

VIDEO IN THE VILLAGES

Project 1994/95

SIX YEARS OF EXPERIENCE

Initiated in 1987, the Video in the Villages Project has made the use of video for political and cultural projects accessible to various Brazilian Indian communities. Since then, the program has installed a network of video libraries and production centers in twelve villages among the following peoples: Waiãpi, in the state of Amapá; Enauênê-Nauê, Xavante and Nambiquara, in Mato Grosso; Parakatêjê and Xikrin- Kaiapó, in southern Pará; Krinkati, in Maranhão; and Terena and Guarani, in Mato Grosso do Sul. In addition, it has supported the Kaiapó Video Project, which involves eight more villages and other Indians who are already working with video on their own initiative. At its headquarters in São Paulo, CTI operates an editing, copying and redistribution center for material produced by both the Indians and the program's crew.

Giving these extremely isolated and diversified groups video packages about the Indians' situation in the rest of the country - at the levels of both their traditions and experiences with Brazilian society - has broaden their frames of reference, making it possible for them to rethink their reality, identity and political performance. By allowing Indians to see, produce and manipulate their own image, this project which has encouraged them to engage in an exercise of cultural memory and recovery, introducing new forms of communication. It has also created a new reality in terms of passing on traditions and new knowledge.

The Centro de Trabalho Indigenista's crew has accumulated a heritage of relations with various native groups over the years. Since 1979, we have supported their projects for the recognition and demarkation of their reservations, clearing trespassers from their lands, implementing their own educational programs, managing natural resources and sustained development. The introduction of video in these contexts represents a unique and innovative contribution.

The network of video libraries has allowed them to exchange cultural elements and alternatives for responding to new circumstances of contact. The fact that they have cameras on hand and can produce their own registers has led their leaders to appropriate the instrument and express

themselves with it. Thus, they have incorporated the use of video into their cultural and political projects. Increasing their knowledge of other native peoples, these leaders have discovered groups with whom they have more affinity and, therefore, more to exchange. We have produced videos about some of these interchanges which they have recorded live in order to share them with their peoples.

For the non-Indian public, Video in the Villages has produced a series of now internationally known documentaries about our working methodology and the impact of introducing video in native communities. That series - which has achieved an ever broader distribution, through prizes awarded in festivals, acquisitions by universities and museums and transmission by television networks - has stimulated other groups to incorporate video into their work.

We have annexed the text "Empowerment of Brazilian Indians through Video" and a selection of others that describe this project's reach and evolution in greater detail. In a certain way, these texts complement the videos. In recent years, this project has received support organizations for international support (ICCO, Austrian Catholic Youth and CROCEVIA) and private foundations (VITAE, GUGGENHEIM, MacARTHUR and ROCKEFELLER).

PROGRAMMED ACTIVITIES

1. Assisting Production Nucleuses and Supplying the Network of Video Libraries

a) Feeding the Network of Interchange among Villages

With recordings made in areas that we have visited over the past six years, we have established a vast and diversified collection of images which are exchanged among those villages.

Our proposal for the next period is, first, to maintain ongoing activities in those areas and to include new groups in that exchange. Thus, we will make information available about diversified cultural and political realities - to which they would have no other form of access - to a greater number of communities.

We have been asked by Indian chiefs to extend our work to two new groups: the Erigpaktsa, in Mato Grosso, and the Yanomami, in Roraima. In addition, we have identified four new villages - Tirió and Xikrin do Bacajá, in Pará, and villages in the Upper Xingú, in Mato Grosso - that already have access to VCRs and monitors. Though we do not work directly with

these villages, they will receive copies of the material available in the other villages. We may also receive new requests during this project. Furthermore, we will advise the training of urbanized Indians who will produce an "Indian program" for TV Cultura de Mato Grosso's local programming, with broadcasts in Cuiabá.

b) Furnishing Video Libraries with Educational Programs

In addition to our archive materials - now eight hundred hours of recordings produced by Indians and our crew - which we reproduce and send to the villages, the behind-the-scene task of supplying the video library network consists of gathering each community's demands. These communities' interests vary according to their cultural emphases and the particularities of their ongoing situation of contact. We produce many videos that are sent to the villages as special summaries. For these, we compile documentaries and television news about the peoples and themes that each group wishes to learn about and copy fictional films.

Thus, our experience during this time has shown us that once the material immediately available at the project's headquarters has been assimilated, we will need to invest in editing specific material to attend to more precise demands. This implies having personnel available to research broader collections of images and to write scripts for and edit those videos. We intend, for example, to establish an agreement with TV Cultura de São Paulo to select programs for the native public or to produce new editions from their bank of images. We are also interested in elaborating an experimental series of educational videos in which information and language are adapted to each community's needs.

To attend to this supplementary demand, we must augment the equipment at the project's headquarters for the task of copying tapes, which is already intense, especially considering that the collections in the villages must be entirely renewed every two years due to the climatic conditions in which they are stored.

c) Assisting Production Nucleuses in the Villages

One of the more stimulating facets of our experience with the project is that the Indians give continuity to local production and consumption, producing a chronicle of their external policies and festivals. To keep those video nucleuses in working order, we must maintain and replace equipment from time to time. To continue their training, Indian film makers periodically travel to São Paulo, bringing their most recent productions in order to edit their videos. At that time, their works are copied and

distributed to other villages. With the program's expansion into new areas, other Indians will be trained to use the camera, initially in their villages and in courses given at our headquarters.

2. Promoting Interchanges among the Villages

To the extent that groups have become aware of the existence of others through the videos, they have identified "related" peoples - those with whom they would like to deepen the interchange. These "related" peoples are culturally similar and speak mutually understandable languages, though they are located in distant regions and have undergone diverse experiences of contact.

In 1992 and 1993, we produced and documented encounters among the Timbira (Parakatêjê and Krahô) and the Tupi-Guarani (Waiãpi and Zo'é) peoples. The existence of pre-existing cultural affinities and their mutual interest in broadening the exchange of cultural and political elements previously selected through the videos have been essential to the success of these encounters. The most isolated or recently contacted groups, thus, could be alerted about the dangers of the encroachment of whites while simultaneously updating the memories of peoples with longer histories of contact about traditions already lost, resulting in a rich and beneficial exchange for all.

The diffusion of the images of these encounters, registered by their own documentary makers, has permitted their ample appropriation in different villages, where they continue enhancing permanent discussion about their trajectories of contact, now broadened by other groups' experiences. New prospective encounters for the 1994/95 period are:

a) Parakatêjê and Kanela

The Parakatêjê of southern Pará, contacted in the years 1957, 1961 and 1974, have gone from the edge of extinction to become one of the country's most economically independent native groups. The trauma of depopulation that they suffered at contact has left deep repercussions and all of their leader Kokrenum's efforts are aimed at reinserting his community into a more traditional life and, above all, keeping the youth from abandoning their language.

Other Timbira groups - like the Parakatêjê - with a much longer history of contact live in the states of Maranhão and Tocantins. However, because they inhabit poorer regions, they have remained very isolated and retained a considerable amount of their cultural heritage. In 1992, we produced the meeting of the Parakatêjê and the Krahô in Tocantins. The Parakatêjê

repaid the Krahô's invitation in 1993 by bringing them to participate in a ritual in their village (see the video "We Gather as a Family," 32', 1993).

This interchange, now consolidated and ongoing without our participation, has become one of the principle references for Kokrenum's project of cultural recovery with the younger generations. We now intend to broaden this work and introduce the Parakatêjê to the Kanela in Maranhão, another more traditional Timbira group. In addition to taking large numbers of young people to these encounters, the Parakatêjê have documented everything.

b) Waiãpi and Araweté

On paper, the Araweté in central Xingú possess an area of seven hundred thousand hectares. CEDI has attempted to prevent lumbering interests from entering that area, which is one of the last large mahogany reserves in the region. The next two years - decisive for guaranteeing the area's integrity - will depend on more direct intervention by the Indians themselves.

In order to explain the threats hovering over their land to the Araweté, we are planning a visit by a few Waiãpi Indians who speak a dialect of the same language, Tupi-Guarani, and have more experience in confrontations with whites. The Waiãpi will be able to discuss the implications of contact, especially in terms of the pillaging of the natural resources on their lands, with the more-isolated Araweté.

The Waiãpi, in turn, are interested in meeting another "related" group with whom they can communicate directly. This visit is motivated principally by the resurgence of shamanism among the Waiãpi, whose *pajés* (shamans) want to learn the rituals that they have seen in videos about the Araweté.

c) Yanomami

In this case, we plan to equip the leader David Yanomami for his campaign to raise awareness about this constellation of villages spread over nine million hectares in Brazil (and in even greater numbers in Venezuela) which we call the Yanomami. For these still extremely isolated communities, where each Yanomami village divides its neighbors into allies and enemies, the concept of the Yanomami nation in the presence of the Brazilian state, or the hundreds of thousands of miners who are prospecting on their land, simply does not exist.

But David, who has travelled throughout the world seeking funds and political support for recognition of the Yanomami Park, is perfectly aware of what this means. Thus, he wants to invest more in the work of inter-village communications. For this, he must have the equipment needed to show these villages the larger context into which they have been inserted, how their lands are being negotiated and where the prospectors come from.

Over the last ten years, perhaps more than one thousand five hundred Yanomami have died from contagious diseases brought by the prospectors, while thousands of dollars have been spent trying to staunch that death toll. In August 1993, a group of prospectors attempted to exterminate the village of Haximu, killing sixteen, while yet other sinister cases have gone unreported. But even so, many villages still have prospectors living at their door steps. To revert this situation, David wants to make each village aware of the people of Haximu's tragic experience.

This is this context in which we intend to give him light video equipment, with the help of the anthropologist Bruce Albert, who speaks the Yanomami language fluently and is trusted by David. Initially, we will assemble recordings of David's trips abroad and speeches in favor of demarking the Yanomami Park. During our trip to take him the equipment and train a young person to use the camera, we will gather testimony by the survivors of Haximu, which will also help David begin his task.

Our crew will need to return to the area at some point during that period, though the Yanomami will be advised by Bruce Albert, who frequently travels to the region. David and his crew will also be able to take advantage of frequent trips by doctors who provide assistance to various Yanomami villages.

3. Videos about Self-Sustained Development Programs

The mining and prospecting fronts, lumber exploitation, extensive deforestation for cattle raising and/or monoculture are the principle activities effecting Indian reservations, deteriorating their environment and degrading their quality of life. Finding developmental alternatives to counteract these ongoing models of predatory exploitation is the principal challenge facing preservation of the Amazônia and its traditional populations. The past fifteen years have shown that, in the absence of counter proposals, Indians become corrupt and are coopted, thus quickly exhausting their wealth.

CTI is presently coordinating two self-sustained development programs: manual gold prospecting by Waiãpi Indians and the exploitation of fruits of the *Cerrado* by both rural workers in northern Tocantins and

southern Maranhão and the Kanela and Krahô Indians. In the same sense, forest resource management has begun among the Kaiapó-Xikrin of southern Pará. These projects, initially financed by the federal government's Secretariat for the Environment, will receive support in 1994/95 from the European Community.

We intend to introduce educational material on video, produced in the Indians' languages, to subsidize the development of these programs with technical information. In conjunction with the Indians, we will also document the evolution of these experiences, paradigms in terms of subsistence alternatives, in order to share their processes and results with other native groups. National and international distribution of these documentaries will, above all, help attract the political support needed to sustain these programs in light of the tremendous pressure exerted by opposing economic groups.

a) Prospecting and Territorial Control

Ten years ago, the Waiãpi Indians of Amapá took over gold prospecting on their lands by expelling the prospectors who had trespassed there and taking control, with precarious techniques, of an activity which leads to the invasion and destruction of reservations in most other areas.

The CTI program begun in 1991 gave them orientation in the areas of geological research and new production techniques without environmental degradation. Developed on a small scale, this activity has been integrated into their subsistence cycle, which also involves other extractivist activities.

Adapted to their traditional decentralized pattern of occupying space, prospecting brought about the dispersal of the Waiãpi, which, in turn, resulted in more systematic supervision of their land. This program has also introduced compensatory alternatives for commercialization.

This experience has features that are of interest to other native groups, especially in reevaluating their relationship to control of mineral rights on their lands.

b) Cerrado Fruits

This program is aimed at preserving the *Cerrado* on the Amazônia's outskirts on the Krahô (Tocantins), Kanela (Maranhão) reservations and surrounding lands through sustained exploitation of its flora, especially the "fruits of the *Cerrado*."

At this time, CTI is promoting a survey of the region's fruits in order to, at a later stage, install a pilot fruit processing unit in Carolina, southern Maranhão. Simultaneously, the discussion of production and commercialization strategies has involved an increasing number of peasant groups in the area.

Besides generating income for the rural workers and Indians participating in the project, the program will contribute to the creation of a "barrier" by the peasant population living on land surrounding those areas. This will help impede the disorderly advance of soy bean monoculture and extensive cattle ranching, which is threatening not only Indian lands but preservation of the *Cerrado* as a whole.

This new experience of involving rural communities and Indians in the sustained improvement of a threatened environmental area also represents an original alternative for preserving Indian lands in other regions of Central Brazil by protecting the surrounding areas.

c) Forest Management

Located in one of the regions most effected by predatory exploitation of high grade lumber and motivated by examples from other Kaiapó groups, the Xikrin had previously adopted those groups immediate solution of obtaining money through contracts with lumber dealers.

To counteract the rapid devastation of their lands and to control the socio-cultural destructuring that it entails, a forest management program is being discussed with the Xikrin. This program should guarantee the conservation of the resources needed for self-sustained maintenance of the area. Above all, it aims at finding forms of organization that will allow total control by the Indians. In order to enrich the process of selecting a new option for their future, some Xikrin leaders will visit Indian areas in Chile, Colombia and Ecuador, where there are ongoing experiments in forest management.

The difficulties inherent in this process of recovering a native group's autonomy to exploit the resources on their lands - in which the process of a community discussing and evaluating its future and the implementation of an alternative to the present destructive model have equal weight - represents a valuable example to be documented and passed on to other indigenous groups.

4. An Indian Program

9

The Federal University of Mato Grosso's TV Universidade in Cuiabá is a mixed retransmission station. In other words, it rebroadcasts programming from the Roquete Pinto Foundation's TV Educativa in Rio de Janeiro. Beginning in July of this year, it will also produce and generate local programming. The station's plans for programming include a space reserved for Indians in the state of Mato Grosso called "Programa de Índio," which will be a unprecedented experience in the country. This program will be co-produced by TV Universidade, the Rondon Museum (also part of the university) and the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista's Video in the Villages Project.

Cooperation between the Video in the Villages Project and TV Universidade will enrich CTI's experience by offering a window for native communities to express themselves to the white public. It will also allow TV Universidade to establish a concrete relationship with the villages by giving the Indians a voice.

a) A State with a Strong Native Presence

The state's Indian population includes twenty-nine nations grouped on reservations with varied populations: Xavante (6,233), Bakairi (570), Bororo (1,164), Apiaká (43), Kayabi (171), Mundurukú (36), Pareci (688), Rikbaksta (654), Iranxe (153), Myky (47), Nambiquara (1,046), Enauênê-Nauê (247). In addition, the Xingú National Park has 3,100 Indians from the following nations: Aweti (80), Juruna (132), Kaiapó (449), Kalapalo (249), Kamayurá (279), Kuikuru (277), Matipu (102), Mehináku (121), Panará (122), Suyá (165), Tapayuna (48), Trumai (78), Txikão (146), Waurá (187) and Yawalapiti (140) (*Aconteceu Especial 18/CEDI*, 1991).

The Park and the forty-nine existing reservations occupy 12,427,277 hectares (approximately 48,000 square miles), which represents a sizable part of the state's territory. Major economic fronts such as livestock ranching, extensive soy bean farming, lumbering and mining activities constantly try to advance onto the reservations, thus generating never-ending disputes and conflicts in a state with an essentially anti-Indian leadership.

In addition to those living in villages on the outskirts of Cuiabá, there is a large urban Indian population. They frequently attempt to hide their origins so they will not be discriminated against by the state's more traditional population or by new colonizers from the South and other areas of the country that are arriving in Cuiabá in increasing numbers.

b) Range of the Program

10

TV Universitária's broadcasts basically cover Lower Cuiabá (Cuiabá, Santo Antonio de Leverger and Vargem Grande), reaching Chapada dos Guimarães with a weak signal. This year, the university is building a new transmission tower that should increase the range and quality of its signal.

The station may begin rebroadcasting local programming via packet to local retransmission stations in cities where the university has advanced campuses - Sinope, Rondonópolis and Barra do Garça, all very close to several Indian reservations. A future agreement may also result in its programs being rebroadcast in Campo Grande, capital of Mato Grosso do Sul. Since programming does not use a satellite link - and very few Indian villages have parabolic antennas - "Programa de Índio" will broadcast native reality to a white population.

c) How to Establish Indian Participation?

How can we insure that this program will really give Indians a voice, rather than become just another "Indian" program by whites? How can we concretely establish their participation? Those living or studying in Cuiabá will easily find their space, since the moderators/reporters will be Indians. In addition, Indians who have participated in the organizational meetings have made several suggestions. But what about those in the villages?

We propose equipping the largest number of villages possible with complete sets of VHS equipment (monitor, VCR, Camcorder, electric generator or solar panels and current inverter). Thus, the villages will be able to receive, follow and evaluate programs rebroadcast from Cuiabá, as well as develop their own appropriation of video as an instrument, in the molds of the Video in the Villages project.

This means that the villages will receive packets of tapes with documentaries, fiction and television news about Indian reality in other parts of the country. They will also produce their own material for internal consumption and to exchange with other villages. This task will be directed by the Rondon Museum's staff, which already maintains close relations with various groups. The Museum will also receive advising from and participation by CTI, as CTI has engaged in this line of work for six years and has already equipped four villages in Mato Grosso. The Video Supervisory of the Rectory's Coordinating Committee for Social Communication will offer its services for training Indian video-makers.

Through these actions, we will create a network of local reporters who will make their own reports. These reports will then progressively be incorporated into the program and inform its staff about major events

involving the villages. Whenever the staff goes to cover a village, that village's video-makers will be able to accompany the process from the original recordings to final elaboration of the material. Thus, they will receive genuine experience and training in communications and television news reporting. The villages' experience with video and elaboration of the program are two parallel processes that will be intimately interlinked and complement one and another.

d) The First Steps

In April of this year, we will conduct an extensive survey about people's views of Indians among the various social groups in Lower Cuiabá, the program's target audience. In May, we will organize a caravan to the first villages integrated into the process. The number of villages will depend on the amount of financial support we obtain for purchasing equipment. Not counting the Xavante and Kaiapó groups that CTI has already equipped, we intend to begin modestly with the four principal ethnic groups nearest and most closely linked to Cuiabá with whom the Museum already maintains long-standing relations: Pareci, Bakairi and Bororo.

This caravan will deliver the equipment, discuss the program and its guidelines with the Indians and begin creating an audio and image bank for use in elaborating the program's opening so that the state's Indians will recognize themselves in it. At that time, we will show them images from the survey conducted among the population that will be the target of their messages. We will also record their reactions and responses. This bridge between Indians, whose message the program plans on broadcasting, and Lower Cuiabá's population, the program's target audience, will serve as a material base for the pilot which the program will present.

e) The Pilot Program

Initially, the program will be a monthly 25/30-minute program (rebroadcast twice). It will feature a television news/talk show format with political, cultural and environmental segments. Discussion about the program's format is still ongoing but some aspects have already been defined.

1 - A news program concerning political and economic items in the areas of Indian and Indian-related policy at the state and national level. In addition, this segment will include special coverage, be it about Indian delegations in Cuiabá to present the state government with demands or on-site coverage of important events.

2 - A round-table discussion in which Indian representatives will debate specific themes.

- 3 - A cultural segment about current events, be they ceremonies occurring in a village at that time or reports about a cultural aspect of those groups - traditional knowledge, native technology, sports competitions, etc.
- 4 - A segment called "Eye of the Indian" in which Indians will comment upon some aspect of our society - environmental, social or economic problems.
- 5 - A second cultural segment in which Indians will comment upon movies, theater, photography and other forms of production about them. This segment may also deal with a reinterpretation of official history from an Indian perspective. Examples include the fact that Cuiabá was founded in a Bororo fishing area.
- 6 - A segment responding to questions from viewer, via letter, about the Indians. In this way, we will establish feedback about the program, how it is being accepted, and the Indians will answer these questions.
- 7 - A Indian editorialist who will analyze the most important current events affecting Indian nations.

This pilot program, as stated earlier, should present the program itself to the public, stating its purpose. With completion of the April and May 1994 stages (the Lower Cuiabá survey and integrating the communities into the process, respectively), the pilot will be concluded.

f) Advisory Council

The Advisory Council will be made up of significant leaders like Daniel Cabixi (who may also be one of the program's editorialists). People who have traditionally collaborated with Indians will also be asked to collaborate with the council on a rotating basis. Anthropologists, specialists in Indian affairs and missionaries committed to the Indian cause will participate in the organizational meetings. They will report on relevant events, suggest themes and do the research necessary for developing topics that the program will deal with.

g) Personal and budget

The Rondon Museum count on its staff and TV Universidade, and should contract a reduced technical staff for the program. Darlene and Vitor Bakairi, who may serve as the program's announcers, have already participated in the discussions. Both are civil servants (FUNAI and the Secretariat of Education) and, therefore, can be loaned to TV Universidade without cost to the University. The Indian Beatriz Pareci, who has a degree in Journalism and works for SOS Criança, is also being considered for the initial staff. New names will appear throughout the process.

The University (and, therefore, TV Universidade and the Museum) have very little money but can offer various facilities that will significantly

reduce production costs, such as room and board for Indian video-makers and guests, a car for taking the program's staff to the villages, etc.

The funds requested in this section (4) are designated for acquiring the VHS equipments that are indispensable for integrating native communities into the process of elaborating this program, which is the first step in the process.

São Paulo, January 1994

Vincent Carelli

BUDGET

Institutional Counterpart: CTI has two complete professional ENGs (Betacam, Super-VHS) and two Hi8 cameras for recording and a Betacam editing island with various inputs (Beta, S-VHS, Hi8).

Crew Salaries (twenty-four months)

1 coordinator and film-maker (full time)	26,000.00
1 editor (full time)	26,000.00
1 secretary (full time)	13,000.00
1 researcher and producer (part time)	20,800.00
	85,800.00

This crew will conduct all project activities: 1. copying and editing material for the video libraries, 2. organizing and documenting the encounters, 3. producing videos about environmental questions, 4. coproducing the Indian Program with the TV Universidade/Cuiabá.

1. Project Maintenance

Video Libraries and Production Nucleuses

Equipment Maintenance	3,000.00
5 monitors/VCRs	6,000.00
4 VHS cameras	5,200.00
1 portable electric generator	1,200.00
Trips by Indians to São Paulo	4,000.00
Consumables (batteries, tapes, fuel, etc.)	3,500.00
	22,900.00

Equipment and Consumables for Headquarters

3 slaves for copying	3,700.00
Tapes for editing and copying	2,500.00
Maintenance of equipment	2,000.00
Hi8 EVO 9850 Player	6,000.00
	14,200.00

Subtotal	37,100.00
Administration (8%)	2,968.00
Total 1.	40,068.0

2. Production of Encounters

Parakatêjê / Krahô / Kanela

Trips by Indians (Marabá/Barra do Corda)	1,000.00
Trips by CTI crew (São Paulo/Marabá)	1,800.00
Local trips in the field	400.00
Support for conducting ceremonies	2,000.00
Per diems / lodging	800.00
Consumable materials	800.00
	6,800.00

Waiâpi / Araweté

Trips by 5 Indians (Macapá/Altamira)	2,500.00
Trips by CTI crew (São Paulo/Macapá/Altamira)	2,100.00
Air plane charter (Altamira/Araweté)	2,000.00
Per diems / lodging	1,000.00
Consumable materials	800.00
	8,400.00

Yanomami

(One camera and TV/VCR in item 1 are for the Yanomami)

1 portable electric generator	1,200.00
Trips by Indians (air charter Demini/Tootobi)	2,000.00
Trips by CTI crew (São Paulo/Boa Vista)	2,400.00
Air plane charter (Boa Vista/Demini)	1,500.00
Per diems / lodging	1,000.00
Consumable materials	800.00
	8,900.00

Subtotal	24,100.00
Administration (8%)	1,928.00
Total 2.	26,028.00

3. Documentation of Environmental Projects

Prospecting and Territorial Control

3 trips by CTI crew (São Paulo/Macapá)	4,500.00
Local trips	1,000.00
60 per diems / lodging	1,800.00
Consumable materials	2,000.00
Sound technician	2,000.00
1 trip by Indians to São Paulo for editing	1,500.00
Translation services	400.00
Post production	2,500.00
	15,700.00

Fruits of the Cerrado

3 trips by CTI crew (São Paulo/Araguaína)	3,000.00
60 per diems / lodging	1,000.00
Consumable materials	2,000.00
Cameraman or sound technician	3,000.00
1 trip by Indians to São Paulo for editing	1,200.00
Translation services	400.00
Post production	2,500.00
	13,100.00

Forest Management

1 trip to similar projects (Equador, Chile, Columbia):	2,500.00
3 trips by CTI crew (São Paulo/Marabá)	3,000.00
1 trip by Indians to São Paulo for editing	1,500.00
Air plane charter (Marabá/Caetete)	1,500.00
60 per diems / lodging	1,000.00
Consumable materials	1,000.00
Sound technician	2,000.00
Translation services	400.00
Post production	2,500.00
	15,400.00

Subtotal	44,200.00
Administration (8%)	3,536.00
Total 3.	47,736.00

4. An Indian Program

6 VHS VCRs	3,500.00
6 video monitors	3,600.00
6 VHS cameras	7,800.00
6 portable generators or solar panels	7,800.00
Equipment maintenance	5,000.00
Travel expenses to Cuiabá for Indians	5,000.00
Tapes for Indian Video Libraries	4,000.00
Training expenses for Indian video-makers	4,000.00
Trip expenses SP/Cuiabá	3,500.00
Administration (8%)	3,500.00
Total 4.	47,700.00

GRAND TOTAL	247,332.00
--------------------	-------------------

EMPOWERMENT OF BRAZILIAN INDIANS THROUGH VIDEO

The anthropological study of ethnic movements has clearly shown that the most effective way to strengthen a group's autonomy is by allowing it to recognize itself, differentiating itself from others in a collective identity. In this dynamic process, the revision of self-image and selection of the cultural components forming it create a task of constant adaptation. Culture - which is not made solely from traditions - exists only as movement, supported by contact with alterity.

The Centro de Trabalho Indigenista's Video in the Villages Project was created in the context of the ethnic reaffirmation movement that we have witnessed among Brazilian Indians in recent decades. Conceived as a program of direct intervention, it was based on the premises that native identities are now more diffused than exclusive and that they are constructed from fragmented traditions and, above all, by assimilating transcultural influences (cfr. Marcus, 1991).

Video represents a *communication* tool and a vehicle for *information* appropriate for *interchange* among different groups that not only have diverse cultural traditions but have also developed differentiated forms of adapting to contact with whites. Their diversity is even greater since they are extremely dispersed, isolated from one another, and thus, rarely have the opportunity to meet.

Video in the Villages has contributed to this movement, by giving native peoples access to a dialogue adapted to their forms of cultural transmission. Though still limited to a few groups, this experience is a meaningful innovation, in both the internal panoramas of traditional means of communication and the external conjuncture - which is very repressive regarding Indian rights in the area of communication.

APPROPRIATION OF VIDEO BY THE INDIANS

A Communications Tool

Audiovisual methods represent one of the most adaptable means of dialogue among peoples who speak languages as differentiated as those found in Brazil's native population. Therefore, we assumed that the geographical, historical and cultural distances separating them could be overcome by the circulation of images. Through them, different groups could recognize one another in order to rethink and reorganize both their similarities and their differences. But how can we best describe and evaluate the results of that transposition?

First, we have seen that access to video increases the possibility of both internal and external communications among native groups. Our experience shows that, when controlled by Indians, video recordings are principally used in two complementary directions: to preserve an ethnic group's cultural manifestations by selecting what they want to pass on to future generations and distribute to different villages and peoples; to give witness to and divulge actions that those communities carry out to recover their land rights and state their demands.

Nevertheless, this experience has also proved that the appropriation of video by native peoples goes beyond the instrumental role of communication. We have seen results more in the innovative way these groups have appropriated information than in that information's increased circulation among them. Technically, video substantially alters the production and transmission of knowledge. Compared with other communications tools used in cultural "recovery" programs, the innovation represented by video has a dual advantage: its perception passes through the image; its appropriation is collective.

The first point is so well known that we need not pause on it. In communications among peoples speaking languages that are not mutually intelligible, images impose themselves. They allow the circulation of cultural characteristics those societies have always manifested nonverbally: their dance choreography, adornments and gestures representing different activities. The simple visualization of these elements, as significant as linguistic comprehension itself, has its own, self-sufficient impact. To understand them, we need only see them. Because images are concrete, objective and deal with emotions, they catalyze the preexisting representations in each people's imaginary. Their sensory impact allows prior images to be reconstructed, updated and reestablished in a new form.

We also consider essential the fact that images are appreciated collectively. Video reinforces participant transmission, characteristic of societies with oral tradition. The diffusion of video images in the villages favors the continued transmission of each culture's characteristic symbols. Although the images are reiterated individually, they are also seen and given new support by others.

To understand this process, according to Barth, we must consider the circumstances surrounding the storing and fixing of information in individual minds. In societies with unwritten languages, nonverbal means of communication - participation in a ritual, or in a video session - are determinants due to their ability to evoke. In these forms of transmission, the recurrence of culturally legible images is sufficient for all present to be able to share in the story and later complete it. Narratives, rituals, etc., need not be described in detail since they take on meaning in the participatory manner in which they are passed on (1987).

Concerned with differentiating societies having written and unwritten languages, Goody also emphasized the effects of changes in the means of communication. He states that, *after all, culture is no more than a series of acts of communications ... that involves progress in the possibility of storing, analyzing and creating knowledge, as well as in these relations among the individuals involved.*

Access to video is an innovation that decisively affects the production of culture, specifically because it encourages permanent re-elaboration. Formal and informal dialogues, participation in rituals and visits between villages are traditional means of communication in practically all native societies, but they deal with preset and foreseeable cultural contents. On the contrary, video sessions are a new situation that permit collectively constructing different knowledge, both in its content and in how it is appropriated.

Information at the Service of Ethnic Affirmation

If the content of knowledge appropriated through video changes, it is, as Goody states, because traditional societies are marked *not as much by the absence of reflective thought as by the absence of tools appropriate for constructive meditation* (1988). Like writing, video is a channel of information that alters this situation.

Access to the information on tape allows each group to relocate its particular position in the much broader field of interethnic relations, comparing it with that of other peoples. According to Goody, what should be emphasized *first is how the alternatives are presented*. Access to video allows native peoples to become aware of differences and alternatives, just as did the introduction of writing that he studied (1988). This is indispensable for any process of ethnic reaffirmation.

This trajectory's success depends on the degree of internal and external ingredients, determined by the particularities of each situation. As Levi Strauss argues, *differences are extremely fertile, progress was only confirmed through differences ... for a culture to really be itself and be able to produce something original, its members must be convinced of their originality and superiority to others* (1986).

In the preceding text, we have illustrated this process using our experience among the Waiãpi. We have shown that revising self-image basically consists of each group reordering its sense of time and space. In time, they create new continuities because the information transmitted by video enriches reflection about their very history of contact. That history is reordered according to a logic which refers not only to one group's experience, but to that of all Indians they have come to know through video. By comparing their own experience with that of others, these communities transpose preexisting feelings to create a new synthesis. In space, the images present native peoples in situations that conjugate aspects of their reality normally separated by oral tradition: technological, linguistic and physical characteristics, each group's position in relation to whites. The classification previously sustained on mythical-cosmological concepts gives way to a new classification. In it, similarities and differences among peoples are now done through a panoramic vision of the differentiated situation of contact portrayed in videos of other native peoples rather than mythical categories. Video has proved, in a unique way, their awareness of change, indispensable for the formulation of actions aimed at controlling interethnic living experiences (Gallois & Carelli, 1993).

From Interchange to Meetings in Real Life

The circulation of documentaries on video among villages allows comparison and integration by other groups of their relationships with sectors differentiated from Brazilian national society. By engendering critical reflection, new forms of action also arise. Or rather, as Marcus states, to fight for its autonomy, a community *does not need to flee from the world or resort to absolute power*.

Real life meetings of groups that first met through television images are among the most concrete developments arising from the interchange promoted by the circulation of videos. The restricted nature of these meetings and the existence of preexisting cultural affinities are essential aspects in this "micropolitical" process, unlike in the much

better known pan-Indian forms of interchange. In fact, the struggle to guarantee territorial rights or to obtain more effective assistance and support are normally considered parameters for success in the native people's movement. The routes cited here are the most immediate forms of communication and interchange, resulting from Pan-Indian associations, meetings or assemblies. The success of these better known types of native "macropolitics" comes from the sum of multiple voices. Thus, descriptions of them tend to dilute the specific identities of the peoples involved.

Since the encounters promoted by Video in the Villages, unlike the former, are restricted, parameters for evaluating them are very different. If, as Marcus states, cultural identity only exists as a multiplicity of fragments, we must define under what circumstances they are superimposed and amalgamated.

Video in the Villages' decidedly interactive nature has directly favored interchange among peoples and has mediated those visits. During the interaction between communities and observers, negotiations involving the processes of ethnic affirmation stand out. An example of this would be the way their leaders have used their relations with us to put their own cultural programs into practice while directing these encounters. This form of intertribal interaction attends less to an internal policy of cultural "recovery" than to the needs for an opening imposed by each group's external policy. The relations that each group maintains, or intends to maintain, with other Indians have been constructed as the result of the relations that they maintain with whites. Thus, the encounters illustrate the movement to construct the "disseminated" and "multilocal" identities mentioned by Marcus (Marcus, 1991).

(Extracted from the text *Dialogo entre Povos Indígenas: a Experiência do Dois Encontros Mediados pelo Vídeo* by Dominique T. Gallois and Vincent Carelli, 1993)