as such it appears to be going against its paradigms since the Indians did not participate in every part of the documentaries' production.

- 'Technically, these videos aren't so different from that documentary produced by TV Manchete.'
- 'They look very professional.'
- 'The process should be different since they want to construct a scenario for political purpose.'

The Labour criticism is on the proper 'film direction', i.e., the way the Indian groups are presented.

- 'I didn't like it. It seems that they prepared the people, the scenario...everything has been put in the right order.'

They are not enthusiastic at all about the Gavioes outfit. They wear blue and yellow clothes that represent the main colour of Brazilian symbolism. In

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55. The Labour Party is increasing its influence on the political process in Brazil. Labour is the only party which has a clear political opposition to the government. Being 'Labour' means to be viewed as radical left wing by their rivals. Also, there are several groups 'fighting for power' inside the party. Some of them would still prefer an armed revolution in Brazil. The chairman Lula and his group are believed to be fighting for a democratic social process.
addition, the celebration of national independence, during the dictatorship (1964-1989) was viewed, among the opposition groups, as support for the military government. Most people still have mixed feelings about it (Mendes, 1994):

- 'Those young Gavioes wearing yellow and blue shorts were awful.'
- 'They look like a Brazilian flag.'

However, the video about the Nambiquaras group appears to be more interesting. The core symbols expressed throughout the videos seem to have a good effect on the audience. The Indians' resistance to the assault upon their traditional values is seen as politically correct:

- 'The first video is more spontaneous... more stimulating'.
- 'Because the main focus is on the village. Their rituals, their life...the way they realised they should film the ritual again. It's always more interesting than speeches or interviews.'
- 'It's possible to see the Indians reaction when they face the camera...they didn't prepare anything in advance. I also found it very interesting when they decided to film their ritual again.'

Although they have criticized the video process as a paradigmatic failure, they agree that the video work should be carried on. It should help the Indians in their struggle. The images are persuasive enough to spread the Indians' claims and convince many people about their rights:

- 'Most people are supportive of the Indians. Seeing these videos, they will increase their support.'
They recognize that 'white men' have a stereotyped image of Indians. Therefore, as a political strategy, it is a good one:

- 'They even know those referential points the "white man" has about them. This is clear when one Indian says to the other: "You must pierce your nose, otherwise nobody will recognise you as Indian".'

They agree that Indians have lots of problems. However, their responses suggest that they remain committed to a race-blind approach, i.e. an ethnic perspective, within the party of the workers, could only reinforce racial division and racial antagonism within the working class (Brandão, 1986).

- 'An Indian that makes a political speech is an acculturated Indian. It doesn't mean that he isn't an Indian any more, but it means that he is keen on certain civilised comforts, certain technological items.'
- 'They want to keep their land. It is a very large area. We have lots of problems about land in this country.\textsuperscript{56} The way the big landlords always manage things, it is difficult to avoid thinking that they are going to exploit other people too. The Globo Reporter\textsuperscript{57} showed the Kayapos doing business very well, and also exploiting people.'

They exhibit a very contradictory behaviour since they belong to a 'leftist' party. The 'Left' in Brazil - as a whole - sees TV Globo as the 'government voice' and as such it is not truthful. They demonstrate they have the same stereotyped view as other groups in this audience research. Indians should remain far from

\textsuperscript{56} The Labour Party is one of the main supporters of rural squatters in Brazil. It is a peasant movement (The Landless Movement - Movimento dos Sem-Terra)

\textsuperscript{57} A weekly TV Globo documentary programme.
civilization. Actually, far from the 'capitalist civilization':

- The programme showed the Kayapos dealing with their land, talking about interest rates, having cars, planes. It's shocking.
- 'So, it's confusing not to apply to them the same law we have for the white man.'
- 'We've got a quite romantic idea about Indians. We always expect they never lie, they never kill without reason; we're often shocked whenever they make deals with their natural resources with no environmental consciousness, because that is a priority we think they are conscious about.'
- 'I think the Waiapi group is quite good. I mean, they look like Indians...they behave like Indians... But, I believe they will finish up like those groups whose behaviour is like any 'civilised' people.'

Group 13
A group of mainly whites, militants in the PSDB58 (Social Democratic Party): Six men and three women, aged 25-48, with a middle class background.

PSDB, as a party, is one of the main supporters of the Indians' rights in the Brazilian Congress59. They accept and endorse the preferred readings:

- 'They are fighting very hard to survive as Indians and as human beings.'

58. PSDB is considered a 'left-centre' party in Brazil. Its' candidate, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, has been elected as the President of Brazil.

59. They belong - together with the OAB (Brazilian Lawyers Organization), the Catholic Church, and several NGOs - to an organization named Forum for the Indians' Rights.
- 'FUNAI has never worked properly on their side. Their representatives are, at least, negligent about the indigenous issue.
- 'They must have more help otherwise they'll disappear.'

The Indians are really bound to nature:

- 'I believe they had - many of them are still having - an integrated relationship with nature.'
- '...any primitive group has it.'
- '...because they've got no access to technology, and because they've been apart from this consumerist society.'
- '..problems with power, wealth accumulation have come with the white man.'

As other groups they recognize that the white man has a stereotyped image of Indians. This group also believes they are using a good strategy:

- 'It happens because they know we have this image about them, a pierced nose, lips and ears; feather in their hair; naked people, etc... They are conscious of that.'

They see the Indians' behaviour as a struggle for survival. The re-adoption of their traditional look is regarded as a good strategy to avoid a complete disappearance as an ethnic group:

- 'I think the most important point is the conception they have about why they are using this technology, I mean, they know that it is a 'white man's tool', but they also know they can handle it properly. They've already had many victories in their struggle, mainly about having their land demarcated'.

They recognise both 'traditional and 'modern' groups as being Indians:
- 'Acculturated Indians - are they still or are they not still being Indians?'
- 'They are Indians, if they don't mix themselves with whites.'
- 'They can learn lots of things, but they have to live with their tribes, in their region. Having their own place, they might have their own identity.'

Using their own ethnic roots they find a good explanation to affirm their viewpoint:

- 'Most Brazilians' grandfathers and grandmothers were immigrants. They came from other countries, but we don't feel we are Italian, Portuguese, German, because we've mixed all these people...we are just Brazilians. If the Indians mix their people with Brazilians, they'll disappear as ethnic group. They will be like us, just Brazilians.'

Having their own place gives them the possibility of being recognized as different from other Brazilians:

- 'Many black people want to be recognised as Afro-Brazilian.'
- 'Because they are also an exploited minority. But unlike the Indians they don't have their own space, their own land. So, black people are seen as Brazilians, not Afro-Brazilians. We are not seen as Euro-Brazilians. The Indians can be seen as different people because they still have their own space and their own culture.'
Group 14

A group of whites, male militants at PFL (Liberal Party). Five men, aged 25-37, with an upper-middle class background.

The Liberal Party members totally reject the videos as authentic representation. Their basic attitude towards the documentaries is one of cynicism and disbelief:

- 'These NGOs think we are stupid. Most of these people are Europeans or Americans, they just want to have the Amazon forest under their 'protection'. Then, we lose our forest.
- 'The photographer's name is Vincent. This isn't an Indian name... neither is it Brazilian.'
- 'These organizations want to be more than FUNAI.'
- 'They know this issue is a 'gold vein'.'
- 'Nowadays, there are NGOs for everything...'
- 'Everybody wants to be recognised as Indian these days...'

The Indians presumed bound to nature is also rejected:

- 'They don't know how to behave like Indians any more.'
- 'These Indians used to have some kind of integration with nature ... not any more. They learned that money is good stuff.'

The Indians are manipulated by CTI:

- 'Most of those Indians don't know anything... just give them some gifts and they'll do everything you want.'

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60. PFL is a political party that has supported the last two presidents of Brazil. Their members belonged to ARENA, a political party which supported the military dictatorship in Brazil. To avoid the 'dictatorship stigma' they changed the party's name to PFL - Liberal Front Party.
They reject the documentaries' discourses, which they feel are a construction, a political direction given by outsiders. The videos are manipulative in the sense that the documentaries are totally biased:

- 'They just show one side of the problem. They want the Indians to be like animals in a zoo.'
- 'The whole Indian community should be integrated into Brazilian society. They should go to school, they should learn how to be civilised people. So, they won't need this kind of protection any more.'

Already having strong reservations about the use of video, their responses express a cynical attitude toward the Gavioes tribe in their negotiation with the Electricity Company which wanted permission to cross the Indians' land:

- 'The Gavioes are very good businessmen. They have learned how to deal with money.'
- 'That's the capitalistic way of doing business.'

The emphasis on money appears as an external influence. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are seen as another kind of colonization. Pure Indians should not be able to manage business properly:

- 'It looks like they had got external help. I believe those NGOs are giving them very useful advice.'
- 'That's the American way. That's the way it happens there. When I see those American Indians going to some conference, or talking on television I feel disappointed. I mean, those guys look like civilised men, just putting a strange hat with a feather on the top of their head,'
and speaking like an Indian. I can't see guys like that as Indians.'

And, they start a nationalist discourse:

- 'If the Indians get this big piece of land, they will be seen as another country by Europeans and Americans. It’s a good opportunity to internationalise the Amazon forest. They will say that the Indians need protection against the Brazilian Government ... They are always ready to give this kind of protection and at the same time to use the forest resources as payment for this protection.'

- 'We can have another country inside Brazil. Or more than one, because there many tribes.'

- 'The very idea behind this 'Indian and environment protection' is to take over the Amazon Forest. They don't care about Indians or environment. What did the Americans do to their Indians? What did the Europeans do to native people all over the world? What about the forests in Europe and the United States? They destroyed everything. The biggest and the last one is the Amazon Forest. That’s what they want. They don't care about Indians or the environment.'

COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION\textsuperscript{61} GROUPS

Three community associations were chosen from different areas. Each of them decided to watch the videos in a big group instead of different sessions with small groups. According to them "that is the way they always gathered together to make any decisions or talk about any problems".

\textsuperscript{61} Community Association is seen here as organized actions of individuals that live in a common condition and in the same "barrio". It is not only sociological (static) but also a political concept, i.e. an active group, participative, interested in improving the community residents' life.
Group 15
A group of mainly whites, militants, at Varjota Community Association. Twenty one women and 12 men, aged 17-60, with a working class background. They are predominantly 'against the government' but not officially linked to any political party.

These groups have no doubt whatsoever about the authenticity of the images. They compare the videos with other television programmes and their responses suggest that the Indians documentaries are truer than those of the national media:

- 'What about the Globo Reporter yesterday? It appeared to me they want to say to the whole of Brazilian society that there is no need to demarcate the Indian's land; that there is no need to solve the indigenous issue because everything is the Indians' fault.'
- 'They presented them as very big landowners, so there is no need for us, Brazilians, to be worried about them, because they are rich, they have a good life, etc.'
- 'The newspapers and television companies are worried about the Amazon forest, because they know it's a very rich place. They don't want the Indians being the owners of the forest.'

They are interested in about things about the Indians that they did not know before. To these groups, the video work represents an authentic testimony of indigenous life:

- 'I like the way they paint their faces and bodies.'

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62. Most of Varjota's residents are workers, pensioners, or civil servants with small salaries. They all have a television set at home. Their living place is surrounded by middle and upper-middle class residents.

63. TV Globo documentary programme.
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- 'It's nice how they make that drink. Everybody helps. It's like when we do "farinhada"\textsuperscript{64} in the countryside.'

Using 'white man's' technology is seen as appropriate to reach their goals. To this group, being modernised does not mean loss of identity:

- 'I don't see any problem having part of the white culture inside their own. It doesn't mean they are 'white', or 'civilised' Indians. They are still being Indians.'
- 'Just because they've learnt something from the white culture it doesn't mean they are 'whites'.'

It appears that they agree with Hall that the 'invention of tradition' is a narrative strategy. It should be put into practice:

- 'I believe their culture can be recreated. Not the old culture, most of the elders are dead by now. But, they can remember part of that culture.
- '... those rites they call 'play'. Maybe it has lost part of the old meaning, but it is still an Indian ritual'.
- 'They need a large area of land to survive. They must fight for it.'

Group 16
A group of working class, mainly white, non-unionised. Seven women and five men, aged 35-63. They are housewives and workers linked to the Catholic Church and they meet, at least once a week, to pray and discuss the neighbourhood's problems. Predominantly 'against the government'

\textsuperscript{64} 'Farinhada' is the process of making 'farinha'. A sort of manioc powder, very common in Brazil.
The Pirambu group totally reject the Indians' representation as real, they even doubt the existence of Indians:

- 'These people are not Indians. Real Indians - if they really exist - are very small in number.'
- 'I believe we only have some real Indians in the Amazon Forest. But those Indians living around here look like a bunch of gypsies. They are all thieves.'

In addition, even those groups pictured in the video, whose members are still living inside the forest, are not accepted as 'real Indians':

- 'They don't look like Indians. They're just a bunch of people that don't know how to sing or dance...they only jump...they are all naked.'
- 'The Gavioes' Chief has got the best house...he didn't share the money properly.'

What the documentaries present is simply unacceptable on the basis of their prior knowledge of Indians from other sources:

- 'He loves money. Real Indians don't behave like that.'
- 'Indians don't live in brick houses.'
- 'They have all those vans and tractors to help them with the crops. They aren't Indians...'

For the Pirambu group, Indians are given differentiated treatment. They are also aware of a special governmental statute regulating Indians' life, and they know that some tribes are getting their land back:

- 'The law in Brazil always benefits the Indians.'
- 'The government never helps the peasants. Even though they are poorer than those Indians, they lost their land. Why do the Indians need so much land.'
While, For Pirambu group, this "Indian Act" appears to be too protective and too comprehensive because it puts together those Indians living in the rain forest and people that they see in the streets nearby, i.e. Indians that have already lost their original language, mixed their culture with 'whites' and live like any other 'poor' people in the neighbourhood.

- 'Real Indians don't even know what money means.'
- 'This country has bigger problems to be solved.'

Group 17
A group of militants at Balbino Community Association. Twenty five women and fourteen men, aged 17-73. They are predominantly 'against the government' but not officially linked to any political party.

The land, again, is the main point to be discussed:

- 'Those people over there are doing to the Indians exactly the same the landowners do to us'.
- 'They want the Indian land only to make more money. They've got no respect for human beings.'
- 'They should let the Indians alone. They just want to live their life in peace.'

65. The "Earth Summit Conference" took place in Rio de Janeiro, in 1992. Thus, news and reportage about the Indians appeared in the media more often than usual. This audience research was done in the first semester of the same year.

66. Balbino is a fisherman's village 20 miles from Fortaleza - the capital city of Ceará State. Powerful landowners are trying to remove the residents from the village in order to build new houses for the upper-middle class and to increase tourism. There is only one television set in the village and it is located in the community association hut. This group consisted of 39 people from the fishing village. Its population is around three hundred people. They are all mestizos with a very low income. Like the Tabepas, they also have problems with their land. The videos were seen by men, women and children at the Community hut.
They compare themselves with the Indians and feel that these indigenous people are doing better. At least, they are getting some results from their struggle:

- 'They know how to fight... it's in their blood.
- 'They are more respected than us. They can talk to the President, to MPs., to many politicians. We can't even talk to the Mayor.

Experiencing the same problem, their responses affirm their solidarity:

- 'They certainly have the right to keep their land.'
- 'They lived there before anyone else ...'
- 'The government doesn't care. They are always on the side of the powerful people. They treat us in the same way.'

They particularly enjoy a moment in the video when a young Indian says: "If any white man comes to take my land I'll put an arrow in his neck and I'll eat his liver. It's very good, it tastes like 'guariba'67. They laugh a lot, which seems to be some kind of revenge for their own problems with landowners:

- 'We should treat the landowners like they treat squatters and gold prospectors: with arrows.

But the whole feeling is that the Indians live in another world:

- 'How can they do that and nobody arrest them?'
- 'They hide inside the forest. Nobody knows the forest like they do.'
- 'If we do the same, we'll have no place to hide.'

The Indians' victories portrayed in the videos push them to keep fighting in a similar way. Also, to

67 Small wild monkey.
appear in the media is seen as a strong point to press the authorities to solve their problem:

- 'The Indians know how to cause a fuss ...that's why they appear on television. The Government is afraid of television.'
- 'We did the same when our "cause" went to the Court. We put more than two hundred people there, and we also appeared on television, and we didn't win ...'
- 'We didn't lose either ... they postponed the decision because they were afraid. Do you remember that before the trial the "Company" was sure that they would destroy our houses send us away? It didn't happen, we're still here.

7.5. DIFFERENCES AND CONVERGENCE OF GROUP READINGS

1 Lecturers and Students Group

At the beginning, all groups but one (group 4) reject the use of video technology among the Indians. However, all these four groups exhibit a contradictory discourse. On the one hand they inhabit a discourse dominated by Conservatism: The Indians have lost their culture as 'traditional Indians'.

On the other hand they express a progressive political viewpoint when they accept the idea of imagined communities of resistance; when they accept that cultural identity is a social construction, and when they accept that the use of video technology is a good political strategy among oppressed people with no access to the media. In this sense they approach the issue from a 'leftist viewpoint'. It seems that they see ethnicity as an effective way of framing issues of social inequality in Brazil. Actually, they produce deconstruct readings and recognize the preferring mechanisms inside the text. As
argued by Morley, "the awareness of the construction by no means entails the rejection of what is constructed" (Morley, 1980:140).

As lecturers and university students they know the current capacity of the State to implement its policies towards coercive assimilation. But their responses suggest that the new social movements in Brazil are able to press the political elite that feels less threatened by ethnic-based social movements than those based more explicitly on class.

Therefore, despite affirming that the video camera is an alien device to the Indians, and that they are losing their traditional culture, these groups produce a ideological reading of the videos. An oppressed indigenous group fighting against the 'powerful white'.

Comparing these four groups with group 5 - groups with the same basic socio-economic and educational background - there is a profound difference between the first four and the latter. Group 5 produces a clear oppositional reading. According to them the indigenous issue depicted by the videos is ideologically biased. This group is even hostile to both Indians and their supporters. Their responses are cynical ('It's very good to be recognized as Indian these days') and their discourse is dominated by Conservatism ('The NGOs...They just want to make money') and Racism. Their conversation moves to the denigration of indigenous people. It makes sense then to describe their discourse as racist. As Miles (1982;1989) has noted, categorizations of social groups, assumptions about natural divisions between people, the assignment of traits and theories of the origins of group differences are central to racist discourse.
2. Union Groups

There are differences also among the four union groups. The involvement of these groups in the discourse and practices of unionism has clearly influenced their reading. Two groups (Sindipetro and Sindiagua) have very similar responses in relation to cultural identity, land, video, etc. The journalists and the rural workers, whilst agreeing with Sindipetro and Sindiagua members over fundamental points in their accounts, produced some different readings.

The Rural Workers' approach relies on their experience as 'oppressed', 'landless' and on their struggle for land. Whilst agreeing with the other union groups about the Indians' rights and the good strategy of using video, the Rural Workers' main concern is the land. In this sense, they perceive the Indians as having more rights than other groups. Again, the reality of their problems shows that the Indians are 'a pressure group with a noble face'.

This position places them with another group having a similar problem: Balbino (group 17). The videos are seen mainly as a political tool. It does not matter who is actually directing it; what really matters is that, the Indians, through the video work, are managing to get their land back. Community of resistance is seen here as the main focus since fighting and resisting is their everyday life.

The journalists' use of professional background to approach the issue differs very much from the other union groups. Being media professionals, the journalists were more critical about the use of technology that could
make the Indians more dependent on the white man's support. They use a satirical statement ("it isn't politically correct being against Indian claims these days") to emphasise the symbolic power of groups whose members are seen by many as having a behaviour that is bound to the preservation of nature.

3. Religious Groups

The attention of groups 10 and 11 focuses almost exclusively on the revelatory side of the documentaries. Even though a section of the respondents already had some information about Indians in Brazil, they find almost everything depicted by the videos new and very interesting. They accept the video rhetoric about the Indians' problems, the Indians' life, and the Indians' claims. One phrase voiced by a member of group 11, states concisely their feelings about the Indians: "Watching these images, nobody will deny they are right and they have to keep shouting in order to be heard and protected by the whole world". Their approach relies on the humanistic viewpoint, or, what seems to me to be the common-sense of a group that is placed on the leftist side of the Catholic Church. They endorse the dominant reading of the videos. Ethnic identity, collectivism, resistance are all part of their discourse as catholic activists. They also approach the issue from an environmental viewpoint where the Indians are seen as having a natural bound to nature: '...Indians are the keepers of life.'
4. Political Parties

Comparing these three groups there is a profound difference among them. The Labour members (group 13) have a deconstructivist approach to the videos. They criticize the use of video technology; they criticize the authenticity 'It seems that they prepared the people, the scenario...everything has been put in the right order'; and they criticize the process that appears to them to be the patronizing behaviour of outsiders. From their political viewpoint, any group that seeks to build up a community of resistance must participate in each moment of the process. However, the video work does not seem to do that.

Even though they agree that the Indians should have their own land, they are critical of what seems to them to be a contradiction in the Indians' discourse: "They want to keep their land. It is a large area. In our society, the way we manage things, it is difficult to avoid thinking that they are going to exploit other people. The Globo Reporter showed the Kayapos doing business very successfully, and also exploiting people".

Being aware of the land problems in Brazil, and being supportive of most of the movements of urban and rural squatters, it seems difficult for the Labour members to accept the Indians' claim over such a large area of land. ("It's confusing not to apply to them, the same law that we have for the white man"). They produce a negotiated/oppositional reading of the videos.

The PSDB members' readings (group 14) are different from those of the Labour members. They produce a dominant reading of the videos. Being placed as a party
in the 'left-centre' of the political spectrum, they are less radical than the Labour members.

The PFL members (group 15) totally reject the discourse of the documentaries and they produce an oppositional reading. As with group 5, their attitude is dominated by Conservatism and Racism.

5. Community Association Groups

Two groups - 15 and 17 - share with the Religious groups similar views on their amusement about the revelatory side of indigenous videos. As they are also linked to a progressive side of the Catholic Church, they approach the videos from a humanist viewpoint. The Indians are oppressed people and as such they must have some support in their struggle.

The Pirambu group, with no link to the leftist side of the Catholic Church, approach the indigenous issue from Conservatism and Racism. Their demonstration of a racial prejudice against the Indians is so strong that 'Indians don't even exist'. Jones (1972) suggests that prejudice is indicated when an individual continues to hold an opinion despite being confronted with contradictory information. The failure to reverse their own judgement indicates some emotional resistance. The factual existence of Indians all over the country is not able to reverse their judgement.

Groups' Decoding

The group accounts have demonstrated that the Indians' documentaries are strong political devices: most of the groups found the videos' rhetoric efficient and
informative, and the video work is seen by many as legitimate and necessary. Also, it is clear that some attitudes, interpretations and responses, albeit with different inflections, are shared between most of the accounts.

Twelve groups produce a dominant reading, but five groups do not follow the dominant reading pattern. The Labour and the Media members produce a negotiated reading of the documentaries. The postgraduate students (group 5), the Liberal Party (group 15), and the Pirambu (group 16), totally rejected the documentaries as being an authentic representation of the native Indians' group. Moreover, these three groups' opinions in relation to the Indians' cultural identity are mediated by conservatism and racism.

It shows that "social position in no way directly correlates with decodings" (Morley, 1980:137). The differences of class position between the 'working class' Pirambu group, and the 'middle class' Liberal party and postgraduate students groups, did not clearly appear in their attitude toward the Indians. These groups' opinions, albeit with different inflections, confirm their convictions on cultural and ethnic essentialism, i.e. as 'pure' Indians do not exist, everything depicted by the documentaries is biased or untruthful.

Morley argues that "for those who share the ideological problematic of the programme the problematic does not intrude (...) and they spontaneously talk about the discourse or mode of address. Where groups (...) do not share the problematic it is quite 'visible' because it is controversial to them. Presumably, in the limiting case of exact 'fit' between encoding and decoding in both mode of address and ideological problematic the whole process
would be so transparent/non-controversial as to provoke no comment at all" (Morley, 1980:145/146).

He proposes a general principle where the unasserted precedes and dominates the asserted. "As long as the (unasserted) 'frame' is shared between encoder and decoder then the passage of the problematic embodied in that frame is transparent" (ibid:146). Therefore, following Morley's decoding positions it is possible to say that:

1. The twelve groups of dominant readings share both the mode of address and the ideological problematic of the documentaries. Therefore the whole process is non-controversial.

2. The Labour members and media professionals see the indigenous issue depicted by the documentaries as a political discourse. In this case 'a particular position within a problematic is asserted and accepted but it is seen as a construction not 'a natural fact'. They produce a negotiated reading.

3. The post-graduate students, the Liberal Party members and the Pirambu group totally reject the indigenous issue depicted by the videos, i.e. 'the problematic itself is not brought into question'. They produce an oppositional reading.

7.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

At first, it seemed that most audience groups saw the videos as representing 'a construct of reality', because they realized the Indians had substantial support from outsiders (NGOs). Although most of the responses also criticize the use of video cameras by groups whose members
are not acculturated Indians - i.e. a question of adequacy of a representational system - their responses are still affirming the authenticity of the images (They participated ... they knew the rituals ... they really are at war). Therefore, the referent of the documentary sign is considered as a piece of the Indian’s world picked from its everyday context rather than fabricated for the screen. It appears that the criticism over the authenticity of image, or over the question of power, is evaded during debates.

In a criticism about ethnographic films, Minn-ha points out that, "a good, serious film about the 'Other' must show some kind of conflict, for this is how the West often defines identities and differences. (...) Showing is not showing how I can see you, how I can see me and how we are both being perceived - the encounter - but how you see yourself and represent your own kind (at best through conflicts) the Fact by itself. Factual authenticity relies heavily on the Other's words and testimony" (Minh-ha, 1989:234).

Therefore, proving or making evident that this 'Other' has participated in the making of his/her own image seems to be an essential point to authenticate the image. It appears that what is called 'giving voice' in documentary film practices, seems to be perceived as the 'Voice of the film', i.e. it legitimates the video rhetoric as a realistic view of the Indians' life and culture. In addition, most of the responses suggest that

68. Minh-ha (1989) points out that the prominence of the string-of-interviews style and the talking-heads, oral witnessing strategy in documentary film practices are often called 'giving voice', even though these given voices never truly form the Voice of the film, being mostly used as devices of legitimization.
the Indian as an 'Insider' is 'the' authority about his/her own culture.

In a study of students' responses to anthropological films, Martinez found that "many students decode films in an 'aberrant' way with relatively high levels of disinterest, 'culture shock' and/or alienation, and with a relatively low level of understanding" (Martinez, 1992:132). He also realises that different films using narrative drama, a reflexive style, close-up portrayals of the lives of individuals - apart from that specialised format of conventional and factual ethnographic film - stimulate the student's interest, and in doing so, it helps the understanding, maximises the empathetic reflexivity and analytic insight.

The Indian video-makers did not need an audience study to realise that editing, dubbing, etc., could, in some way, make their work more interesting to outsiders. Hence, most of the people in the audience who had experienced watching alternative videos before, felt that the rhythm and the images of the Indian documentaries were quite strong and much more interesting than other videos made by social movements (although most of the videos which are shown in the Indian villages are still raw material, with very long 'takes' about the ceremonials and Indians life).

It appears that, as the Indians are seen as authors or co-authors, it pushes the audience to see the images as authentic representations, i.e. unlike most anthropological and ethnographic films, the Indian videos are not seeking to reveal one society to another, but to reveal 'our' (Indian) society to 'yours' (non-Indians).

As Hartley points out "In the mass media too, truth matters: it has the power to command; it is an instrument of power to be dropped on the unsuspecting" (Hartley 1992:45). Certainly the media plays a major role in reshaping relationships, hence social and cultural studies.

However, three groups totally rejected the videos as being a realistic view of the Indian issue in Brazil:

- **The Pirambu Religious Group**: Which appears to be a rejection of the whole Indians community in Brazil, a rejection of Government policy toward Indian groups, and a rejection of the Other (gypsies, Indians, "they are all thieves").

- **The Liberal Party Group** and **The Postgraduate Students Group**, who reject the Indian videos as being manipulative and also because the Indians 'are manipulated by outsiders (NGOs)'.

The other groups' endorsement of the video rhetoric suggest that the guarantee of authenticity the groups feel in the presence of the documentaries, is a guarantee born of their own complicity with the claims of the documentaries' narrative.

Regarding cultural identity, it seems that the position in the debate is still confined to a populist and romantic rhetoric that classifies the Indians as native and primitive.

Most of the audience responses define the Indians' struggle as part of history. In this sense, they are defined also from the perspective of 'mestizage', i.e. as part of the relations between ethnicity and class,
between domination and complicity. As Martin-Barbero points out "this is the purpose today of reconceptualizing the Indian within the theoretical and political realm of the 'popular', that is, cultures which are simultaneously subordinated and dominated, but which have also a positive existence with their own values and are capable of a dynamic process of development" (Martin-Barbero, 1993:189). In that sense, the responses show the videos as an attempt to restore the Indians' dignity as an ethnic group. Moreover, indigenous groups who remain committed to 'traditional' values have a political advantage because their claims for language and cultural protection are likely to be seen by others as more legitimate than the claims of indigenous people whose 'modern' values appear to be primarily a subcultural variation of the dominant values in the country.
8.1. REVIEW OF GENERAL ARGUMENTS

To begin with, it is necessary to consider the implications of this research for the emerging debate on the 'indigenous media'.

With the exception of a few studies about the film/video production process, nothing at all has been produced to discuss or understand the 'indigenous media' role, despite their importance for the native people in Brazil, and in other Third World countries. As Vink points out, "the first priority of a political struggle by an oppressed category lies in collective mobilisation based on common identity. This is a common way to achieve emancipation and the media can play a role in the process" (Vink, 1989:249). Thus, studying this process is a way to critically support it, and, in addition, to convey new ideas and strategies to others in their emancipation struggles.
By taking a topic which has both cultural and political aspects, this study illustrates some of the difficulties that people who have experienced massive political, geographic and economic disruption, are encountering when they are trying to transform and reproduce their own cultural identity. In doing so, it illustrates their struggle to eradicate what Paulo Freire calls 'cultures of silence', and to achieve more than mere survival as 'caboclos' or half-caste people.

This study is connected with the 'consciousness raising' process, which defines the nature of popular video and guides its practices. It enables popular groups to speak for themselves, and creates more egalitarian forms of communication, since control of the technology has been removed from central authorities.

It is also connected with consciousness 'significance' of the videos for the non-Indian audience, where the active and differentiated processes of interpretation are emphasised. Here, the disposition of viewing groups towards the documentary accounts reflects their political position, since most of them are organized political groups. As Billings (1987) argues, political consciousness and collective behaviour are more important than the technical feature of the medium in the account for variations in audience participation. The responses obtained in this research confirm this statement.

8.2. CONCLUSIONS

This research study started from a single question: Can video work help the Brazilian Indians to recover their culture, and their land? In order to answer that first question it became necessary to ask another:
Who, actually, are the Indians in Brazil? And again, as a consequence of that question, another has appeared: Are acculturated indigenous groups Indians? And, finally: What does cultural identity mean?

It has been demonstrated that cultural identity is never a static fact, and as such it can be changed. Moreover, cultural identity is the product of cultural mixes which are increasingly common in this globalised world. The process of globalization is, of course, affecting national cultural identities; although the powerful revival of 'ethnicity' all over the world demonstrates that 'cultural global homogenization' is very far from happening.

This dissertation has also argued that cultural identity can be explained by the manner in which culture is recounted, i.e. national culture or ethnic group culture is a 'discursive device' which constructs meanings. By producing meanings about the 'nation' and ethnic groups, it constructs 'cultural identity'.

Adapting Hall's five points on national identity narrative discourse, this study has postulated that video is, among the Indians, a major tool to spread the indigenous culture over their own tribal population and over a non-Indian audience.

The video analysis characterised Nambiquara, the Puberty Rite and Pemp, the Gaviões, as 'instruments for political denouncement', in which the indigenous groups, through contact with the white man, lost their lives, their land, their culture, and their pride. The key point here, is the specific forms of interplay between the beautiful images of healthy and wealthy Indians today, and the crude images of ill Gaviões and Nambiquaras, infected.
by influenza, measles and malaria, in the past. The impression given by these videos is that Indians could go their own way culturally and economically, if the whites would only grant them the funds that are theirs by right.

*Video in the Villages* and *The Spirit of TV*, raised general questions about the use of video technology. The key point here is an explicit discourse that video can trigger off catalytic processes among the Indians. The 'Piercing Ceremony' and the 'Puberty Ritual' are the best examples. Their main theme is: the first and most important step to survive is the recovery of their cultural identity. The video camera is 'the' instrument, the weapon and the political tool to hold them together.

The responses to the documentaries form the major part of this study. They are drawn together and made sense of, in the last chapter. Further summarising here would cause unhelpful repetition. However, it is important to emphasise some of the findings in this audience research:

- the documentaries are perceived to have liberatory content,
- they feature a highly participatory character,
- they have high rates of credibility.

An important point is that: 'traditional' indigenous groups have political advantage over those groups which are seen as acculturated. The 'traditional' groups' claims are seen as more legitimate. However, as the audience groups assumed that the Indians and their cultures are better represented in the videos than in any other television programme, the concept of 'acculturated' will be, sooner or later, better understood. If properly
discussed universally, acculturated Indians will have the same rights as any other indigenous group in Brazil.

The documentaries narrate to different people—Indians and non-Indians—the (hi)story of the native people in Brazil. In this sense, the development of alternative media by popular groups has opened a new arena of political and cultural action. 'Popular video' can put illiterate viewers, as well as illiterate producers, on a par with their literate counterparts and help to enable the development and the expression of people's voices. Thus, video production for minority ethnic groups, can be a new way to resist cultural domination.

Finally, the data analysis provided results that support the importance of using video work in gaining support for the Indians' struggle.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research.

One of the areas of Brazilian Indians' identity not given particular attention by this thesis is its relationship to gender. Identity, as put by many theorists, is multifaceted with gender and ethnicity. However, there is no work that examines the differences between male and female Brazilian Indians' ethnic identities. Future research is necessary to begin to understand how women and men come to know who they are as Brazilian Indian men and women, and what they think are appropriate norms and positive outcomes in their contact with one another.

The research, on what is starting to be called 'Indigenous Media' is also incipient. Although there has
been some work done with the Aborigines, and American Indians, it did not cover those points approached here. A lack of resources has made this work much harder.

Another point for further research, is the development of the video work in the Indians' villages. Silva (1985) suggested, not surprisingly, that working class viewers who are politically active, are more critical toward television. From this point of view, what is the difference between a political Indian activist and 'ordinary' people in his tribe, since many groups already have either satellite dishes, or ordinary television at home. Most of them are watching the same television programmes as everybody else in Brazil. What is going to happen to their commitment to 'differences'?

A Closing View.

Even after these many years of inter-ethnic contact in the New World, it is not yet possible to say that the relationship between white man and Indian is free of the presumptuous bias that marked its beginnings. As McNickle - a North American Indian writer - points out, "Indians may no longer be expected to vanish before a competition they had not the means of sustaining, but their moral right to remain a separate and identifiable people is far from assured" (McNickle, 1993:166).

On the other hand, most of the events - where Indians and the national society come into contact with each other - demonstrate that this relationship is under pressure from different areas and levels, and as such it is going through significant changes. Factual proof is the recent progress of what is called the 'Indigenous Issue', in Brazil. For the first time, Indians from different
tribes and in growing numbers affirm together a consciousness about themselves. It is very clear, in their statements and 'representations', that they are not 'caboclos' or half-caste people. They are indigenous people: in short, Indians.

The Indians have survived, and their survival is confirmed. Not only in their objects and rituals, but also in the protests, the political movement within parties, and entry into the armed struggles, that today make ethnicity an arena for social movements, land rights, forms of organization, employment, communal life and symbolic expression.

It is getting clearer and clearer that the Indians should not be seen only as exotic 'objects' but as groups that are capable of manipulating strategically their relationship with the media. They are, therefore, committed to being 'subjects' of their own history, and as such, they have particular characteristics that exceed the simple ethnic presence in Brazilian culture and society. It is quite clear that they are seeking something rather more important than their pure and simple survival as a distinctive group. For instance, at the same time as they recognise themselves as Xavantes, Bororos, Tikunas, Kayapos, they are also seeing each other as a new conjunct: an unified people having similar characteristics, needs and hopes. However, in order to gain support from the Brazilian national society and to assure their rights, the Indians know they have to convince them about the fairness of their claims and the legitimacy of their culture.

Thus, the 'Indigenous Issue' is opening up the bureaucratic drawers and those restricted circles of
'indigenistas', military people and missionaries; it is reaching the status of a 'National Issue'. The resources and land, which belong to the Indians, cannot be seen as 'nobody's land' any more. Nowadays, the Indians have, their presence assured in the 'white man's world, which also obliges us to look at ourselves through their eyes. It is well known that, to gain new ways for minority participation in national life is still difficult. However, along with other urgent struggles, the development of this one may contribute to alter the sense and the result of the history of relations between different people in Brazil.

Finally, the Indian documentaries can be seen as some sort of story-telling. They are, therefore, a particularly effective way of crossing boundaries and building alliances. However, it is also necessary to declare problematic, any stable sense of 'community of resistance', politics and identity that rely on them.

Stability, as the Indians' experience has shown, is a struggle to achieve, and different groups have different resources which give them different capacities to articulate their position, their politics, their identities and to mobilise communities of resistance. Stability is, therefore, a recognition of the perpetual need to create, conserve and re-create political and cultural spaces.

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70. Civil servants who are expert on Indigenous Issues.
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