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STEVEN LEUTHOLD

As video technology becomes more accessible to individuals and communities, people are exploiting its communication potential. Native Americans, for instance, are pursuing the cultural, informational, political, economic, and entertainment potentials of video and film through a new subgenre of documentary: indigenous documentary. An indigenous documentary is one made by members of an indigenous community or in close interaction with the community; it is a video produced or coproduced by members of the group that it is about.[1] Communities can document, preserve, or even revitalize local practices through media. Showing the programs outside of the local area communicates cultural beliefs seen as important by community members; practices shown in the videos identify the group for the wider public. But indigenous films and videos also communicate within a group and increase group affiliation. They both preserve knowledge for future generations and communicate the group's identity to the wider public.

Native Americans explain that their own awareness of the power of visual imagery lies deep in the past. Pueblo petroglyphs of spiritual significance that date from 18,000 years ago reveal this deep belief in the power, even sacredness, of visual imagery.[2] Since the early twentieth century, many Indian people,

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including those in the most traditional and conservative house-
holds, have used photographs to evoke memories and narratives
of the past.[3] Visual imagery has played and continues to play a
central role in many Native American communities.

The stereotypical idea that Indians object to photographs
for their own sake is misleading. Writing of early attempts by
whites to photograph Indian religious ceremonies, the noted
native author Leslie Marmon Silko states that the actual
source of Indians' distrust was—and remains—the photogra-
pher, not the tool.

> At first, white men and their cameras were not barred from
> the sacred *Katsina* dances and *Kiva* rites. But soon the Hopis
> and other Pueblo people learned from experience that most
> white photographers attending sacred dances were cheap
> voyeurs who had no reverence for the spiritual. Worse, the
> Pueblo leaders feared the photographs would be used to
> prosecute the *Cusiques* and other *Kiva* members, because the
> U.S. government had outlawed the practice of the Pueblo
> religion in favor of Christianity exclusively.[4]

This same distrust extends to the present for some tribes such
as the Hopi. Though religious leaders will allow outsiders to
observe traditional ceremonies, they disallow photographic
recording of the events. A recent instance, the attempt by
Robert Redford to film a production of *The Dark Wind*, a Tony
Hillerman novel set on the Hopi and Navajo reservations, led
to a rift in the tribe between the tribal council and religious
leaders. Tribal council members, while committed to preserv-
ing traditional Hopi culture, approved the project in the belief
that "stepping into the future is an economic necessity."[5] The
religious leaders, who view all Hopi land and ceremonies as
sacred, took a harder line toward outside intrusion into the
inner Hopi world and the project.[6] Given previous
Hollywood depictions of Native Americans,[7] it seems
inevitable that many Indians will object to the way outsiders
portray them and will desire more control over the visual
depiction of their culture.

DOCUMENTARY AS COMMUNAL CONTROL
AND HEALING

A central desire of indigenous peoples, then, is to maintain *community* control over the depiction of tribal life, a desire implicit in the indigenous production of documentaries. Not only do most commercial films misrepresent native ways of life and reinforce dominant culture stereotypes, but many documentaries produced by outsiders provide few benefits to the communities in which they were filmed. Native American media spans about twenty years—from the mid-seventies to the mid-nineties—which is a short time period. But what does the emergence of these new indigenous communication forms tell us about the changing nature of contemporary Native communities? What is the relationship between Native media and their varied communities of reception? New media not only serve to document communal lives, but also instantiate communities. Communication technologies affect our relationship to each other, and therefore our sense of community as an idea changes. Because of the newness of native media, I feel it is useful to discuss these communal changes and ways that the relationship between medium and community may lead to challenges for Native media producers. What are possible directions for positive change in Native media? Since some of these questions are oriented toward the future, many of the responses in this paper reflect my personal views and are obviously open to disagreement. But through these comments I hope to contribute positively to the conversation about Native media's future.

Whether film and video are important media for understanding Native communities is an open question and an issue that needs to be acknowledged early in this paper. An opposite thesis, that film and video—as mass media—undermine local communities, has more often been assumed: "the content and hegemonic control of mass media irreversibly erode traditional languages and cultures, replacing them with alien social values and an attraction to western consumer goods."[8] In this sense, TV and film are more like a cultural invasion than a new medium of localized expression. Not only the technologies, but the form of Western visual narratives may undermine traditional storytelling and visual modes.

The increasing use of video technology by indigenous and ideologically divergent groups points to alternative scenarios for media production and use: "for example, a networked

cooperative of autonomous community stations resisting hege-
mony and homogenization."[9] This scenario may run counter to
dominant culture assumptions about the inevitable demise of
Native cultures in the face of Euro-American progress,
assumptions that have been ingrained by centuries of imagery
portraying Indians as enemies, then vanquished foes, and sub-
sequently relegating Indians in the popular imagination to
movies, curio shops, museum exhibits, and the shelves of New
Age bookstores. And it also counters assumptions found in
mass media research about the centralizing nature of media
technologies.

With its emphasis on *local* aspects of video production, this
paper differs significantly from studies that have focused on video/
television in the context of *mass* distribution. Eric Michaels, in his
study of the emergence of indigenous media at an aboriginal vil-
lage in Central Australia, made this distinction very clear. "The
bias of mass broadcasting is concentration and unification; the
bias of Aboriginal culture is diversity and autonomy. Electronic
media are everywhere; Aboriginal culture is local and land-
based."[10] Though mass-mediated television contributes to cul-
tural homogenization, I explore a potential countertendency:
that video technology may foster cultural and political autono-
my. The potential for cultural standardization is apparent in
media that transcend spatial and temporal boundaries, but the
alternate possibility, that film and video can be used for purpos-
es of cultural self-determination, has been less frequently
explored. Can the localized aspects of indigenous video produc-
tion and reception counter some of the negative effects of mass
reproduction? One goal of this paper, then, is to discover how
Native-produced film and video challenge mass media's cen-
tralizing, homogenizing tendencies by constructing a multidi-
mensional understanding of community.

There have been many historical challenges to Native com-
munities. These are reflected by and a result of Native people's
consistent misrepresentation in popular media. The represen-
tation of the vanishing Indian in novels, films, photographs,
and art legitimized the assimilationist policies of colonialist
governments: boarding schools, political reorganization along
Euro-American models, white expansionism into remaining
Indian territories, and forced religious conversion. The idea of
Natives as "uncivilized" legitimizes the need for a non-Native
education system; the idea of Indian communities and
economies as unsustainable on their own terms leads to white

paternalism—the dole, casinos, touristic exploitation, and so
on. The effects of paternalism—cycles of rebelliousness and
dependency that manifest themselves in drug and alcohol
abuse, criminal behavior, violence, and broken families—
result, in part, from the stereotyping of Natives in mainstream
representation. In an attempt to break these cycles, Phil Lucas'
Honor of All (1985) videos reenact the struggle of the Alkali
Lake (dubbed "alcohol lake" by local whites), British Columbia
band with alcohol and its effect upon the community, from its
introduction by white traders in the 1940s to the successful
effort of the community to go 95 percent dry in the late 1970s.
Between 1960 and 1972 adult alcoholism in this community
had approached 100 percent. Lucas focuses on the efforts of
one family, with the help of a local priest and the Alcoholics
Anonymous philosophy, to release the grip of alcohol on the
tribe. Lucas directs from the heart, notably through his casting
of tribal members in the lead roles; they play their own former,
alcoholic selves in a convincing, moving way. At the end of part
one, Lucas shows a community gathering where lead charac-
ters in the video talk about the experience of acting out their
former selves. The self-revealing group therapy style of this
epilogue ties the docu-drama to the present, further under-
scoring the reality of the emotional trauma and healing depict-
ed in this drama. Lucas's docu-drama of the Alkali Lakes com-
munity's dramatic turnaround from near total alcoholism to a
rejection of alcohol demonstrates an awareness of the serious
challenges that have faced and continue to face Native com-
munities, rooted both in their misrepresentation and mistreat-
ment by outsiders and in the negative self-perception of some
Natives themselves. The video invites a reevaluation of the rela-
tionship between media and native communities by demon-
strating how media can have positive, even cathartic, effects.

MODELS OF COMMUNITY

Though documentary can help increase communal control of
representation and foster healing, this does not imply that only
one model of community is put forth as "acceptable" in Native
media. What are the different models of community represent-
ed in and through Native film and video? That Native media
address heterogeneous audiences is without question. Within
Native communities, there are generational, racial, political,

and religious differences. The broad, pan-Indian community varies widely, and the existence of multiple non-Native communities, often in conflictual relationships with each other, adds layers of complexity to the relationship between Native media and its varied audiences. A primary challenge for Indian producers seems to be to define their goals relative to the needs of divergent communities: their home communities, Native tribes across North America, indigenous peoples worldwide, and the broader non-Native population of North America and the world. Diverse communities exist within the professional circles that Native media people encounter: organizations of Native producers, public and commercial television organizations, the Hollywood and New York entertainment industries, academic institutions, and varied sponsors.

In a pluralistic cultural and political context, as exists in contemporary North America, the needs and interests of these varied communities might well be in conflict. For instance, Natives may disagree inter- or intratribally over issues of taxation, gambling, natural resource use, economic development, and religion, to name just a few issues. Native media's representation of varied interests is complex and potentially conflictual. However, a pluralistic model that assumes potential conflict between members of competing communities seems to be inconsistent with the understanding of community that many natives have traditionally envisioned.

In their videos Indian directors implicitly put forth a model of community different than that found in middle-class America. Native Americans base their model of community on assumptions of togetherness, interdependence, and mutual accountability. By contrast, American cultural traditions, with their emphasis on self-reliance, may leave individuals isolated. Even the most central American value, freedom, is largely understood as freedom *from* external constraints and obligations (being left alone) rather than the freedom to be involved in community governance and participation. Clear evidence of this contrast is found in the two cultures' attitudes toward ancestors and elders. Many of the indigenous documentaries that I watched demonstrated a great respect for elders as holders of wisdom and sources of collective memory in Indian cultures. (This respect is so profound that *Elder* is often capitalized in print form.) However, as de Tocqueville wrote as early as the 1830s, many non-Native Americans' individualistic outlooks lead them to view themselves in isolation from others, an out-

look that eventually leads to their estrangement from both their ancestors and their descendants. Robert Bellah paraphrases and quotes de Tocqueville's insightful analysis of the American character:

> "They form the habit of thinking of themselves in isolation and imagine that their whole destiny is in their hands"... such people come to "forget their ancestors," but also their descendants, as well as isolating themselves from their contemporaries. "Each man is forever thrown back on himself alone, and there is danger that he may be shut up in the solitude of his own heart."[11]

An individualist stance eventually results in severance from the past or, at the very least, a loss of the collective memory traditionally preserved by elders in collectivist societies. Individual and expressive autonomy carries with it a cost: the loss of a larger context provided by an encompassing belief system.

A challenge for Native media producers, then, is communicating their visions of community to the broad communities with diverse worldviews that are reached through broadcasting, which is inherently an intercultural enterprise. How might pressures on Native producers to succeed, or just survive, affect the particular quality of Native visions? Viewing one's expression as a product that must survive in a marketplace may be tempting in a commercial, media-saturated environment. The view that media encompass commercial products in itself is a departure from earlier Native traditions which emphasized the personal or collective, not the commercial, function of images and narratives. During the last few years, we have seen the continued commodification of the image of "Indianness" in the broader culture, from slick calendars to blockbuster films to "Indian" earrings (often made in Taiwan). It can be argued that in the interest of survival Natives should have the option to think of their expressive traditions in a commercial sense; judging from the extensive Native arts and crafts market geared toward non-Native buyers, many already do. But this option also may entail a cost: the loss of communal ideals. How Native producers balance commercial pressures with their own goals and visions of their communities will continue to be a key ingredient of the future of Native media production. Yet intercultural and commercial factors are not the

only elements that help define community in indigenous media. What are some of the other formative elements?

INTERGENERATIONAL CONTINUITY AS COMMUNAL CONSCIOUSNESS

One communal element that popular, mainstream media are assumed to undermine, and therefore an element that has greatly concerned Native producers, is intergenerational continuity. The intergenerational aspect of Native song pervades both parts of the two-part *Circle of Song* documentary from the *Real People* series (produced by Spokane School District under a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and aired by KSPS-TV, Spokane). In part two, grandma sings a song for a young child, rocking him in her arms to a gentle lullaby. Cliff Sijohn, the subject of the film, explains that the song is "our first orientation into Indian life, [our] Indian heartbeat...Before he learns how to speak he shall already have heard the words of the Indian heart. Before he learns to walk, he will learn the feelings of the Indian heart. This is where his education begins." The intergenerational theme is also well developed in some non-Native productions such as *Seasons of the Navajo* (1984). As Elizabeth Weatherford, the bibliographer of Native film and video, writes, "Possibly no image conveys this sense of continuity better than a scene in which Chauncey Neboyia sings, holding close a baby who is thus literally encircled by the rhythm of his people's tradition."[12]

Intergenerational continuity is achieved through symbolic participation in powwows, naming ceremonies, feasts, and so on that form the glue which holds communities together. Quite possibly, symbolic participation that affirms relations to family and clan is more primary than tribal political involvement in creating Native collective identities. This is due in part to the social organization of pre-contact Native cultures. Precontact Indian societies generally lacked polities or distinct institutional structures in which secular authority was vested.[13] Politically, traditional Indian identity rested on the extended family, clan (kinship system), or autonomous bands as the key element.[14] More recently, clan rivalry has been accentuated within some tribes due to the reservation system which restricts the independent movement of competing tribal factions. Some tribes, such as the Cheyenne, did have a tribal-level government or

council that predated white contact, but most tribes depended on custom rather than a hierarchical structure of authority to govern communal life. *Tribal*-level political identity is, for the most part, a consequence of interaction with whites. However, pre-white Indian identity went beyond political organization and was situated in the symbolic dimensions of "groupness." These symbolic systems also varied between tribes, but religious beliefs, history, shared language, and ties to the land were common elements of Indian nationhood before the European notion of sovereignty was introduced. For example, to the Comanches, the notion of tribe had symbolic meaning but did not function as a political unit. Though some tribes had less developed self-concepts than others, symbolic identification was generally more comprehensive than political identification.

Native media people document these symbolic, participatory practices—including rituals, dances, music, rodeo, and other occasions or activities—that express commitment to the community. The sociologist Robert Bellah and his colleagues write:

> People growing up in communities of memory not only hear the stories that tell how the community came to be...they participate in the practices—ritual, aesthetic, ethical—that define the community as a way of life. We call these "'practices of commitment" for they define the patterns of loyalty and obligation that keep the community alive.[15]

Indigenous directors document these narrative and participatory activities. For instance, an early indigenous film by George Burdeau from the *Real People* series, *Awakening* (1976), profiles Johnny Arlee (Salish), who has supported the cultural revival on the Flathead Indian Reservation since the 1970s. *Awakening* tells of Arlee's quest for personal healing through his renewal of traditional practices such as ritual sweats and solitary contemplation in the mountains. The film also documents Arlee's heightened role as a community leader or, as he says, "a go-between between the young and old." Based on his own personal difficulties, he realized the pain caused to children from broken homes and formed numerous drum groups to help bring kids together. The groups strive to "make the drum sound like one," a task that demands the united concentration of the performers. Young singers and performers learn cooperation as a basis for successful performance. In *Warrior Chiefs in a New Age* (1991), a video made fifteen years later,

Dean Bearclaw (Crow) also emphasizes the role of the drum group in passing on generational values. Extended sequences of the video feature an outdoor performance of the Cedar Child Drum Group intercut with shots of children running, playing, and singing and voice-over narration explaining the importance of children as an intergenerational link.

ENACTING COMMUNAL COMMITMENT

The desire for continued intergenerational continuity is tied to a broader concept, that of tradition. Tradition is a difficult concept to define and perhaps to value positively in a contemporary world, where change often seems more highly valued than tradition. In cultures that focus on newness, tradition is constantly in danger of being defined negatively as that which stifles innovation and cultural change. However, it is probably safe to say that religious beliefs are at the roots of tradition in many Native communities. A sense of tradition refers to a coherent belief system that transcends (but does not ignore) the vicissitudes of modern technological and cultural development. Elements of Native belief systems survive within hybrid traditions. One of these is the powwow, which often has the appearance of a performance to outsiders, but which is a hybrid performance and ritual practice that embodies and expresses traditional religious beliefs.

I'd Rather Be Powwowing (1983), produced by George P. Horse Capture and directed by Larry Littlebird, explores the place of powwows in the life of one contemporary Native American, Al Chandler, a member of the Gros Ventre tribe from the Fort Belknap Reservation in Montana. At the beginning of the film Chandler leaves his rural suburban house in a suit and tie, gets in his late-model van, and drives into work where he is a copier machine technician or "senior technical representative" for the Xerox corporation, a job he has held for many years. This early sequence and shots of the inside of a copy machine Chandler is repairing contrast strongly with images of the powwow he soon attends. Unlike many productions, I'd Rather Be Powwowing places powwows in the context of modern life with its emphasis on employment, education, salary, and a rigid temporal system. Leaving the world of work for the world of the powwow evokes a different sense of time. The linear, clockwork time governing the world of work impels us to

move faster and faster. As John Collier wrote, after living in this system we may look back and notice "we hardly had time to live at all," in contrast to the traditional Native sense of time that creates a "sense of inner spaciousness."[16] One appeal of powwows is that they establish a different rhythm, a rhythm governed by the drum and the land.

As Chandler loads his powwow outfits into the back of his van and his tipi poles on top, the Indian singing heard on the soundtrack signifies a transition to a different world. This transition continues as Chandler tells his son about his childhood experiences riding up and down the Eastern Montana hills that mark the way to the Rocky Boy Reserve where the powwow is to be held. Many powwows are far from the communities where participants live, but the travel through wide-open country is accompanied by a change of mindset.

> I put it in my mind that I'm going to forget everything: the noisy city, going to work, all of this long driving I do. I think of the good things that are going to happen. I pray that we have a good time and I think of getting dressed, meeting our friends and dancing. When you're at an Indian dance, you can hear the drum beating and the bells ringing, the movement of people all in harmony. It's a spiritual feeling which you can't really know about it unless you do it. When we get there, we can chant and cook and people are friendly (*I'd Rather Be Powwowing*).

For Chandler the powwow represents "one of the few things we have left that we can do" that produces the sense of "togetherness" with family and friends Indians felt before incorporating the Western economic system into their lives. The powwow ceremony calls to mind the past. Even small details are noticed when they depart from past habits. Chandler comments that we "can't make everything the same as in the past" as he sews parts of his powwow outfit together with thread instead of sinew.

We learn through Chandler's visits with elders and other families, his buying of Indian goods in tipis, and his preparation for and participation in the ceremonies themselves that powwows integrate Indian culture. For some participants the powwow is a religious event in which they experience a sense of connection: "As you're dancing you feel yourself stand taller and show everything you've got because the creator has given

you what you have. And, as you look around, you can see other dancers and they're all feeling that same feeling." Chandler repeatedly describes his feelings as worshipful: "The creator's telling you that this is the right way." After the pow-wow, participants "say thanks inside for all the good things the creator has given you...this is why I'd rather be powwowing." Powwows are a ritual of transformation from the mundane to the spiritual. During the twentieth century, the desire to *document* and preserve aspects of traditional culture, such as pow-wows, has motivated many Native American visual artists; this motivation has carried over to native media producers. Native American directors may find artistic inspiration in personal visions, myths, Native religions, and the performance tradi-tions associated with them. Native Americans often see the clearest expression of collective identity in the traditional par-ticipatory arts, dance and music, that serve a religious or quasi-religious function.[17] Many Native Americans, whether Johnny Arlee or Cliff Sijohn in the *Real People* series or Al Chandler in *I'd Rather Be Powwowing*, use the language of religion to explain the importance of Native dance and music. The cultural role of powwows is realized in the connection between performance symbolism and religious feeling.

A docu-drama, *Apache Mountain Spirit* (1985), commissioned by the White Mountain Apache Tribe, confirms the centrality of ceremonial dance to Indian identity. The plot of the drama cen-ters around a young boy, Robert, who has returned to the home of his grandmother after running away from his boarding school. In a state of inner conflict, Robert falls under the influ-ence of Leon, a local hood, as well as the positive influence of his family. A morality tale about hard choices, the video departs from similar productions through its incorporation of dream and vision imagery. Presented as a form of power, dreams and visions occur for a reason: "When the power comes, it is real," but the power has potential for danger; "it's like a rifle, it depends on who is usin' it," says the boy's uncle. In this context of real-life temptations and inner visions the boy is tested.

An extended sequence in the body of the video documents Robert's vision, set in the historic past. Almost surreal repre-sentations of the sacred Crown Dance are intercut with a sym-bolic hunt for a deer. The location of the deer appeared to the boy in a vision, even though older, more experienced hunters had lacked hunting success for some time. The boy predicts

that One Feather will kill the deer but warns the hunters to wait for him before they butcher the animal, which they fail to do. At this point the narrative cuts to the present where Robert gets caught up in an attempted burglary, backs out at the last minute, and is shot by Leon.

The climax of the video cuts back to a dreamlike vision of an Apache Crown Dance vigil outside the cave where the boy had joined the Apache gods, the *Ga'an*. In this sequence, dis-solves—special effects that create sparkling halos around the dancing figures—and firelight illumination, along with the sig-nificant power of the hooded dance itself, effectively create an air of compelling mystery, agitation, and spirituality. Set in this context, the dance functions as a powerful form of prayer.

These dance forms and their documentation are an extension of religious ceremony, which acts as an antidote to alcoholism, poverty, and the other problems of contemporary life. One could argue that the transformation which takes place in Indian art or ceremony is a response to negative social pres-sures: that entering the dancer or painter's state of mind releases a person from social pain and responsibility.

> They (Indians) put on their dance costumes...They look like princes! They're transformed. They can shut off all that poverty, all of their disasters, because that is their moment.[18]

This intepretation of Indians' motives emphasizes the social function of dance as an escape mechanism. However, Indian art, ritual, and performance can be thought of positively as a form of religious transformation. The power of art to transform everyday reality into a more essential psychic or spiritual reality lies at the heart of Indians' own explanations of art's signifi-cance. In this context, artistic objects become visionary objects through which artists and performers project psychic intent and spiritual feeling. This interpretation more closely reflects the traditional function of art in Native cultures as a repository of medicine or spiritual presence.[19] The transformational power of some traditional artforms may be quite specific. For instance, the discussion of masks documented in *Eyes of the Spirit* (1983) touched on the power of masks to transform humans into ani-mals and the consistency of belief in the transformative power of masks with a worldview that holds that all living things have souls (*inua*). In this worldview humans' relationship to nature and animals rests on an acceptance of the possibility of trans-

formation. Traditional Native belief systems express not only intergenerational continuity as a basis of human communities, but a sense of community with the universe itself.

NATIVE MEDIA AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

How can these traditionally collective orientations of Indian belief systems blend with the forms of political organization ecouraged—or imposed—by non-Native society? Can they be blended at all, or are entirely new conceptual and political identities likely to emerge among Fourth World nations? Traditionally, Native collective identities are based upon symbolic rather than political participation. But historical developments have made political issues of power, control, and authority increasingly central to contemporary Native communities. Several aspects of intercultural contact led to increased political consolidation. Missionaries introduced institutional structures such as churches and schools into Indian communities. These in turn encouraged the development of formal codes of law which included the definition and protection of private property. Intercultural contact also led to the need for negotiation and diplomacy, especially with regard to rights for land. The United States and Canadian Governments demanded a structure of authority on the part of aboriginals which would ensure the results of land negotiations. Tribal political roles developed with respect to governmental expectations but also proved legally advantageous to Natives because these roles helped preserve some aboriginal claims to territories. Yet the development of tribes as political, administrative entities may have been at the cost of Native communities' conceptual identities. Since the 1930s the feeling of "peoplehood" that predated Indian-white interaction has been eclipsed by the notion of the tribe as a political and legal construct. Thus, those same political structures that developed to help preserve land rights may have helped to undermine traditional concepts of the relationship between humans and the land, which did not revolve around the concept of rights. Similarly, other political and economic concepts integral to European cultures such as nation, border, sovereignty, property, territory, natural resource, and so on frame the discourse about land today.

Several films by activist Native directors document Native political issues. *Kahnesatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (1993),

directed by Alanis Obomsawin and produced by Wolf Koening for the National Film Board of Canada, is an in-depth account of the takeover of a planned golf course site by members of the Mohawk tribe. The resistance to the actions of the town council of Oka, Quebec, and the Canadian government, along with the armed standoff and painful negotiations that accompanied this resistance, made international news in the summer of 1990. This film by the Native Canadian director, Obomsawin, situates the contemporary resistance in the context of the Mohawks' centuries-long struggle to retain control of their land. *Kahnesatake* demonstrates the intense anti-Indian feeling found in the community of Oka, the hard-nosed police and military actions undertaken by the government, and the humanity of the resistors themselves. The documentary ends by noting that the land issues which precipitated the entire conflict were not resolved. A major theme of the film, then, is the difficulty of establishing communal control when political discourse is often framed by national governments and by non-Native international media.

One powerful dimension of media is its ability to frame discourse. In order to clearly understand Native media as representation, we must consider the changing definition of Native community in its political sense. For varied reasons modern Native communities are less clearly definable in terms of *local* tribal, geographical, and spiritual affiliations than in the past. These reasons include the forced displacement of Natives from traditional homelands, the urban migration of indigenous peoples for economic purposes, the participation of Native peoples in foreign wars, the globalizing and nationalizing effects of electronic and print media, the forced and elected education of Natives outside the Native community, and the influx of non-Natives and their activities (spiritual, recreational, political, and so on) into areas that were once inhabited only by indigenous peoples. Thus, media that are representative in the political sense of the term may express the ideas of a global Fourth World political movement as well as more locally defined communities. The Fourth World is a global alignment of indigenous nations within those nation-states that resulted from the colonial period.[20] This emergence of a new movement is both similar to and distinct from the emergence of the idea of a Third World alignment of developing nations in the 1950s which has been problematized in such theoretical discourses as cinema studies under the rubric of "Third Cinema." Over the

past forty years Third World nations have sought increased political, economic, and cultural independence from their colonizers. An obvious distinction between Fourth World and Third World movements is that Fourth World movements are assertions of rights within the borders of existing nation-states. The assumption that we have entered an era of postcolonialism seems less supportable when taking the ongoing processes of internal colonization that affect indigenous peoples into account. The question of indigenous self-representation can only arise in the context of neocolonialism; in a non-colonial system, media expressions of Native cultures are simply the expression of a local culture rather than indigenous political representations. Thus, the ways that Native media frame or represent indigenous communities need to be understood in an evolving *political* context.

Indigenous media is at root a struggle over this framing language. Some Native directors seem to address political issues by recontextualizing them within the framework of traditional beliefs about the land. Others counter Euro-American claims using the legal, economic, and political terminology of the West. Of the latter *Lighting the Seventh Fire* (1994), directed by Sandy Johnson Osawa, documents a struggle for land and resource rights. The documentary focuses on the advocacy of Chippewa Indians and opposition by many non-Indians to spearfishing rights on Lac du Flambeau in Wisconsin. This video relates the historical basis of the Chippewa claim to fishing rights and the struggle within the courts to have those rights recognized. The video appears radical because it challenges non-Natives on their own turf, conceptually speaking, in the law courts and courts of public opinion about rights. Ironically, the continuing differences over treaty rights, along with the consistent betrayal of treaties in the past, may be the source of the "greatest feeling of unity" among members of various tribes.[21]

By contrast, other documentaries show the continuity of earlier beliefs about the land; videos such as *The Passages of Gifts* (1987), Part One from the *Make Prayers to the Raven* series, demonstrate how even Native commercial trappers treat their game in a special ritual fashion designed to show respect to nature. *Circle of Song* (1976) documents the intergenerational importance of hunting for Spokane Indians. Hunting and the preparation for the hunt, which includes the singing of special songs, are ways that cultural values about the land are trans-

ferred from father to son. "Songs are given to us from Mother Earth, from the wind and the mountains, from the visions in the clouds, from the animals that walk the earth and the ones that fly in the air, from the old people, and from our hearts."[22]

It is hard to say which of these two kinds of documentaries—those that either explicitly or implicitly challenge non-Native views of the land—is most effective in the long run. But it is true that ties to place, a sense of rootedness and connection, are what seem to be missing from the non-Native discourse about nature. Unfortunately, the idea that Native worldviews represent a more ecologically sound relationship to the land has become another source of stereotyping. The late twentieth century Green Indian has now taken his rightful place next to the earlier Red Indian. One solution for indigenous peoples, confronted with the stereotypes and misperceptions that arise cross-culturally, is to avoid the natural or "green" connotation of Native beliefs. But the perception of Native views of nature as being mystical holds a degree of accuracy. In many traditional Native cultures nature is a catalyst for visionary religious experience, a relationship to nature that goes beyond simple concerns for natural preservation. While some non-Natives may be sympathetic to the environmental implications of Native views of the land, many stop short of the visionary, religious understanding of nature found in Native cultures. For many modern Westerners, though nature may be valued, the explanation and experience of nature as a source of place does not really exemplify a *worldview*. In traditional Native cultures this experience of place (and of space) is *the* worldview. Indigenous peoples' perceptions of differences between Anglo-European and their own understandings of nature emerge as a consistent theme from ethnographic, artistic, and media sources alike. The Native relation to nature cannot be defined simply in terms of property, though this is what land debates between Natives and non-Natives are often reduced to. Treaties involving land led to legal status for Natives (even though it may seem to many Native Americans that their only purpose in being made was to be broken), but the indigenous conception of place predates the era of treaties, and, as such, forms a unique and enduring basis of Native communities' cohesiveness.

ECONOMIC CHALLENGES TO COMMUNITIES

Perhaps the strongest challenge to the indigenous communal experience of place is economic. I have already noted that the idea of property undermines a more encompassing experience of place, but so does the very act of survival in an economy based upon the production and consumption of goods. Due to the interdependent nature of the contemporary global economy, goods are created for export and import rather than for local use. Because contemporary economic interests transcend borders and outweigh the interests of any specific community, it often seems that economic development (or opportunity) is inversely related to specific ties to place. Survival and belonging are oppositional terms in today's global economy, but are traditionally linked in indigenous cultures.

This dependence of captitalism on the fluid movement of goods and readily exploitable human and natural resources has taken its toll on Native communities which were deliberately *contained* at the turn of the century. Even in the earliest days of reservation life, a cycle of economic dependency and resentment had taken hold, a cycle whose grip on some Indian communities continues to this day. This is evident in the video *Spirit of Crazy Horse* (1990), made with Native participation, which considers the difference between the "hang around the fort Indians" and those who hope to effect a fundamental change of life through the renewal of traditional cultural practices. The hope is held out that a renewal of aesthetic and ceremonial activities will bridge the gap between those benefiting from the governmental system and those outside the system, represented in the video by full bloods and chemically dependent Indians. Communal participation in dances and feasts and the solidarity it affords have economic as well as cultural consequences. But when financial issues are at stake even symbolic participation may not create a sense of community unity. The third episode of *The Place of Falling Waters* (1990), which documents internal tribal council disagreement over the use of revenues from a dam built on the Flathead reservation, reveals that consensus through negotiation and persuasion can be just as difficult to reach within a tribe or council as in the larger society.

The increasing urban migration of Indians is another important economic factor affecting Natives' sense of belonging to a community. Urban migration began in the immediate postwar period as returning Indian soldiers were encouraged to move

to cities by the Bureau of Indian Affair's Employment Assistance Program. The current population of urban Indians may be over fifty percent of the total U.S. Indian population. Though many urban Indians experience the poverty and despair so common to reservation life, a Native American urban working class has gradually emerged. Urban Indians have formed numerous voluntary associations such as singing and dancing groups, sports associations, and Native American churches to promote affiliation and to serve as "identity badges" to the larger community.[23] Economic well-being results from a clear symbolic identity; the identity badges help proclaim a right to economic resources. In addition to the economic function of these cultural expressions, the groups provide a sense of belonging that is often absent in the bland sameness of contemporary urban America. A sequence in the documentary *Winds of Change: A Matter of Choice* (1990), made with a Native advisory board, depicts a successful Indian family from the suburbs of Milwaukee viewing a powwow video at home in their living room. *Winds of Change* explains that through powwows Indian identity transcends tribal differences. This is especially important in urban environments where members of many tribes live. Urban Indians experience cultural isolation and prejudice. In this context of isolation, powwows express Indianness because they clearly show identity to the larger culture. Native Americans interviewed said that an increase in exposure to the larger non-Indian world leads to a greater appreciation of belonging to Indian groups and communities.

With this discussion of the related issues of economics and urban migration, we have returned to an earlier theme: the role of Native media in intercultural contact and change and the impact of intercultural processes on Native communities. Indian groups progressed through different sequences of cultural contact and change. In general, though, there seems to have been a progression from cultural integration, especially involving material and technological aspects of Western culture, to assimilation.[24] Further integration was inhibited through the use of force by the dominant culture.

ASSIMILATION AND NATIVE MEDIA'S COMMUNITIES

An aspect of Native communities that was acknowledged but downplayed in the documentaries I viewed is the adoption of a

cowboy identity by many Native Americans. *Spirit of the Wind* (1976) and *Powwow Fever* (1984) documented the importance of Indian rodeo in some areas of the country. Rodeos are similar to hunting in that preparation for the rodeo is linked to the development of strength of character. Like hunting, participation in the rodeo functions as a transition to manhood and an intergenerational link; rodeoing is often handed down from father to son. Some rodeo events express the oneness of humans and animals, especially the horse, while others are designed around the competition between humans and animals.

But none of the videos fully explored the impact of country and western music, pickup trucks, cowboy dress styles, or the identification of Indians with media images of cowboys. The widespread adoption of a western cowboy identity by Indians has been explained by some theorists as an attempt by Native Americans to fill the cultural void left by the loss of traditional cultural and tribal identities.[25] By contrast, Donald Fixico writes that the adoption of country and western styles has more to do with "practicality" than the loss of cultural identity.[26] In this argument, pickup trucks and cowboy hats better suit environments of the West than traditional native dress and technologies. Even if this position is credible, it still fails to account for the adoption of nonfunctional cultural expressions, such as country and western music, by many Natives. The fact that both Indian and white documentarians largely ignore the widespread adoption of country and western lifestyle and imagery by Natives indicates the desire of directors to emphasize the differences between Indians and the larger, mainstream society. The degree of cultural borrowing from non-Native cultures and its implication for identity formation has not been explored extensively by indigenous media people in the documentaries that I viewed. Perhaps the desire to maintain a separate identity from the larger culture and to retain continuity with the past may be so strong that Native directors have tended to overlook the shifting contours of contemporary Native American identity. A clear challenge to Native directors, then, is to document changes in Native communities that lead to assimilative effects as well as the maintenance of differences. Academic researchers can help in this process by more fully investigating how cultural change is a cross-cultural process that involves both integration and assimilation.

Tourism is another intercultural process that potentially has assimilative effects. Tourism is not necessarily viewed as a neg-

ative force in Native communities because of the assumption that it benefits the local economy. However, constructing touristic images for sale to non-Native audiences ultimately has assimilative effects.[27] How can one distinguish between those self-representations that lead to assimilation and those that are authentic representations of difference (or are assimilative, touristic images also "authentic" in their own way)? Do Native-produced films address the cultural and economic impact of tourism from a Native perspective? It seems at this point that there is a reluctance to criticize touristic imagery created by Natives themselves, perhaps because of the association with economic benefits, but more likely because of a reluctance to be highly critical in what remains the fairly small, familial world of Native media.

PAN-TRIBAL COMMUNITY

Dependent on borrowed technology, Native media exists at the intersection between traditional outlooks on life and modern technical resources. Native media can potentially extend community beyond the traditional determining factors of physical location and local cultural practices. Yet instead of displacing traditional communities new media have allowed for the comparison of differences and commonalities between Native cultures. Most documentaries have focused on the concerns, practices, and beliefs of specific tribes. And indigenous media has, to this point, avoided the homogenizing tendencies of mainstream mass media.

However, as documentaries are viewed more widely by groups other than the ones they are about; as Native directors and producers continue to gather at national forums; and as young talent emerges through centralized training centers, thematic and stylistic commonalities probably will continue to emerge. These common factors may well shape pan-tribal Native American identity in the future, providing another basis for the Native experience of community. This aspect of Native media is similar to the development of independent Asian American media, which relies upon the commonality between members from many cultural backgrounds: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino, Thai, Malay, and others.[28] One position with regard to pan-Indianism is that as general identification with Indianness has grown, *local* indigenous culture

has declined, accompanied by increased secularization. Pan-Indianism may have led to a more general ethnic identification that eclipses a specific cultural identification, raising the question of whether a conflict between local, tribal, and general Native identification is being expressed in indigenous media. For instance, when discussing the revolutionary nationalistic movements that spread like fire throughout the Third World in the 1950s and 1960s, Franz Fanon questioned the emergence of pan-African and pan-Arabic cultural movements. In his view, only the nation could provide the framework for social change. Pan-ethnic movements detracted from this focus because they tended to ignore the very real social differences between people from different regions of the world in order to foster an international solidarity between members of similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

Though the original goal was one of unity, a similar awareness of differences has arisen in Asian American media, where Chinese and Japanese filmmakers have been more active in the movement than more recent immigrants from Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and other countries. In addition to being an expression of unity, pan-ethnic movements can mask important social differences within a broadly defined group. Reflecting a tension similar to that which Fanon noted in the Third World, Native identity is mediated through local social factors and through international trends in documenting those outlooks. Despite this possible tension, Native media continue to present the concerns, hopes, and beliefs of Native American communities as they attempt to balance the past and present and elements of Indian and non-Indian cultures. It is at the forefront of the struggle for Native American cultural self-determination, which has been pan-tribal in nature at times, and is likely to remain there as long as that struggle continues.

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNITY

While the role of Native media in representing Native communities is becoming more firmly established, is there anything missing from this role as it has developed to this point? One assumption of Native Americans and non-Native scholars is that contemporary media technology has been more readily adopted by traditionally oral indigenous cultures than written forms of communication because it more easily supports oral

narrative forms than other communication forms such as extensive written histories.[29] The maintenance of oral communication practices in the face of the loss of Native languages has been a central concern for Native Americans throughout the twentieth century. Recent video documentaries, like *Transitions* (1991), continue to explore the centrality of language and speech to cultural survival. Speech communication forms are central to a traditionally oral culture, including storytelling, oral history, song, and prayer. As with literature, a full accounting of these oral genres would require a book in its own right.

Other videos, including Native American Public Broadcasting's production, *In the White Man's Image* (1992), examine the price of losing language, which was one consequence of the boarding school experience. Collective memory is threatened when languages are lost. In *Transitions*, Fisher and Kipp, both Blackfeet Indians, demonstrate that their tribe feels that the "Mother Tongue [was] gifted us by the maker," and that, as the result of government and religious intrusion, "our Mother grows weaker by the day." Schoolmasters tried to change Indians to the white man's way by using stool pigeons and stern discipline. Older children who had been at the school longer were encouraged to tell on the younger children when they spoke in their own language. As Fisher states, the legacy of boarding schools that emerges from contemporary documentaries is one of "cultural shame," in which the loss of language is part of a "continuum of loss." However, documentaries address a broad, predominantly English language audience and are, themselves, not an ideal medium for the renewal of traditional languages. Thus, while they can serve to register past language loss, they seem inadequate to stop the further loss of Native languages. Perhaps producing more videos or sequences of videos that are in Native languages might help, but this creates the necessity for subtitling, a technique that may alienate younger audiences whom documentarians hope to reach. Subtitling also adds to the cost of documentary production. Thus, the ability of documentary to represent cultural continuity through indigenous languages remains a problem.

NATIVE MEDIA'S SURVIVAL AS A COMMUNITY

Native media people represent familial, local, tribal, and national communities, but they also constitute a community

themselves. We just considered the general challenge of language loss. Another serious challenge for the indigenous media community itself is to develop economic viability. Throughout recent history, there has been a need for an economic system in Native communities that allows for indigenous values associated with work, production, and agriculture but that also makes fruitful connections with the non-Native market. In the current economic structure, the question is not whether there will be economic ties to the non-Native community, because inevitably in an interdependent world, such ties will exist. But what will be the quality of those ties? Currently, Native media is overdependent on a system of government funding; what is the long-term effect of depending upon government grants for Native media production?[30] With foundation funding, independents are not forced to raise money within a commercial system, but this arrangement also nullifies the possibility of making money in order to fund new ventures, which a commercial production system would allow.

It seems that one way for Native producers and directors to exert greater control over their visions is through the development of Native-controlled production and distribution systems. Ultimately, this control will depend upon Native American funding of media production. But as an intermediate step fuller Native participation in organizational roles will result in a greater continuity of vision. The development of Native media production networks may benefit the development of other successful businesses: local industries, agricultural businesses, educational institutions (indigenous education), Native medical services, and so on. Currently, the issue of economic viability has not been resolved within the Native media community itself, so it is hard for Native media to have a positive effect on other areas of economic development.

Many of the challenges facing Native producers are structural. Further comparative research by scholars into structural aspects of varied independent media movements and Third Cinema may help Native American producers and directors know the organizational choices available to them. Perhaps the transitions that have been made in some Third World countries, such as in Ghana, and in African-American or Asian-American film, can serve as markers for the development of a Native-controlled production and distribution system. Here are a few hypotheses about this general evolution that further comparative research may or may not bear out. Most indepen-

dent groups of media producers started with government support in a way similar to Native media. This initial funding, fostered in the climate of affirmative action or economic development, allowed for the growth of a grass roots, critical cinema. The next challenge has been to achieve continuity by developing a pool of Native talent and funders willing to sustain the media beyond its critical, activist stage. Younger filmmakers may not be drawn to the same causes that motivated the movement's founders, so how can an independent media movement sustain itself?

It seems that this intermediate stage is often a result of community television and media workshop or media arts centers. These kinds of community organizations still depend heavily upon government funding, but they provide a way to pool intellectual and skilled labor and economic resources—of building an infrastructure—that may lead eventually to the development of independent commercial endeavors. However, Native cinema has tended to diverge from this model for a couple of reasons. First, much of the Native population is still located in remote rural areas. This is especially true of the Plains and Southwest tribes which have been central players in media production. By contrast, media arts workshops and community television networks are often centered in urban areas. Second, these workshops are often tied to major educational institutions such as UCLA where there has seldom been a critical mass of Native film people active in media education, development, and research at any given time. Fortunately, Native producers have developed an alterNative community framework, the tribal media center model. The Creek, Ute, Salish/Kootenai, Yup'ik, Inuit, and other groups have sustained media production units at a tribal level. Sometimes these organizations are tied to low-power, Public Television stations which allow the tribe to offer a mix of Native and non-Native programming in its area. In cases where full production or broadcast units have not been established, some tribes have still been able to participate in production by funding media on a contractual basis. By extension, many tribes are developing web sites to communicate important issues to a global audience.

While it is fortunate that the tribal media center model has evolved, it may also place limitations on Native media producers. As in any other organization, tribal resources are limited. Funding and precious production time often go first to the

areas needed most by educational and governmental institu-
tions: training and instruction, cultural awareness, historical
documentation, local news and information, media resource
management for instructional purposes, and so on. Projects
considered for development may be brought before formal or
informal committees to determine whether funding is appro-
priate based on institutional needs. It is important that tribes
continue to support media for a variety of informational and
social purposes, but in my view it is doubtful that the tribal
media center will, of itself, be able to catapult indigenous
media to the status of a full-blown independent cinema. For
instance, it is not often in the specific interests of the tribe to
develop contacts with national and international distributors.
To the extent that Native producers want to develop a global
Fourth World cinema, it seems they must continue to develop
resources and venues beyond the tribal level.

Another stage of indigenous media's development has been
the attempt to break into Public Television. This has involved
institutional networking, skills attainment, and programming
targeted toward a mass audience. While this phase has been
important in broadening the scope of Native media, it also has
to be considered an intermediate stage for various reasons.
First, Public Television is almost exclusively an outlet for doc-
umentary production, which complements some of the original
activist and informational goals of Native producers, but does
not, I believe, encompass the full scope of Native producers'
visions. Second, Public Television is a relatively young, and by
no means secure, institution whose origin only precedes the
development of Native media by a decade. Its fate is increas-
ingly uncertain in light of the government's attempt to tighten
its spending. And third, Public Television is a media network
in its own right that places restrictions on quality, length, style,
and subject matter—which may be unacceptable to Native
producers in the long run. As is the case with relying on any
other governmental agency, a danger exists that indigenous
media will develop into a network of "trust fund babies" if
Public Television remains the primary goal of the movement.
In the end, this can only lead to an elitist community of insider
producers and directors, cut off from the very audience that
indigenous media people may hope most to address.

What, then, has been the formula for successful non-Native
independents? It must first be noticed that there are very few
producers and directors who can be considered financially suc-

cessful, so there may, in fact, be no formula. It seems that these filmmakers (here, of course, the director Spike Lee comes to mind) have been able to establish a relationship with the commercial industry, at least for the sake of distribution. These independents also produce a commercially viable product that authentically expresses their experience, a combination that is hard to achieve; their work, in a film such as *Do the Right Thing* (1989), is able to provoke, persuade, enlighten, *and* entertain. Thus, the development of a Native production system probably depends upon a breakthrough feature film or two. This is not solely for the purpose of establishing a commercially viable product, but to reach and appeal to the broad audience that needs to be exposed to Native points of view. These initial films will probably be produced on shoestring budgets, but if successful should eventually lead to backing by major funders. In a sense, this discussion is moving in a direction that may prove unpalatable to many Native and other independent producers, since independent media has traditionally developed in opposition to mass-produced television and film. But in order to counterbalance what has been and continues to be the staple of Hollywood representation, indigenous media may need to strive for a broader audience. Ironically, this requires breaking into the very medium that Hollywood has made its specialty— the feature film—and gaining access to the distribution networks to ensure that the film is seen. Finally, when they do break in, successful independents seem to maintain an integrity of vision. This last issue is important, because co-optation is an ongoing process in global corporate culture.

As the economy moves ever more clearly toward toward being information-based, Native communities are striving to ensure that they are not once again marginalized. Information economies transcend specific regions and can help Native peoples overcome the economic deprivation that has inflicted many communities since the development of the reservation system. Economic opportunity seems to have often been inversely related to one's ability to maintain specific ties to place. Do new forms of communication offer a way to overcome the distances associated with regional and economic isolation? New media may allow the development of shared visions without sacrificing specific ties to place, the sense of rootedness that comes not only from living in a particular location over time, but through sharing a common understanding

of humans' relationship to nature and cosmological place in the universe with other community members.

Through media (video, film, computing, telecommunications), indigenous peoples can develop a sense of community in imagiNative new ways while still maintaining continuity with traditional communication forms and the values that these forms embody. Indigenous media both document traditional forms of symbolic participation—powwows, naming ceremonies, feasts—and emerge as new participatory forms in their own right. Media can change Native political representation processes, as well as the visual representation of Natives, by involving larger segments of the community in political awareness and governance. Ultimately, issues related to the self-governance of Native communities—power, control, authority over one's own destiny—are seated in the authority to represent one's self that forms the essence of indigenous media.

CHRONOLOGICAL FILMOGRAPHY

Native Directed

The *Real People* Series, 16 mm, dir. George Burdeau and Larry Littlebird:
   Circle of Song, 1976.
   Circle of Song: Part II, 1976.
   Awakening, 1976.
   Spirit of the Wind, 1976.
   Legend of the Stick Game, 1976.

I'd Rather Be Powwowing. 16 mm. Prod. George P. Horse Capture, dir. Larry Littlebird. WNET-TV, NY, for series "Matters of Life or Death," 1983.

Eyes of the Spirit. Prod. Corey Flintoff and Alexie Isaac, KYUK, Bethel, Alaska, 1983.

Powwow Fever. Indian News Media, Blood Reserve, 1984.

The Honor of All. Prod. and dir. Phil Lucas for the Alkali Lake Indian Band, B.C., Canada, 1985.

Itam Hakim Hopiit. Dir. Victor Masayesva, Jr., IS Productions, 1985.

Ritual Clowns. Prod. and dir. Victor Masayesva, Jr., IS Productions, 1988.

Siskyavi: The Place of Chasms. Victor Masayesva, IS Productions, 1989.

The Place of Falling Waters. Dir. Roy Bigcrane, Thompson Smith, Salish Kootenai College and Native Voices Public Televison Workshop, 1990.

Warrior Chiefs in a New Age. Dir. Dean Bearclaw. Native Voices, 1991.

Transitions. Dir. Darrel Kipp, Joe Fisher. Native Voices Public, 1991.

In the White Man's Image. Prod. and dir. Christine Lesiak and Matt Jones, NAPBC and Nebraska Educational TV, 1992.

Kahnesatake: 270 Years of Resistance. Prod. Wolf Koening, dir. Alanis Obomsawin. National Film Board of Canada, 1993.

Lighting the Seventh Fire. Dir. Sandy Johnson Osawa, Upstream Productions, Seattle, 1994.

Native-themed, Advised and/or Coproduced

Hopi: Songs of the Fourth World. Prod. and dir. Pat Ferrero. Independent, 1983.

Seasons of a Navajo. Prod. John Borden, Tony Schmitz. Peace River Films for KAET-TV, Tempe, 1984.

Apache Mountain Spirit. Prod. John and Jennie Crouch, dir. Bob Graham, Kate Quillan-Graham. Silver Cloud Video Productions, 1985.

The Passages of Gifts, Part One. From *Make Prayers to the Raven* series. Prod. Richard K. Nelson. KUAC TV, University of Alaska, 1987.

The Spirit of Crazy Horse. Dir. James Locker. Frontline, WGBH, PBS Home Video, 1990.

Winds of Change: A Matter of Choice. Prod./writer Carol Cotter. WHA-TV, Madison, PBS Home Video, 1990.

Winds of Change: A Matter of Promises. Prod./writer Carol Cotter. WHA-TV, Madison, PBS Home Video, 1990.

NOTES

    1. Because of many factors, primarily the economics of media production, the line between indigenous and non-Native documentary is often not hard and fast. For a discussion of production issues in Native media see Steven Leuthold, "Social Accountability and the Production of Native American Film and Video," *Wide Angle*, 16:1-2 (August, 1994): 41-59.

    2. Leslie Marmon Silko, "Videomakers and Basketmakers," *Aperture*

(Summer 1990): 72-73.

3.   Ibid., 72.

4.   Ibid., 72.

5.   John Woestendiek, "Film at Center of Hopi Riff," *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Oct. 11, 1990): 14-A.

6.   It should be noted that insight into the spiritual life of Hopis has been obtained through respectful documentation of their artistic, kinship, and agricultural practices and through the visual presentation of traditional narratives, as in Victor Masayesva Jr.'s videos and the documentary *Songs of the Fourth World*. It isn't necessary to violate sacred space in order to gain deep insight into the culture.

7.   Several earlier sources have discussed the misrepresentation of Native Americans in Hollywood films. See Gretchen Bataille and Charles Silet, eds. *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies* (Ames, IA: Iowa State, 1980); Ralph Friar, *The Only Good Indian...Hollywood Gospel* (New York: Drama Book Specialists/Pubs, 1972); and John O'Connor, *The Hollywood Indian: Stereotypes of Native Americans in Films* (Trenton: New Jersey State Museum, 1980). An examination of Native American responses to their representation in Westerns is found in Steven Leuthold, "Native American Responses to the Western," *The American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 19:1 (Spring, 1995): 153-189.

8.   Faye Ginsburg, "Indigenous Media: Faustian Contract or Global Village?" *Cultural Anthropology* 6:1 (1991): 97.

9.   Eric Michaels, *For a Cultural Future: Francis Jupurrurla Makes TV at Yuendumu* (Melbourne: Artspace, 1987): 17.

10.   Ibid., 13.

11.   Robert Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart* (New York: Perennial/Harper and Row, 1985): 37.

12.   Elizabeth Weatherford and Emelia Seubert, *Native Americans on Film and Video*, Volume II, (New York: Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation, 1988): 75.

13.   Stephen Cornell, "The Transformations of Tribe: Organization and Self-Concept in Native American Ethnicities," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11:1 (1988): 28.

14.   Jack Forbes,"The Manipulation of Race, Caste and Identity: Classifying Afroamericans, Native Americans and Red-Black People," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 17:4 (1990): 1-51.

15.   Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart*, 154.

16.   John Collier, *American Indian Ceremonial Dances* (New York: Bounty Books, 1972): 13-15.

17.   For this contrast, see my article, "Native American Art and Artists in Visual Arts Documentaries from 1973-1991," in *On the Margins of Artworlds* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995): 265-281.

18.   Arthur Silberman in Jamake Highwater, *Song from the Earth: American Indian Painting* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1976): 197.

19.   Ralph Coe, *Sacred Circles: Two Thousand Years of American Indian Art* (Kansas City: Nelson Gallery Foundation, 1977): 12.

20.   Noel Dyck, *Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State: 'Fourth World' Politics in Canada, Australia and Norway* (St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1985).

21.   Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969): 50.

22.   Cliff Sijohn, *Circle of Song*, 1976.

23.   Robert Jarvenpa, "The Political Economy and Political Ethnicity of American Indian Adaptations and Identities," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 8:1 (1985): 36.

24.   By *cultural integration*, I mean Native people's adoption of non-Native material and cultural practices in a way that does not threaten the core structures of indigenous cultures. By *assimilation* I mean the absorption of Native peoples into non-Native cultural and economic patterns, which leads to the eventual transformation or disappearance of earlier patterns.

25.   Clifford E. Trafzer, *American Indian Identity* (Sacramento: Sierra Oaks Publishing Co., 1985).

26.   Donald L. Fixico, "From Indians to Cowboys: The Country and Western Trend," in *American Indian Identity*, ed., Clifford Trafzer (Sacramento: Sierra Oaks Publishing, 1985).

27.   For a sociological analysis of the impact of tourism on one Native community, see Carol Chicago Lujan, "A Sociological View of Tourism in an American Indian Community: Maintaining Cultural Integrity at Taos Pueblo," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17:3 (1993): 101-120. Lujan notes that in Taos Pueblo, which has been inundated by tourists for decades, there has been a concerted attempt to maintain the culture through concealment and secrecy.

28.   One objection to the "commonality" assumed to exist among Asian Americans is that it masks the experiential differences of immigrants from many cultures. A similar charge has been leveled against pan-tribalism.

29.   Tom Beaver, "Producers' Forum I: Uncovering the Lies," Symposium at Two Rivers Native Film and Video Festival (October 10, 1991, Minneapolis), and Eric Michaels, *For a Cultural Future: Francis Jupurrurla Makes TV at Yuendumu* (Melbourne: Artspace, 1987).

30.   A discussion of varied funding sources is found in Leuthold, 1994 (see note 1).