Article

Toward Representational Sovereignty: Rewards and Challenges of Indigenous Media in the *A'uwẽ*-Xavante Communities of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa

Laura R. Graham

Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242, USA; E-Mail: laura-graham@uiowa.edu

Abstract
Focusing on the communities of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa of eastern Mato Grosso, Brazil, this article considers the tremendous shift that has taken place over the last twenty-five years in *A'uwẽ*-Xavante peoples' use of audio-visual media to achieve greater representational sovereignty. It discusses the adoption of video in the context of A'uwẽ-Xavante ideologies and gendered patterns of dealing with the outside and their prior use of cassette technology. This case demonstrates that, while the adoption of new media has not proven to be the final assault in a Faustian bargain with modernity, media makers face a number of significant challenges and dilemmas, specifically curating, archiving, and also securing and sustaining financial and technological support. Partnerships and collaborations are essential but their often-precarious nature presents difficulties. Dedication, persistence, creativity and adaptability are assets community members draw upon in responding to challenges. Media makers are increasingly gaining more control and are now training the next generation of youths; young people are using new social media, as well as video and film, to achieve greater representational sovereignty.

Keywords
Brazil; gender; Indigenous media; native Amazonia; *A'uwẽ*-Xavante

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Impact of Media on Traditional Communities", edited by Raul Reis (Florida International University, USA).

1. Introduction

About 5 PM on August 4, 1984, the Salesian Padre Giaccaria accompanied by an *A'uwẽ*-Xavante youth, his altar boy-attendant, arrived in the *warã* central plaza of the community of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa. The altar boy set up a table, covered it with a white cloth and laid out the instruments for the Mass while the Padre disappeared into the back of his Toyota Land Rover. He soon reemerged, gowned in white vestments to commence the Mass. The Padre preached to an audience of about sixty people, less than one quarter of the community who had assembled in the *warã* central plaza to witness this occasional spectacle.

After administering the Eucharist, the padre drove across the plaza where his assistant set up a movie screen. The padre connected cables to the Toyota's battery to power a film projector, mounted a reel and threaded a film. Padre Giacarria then announced, with his assistant translating, that he had a special treat: he invited everyone to watch a movie of an A'uwẽ-Xavante initiation ceremony filmed in a community located at the São Marcos mission some 750 kilometers away. He added that anyone who wanted to see it must first watch a film of Jesus of Nazareth and the resurrection. Put off by this condition, several people—older men in particular—stood up and left, audibly complaining. Nevertheless, a sizeable crowd remained seated, for the opportunity to watch a movie—*any* movie—was indeed rare, and entirely novel for some. People were eager to see the Salesians' documentary of their A'uwẽ-Xavante relatives, which they watched

with great enthusiasm. The preceding Italian film, with its fair-skinned, light-haired actors speaking in a foreign tongue, provided its own form of unique and exotic entertainment.

This scene—which exemplifies A'uwẽ-Xavante peoples' historic lack of control over mediated uses of their image, its public presentation and circulation both within and beyond A'uwẽ-Xavante communities—also encapsulates the widespread and well-documented pattern of non-indigenous Others' control over, manipulation and use of Indigenous Peoples' images in the service of dominant interests.[1] This pattern has been dramatically changing over the last several decades as Indigenous communities across the globe, including those of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa, acquire various means of self documentation and representation, including audio visual technologies (see, for example, Ginsburg 1991, 1994, 2002, 2011; Michaels, 1994; Turner, 1991a, 1992, 2002a, 2002b; Wilson & Stewart, 2008; Wortham, 2013). In the years since I witnessed the padre use his documentary to entice the people of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa to watch the story of Jesus and the resurrection, a major shift has taken place in this community's ability to use audio-visual media to document and manage representations of themselves and their culture both to themselves and to broader publics. This is part of A'uwẽ-Xavante peoples' movement toward achieving what I call "representational sovereignty."

The idea of representational sovereignty builds on and expands Michelle Raheja's (2007, 2010) notion of "visual sovereignty," defined as acts of self-representation by Indigenous media makers that destabilize hegemonic stereotypes, ideologies and media practices (Peterson, 2013; also Dowell, 2013). Broadening Raheja's notion to "representational sovereignty" avoids privileging the visual mode and honors the importance of sound in Native ideology and practice. It

---

[1] See for example, Berkhofer, 1978; V. Deloria, 1969; P. Deloria, 1998; Pratt, 1992. For Brazil specifically, see Grupioni, 1992, Graham, 2011, Guzmán, 2013. I adopt the editorial practice used by Cultural Survival, a leading Indigenous human rights organization, and capitalize the words "Indigenous," "Indigenous Peoples," "Native," and "Native Peoples." I follow CS's reasoning that such capitalization accords these terms dignity and recognition as collective proper nouns or derived forms. "Peoples" is capitalized only when it follows "Indigenous" and is used in the collective sense. Other nouns that follow "Indigenous" or "Native" are not capitalized (such as Indigenous communities, Indigenous leaders, Native representatives). The term "people" is not capitalized, as in, "There are 350 million Indigenous people in the world, and perhaps a few thousand Indigenous Peoples," or "There were 500 Indigenous people at the U.N. Permanent Forum, representing 325 Indigenous Peoples" (Cultural Survival, 2000; also Graham & Penny, 2014, p. 18, n.1).

also recalls the words of Rosalind Morris (1994, p. 14) who, when remarking on the scholarly reduction of film to the visual dimension, asks "Why is voice the mere supplement of vision?" The notion of representational sovereignty also embraces various forms of embodied performance and audio productions, modes of auto-ethnographic representation that A'uwẽ-Xavante have also embraced (see L. Graham 2005, 2014).

Today three distinct communities exist in the vicinity of what was originally known as Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa: Eténhiritipa, Pimentel Barbosa, and Wederã. In these, as in many contemporary Indigenous communities throughout the world, audiovisual media-making, for both local and external consumption, is part of daily life, ceremonial activity and political culture. Once the domain of visitors to the community—missionaries, ethnographers (like me), and journalists—A'uwẽ-Xavante have made this technology their own. Community media makers have logged a tremendous inventory of recordings, engaged in various productive collaborations, and produced a number of documentaries that have been screened and won awards at prestigious film festivals in Brazil and internationally. Some individuals have traveled extensively to festivals, workshops and conferences, both nationally and internationally.

In this article, I reflect on the history of peoples' engagement with new media technologies in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa, including my role in their deployment, over the twenty-five years since I introduced the first video camera and playback equipment in 1991. As elsewhere, the adoption of new media technologies has brought significant identifiable rewards, including new, highly valued relationships and partnerships with outsiders (see Ginsburg, 1994) and movement into new physical as well as intellectual geographies (Smith, 2010). New media technologies also have helped to move the community in the direction of greater representational sovereignty.

Partnerships support projects in essential ways; they facilitate the acquisition of equipment, build capacity and provide technical and other kinds of support. They also provide new opportunities for novel and valuable relationships. Partnerships, however, are often unstable. Partners are far away and sometimes unavailable; support is often unpredictable. The instability of partnerships presents a set of challenges, especially in the areas of securing consistent financial and technical support. This exaggerates problems associated with curating and archiving, which are themselves exacerbated by changing media formats and the rapid pace of technological change. Partnerships thus have two sides. While both necessary and valued, they also involve some serious challenges.

Since "making a record for future generations," as many people put it, is a primary motivation for and objective of the adoption of audio-visual media in

Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa, the intertwined nature of technology and socio-spatial relationships—which is inherent in many Indigenous media projects (see for example, Ginsburg, 1991, pp. 92, 102, 2002, p. 45; Raheja, 2010; Smith, 2010; Wortham, 2013)—has undermined the community's ability to access, and in some cases retain, this record. Thus, while the uptake of new media technologies has not proven to be "the final assault in a Faustian bargain with modernity" (Ginsburg, 1991; see also Turner, 2002a), the instability of the media and the necessary reliance on even the most well-intentioned partners, does in the case of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa, entail a Faustian element. In the spirit of most Indigenous media scholarship, I continue to celebrate achievements, learn from difficulties, and generally be optimistic.

2. Faustian Entailments

In her seminal essay, "Faustian Contract or Global Village," Faye Ginsburg (1991) responded to the reasoning of Frankfurt School theorists and their followers by raising the question of "whether indigenous (or indeed, minority or dominated subjects anywhere) can assimilate dominant media to their own cultural and political concerns or are inevitably compromised by its presence" (Ginsburg, 2011, p. 238). The burgeoning body of scholarship that emerged over the next decades, including analyses of Indigenous media work following the launch of communication satellites over remote areas in Australia and northern Canada (see for example, Ginsburg 1993, 2002; Michaels, 1986), overwhelmingly disproves dismal Frankfurt School predictions and provides copious evidence of Indigenous Peoples adopting and deploying new media in creative ways that assert and conserve unique identities (see Ginsburg 1995a, 1995b; also Turner, 2002a). Numerous studies of Indigenous use of new media—in communities stretching from Canada, the U.S., Australia, and New Zealand, to Mexico, Brazil, and Bolivia—that follow in the wake of Sol Worth and John Adair's (1972/1997) first experiments in subject-produced film, repeatedly demonstrate that audio-visual media are powerful instruments for the creative expression of identity, self-reflection, political empowerment, cultural transmission, and the preservation of traditional knowledge (see, for example, Ginsburg 1991, 1994, 1999, 2002, 2011; Michaels, 1986; Turner 1991a, 1992, 2002a; Prins, 2002; Wilson & Stewart, 2008). There can be no doubt that new media technologies give Indigenous Peoples powerful means to destabilize hegemonic stereotypes that circulate in the mass media, assert greater control over processes of representation and fortify their cultures. Simultaneously these technologies serve as important political instruments (see Turner, 1991a; Smith, 2010). Contemporary Indigenous Peoples use media to effect change and assert their

rights to achieve autonomy and sovereignty—on their own terms (Raheja, 2010; Wortham, 2013).[2]

Ethnographically informed analyses of Indigenous use of audio-visual media, especially video, during the late 1980s and 1990s shifted attention away from media products, or media texts, to the social processes entailed in their use (for example, Ginsburg, 1994, 1995; Michaels, 1994; Turner 1991a, 1991b; Dowell, 2013). Scholars emphasized uniquely Indigenous aspects of production, reception and engagement with media technologies. Ginsburg (1994) posited the very productive notion of "embedded aesthetics" to describe the cultural mediations, social relationships, possibilities and connections with others that Indigenous media opens up at various levels of scale, from within and across local communities to global partnerships and collaborations. Considering that most Indigenous media projects involve partnerships and are deeply collaborative, it is important to examine the dialogic, indeed multivocal nature of these collaborations (MacDougall, 1992; also Smith, 2010). This means shining the spotlight on contradictions and challenges, including asymmetries and power dynamics, as well as on positive relationships and results.

While many authors, often in passing, note struggles, challenges and dilemmas that Indigenous media makers face—such as chronic lack of funds and shoestring budgets (Raheja, 2007, p. 1167), historic lack of control over distribution (Prins, 2002), necessary reliance on outsiders, presence or absence of key individuals and the often precarious nature of partnerships (e.g. Ginsburg, 2002, p. 45; Prins, 2002, p. 68)[3]—most scholarship on Indigenous media to date is positive, with good reason given all of new media's demonstrated positive contributions. Few analyses focus directly on difficulties and challenges. Contemporary anthropologists and other allies, who are bound by a professional ethic to "do no harm" (see American Anthropological Association, 2004), may hesitate to offer critiques out of very real concerns that these may be used to undermine Indigenous projects.[4] While these concerns are legi-

---

[2] Given the incredible diversity of Indigenous Peoples, I share Erica Wortham's discomfort with the umbrella term "Indigenous media." I follow Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart (2008) who stress the importance of authorship in the definition of Indigenous media and agree with Wortham's suggestion that Indigenous media "describes a kind of media that represent rather than overwhelms 'local cultural specificities'" (Wortham, 2013, p. 11).

[3] Ginsburg (2002, p. 45) briefly notes, for example, that the analysis of the Warlpiri Media Association overlooks the "crucial impact"—both positive and negative—of the presence or absence and "variable reliability" of key individuals, such as Eric Michaels and other white advisors, on the Warlpiri Media Association.

[4] A similar lack of scholarly criticism characterizes early anthro-

timate, drawing attention to challenges and struggles deepens understanding and may be helpful to people who are planning projects or in initial stages. Ethnographic examples from various contexts may also provide creative ideas that could be useful to more mature projects. At a broader level, directing attention to challenges contributes to greater understanding of and insights into Native Peoples' creative responses to change.

Two scholars who confront some of the serious challenges and dilemmas of Indigenous media are Leighton Peterson and Erica Wortham (see also Graham, 2009). Peterson (2014) exposes some of the obstacles to native documentary filmmakers' efforts to get Native perspectives, and especially Native *voices*, on Public Television. He directs attention to ways that Native voice is negotiated in decisions about language choice, subtitling, translation, pacing, and voice-overs. Indigenous filmmakers who are attempting to contest, reshape and correct both visual and acoustic images of Native Americans within a "media industrial complex" that is oriented toward producing entertainment or education primarily for non-native viewers, confront dominant institutional ideologies about audience expectations and what is considered appropriate for Public Television. Native filmmakers, such as Navajo Bennie Klein, balance pressures to accommodate these against radically different expectations about language use in their local communities. They also navigate prejudicial hierarchies even within "safe" spaces such as Vision Maker, a nonprofit organization that receives major funding from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to promote native media and alternative perspectives. Native documentarians compete with non-Native producers who continue to create Native content, and amongst themselves, for limited resources (Peterson, 2014, pp. 249-250).

Erica Wortham (2013) describes the specific institutional contexts in which *video indígena* emerged in Mexico in the early 1990s and reveals the internal conflicts and tensions that plagued projects in Oaxaca. Problematic ideas and methodologies adopted by idealistic urban collaborators and internal contradictions, such as the tension between individual and collective authorship, plagued Indigenous video from the outset. As elsewhere, projects suffered a chronic lack of resources, a problem that appears to be common to Indigenous media projects across the globe (also Graham, 2009). While describing the challenges associated with programs that train media makers in locations apart from their communities, Wortham (2013, p. 82) observes that individuals were often at pains to make their projects understood and compelling to their home communities. Indigenous media makers, culture brokers who straddle two worlds, frequently face challen-

ges associated with their movement between local and extra-local contexts. Wortham (2013, p. 82) notes that this dilemma arises in relation to outside funding: "Outside funding lends videomakers a needed source of motivation, moral and financial support, but can also estrange them from the very communities they aim to represent and strengthen."

Harald Prins (2002) observes that Indigenous peoples sometimes participate in collaborative projects that perpetuate the circulation of negative, primitivist stereotypes, or "media myths." He notes, however, evidence suggesting that those "who willingly posed or performed for strangers had their own perceptions of the politics of visual representation" (2002, p. 62). His observation underscores the fact that Indigenous people and their collaborators may have radically divergent objectives and understandings of their shared work.

3. A'uwẽ-Xavante, National Media and the Brazilian Imaginary

A'uwẽ-Xavante[5] are a central Brazilian Ge-speaking people who numbered approximately 15,315 at the time of Brazil's last official census in 2010 (Instituto Socioambiental, 2015). The first peaceful encounters between A'uwẽ-Xavante and representatives of the national society took place in 1946. The contact period spanned nearly twenty years, as different A'uwẽ-Xavante groups entered into peaceful relationships at different times and in different ways. In the early 1960s, at the end of the contact period, the population is estimated to have been 1,100, nearly one third of its estimated pre-contact size (Maybury-Lewis, 1974).

The Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa communities are located in the Pimentel Barbosa Indigenous Territory (T.I.), one of seven A'uwẽ-Xavante areas that are home to over 200 autonomous communities (see Figures 1 and 2). The current territories are insufficient to support A'uwẽ-Xavante's traditional and healthy semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer lifestyle. The move to sedentism and associated changes in diet that followed their confinement to small territories in the post-contact period have had severe negative impacts on A'uwẽ-Xavante health. Basic social services—especially in the areas of health care and sanitation—are sorely lacking in A'uwẽ-Xavante communities. The situation is exacerbated over the last 15–20 years by the implementation of intensive agro-industry, primarily soy, immediately adjacent to their legally titled lands. Contemporary A'uwẽ-Xavante face continuous political and environmental threats from surrounding agribusiness and also from government plans to implement a series of

pological discussions of Indigenous social movements (see L. Graham, 2014, p. 334).

[5] The name "Xavante" (also Chavante, Shavante) is a Portuguese label used to refer to people who call themselves *A'uwẽ.* Currently A'uwẽ are asserting use of their autodenomination.

infrastructural projects in or next to their areas. Apart from a few salaried government positions, there is no steady income stream into the community, other than small social security stipends provided to elders.

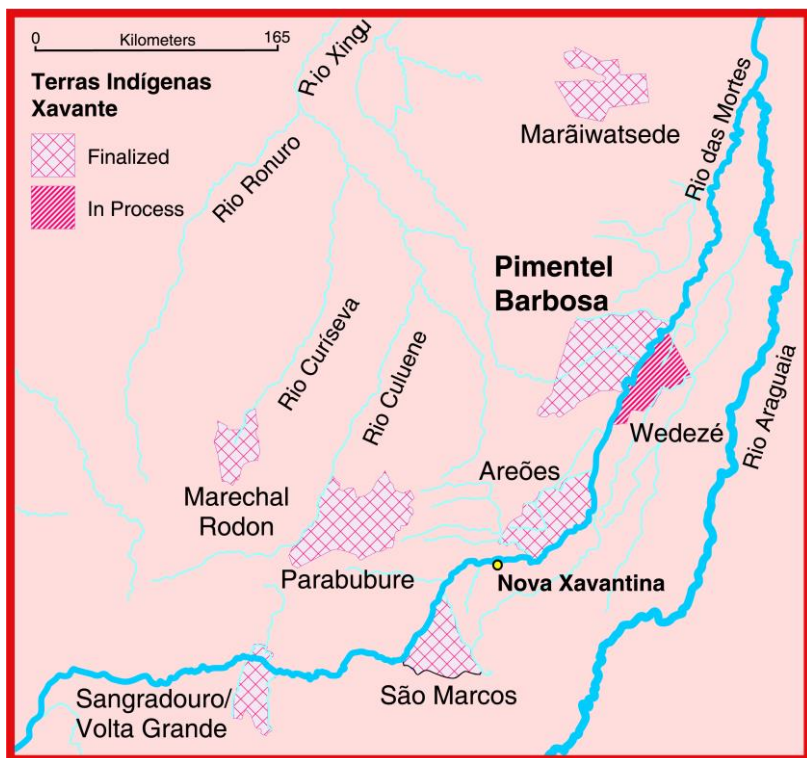**Figure 1**. Location of Xavante territories. Source: Courtesy of Graham, Hernández and Waiassé (2009).

Figure 2. Xavante indigenous territories. Source: Courtesy of Graham, Hernández and Waiassé (2009).

A'uwẽ-Xavante are, as historian Seth Garfield (2001 p. 59) observes, Brazil's first Indigenous group marketed by the mass media. They are thus one of Brazil's most well known Indigenous groups. From the 1940s through the 1980s, A'uwẽ-Xavante held a unique position in the national imaginary as Brazil's archetypal Noble Savage.[6] In the 1940s when the government of President Getúlio Vargas determined to open the "hinterland" to capitalist expansion, it mounted a massive, ideologically-laden mass-media campaign to glorify state expansion into the region and justify it as part of a patriotic agenda (see Garfield, 2001; also Maybury-Lewis, 1974). Media positioned A'uwẽ-Xavante at the center of this campaign as icons of the Noble Savage. A'uwẽ-Xavante's bravery, resistance and indomitable spirit personified these positive qualities of the national character. Over a tense three-year period journalists embedded in the state's "pacification team" regularly reported to a national audience, gripping attention with dramatic stories of the elusive A'uwẽ-Xavante contact. Then, in 1946, when ancestors of people who now reside in the Pimentel Barbosa and Areões Indigenous Territories initiated the first peaceful exchange with members of the Indian Protection Service (SPI) team, mass media celebrated the victorious "pacification" as an example of civilization's inevitable triumph over the Noble Savage, and especially the state's dominance over the untamed backlands and its native inhabitants.[7]

In the decades that followed the media-celebrated Xavante contact and the ensuing land-grab, A'uwẽ-Xavante leaders capitalized on their bold and fearless warrior image in the offices of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) in Brasília as they began to fight to recoup portions of their stolen lands. Among them one young leader named Mario Juruna (Dzuru'rã) stands out for his astute perception of the power of Brazil's mass media, understanding of A'uwẽ-Xavante's fierce image in the national imaginary, and inspired use of a cassette tape recorder. Juruna, who positioned a national Panasonic cassette recorder at the center of his brilliant strategy for confronting public officials who were trying to deceive him, holds the distinction of being Brazil's first native media activist.

Juruna first saw a cassette recorder for sale in a shop window on one of his visits to the state capital of Cuiabá and realized it could help him in his struggles against corrupt government officials (Veja, 1980). He used it to record high-level government officials' lies and false promises about the return of stolen A'uwẽ-

Xavante lands. Then—surrounded by dozens of A'uwẽ-Xavante men who arrived from their communities stunningly decorated in body paint and armed with war clubs, bows and arrows for dramatic effect—Juruna played back his recordings in face-to-face follow-up confrontations with mendacious officials in front of the national press. Armed with his tape recorder, Juruna publicly exposed top military officials as liars, and demanded honesty and accountability.

As reports of Juruna's exposés splashed across the headlines of major newspapers and featured prominently in other national media, Juruna—and by extension A'uwẽ-Xavante people—won immense public acclaim and celebrity. Juruna's actions were especially noteworthy because they took place during a period of severe civil repression and press censorship (see Graham, 2011).[8] Juruna and A'uwẽ-Xavante people self-consciously used their celebrity to press their advantage and this helped them win back portions of their stolen lands. Other native groups, particularly the Kayapó, have followed Juruna's pioneering example, using audio-visual technology and also dramatic theatrical spectacle, to advance their interests (see for example, Turner, 1992).

4. Introducing Video in Eténhritipa-Pimentel Barbosa

I first came to Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa in 1982 to carry out an ethnographic study of language and communication for my master's thesis. Cacique Warodi adopted me into his family, in part to protect me from a hostile government agent with whom I had clashed and whom he also perceived as an adversary (see L. Graham, 1995, pp. 9-16). I visited again for several months in 1984 before returning for two-years of doctoral dissertation research in 1985–87. In total, during the 1980s, I spent over three years conducting ethnographic research in this community. I am still considered to be an adopted member of Warodi's family.

Throughout my fieldwork in the 1980s elders from Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa, and Warodi in particular, discovered ways to adapt my ethnographer's documentary skills and technologies (writing, audio recording, photographing, and eventually video recording) to accommodate their desire to promote cultural continuity and to project A'uwẽ-Xavante knowledge and culture to broader audiences, öpore "across the sea," as Warodi put it (see Graham, 1995,

---

[6] For a discussion of natives in the national imaginary, see Guzmán (2013).

[7] For excellent descriptions of the contact, see Lopes da Silva (1992); also Garfield (2001) and Gomide (2008). A'uwẽ-Xavante, of course, tell a different story (see Serebu'rã, Rupawẽ, & Serenhimirãmi, 1997; also Graham, 1995).

[8] In 1982 Juruna was elected to the National Congress and became the first, and so far only, Indigenous leader to hold national office in Brazil. For more information on Juruna, see Conklin and Graham (1995); Garfield (2004), Graham (1995, pp. 46-47, 2011), Hemming (2003), Juruna, Hohlfeldt, & Hoffman (1982), Maybury-Lewis (1991) and Ramos (1998). For discussion of ways that the press used Juruna to advance the interests of the business class see Graham (2011).

also 1983). During much of this period the state was implementing massive economic development projects in A'uwẽ-Xavante areas and many elders expressed concerns that the dramatic changes A'uwẽ-Xavante were experiencing posed serious threats to *A'uwẽ-höimanazé* (A'uwẽ-Xavante culture, knowledge and ways of living, see Graham, 2005). Some (mostly younger) men expected visitors—who were very rare and consisted mostly of government employees—to bring huge development projects. Warodi and other elders, on the other hand, welcomed my interest in *A'uwẽ-höimanazé*. Elders were interested in documentary technologies as means to record and disseminate their knowledge and A'uwẽ-Xavante culture; they even staged performances for my tape recorder and expected me to interpret these and write a book for audiences "across the sea" (Graham, 1995). The elders and I had numerous conversations about "cultural projects." Collaborating in some sort of "cultural project" could be, I thought, a way for me to satisfy the younger men and "give back" to the community that had so generously hosted me while I conducted research for my master's thesis and doctoral dissertation, and also help the elders in their mission to document and disseminate their wisdom and traditions.

In June 1991, seven years after the padre's visit made its indelible impression on me, and inspired by Terence Turner's work with the Kayapó video project and Vincent Carelli's *Video nas Aldeias* (Video in the Villages, VNA),[9] I travelled to Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa to discuss the possibility of implementing a video project. After presenting the idea in the *warã* men's council and discussing it with community leaders, who were extremely enthusiastic, I again returned with a video camera, television, VCR machine for playback and, since there was no electricity, also a generator (see Graham 1995: 230). Given Juruna's astute use of the cassette tape recorder in political struggles over land, national media's history of manipulating representations of A'uwẽ-Xavante to serve dominant interests, elders' interest in communicating about themselves to audiences "across the sea," as well as A'uwẽ-Xavante's inability to control mediated representations of themselves and their culture to the world "outside," I expected that members of the community would discover many possible uses for this new technology. Also, since I had witnessed young men's rapid and enthusiastic uptake of cassette recorders to re-

cord and play back singing, known as *da-ño're*, in the 1980s, I expected that men would eagerly embrace this technology. *Da-ño're* is a form of song and dance closely associated with boys, adolescent males, and young men (see Aytai, 1985, and Graham, 1995, pp. 103-136). I also wondered if women might try the new technology and how they might use it.

4.1. The 1980s Mediascape: Cassettes, Alterity and Male-Centric Management of Technology

When I made my first trip to Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa in 1982 there were no cassette recorders, other than the one I brought as part of my ethnographic toolkit. Valdo, who held a salaried position as a truck driver, owned a portable battery-operated transistor radio which he mostly played in his home but occasionally took to the *warã* central plaza for entertainment before the evening men's council got underway. People were much more interested in my tape recorder than in Valdo's radio, however, and particularly in recordings I made of *da-ño're* singing. People of all ages had what, to me, seemed nearly insatiable appetites for listening to *da-ño're* recordings. They were so eager in fact that I had to hoard my supply of batteries and, frankly, be stingy about playing back recordings (which made me feel bad but people were fairly understanding).

In 1984, during my second visit, the pressure to play back my recordings began to let up. By this time several young men, also in salaried positions, owned their own boom boxes and used them exclusively to record and play back *da-ño're*. Over the next year cassette recorders proliferated throughout the community and, because young men move between their natal homes and their in-laws' houses, for some portion of each 24-hour period there was at least one boom box in almost every house. Demands on me shifted from requests to play back my *da-ño're* recordings to appeals for batteries and blank cassettes and, sometimes, portable cassette recorders.

A'uwẽ-Xavante enjoyed listening to *da-ño're* recorded in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa and also in other A'uwẽ-Xavante communities, as affordable cassettes enabled people to exchange recordings across communities. They delighted in listening to these recordings at all hours of the day and night, as long as battery supplies lasted. Even in the wee hours of the morning boom boxes blasted *da-ño're* at high volume, often distorted by dying batteries. Young people especially enjoyed playing loud recordings at night to hide the sounds of their lovemaking. When suitors visited the young maidens in the house of my adopted family no one, other than me, seemed to mind the earsplitting sonic screens that made my sleep impossible.

The gendered adoption and incorporation of cassette technology in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa conforms to A'uwẽ-Xavante's male-centric "symbolic eco-

---

[9] Established in 1987, Video in the Villages (Video nas Aldeias, VNA) is a Brazilian non-profit that works with Indigenous Peoples who want to share and discuss ideas about image and representation and make films. For more information about VNA, see Ignacio de Carvalho (2009); also Aufderheide (1995) and Z. Graham (2014). The connection with VNA was especially important during the first decade of the Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa project.

nomy of alterity," or way of dealing with and managing relations with Others and worlds beyond the local community (see L. Graham, 2014).[10] A'uwẽ-Xavante men selectively bring their knowledge, experiences and elements from the "outside"—in this case cassette technology—into communities where women as well as men comment on, transform and adapt these to local circumstances. By the end of the decade, a few young women occasionally operated the boom boxes of their husbands or brothers to make recordings of their performances, but young men dominated the uptake of cassette technology. They adapted it to document and then enjoy, with their age mates and families, the expressive form that is practiced most by adolescent boys and young men, and highly valued by all. The same gendered pattern characterized the uptake of video in this community. From the early 1990s through the first decade of the new millennium men dominated use of new media technologies. As we shall see below, females are just now beginning to get involved.

4.2. Experimenting with Audio-Visual Technologies

[10] Building on the work of Joanna Overing (1977, 1983–1984), Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1992) and other scholars of native Amazonia, I characterize a A'uwẽ-Xavante ideology and pattern of orientation to Others and difference, including others' technologies, as a "symbolic economy of alterity."

On the night the equipment debuted in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa the entire community gathered to sit in front of the television, which I positioned on a wooden table in the *warã* central plaza (Figure 3). Cacique Suptó formally thanked me and expressed his enthusiasm for the project. He introduced the new technology, explaining that the video camera "holds" (records) pictures of movement and sound on a (VHS) tape that is similar to, but larger than, an audio cassette. He then described that the VCR machine transmits images that are "held" on the tape to the television for display and that both machines are powered by the generator, which we had set up behind his house. He then invited me to speak.

"This is a ''cultural project,'" I began, "along the lines that Warodi had imagined." I clarified that, unlike most of the projects in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa and other A'uwẽ-Xavante communities at the time, this was not a state-sponsored project with a state-defined objective. "This technology provides you the opportunity to experiment and discover how *you* want to use it, like other Indigenous Peoples are doing elsewhere in Brazil and around the world." I avoided introducing this equipment as part of any explicit political or activist agenda, even though I thought of the community's ability to control means of documentation and viewing as inherently political, as means to achieve greater representational sovereignty.

Figure 3. Watching the first videos in the *warã* central plaza. Source: Photo courtesy of Laura R. Graham (1991).

I expected that, in typical A'uwẽ-Xavante fashion, men would be the first to experiment; they would, discuss it extensively in caucus and in the *warã* council and, through trial and error, adopt and adapt it as they perceived it would be most useful. "Women as well as men can operate this equipment," I said, adding, "I am happy to show anyone who wants to learn how to operate it." I also thanked Vincent Carelli and Video in the Villages (Video nas Aldeias, VNA) that supported launching the project. "When I leave in August," I added, "I will to take whoever you choose with me to São Paulo to meet Vincent Carelli and learn more about Video in the Villages and its work."

We then watched several VNA films, including "The [Nambiquara] Girls' Ceremony" (Video nas Aldeias, 1987), "The Spirit of TV" (Video nas Aldeias 1990) and Kayapó films that Carelli and Turner had provided as examples of ways that other Indigenous communities were using video. These, like much of VNA's work at the time, illustrated the documentary use of video to preserve elders' knowledge and traditional culture and also as a catalyst for self-reflection and cultural revitalization. These documentary ideologies, including convictions concerning the media's permanence, resonated with local concerns and were reinforced in subsequent VNA-sponsored workshops and activities that included participants from Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa. The documentary orientation, and especially the idea of durability, informs much of the media work in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa and its splinter communities. No one from these communities has yet produced a work of fiction or a genre other than documentary (including a pedagogical film about oral hygiene) and media makers and others from these communities do not, at least so far, question notions of video as holding up a mirror that reflects present visible and acoustic reality.[11] This is evident in the editing process, as media makers place great importance on sequencing events as they transpired (see also Turner, 2002b).

Seeing and hearing video images from neighboring Indigenous Peoples on TV was a novel and exciting experience and people watched the TV with great fascination (see also Gallois & Carelli, 1995). Animated by what they had seen, over the next days several young men, all outgoing individuals who had considerable experience with the *warazu* (non-indigenous) world, eagerly experimented with the camera. Women and girls were reluctant, even though I invited several to try. Looking through the viewfinder was the closest any

female got to handling the camera.

Young men filmed various quotidian activities in these first experiments: children playing games, chickens running about, dogs scratching, people weaving baskets and mats. And, since they took the camera to their various abodes, the first days' experiments offered a sample of goings on in a number of different households. Each night people gathered around the TV in the *warã* to see the results of these first experiments; expressions of surprise, roars of laughter and guffaws filled the air as people identified friends and family members and delighted in seeing images of themselves projected on the television screen for the first time.

Within a few days community leaders initiated a series of discussions to decide how to manage the new technology. First they decided to build a structure that would protect the TV and be big enough to shelter an audience of television viewers. Construction began immediately and the "television's dwelling" was completed within a few weeks. They also determined, not surprisingly since the new technology conferred considerable prestige, that cacique Suptó would act as guardian of the TV, playback machine and generator. Until the TV house was completed, these would remain in Suptó's home, signaling and further reinforcing his status (see also Turner, 2002a). Another young man, Roberto, was the ideal candidate for operating the television and playback equipment since he spoke good Portuguese and, as FUNAI's "Chief of Post" who operated the shortwave radio at the FUNAI Post, had experience operating electronic equipment.

After considering various candidates, the elders selected one of Warodi's nephews, a youth named Caimi Waiassé who was then 15, to learn to use the camera and "make films." Waiassé had just returned to Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa from the Brazilian city of Goiânia where he had lived with a Portuguese-speaking family, studied in a Brazilian school and successfully completed eighth grade. His ability to speak good Portuguese and familiarity with the *warazu* world made him, in the elders' opinion, ideally suited to the job.

From the outset, male elders took the lead in determining which activities should be filmed. Once I provided Waiassé with basic instruction and he experimented for several days, the elders decided that he and I should film an upcoming hunting trip. Since hunting is a quintessentially male activity in which men take immense pride, it is not surprising that elders first directed their new technology to document hunting activities. They even designated two pre-initiate boys, one each to me and Waiassé, to carry our camera bags. We filmed the ceremonial *da-ño're* singing and dancing that mark the beginning of the *du* (grass) ceremonial hunt, parts of the excursion to and from the site and also the butchering and associated activities which, since someone shot and killed a male tapir, included anointing the novitiates with its urine. From a distance

---

[11]For discussion of VNA's mission and ideology, see Carelli (1995) and Aufderheide (1995). For excellent discussion of documentary ideology in Indigenous video projects in Mexico, see Wortham (2013). Gershon and Malitsky (2011) offer perspectives from linguistic anthropology adding to the discussion about the links between representation and reality in documentary film.

Waiassé spotted and filmed a few animals as they darted through the brush. Hunting itself proved to be a challenge to film. For this type of dry-season hunt, A'uwẽ-Xavante flush out game by setting ablaze a large expanse of dry savannah grassland. Smoke fills the air, obscuring visibility and stinging eyes, which makes it difficult to see—no less film.

The next evening, when we reviewed footage to evaluate and critique the day's work, as we did each day, Waiassé saw how tiny the images of these animals appeared when projected on the television screen. "*Wẽ bö*!" he exclaimed with dismay. "You can barely see anything!" This was instructive, for he as well as others, learned by seeing that the human eye and brain make adjustments for context that the camera does not (see Waiassé, 1995). From then on Waiassé became bolder in his camera work. He began to approach his subjects less timidly and film at closer range. His primary subjects, other people in the community, also began to understand and accept the camera at close range. In fact, ceremonial participants began to expect the camera, anticipate its focus and, taking pride in their performance, appeared to execute behaviors with special care when they knew they were being filmed. Indeed, one of the filming techniques that has emerged in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa is the practice of focusing on and documenting each participant in ceremonials that are filmed. People enjoy watching, and evaluating these takes; many of which are omitted from films edited for non-A'uwẽ-Xavante viewers because, as Waiassé explained, to non-A'uwẽ-Xavante

eyes, they appear repetitive and redundant.

When Waiassé and I left for São Paulo two months later, he got his first introduction to editing equipment (see Figure 4). He learned more about VNA and its projects, and a productive collaboration ensued. Throughout the 1990s and into the first years of the new millennium, Waiassé worked with VNA. He participated in VNA workshops, including several in other Indigenous communities, collaborated on several VNA video projects and travelled with VNA to Indigenous film festivals in Brazil and also internationally. He attended and screened his work at the V Festival de Cine y Video de Pueblos Indígenas in Bolivia in 1996, the Margaret Mead Festival in New York in 1997 and, in 2000, the VI Festival de Cine y Video de Pueblos Indígenas Americanos in Madrid, among others. These activities immersed Waiassé in the discourse of image politics that informs much of VNA and other Indigenous media work. When he returned from his travels he brought these discourses back to the community where they intersected with emerging discussions on these topics and contributed to an increasing awareness of the politics of representation and recognition of the importance of controlling auto-ethnographic representations (Pratt, 1992), or "image" as Waiassé and others in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa put it (see Graham, 2005). The partnership with VNA and the opportunities and relationships that it afforded exemplify an 'embedded aesthetics' at scale, for Waiassé established relationships with people and institutions both in Brazil and across the globe.

Figure 4. Waiassé experiments with equipment at Video in the Villages. Source: Photo courtesy of Laura R. Graham (1991).

4.3. Incorporating Video

Within several years leaders further underscored their endorsement of video work by designating Jorge Protodi, one of Waiassé's age mates and his *da-ãmo* ceremonial friend, as a second *dahöirbari'wa* or *dapótó'wa* as "photographers" are called in A'uwẽ-Xavante.[12] Protodi, who was fascinated with the video camera and actively expressed interest in working with the camera, is an ideal counterpart to Waiassé, for their *da-ãmo* bond as complementary social selves translates into their documentary work.[13] Camera operators are expected to meet their ceremonial obligations fully and film when their participation can be spared. In ceremonies where Waiassé and Protodi must both participate, their social complementarity generally means that one is able to film while the other cannot. During the initiation ceremonial for the *Ai'rere* age-set, they juggled roles as the initiates' sponsors and camera operators. Adorned in full ceremonial regalia, they creatively adapted the obligations associated with their social personae and ceremonial participation with their roles as camera operators; when one was obliged to fulfill his ceremonial role, the other stepped out of his to take up the camera. While filming the *Wai'a rini* ceremonial featured in the film *Darini*

---

[12] *Dahöibari* and *dapótó* are synonyms for photograph. The word for photographer consists of adding the agentive morpheme *'wa*, literally "photograph maker."

[13]For discussion of A'uwẽ-Xavante ceremonial friendship, see Lopes da Silva (1986); also Maybury-Lewis (1974, pp. 108-109). For discussion of age sets and social structure generally, see Maybury-Lewis (1974); also Graham (2009).

(Waiassé & Protodi, 2005), Waiassé's and Protodi's membership in complementary segmentary groups enabled them to alternate the roles of camera operator and ritual participant. Together they maximized their participation in ceremonial activities and filming. (Figure 5).

With two filmmakers, the role of *dahöirbari'wa* or *dapótó'wa*, "cineaste" (filmmaker), became a recognized and respected, albeit unsalaried, position in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa. This work takes its incumbents away from other obligations and routine chores and shifts these burdens to others. When Waiassé began this work for example, he had obligations as a groom to his wife's family. He was required to work for his bride's father in the family swidden garden where, as a son-in-law, he assisted in the hard labor of felling trees and clearing fields. Waiassé's in-laws also expected him to supply them with game from hunting trips. When Waiassé's cineaste commitments kept him from performing his family chores, by removing him from the village, his brothers compensated with their labor and some game, if they had success on their hunting trips. When Waiassé returns from city trips, he compensates those who pick up the slack by contributing consumer goods purchased in the city, such as cloth or clothing or other store-bought items that are that are difficult to obtain. Waiassé's situation improved when he moved into a salaried position working as a teacher in the Wederã community school and also sometimes at the FUNAI post. This has somewhat restricted his availability to work on film projects. He is, however, able to devote more time during school recess.

Figure 5. Waiassé filming in full ceremonial regalia. Source: Photo courtesy of Rosa Gauditano/Studio R (2001).

Waiassé, joined by Protodi toward the end of the 1990s, began to document activities that take place in public space—ceremonials especially but also quotidian activities, such as weaving mats and baskets, hunting and fishing trips, and work in swidden gardens. Waiassé explained to an audience at the University of Iowa, where he has shown his work several times, that activities which are not open to public viewing are "off limits." However, A'uwẽ-Xavante filmmakers do indeed film some behaviors that take place away from public viewing and which, according to an A'uwẽ-Xavante aesthetic, are not considered "spectator worthy" (see L. Graham, 2014). Filmmakers often film ceremonial preparations, including body painting, that take place either within the home or in ritually secluded areas. While these activities are not specifically considered "good to look at" they are not taboo to women and non-initiates and are, therefore, acceptable to photograph and film.[14]

Community leaders quickly developed a clear sense of what they want documented, both for internal consumption and also to show *warazu* (non-indigenous peoples), for they see film as an instrument to showcase the beauty of A'uwẽ-Xavante culture, deepen non-Indigenous Peoples' understanding of A'uwẽ, and improve Xavante's image in the national public sphere (see Graham, 2005, also 2001). From the outset elders were especially enthusiastic about filming male-centered ceremonials, the events and activities that they think of as most spectator worthy and "beautiful to look at." They also envisioned the technology as a way to "make a record for future generations," as Waiassé puts it. And, since public activities that A'uwẽ-Xavante consider to be most beautiful are male-centric, filming male-centered ceremonial activities soon became the primary focus of much of Waiassé and Protodi's documentary work. The idea to make *Darini* (Waiassé & Protodi, 2005), for example, a film that documents boys' initiation into the *Wai'a* ceremonial complex, came directly from the elders (Waiassé, personal communication, 2007).

During the late 1990s and into the new millennium, when men from Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa collaborated with cultural presenters from São Paulo to stage ethnographic spectacles for audiences in Brazilian cities and also internationally, they designated at least one coveted spot on their trips for a cineasta. One camera operator, either Waiassé or Protodi—if not both, traveled with groups of performers to make an audio-visual documentary record of their performance and experiences (see Graham, 2005). In this way, those who

stayed behind could see and hopefully have a better understanding of the work as well as the world and people that the travelers encountered in Brazilian cities and *öpore* "across the ocean." Organizers and participants could also review, evaluate and critique performances, as they do with footage of other ceremonials, and use their observations to improve future performances (see Waiassé, 1995). One day, Waiassé says, he hopes to edit this footage and make a film of the *öpore* trips and work.

While the majority of the filmmakers' work focuses on documenting ceremonial activities, leaders from Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa eventually began to incorporate audio visual recording technologies into their strategy for dealing with representatives from FUNAI and other government bodies, much like Mario Juruna did with his audio-cassette recorder and as the Kayapó (and subsequently others) have done with video cameras (see, for example, Turner, 1991a). They use this technology to make documentary records of important meetings, which they can later use to press for accountability. Pending the availability of functioning equipment and camera operators, this practice has become routine. In 2008, after I gave a recreational video camera to my adopted family in Pimentel Barbosa, a leader from a different Xavante territory (T.I. Sangradouro) reported to me that, whenever he can, cacique Suptó brings his son Romé, a young filmmaker, to meetings where he "films *everything*!" (Top'tiro personal communication, November 2008). More recently, in May 2015 Waiassé filmed a meeting in Pimentel Barbosa between leaders from all Xavante territories and FUNAI representatives to discuss the proposed South American transcontinental railroad that, if constructed, would directly impact multiple Xavante territories, especially T.I. Pimentel Barbosa and Areões its neighbor to the south (see Figure 2).

5. Partnerships and Challenges

From the outset filmmakers' primary objective has been to make a documentary record of community activities, especially ritual and ceremonial, for future generations and for local entertainment. Films directed to outside audiences—of secondary albeit considerable importance—are, thus far, produced in collaboration with non-A'uwẽ-Xavante. These productions are edited and variously conceptualized (gradually to a lesser extent) together with individuals who have experience and technical expertise in editing and production (see Elder, 1995; Michaels, 1994; Prins, 2002; Ruby, 1991, 1995; Turner, 1995). The idea for *Da'wa Wede* (Oral Hygiene), for example, originated with São Paulo-based dentist Rui Arantes, who has worked in the community, and is a collaboration between the dentist, Waiassé and others (Waiassé, Hoiwa, & Arantes, 2000).

The Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa communities do

[14] See Eric Michaels (1991) for an excellent discussion of viewing restrictions and documentary filming. For discussion of viewing restrictions and dilemmas associated with displaying culture in national and global public arenas, see, for example, Myers (2014).

not have local resources to sustain audio-visual projects. They rely on outside partnerships, collaborations and external funding. As the filmmakers become more familiar with the documentary genre and editing technologies especially, they are assuming greater responsibility for and control over their projects. In the third decade of working with video/film, a growing group of filmmakers has local access to computers and editing software, and filmmakers are now editing for local consumption on site in Wederã. Archiving and keeping up with changes in technology and audio-visual platforms present major ongoing problems. Storing as well as accessing historic footage is illusive and presents unique challenges to the goal of "making a record for future generations." Thus, while local control of various aspects of their audio-visual media video is growing, some elements entail various forms of dependency (see Graham, 2009).

5.1. Narrative Construction and Editing

Waiassé's experience illustrates the evolution toward increasing independence and control over the production process. From the outset Waiassé, like other Indigenous filmmakers in neighboring Ge societies (see Turner, 1991b), exhibited acute visual sensitivity and a talent for using the video camera. The idea of telling a story through film was, however, initially unfamiliar and daunting. The initiative to make Waiassé's first film, *One Must Be Curious* (1995), came not from Waiassé, but from VNA. This film, which provides an overview of Waiassé's and the community's early experiences with the video camera, grew out of VNA's need to generate a "film product" to show to funders to justify investment in Indigenous media and, more specifically, its work with Waiassé and Eténhiritipa-Pimentel-Barbosa.[15] Tutu Nunes (personal communication, 1999), a VNA staff member who worked with Waiassé to produce the film, explained:

> "Waiassé had had the camera for several years and was accumulating a lot of footage. He was filming, filming, filming but didn't have the slightest idea what to do with all of the images. We [Video in the Villages] decided that it was time for him to make

---

[15] Film products are a principal means by which VNA is able to illustrate to donors and funders the significance and impact of its work. Maintaining equipment, facilities for editing, archiving, work-shopping, as well as providing ongoing technical support involve considerable costs (see, Carelli, 1995, also Aufderheide, 1995). Explicit metacommentary regarding video's effectiveness as a means of cultural revitalization and as a documentary record of endangered cultural practices characterize early VNA films. This emphasis can, in part, be understood in light of VNA/Carelli's need to justify the use of video as a means to advance Indigenous rights.

something [a film product]." (Nunes, personal communication 1999).

To transform Waiassé's considerable footage into a film text accessible and legible to non-A'uwẽ-Xavante, Nunes positioned Waiassé in front of a camera, clipped on a lavalier tie-tack microphone, and—as they watched Waiassé's footage on screen—interviewed him about the corpus of images he had accumulated. This interview provided the narrative backbone for *One Must Be Curious*, which Nunes edited with Waiassé at his side (Nunes, personal communication, 1999). Together Nunes and Waiassé produced a film text appropriate for screening in a variety of contexts including festivals and classrooms, as well as for VNA funders and donors. Like other early VNA films, Waiassé's commentary underscores the importance of "image" and video for cultural vitality and continuity, and indicates his immersion in discourses then circulating in VNA-sponsored workshops and festivals that Waiassé attended. Like other early VNA films, *One Must Be Curious* can be understood within the context of demands placed on VNA and the significant challenges entailed in promoting the use of new media to advance Indigenous autonomy and rights in communities that do not have resources to carry out these projects independently (see Carelli 1995; Aufderheide, 1995).

In the VNA production, *Wapté Mnhono* (Patira, Waiassé, Tserewahu, Protodi, & Suyá, 1999), a group of five young camera operators (four A'uwẽ-Xavante and Winti Suyá, from a neighboring culturally related group) shot footage of an A'uwẽ-Xavante initiation in the community of Sangradouro. Meanwhile Carelli stationed himself in a house apart from the activities where he digitized ("captured") the abundant footage coming in from five different cameras. According to Waiassé (personal communication, 2007), Carelli made rough-cut sequences and, based on his initial review of the footage, indicated to the camera operators additional shots or explanations that were needed to make the filmed sequences intelligible to non-A'uwẽ-Xavante viewers. Later the team returned to São Paulo with Carelli to edit in VNA's studios. Carelli managed the technical aspects of editing while the A'uwẽ-Xavante supervised the ordering of narrative sequences. For Waiassé, Carelli's and Winti Suyá's "outsider" perspectives were indispensable to the film's narrative construction; they helped the A'uwẽ-Xavante filmmakers understand when and where they needed to make their knowledge transparent to non-A'uwẽ-Xavante viewers.

The making of *Wapte Mnhono* proved an indispensible learning experience for the filmmakers and others in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa. While the filmmakers learned from each other and gained important insights into the process of making aspects of their culture and knowledge intelligible to non-A'uwẽ-Xavante, the film inspired elders in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa to

think about making edited films of ceremonials in their own community. They directed Waiassé and Protodi to film the next *Darini*, the initiation into the *Wai'a* complex. According to Waiassé (personal communication, 2007), since this ceremonial is performed only once every fifteen years or so and many elders recognized that they might not be alive the next time it is performed, they wanted their participation filmed. The ideology that the film medium creates a permanent documentary record is explicit in elders' commentary in this film. Many works on indigenous video underscore elders' understanding of the technology as a way to document their knowledge and practice for future generations (see for example Ginsburg, 1994; Turner, 1991; Wortham, 2013).

Waiassé and Protodi's efforts to complete this project illustrate their dedication and persistence as well as the challenges associated with reliance on partners. Following the elders mandate, they filmed the ceremonial and, hyper-aware of and attentive to the camera's presence, many elders stepped out of their ceremonial roles to speak directly to the camera. This is something I had not seen before; previously, during ceremonials A'uwẽ-Xavante had not acknowledged the presence of any cameras nor altered any ceremonial behaviors in relation to a camera.

While Waiassé and Protodi's experience with *Wapte Mnhono* had given them a much clearer understanding of how to structure a documentary narrative, neither had the necessary equipment nor the technical skills to edit their footage. After filming, it took over four years to identify supportive allies, financial resources and the technical expertise they needed to complete the project. Over 30 hours of raw footage languished, untouched, in precarious conditions in Waiassé and Protodi's thatched homes. Eventually they mentioned the project and their desire to complete a film to Rosa Gauditano, a photographer who has worked in the community (see, for example, Gauditano, 2003). Gauditano is founder of Nossa Tribo, a São Paulo-based NGO that works to expand and facilitate communication and understanding between native and non-native peoples.

Gauditano embraced the idea of the *Darini* film and worked with Waiassé and Protodi to raise funds to complete the project. They developed a proposal that included financial support for the filmmakers' travel between Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa and São Paulo and stipends to offset the burdens that involvement in the project placed on Waiassé and Protodi's households. After two years, Gauditano identified an ally in the film department at the Methodist University (MU) in São Paulo who made editing facilities available during summer vacation and provided internships to advanced students to do editing and post-production work at no cost (Gauditano, personal communication, 2008). This mutually beneficial partnership provided Waiassé and Protodi access to the facilities and technical expertise they needed to complete the film and an invaluable opportunity for MU students to work on a unique project.

During the editing process, which took approximately three months, Waiassé and Protodi returned to the community several times to get elders' input and feedback on successive rough-cut versions. As the project progressed, elders expanded their initial vision and decided that a version suitable for non-A'uwẽ-Xavante audiences should also be produced (Waiassé personal communication, 2007). This decision prompted another round of costly trips to São Paulo, each of which takes at least three days. Gauditano found professionals to translate the narrative and make the final product available in English, French and Japanese, as well as Portuguese (Waiassé & Protodi, 2005). Gauditano's support, and connections enabled the project to be completed, albeit years after the initial filming.

Waiassé received his first formal training in editing in 2007, at a workshop in Iowa City, Iowa, that I organized to work with footage of an A'uwẽ-Xavante environmental campaign filmed by myself, David Hernández Palmar (a Wayuu photographer from Venezuela) and Jorge Protodi. To teach basic skills in footage management (capturing/digitizing) and editing, I enlisted a former University of Iowa student, Drew Annis, who was then teaching Final Cut to students at the Reikes Center, a nonprofit based in Redwood City, California. The motivation for this workshop was our mutual desire to produce some sort of film text based on footage from the events we had documented and also my recognition, based on previous experience with both Waiassé and Hernández that, though each had worked on film projects, neither had any real editing experience. The film, *Owners of the Water: Conflict and collaboration over rivers* (Graham, Hernández, & Waiassé, 2009), grew out of this workshop and our collaboration. As part of this project Waiassé and Hernández each received an Apple MacBook Pro laptop. This was Waiassé's first personal computer and it enabled him, as well as Hernández, to continue using the skills they acquired, including digitizing some of the mountains of analog footage that Waiassé and Protodi had accumulated over the years. Having his own computer had a significant impact on Waiassé's professional development and future work. "The computer that I received as part of this project made a tremendous difference in my work. Being able to work with high quality equipment improved my work a great deal" (Waiassé, 2014).

Waiassé and Protodi next completed *Oi'ó*, a film that documents a boys' ceremonial club fight, for local as well as non-indigenous consumption (Waiassé, n.d.). Again they worked with Nossa Tribo. When Waiassé visited the U.S. in 2009 for the screening of *Owners of the Water* at the Museum of the American Indian Film+Video Festival, he purchased a new camera and other equipment for the *Oi'ó* project with monies from

a grant from the Brazilian Ministry of Culture.

Now Waiassé and Protodi and a group of young filmmakers are documenting and making films of activities in all three of the communities in the vicinity of the Pimentel Barbosa Indigenous Post (P.I.): Pimentel Barbosa (the original community), Eténhiritipa (established in 2007) and Wederã (established in 2002). Since 2011, a watershed year marked by the arrival of electricity, Waiassé and Protodi have been training a group of boys who have been filming and editing with the support of a state-sponsored project in the Wederã school. "A small part of [the school's] budget was designated to purchase AV equipment: a still camera and video camera" (Waiassé, 2014). Although schools in all of the communities in the vicinity of P. I. Pimentel Barbosa have some equipment, the school in Wederã, supported by grants obtained by the local Ponto de Cultura Apöwe Association, is currently the best equipped for audio-visual work. Waiassé and Protodi give workshops at the school.

In 2007, as part of a state-sponsored program, Waiassé and Protodi received training in the program *Softlivre* ("freeware") and some of the youths they work with are now beginning to specialize in other aspects of filmmaking and the use of information technologies beyond working with the camera. The media group also includes several girls. One of these is Clara, daughter of Wederã's cacique, Cipassé and Severia Idori (Karaja) who completed some of her studies outside of the community in the town of Agua Boa. In 2015, Clara entered the program in Journalism at a University in Goiânia.. The next generation of filmmakers is beginning to specialize in various aspects of filmmaking and also other digital technologies, including editing using the *Softlivre* (freeware) programs provided by the Ministry of Culture. The Museu do Indio, of the National Indian Foundation, is also sponsoring the construction of a museum in Pimentel Barbosa that will eventually be equipped for film editing. Filmmakers from this community work closely with the Museu do Indio in Rio de Janeiro. At the time I am writing, construction on this facility is stalled, yet another frustrating situation for media makers who are anxious to use it.

Filmmakers from all P.I. Pimentel Barbosa communities use the facilities in Wederã to edit films for local consumption. "There are now many films of rituals, all in Xavante [language], for internal consumption" (Waiassé, personal communication, 2015). Some projects for local consumption and, so far, all longer films directed to non-A'uwẽ-Xavante audiences are completed working in collaboration with city-based partners. For example, in July 2015, Waiassé travelled nearly 2,000 kilometres to Curitiba to work with a new partner, the firm PRESERVAR, to edit films for use in the Wederã school. He plans to finish a film on A'uwẽ-Xavante butchering practices for his final project in a five-year program for Indigenous educators at the State University

of Mato Grosso and expects to graduate in January 2016 with a degree as a *Professor Licenciado* (licensed teacher) and a concentration in Language, Arts, and Literature (see Waiassé 2014).

5.2. Equipment, Data and Archival Management

Although filmmakers in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa are increasingly successful in their own grant writing efforts, they depend on outside support to sustain many aspects of their projects. Securing and maintaining equipment presents one set of problems. The high humidity of the wet season and insidious dust of the dry season, coupled with the lack of climate-controlled, bug-free storage facilities, is extremely hard on electronic equipment. Broken or damaged equipment must be taken to distant cities for repairs since getting reliable work done in the region is often difficult and equipment is sometimes stolen. Collaborators and partnerships are essential to this aspect of the project. Allies track progress and pick up equipment once repairs are complete, then hold it, sometimes for months, until a media-maker next visits the city.

Data management and archiving present perhaps the most serious and ongoing challenges to film projects in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa. As in other aspects of the project, partnerships are essential. Data management includes storage and archiving as well as the ability to access, retrieve and disseminate recorded materials. Managing media formats is presently a formidable problem. When we began, Waiassé filmed using the VHS format. His next camera was Video 8, then High-8. In the first decade of the new millennium he and Protodi moved to mini-DV and now, keeping up with the rapidly changing digital formats, they record using HD. Footage shot previously in these various early formats does not play on current equipment. This presents a serious challenge to the mandate to make a "record for future generations" that is locally accessible. Without the ability to translate recordings made in various formats and stabilize them in a digital archive that is routinely backed up and also accessible to community members, their recordings risk becoming as ephemeral as the performances they were meant to permanently preserve for the future. This challenge is becoming recognized as a general problem with Indigenous media projects. For instance, at a 2015 conference on Indigenous media held at Vanderbilt University, Erica Wortham (2015) raised these issues in relation to media projects in Oaxaca, Mexico.

Ethnomusicologists, and more recently linguistic anthropologists, have thought a great deal about the problems of storage, retrieval and accessibility of different formats—from wax cylinders and reel-to-reel tape recorders to digital formats—and the generally ephemeral nature of ethnographic recordings (see for example, Kung & Sherzer, 2013; Mengel & Sánchez-

Gomez, 2010; Seeger 1986, 1991, 1996). Several archives have been established to preserve primarily audio but also audio-visual documentary recordings made by scholars. The Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University and the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) are two of the most well established. AILLA, for example, is a digital archive consisting of original recordings made by anthropologists and linguists using a variety of formats from open reel-to-reel analog to digital. AILLA digitizes analog recordings and stores recorded samples from over 282 languages from 22 Latin American and Caribbean countries on servers that are managed and backed up by the University of Texas Libraries Digital Services (Kung & Sherzer, 2013, p. 380). Attentive to issues of privacy and cultural restrictions, AILLA has four levels of restricted access that allow depositors and communities to control access to data by means of passwords. Some materials are accessible to the general public; others are not. None of the material stored on AILLA is available for commercial use.

These archives primarily serve the needs of scholars; they curate researchers' field data and facilitate further scholarly research. The online platform also enables Indigenous Peoples and communities, those that have access to computers and the world wide web, access to archived recordings of their expressive cultures and languages. Native peoples and communities are thus important constituents. Managing data sourced from different media and providing long-term storage, with regular back-up capabilities, requires large institutional infrastructures that are way beyond the capacity of most Indigenous Peoples, and certainly beyond the scope of feasibility for the Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa communities.

No single stable archive houses the corpus of video footage that has been recorded by camera operators from Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa over the last 25 years. Some materials are stored and maintained in the facilities of various NGOs that have been partners over the years, but these are difficult to access. For example, VNA maintains an archive in its headquarters in Recife (although, with a collection of fragile materials spanning almost 30 years, it too faces challenges) and much of Waiassé's early footage is stored there, in secure, climate-controlled conditions. The northeastern city of Recife is, however, difficult and expensive to reach. Other footage, also not readily accessible, is archived at the Methodist University in São Paulo. Regional institutions that are closer to the community (within two days' travel), such as branches of the state university system, do not presently have the capacity—in terms of infrastructure, personnel, or commitment—to be viable alternatives. Much of Waiassé and Protodi's material has been stored precariously, in suitcases stacked in the back corners of their thatched homes where it is exposed to high humidity, heat, dust and insects.

Whenever he has time Waiassé now dedicates himself to digitizing old tapes and putting them into a format that can be stored on hard drives. The eventual goal is to store them on a cloud-based network, as Alexandra Halkin did with footage from the Chiapas Media Project (see Halkin, 2008). This will make the material relatively more accessible via computers in the schools and to the few individuals who, at present, own their own computers (two in Pimentel Barbosa and Eténhiritipa). Archiving continues to present serious challenges. Partnerships have been and continue to be essential to curatorial efforts, as they have been to other areas of their media work. The large distances media makers must travel to work with partners, as well as the unpredictability of partnerships which has resulted in a fragmented archive, also continue to present ongoing hardships.

6. Conclusions: Looking Forward

In the communities of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa, as in most Indigenous communities, remote location as well as a chronic lack of resources, especially the absence of a steady and reliable income stream, make it difficult to sustain media projects without partners (see also, for example, Wortham, 2013). Cameras and computers for editing are costly, as is travel to work with collaborators. Prolonged absences associated with editing big projects place additional burdens on media makers and their families. Archiving and curating present perhaps the most serious challenges and in this, conditions in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa are not unique.

When contemplating the challenges that Indigenous Peoples confront in their efforts to achieve representational sovereignty through the use of new media technologies, as well as via other representational forms such as embodied performance, it is essential to remember the broader social, political and economic context in which contemporary Indigenous Peoples live. Indigenous Peoples are the world's *most* marginalized and impoverished social groups. They face serious challenges in the areas of health, education, economy, and politics. Their territories and ways of life are under constant assault.

In the face of economic instability, critical lack of resources and access to social services, as well as the remote location, the people of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa, like most Indigenous Peoples, rely on and welcome support from various collaborators, even though their partnerships are often precarious, impermanent, unstable, and sometimes troubled by hierarchical power relations. The dilemmas associated with working with non-indigenous partners to sustain media projects are not fundamentally different from those associated with partnerships forged to improve conditions in their communities and better other areas of their lives (see for example Ball, 2012; Conklin & L.Graham, 1995).

Media partnerships in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa, like other collaborations, thus have two sides. They are valuable and beneficial because they provide access to and facilitate the acquisition and maintenance of equipment, offer technical support related to technologies and also help build other capacities, such as grant writing and financial management skills. They deepen and extend relationships both in and beyond the community through opportunities for travel and access to new relationships and arenas—such as workshops, conferences and festivals (see Ginsburg, 2002). These are valuable platforms for showcasing A'uwẽ-Xavante wisdom and culture, and align with Warodi's and other elders' goals.

Media partnerships can also be conflicted: collaborators are located in distant cities and sometimes, as in my case, live on different continents. Partners are not always available, and may have different priorities. Collaborations may also run their course, as in the case of the relationship with VNA. Some are troubled by hierarchical power relations. Although working with partners may be frustrating and involve setbacks, in Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa these problems have not undermined peoples' commitment to using new media. Media makers consistently discover creative ways to deal with these challenges. The recently established partnership with PRESERVAR, for example, is helping to transform the tremendous backlog of materials recorded in various formats into a "stable" digital medium that Waiassé hopes can become the basis for an accessible archive. The recent arrival of electricity and the availability of computers in the Wederã school, along with the very recent addition of a few personal computers, greatly enhances possibilities for accessing an online archive.

The dedication, persistence, creativity and adaptability with which people of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa respond to the challenges of managing their use of audio-visual technologies is typical of A'uwẽ-Xavante, indeed Amazonian peoples' creative responses to change (see, for example, Chernela, 2012; Green, 2009; Oakdale, 2009; Santos-Granero, 2009). Waiassé and Protodi are now training the next generation of youths, who are enthusiastically beginning to specialize in various aspects of media work, some in editing, others in sound, for example. Young people also are now turning to Facebook and other new social media and using these low-cost and relatively more accessible alternatives to enter and claim space within Cyberia (Prins, 2002). Persistence, dedication and commitment, along with a new generation of enthusiastic media makers, are without doubt the community's greatest assets. These are the resources that the people of Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa can most rely on as they move forward in their efforts toward achieving even greater representational sovereignty.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

References

American Anthropological Association. (2004). American Anthropological Association Statement on Ethnography and Institutional Review Boards. Retrieved from http://www.americananthro.org/ParticipateAndAdvocate/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=1652

Aufderheide, P. (1995). The video in the villages project: Video making with and by Brazilian Indians. *Visual Anthropology Review*, *11*(2), 83-93.

Aytai, D. (1985). *O mundo sonoro Xavante. Coleção museu paulista, etnologia* (Vol. 5). São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo.

Ball, C. (2012). Stop Loss: Developing Interethnic relati-

ons in Brazil's Xingu Indigenous Park. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, *17*(3), 413-434.

Berkhoffer, R. F. (1978). *White man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the present*. New York: Vintage Books.

Carelli, V. (1995). *The project and the documentaries: Two distinct and complementary dimensions of the "Video in the Villages Project."* New York: New York University: Center for Media, Culture and History.

Chernela, J. (*2012). Masquerading the voice: Texts of the self in the Brazilian northwest Amazon. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, *68*, 315-120.

Conklin, B., & Graham, L. (1995). The shifting middle ground: Amazonian Indians and eco-politics. *American Anthropologist*, *97*(4), 695-710.

Cultural Survival. (2010). *Cultural survival style guide*. Unpublished manuscript.

Deloria, V. (1969). *Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto*. New York: Macmillan.

Deloria, P. J. (1998). *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dowell, K. L. (2013). *Sovereign screens: Aboriginal media on the Canadian West coast*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Elder, S. (1995). Collaborative filmmaking: An open space for making meaning, a moral ground for ethnographic film. *Visual Anthropology Review*, *11*(2), 94-101.

Gallois, D. T., & Carelli, V. (1995). Video in the villages: The Waiãpi experience. In H. Henrik Philipsend & B. Markussen (Eds.), *Advocacy and Indigenous filmmaking* (pp. 23-37). Højbjerg, Denmark: Intervention Press.

Garfield, S. (2001). *Indigenous struggle at the heart of Brazil: State policy, frontier expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Garfield, S. (2004). Mario Juruna: Brazil's first Indigenous congressman. In P. M. Beattie (Ed.), *The Human tradition in modern Brazil* (pp. 287-304). Wilmington: SR Books.

Gauditano, R. (2003). *Raízes do povo Xavante*. São Paulo: Studio R.

Gershon, I., & Malitsky, J. (2011). Documentary studies and linguistic anthropology. *Culture, Theory and Critique*, *52*(1), 45-63.

Ginsburg, F. (1991). Indigenous media: Faustian contract or global village? Cultural Anthropology, 6(1), 92-112.

Ginsburg, F. (1993). Aboriginal media and the Australian imaginary. Public Culture, 5(3), 557-578.

Ginsburg, F. (1994). Embedded aesthetics: Creating a discursive space for indigenous media. Cultural Anthropology, 9(3), 365-382.

Ginsburg, F. (1995a). Mediating culture: Indigenous media, ethnographic film and the production of identity.

In L. Devereaux & R. Hillman (Eds.), Fields of vision: Essays in film studies, visual anthropology, and photography. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ginsburg, F. (1995b). The Parallax Effect: The impact of Aboriginal media on ethnographic film. Visual Anthropology Review, 11(2), 64-76.

Ginsburg, F. (1999). Shooting back: From ethnographic film to the ethnography of media. In T. Miller & R. Stam (Eds.), *A companion to film theory* (pp. 295-322). London: Blackwell.

Ginsburg, F. (2002). Screen memories: Resignifying the traditional in indigenous media. In F. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, & B. Larkin (Eds.), *Media worlds: Anthropology on new terrain* (pp. 39-57). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ginsburg, F. (2011). Native intelligence: A short history of debates on indigenous media and ethnographic film. In M. Banks & J. Ruby (Eds.), *Made to be seen: Perspectives on the history of visual anthropology* (pp. 234-255). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gomide, M. L. (2008). *Marãna Bödödi –A territorialidade Xavante nos caminhos do Ró* (Doctoral dissertation). Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil.

Graham, L. (1983). *Performance dynamics and social dimensions in Xavante Narrative: Höimana'ö'u Watsu'u* (M.A. Thesis). University of Texas at Austin.

Graham, L. (1995). *Performing dreams: Discourses of immortality among the Xavante of Central Brazil*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Graham, L. (2001). Os Xavante na cena pública. In C. Ricardo (Ed.), *Povos indígenas no Brasil—96/00* (pp. 693-697). São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental.

Graham, L. (2005). Image and instrumentality in a Xavante politics of existential recognition: The public outreach work of Eténhiritipa Pimentel Barbosa. *American Ethnologist*, *32*(4), 622-641.

Graham, L. (2009). Problematizing technologies for documenting intangible culture. In H. Silverman & D. Ruggles (Eds.), *Intangible culture embodied* (pp. 185-200). New York: Springer.

Graham, L. (2011). Quoting Mario Juruna: Linguistic imagery and the transformation of indigenous voice in the Brazilian print press. *American Ethnologist*, *38*(1), 164-182.

Graham, L. (2014). Genders of Xavante ethnographic spectacle: Cultural politics of inclusion and exclusion in Brazil. In L. R. Graham & H. Penny (Eds.), *Performing indigeneity* (pp. 305-350). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Graham, Z. (2014). "Since you are filming, I will tell the truth": A reflection on the cultural activism and collaborative filmmaking of Video in the Villages. *Visual Anthropology Review*, *30*(1), 88-91.

Graham, L. R., Hernández Palmar, D., & Waiassé, C. (2009). *Owners of the water: Conflict and collaboration over rivers*. Watertown: Documentary Educational Resources.

Graham, L. R., & Penny, H. (Eds.). (2014). *Performing In-digeneity: Global histories and contemporary experiences.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

Green, S. (2009). *Customizing Indigeneity: Paths to a visionary politics in Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Grupioni, L. D. (1992). *Índios no Brasil*. São Paulo: Global.

Guzmán, T. C. (2013). *Native and national in Brazil: Indigeneity after independence*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Halkin, A. (2008). Outside the indigenous lens: Zapatistas and automous videomaking. In P. Wilson & M. Stewart (Eds.), *Global indigenous media: Cultures, poetics, and politics* (pp. 160-180). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hemming, J. (2003). *Die if you must: Brazilian Indians in the twentieth century*. London: Macmillan.

Ignacio de Carvalho, E. (2009). Vídeo nas Aldeias: Frontiers. *Inmediares: A Media Commons Project*. Retrieved from http://mediacommons.futureofthebook.org/imr/2009/05/08/v-deo-nas-aldeias-frontiers

Instituto Socioambiental. (2015). Retrieved from http://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/xavante/1160

Juruna, M., Hohlfeldt, A., & Hoffman, A. (1982). *O gravador do Juruna*. Pôrto Alegre: Mercado Aberto.

Kung, S. S., & Sherzer, J. (2013). The archive of the Indigenous languages of Latin America: An overview. *Oral Tradition*, *28*(2), 379-388.

Lopes da Silva, A. (1986). *Nomes e amigos: Da prática Xavante a uma reflexão sobre os Jê*. São Paulo: EDUSP.

Lopes da Silva, A. (1992). Dois séculos e meio de história Xavante. In M. Carneiro da Cunha (Ed.), *História dos índios no Brasil* (pp. 357-378). São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz, Ltda.

MacDougall, D. (1992). Complicities of Style. In P. Crawford & D. Turton (Eds.), *Film as ethnography* (pp. 90-98). Manchester: University of Manchester Press.

Maybury-Lewis, D. (1974). *Akwe-Shavante society*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Maybury-Lewis, D. (1991). Becoming Indian in Lowland South America. In J. Sherzer & G. Urban (Eds.), *Nation-states and Indians in Latin America* (pp. 207-235). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Mengel, M., & Sánchez-Gómez, E. (2010). Saving the sounds of the past for the future: Integrated Solutions for Preservation. Archiving and Conservation of Endangered Magnetic Tapes and Cylinders (ILKAR). *Museum Aktuell*, *171*, 28-30.

Michaels, E. (1986). *The Aboriginal invention of television in Central Australia, 1982–1985*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Institute Report.

Michaels, E. (1991). Primer of restrictions on picture taking in traditional areas of Aboriginal Australia. *Visual Anthropology*, *4*(3), 259-275.

Michaels, E. (1994). *Bad Aboriginal art: Tradition, media and technological horizons*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Morris, R. C. (1994). *New worlds from fragments: Film, ethnography, and the representation of Northwest Coast cultures*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Myers, F. (2014). Showing too much or too little: Predicaments of painting indigenous presence in Central Australia. In L. R. Graham & H. Penny (Eds.), *Performing Indigeneity* (pp. 351-389). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Oakdale, S. (2009). Ritual and the circulation of experience: In G. Senft & E. Basso (Eds.), *Ritual communication* (pp. 153-170). New York: Berg.

Overing, J. (1977). Orientation for paper topics. *Acts of the 42nd International Congress of Americanists*, *2*, 9-10.

Overing, J. (1983-84). Elementary structures of reciprocity: A comparative note on Guianese, Central Brazilian, and North-West Amazon socio-political thought. *Antropológica* 59–62, 331–348.

Patira, B., Waiásse, C., Tserewahu, D., Protodi, J., & Suyá, W. (1999). *Wapte Mnhono*. São Paulo: Video nas Aldeias.

Peterson, L. (2013). Reclaiming Diné Film: Visual sovereignty and the return of Navajo themselves. *Visual Anthropology Review*, *29*(1), 29-41.

Peterson, L. (2014). Made impossible by viewers like you: The politics and poetics of Native American voices in US public televison. In D. A. Macey, K. M. Ryan, & N. J. Springer (Eds.), *How television shapes our worldview* (pp. 247-265). New York: Lexington Books.

Pratt, M. L. (1992). *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*. New York: Routledge.

Prins, H. E. (2002). Visual media and the primitivist perplex: Colonial fantasies, indigenous imagination, and advocacy in North America. In F. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, & B. Larkin (Eds.), *Media worlds: Anthropology on new terrain* (pp. 58-74). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Raheja, M. H. (2007). Reading Nanook's smile: Visual sovereignty, Indigenous revisions of ethnography and "Atanarjuat (The Fast Runner)." *American Quarterly*, *59*(4), 1159-1185.

Raheja, M. H. (2010). *Reservation reelism: Redfacing, visual sovereignty, and representations of Native Americans in film*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Ramos, A. (1998). *Indigenism: Ethnic politics in Brazil*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ruby, J. (1991). Speaking for, speaking about, speaking with, or speaking alongside: An anthropological and documentary dilemma. *Visual Anthropology Review*, *7*(2), 50-67.

Ruby, J. (1995). The moral burden of authorship in ethnographic film. *Visual Anthropology Review*, *11*(2), 77-82.

Santos-Granero, F. (2009). Hybrid bodyscapes: A visual history of Yanesha patterns of cultural change. *Cur-*

rent *Anthropology*, *50*(4), 477-512.

Seeger, A. (1986). The role of archives in ethnomusicology. *Ethnomusicology*, *30*, 261-276.

Seeger, A. (1991). After the alligator swallows your microphone: The future (?) of field recordings. In N. C. McIntire (Ed.), *Discourse in ethnomusicology III: Essays in honor of Frank J. Gillis* (pp. 37-49). Bloomington: Ethnomusicology Publications Group.

Seeger, A. (1996). Ethnomusicologists, archives, professional organizations and the shifting ethics of intellectual property. *Yearbook of Traditional Music*, *28*, 87-105.

Serebu'rã, H., Rupawẽ, S., & Serenhimirãmi, H. (1997). *Wamrẽmé za'ra/Nossa palavra: Mito e história do povo Xavante*. São Paulo: Editora Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial.

Smith, L. (2010). Locating post-colonial technoscience: Through the lens of indigenous vídeo. *History and Technology*, *26*(3), 251-280.

Turner, T. (1991a). Representing, resisting, rethinking: Historical transformations of Kayapo culture and anthropological consciousness. In G. Stocking (Ed.), *Colonial situations: Essays on the contextualization of ethnographic knowledge* (pp. 285-313). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Turner, T. (1991b). The social dynamics of video media in an indigenous society: The cultural meanings and personal politics of video-making in Kayapo communities. *Visual Anthropology Review*, *7*(2), 68-76.

Turner T. (1992). Defiant images: The Kayapó appropriation of video. *Anthropology Today*, *8*(6), 5-16.

Turner, T. (2002a). Representation, politics, and cultural imagination in indigenous video: General points and Kayapo examples. In F. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, & B. Larkin (Eds.), *Media worlds: Anthropology on new terrain* (pp. 75-89). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Turner, T. (2002b). Representation, polyphony, and the construction of power in a Kayapó video. In K. B. Warren & J. E. Jackson (Eds.), *Indigenous movements, self-representation and the state in Latin America* (pp. 229-250). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Veja. (1980, November 19). Bye, Bye Holanda. São Paulo.

Video nas Aldeias. (1987). *The Girls Ceremony (A Festa da Moça)*. São Paulo.

Video nas Aldeias. (1990). *The Spirit of TV (O Espiritu da TV)*. São Paulo.

Viveiros de Castro, E. (1992) *From the enemy's point of view*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Waiassé, C. (n.d.). *Oi'ó: The boys fight*. São Paulo: Nossa Tribo.

Waiassé, C. (1995). *One must be curious*. São Paulo: Video in the Villages.

Waiassé, C. (2014, October 6). Screening Room: Owners of the Water. *Cultural Anthropology Online*. Retrieved from http://www.culanth.org/fieldsights/563-screening-room-owners-of-the-water

Waiassé, C., & Protodi, J. (2005). *Darini*. São Paulo: Nossa Tribu.

Waiassé, C., Hoiwaué, J., & Arantes, R. (2000). *Da'wa Wede, Saude Bocal*. Água Boa: Associação dos Xavante de Pimentel Barbosa.

Wilson, P., & Stewart, M. (2008). Indigeneity and Indigenous Media: On the global stage. In P. Wilson & M. Stewart (Eds.), *Global Indigenous media: Cultures, poetics, and politics* (pp. 1-35). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Worth, S., & Adair J. (1997). *Through Navajo eyes: An exploration in film communication and anthropology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. (Original work published 1972)

Wortham, E. C. (2013). *Indigenous media in Mexico: Culture, community, and the state*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Wortham, E. C. (2015). *Going digital: Building community media archives. Paper presented at the InDigital: Latin America Conference, Indigenous Engagement with Digital and Electronic Media. Vanderbilt University.*

About the Author

Dr. Laura R. Graham
Laura R. Graham is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Iowa. She is author of *Performing Dreams: Discourses of immortality among the Xavante Indians of Central Brazil* (1995) and *Performing Indigeneity: Global histories and contemporary experiences* (2014, with Glenn Penny) and numerous articles and book chapters on Xavante and Wayuu peoples. She is producer and co-director, with David Hernández Palmar (Wayuu) and Caimi Waiassé (Xavante), of the film *Owners of the water: Conflict and collaboration over rivers* (Documentary Educational Resources, 2009).