TOWARD A NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH FILM CENTER—A PROGRESS REPORT

The need for a central facility on a national level for research and educational work in anthropological film has become increasingly apparent to both social scientists and educators in this field, and is a subject that has been discussed at length at numerous conferences during the past ten years. In an effort to move ahead in developing such a facility, a number of those anthropologists and film makers who are active in the U.S. and Canada in research and educational uses of anthropological data on film met together October 29 to November 1, 1970. This conference, organized by Gordon Gibson and Jay Ruby and jointly sponsored by the Program in Ethnographic Film of the American Anthropological Association and the Smithsonian Institution, was supported by the National Science Foundation and held at the Smithsonian’s Belmont Conference Center.

An outcome of this conference was the establishment of a new independent non-profit corporation, the Anthropological Film Research Institute. This Institute was organized to meet three urgent needs of anthropologists concerned with visual media: 1) The creation of an anthropological research film center, 2) the development of a world ethnographic film sample and 3) the creation of guidelines for ethnographic film. This report concerns itself with only one of the Institute’s activities. Subsequent articles will be published in PIEF’s Newsletter describing other work of the Institute.

The Institute’s Archive Committee developed a proposal, to be submitted to the National Science Foundation, for establishing such a facility at the Smithsonian Institution. Guided by the agreements reached at Belmont and in consultation with several of the most interested members of the Anthropological Film Research Institute, the Archive Committee completed this proposal on April 30, 1971. It was endorsed by the Smithsonian Institution and the Executive Committee of the Anthropological Film Research Institute and formally submitted to the National Science Foundation on May 11, 1971.

The proposed National Anthropological Research Film Center is designed to provide a research, collecting, and archiving facility for the preservation and analysis of visual information from human behavior in its natural social, cultural, and physical settings. It is meant to meet the need to preserve unanalyzed records of unique, nonrecurring, and disappearing events, such as those of changing behavior and culture; it will solicit the deposit of footage which meets established standards of research potential; and it will initiate and encourage efforts to film human behavior and culture where they are most threatened by change. The archived film documents will be preserved under optimum conditions of temperature and humidity, and their information made available to qualified scholars for research and, eventually, for the experimental preparation of instructional and report films. A principal concern will be to improve methodology in the visual documentation of behavior and culture. Collaborative and cooperative programs with professional investigators are envisioned.

It is intended that the new center be a place where research using visual information can go along with the archiving of filmed records for research use. This will allow methods of preparation, storage, retrieval, and study of the collection to develop according to the changing needs of the social sciences. Particular effort will be made to obtain motion picture records made in the course of anthropological field research. Such records, together with sound recordings and written notes, increase the research potential of all of these records by permitting a greater variety and depth of inquiry. Recent advances in film analysis also make it possible to utilize less well documented footage, such as that shot by explorers, newsmen, amateurs, and travelers. Such footage which can be demonstrated to be of research merit will also be sought and acquired.

The facilities of the center will be divided into archive and laboratory. The archive will be devoted to the preparation and longterm preservation of original or master research film documents; the laboratory will maintain facilities to review, study, and develop visual records. A major facility of the laboratory will be a research film library.

A primary objective will be archive preservation of original or master research film documents so that they may remain as free as possible of the cumulative damage which comes from handling and use. These documents will not be viewed, projected, or used for routine research. Rather they will be to provide a limited number of printing masters from which study prints can be made. The study prints will serve the
purposes of review, research, and film production, while the master prints are kept as undamaged and undegraded as possible to take advantage of future advances in the copying technology or to be used when special, crucial problems arise which cannot be resolved by looking at derivative prints.

The library will be developed to facilitate both high and low speed viewing and frame-by-frame analysis. Equipment will be obtained to enable researchers to copy selected cinema sequences and to assemble selected material as needed. It is hoped that current advances in computer controlled video-tape equipment will permit automated retrieval of pre-selected categories of filmed data from the library with the near instantaneous, xerox-like copying of them in the desired order for special research films. Ultimately it may be possible to do this from remote stations.

The collection, preservation, and analysis of visual information from human activity in its natural social and ecological setting will be the primary research objectives of the center. There will be on-going investigations of technique, method, and equipment in the course of collecting filmed material for the archive. Collaborative and field research will be aimed at refining and improving techniques of producing filmed records with broad research potential. New methods of accumulating visual material for research will be explored. These activities will be integrated with efforts to encourage investigators in the field to collect behavioral data on film. The center will initiate such studies at times; it will supply equipment and film to collaborators when this is warranted and possible; and it will seek ways to cooperate with investigators willing to gather visual information and to study it.

The center will serve as a central repository of visual information in much the way that museums provide objects and materials for study. Not only will its growing collection of research films provide visual information hitherto unavailable for research, but it will also be able to eventually provide new resources for instructional films dealing with man and his diversity by making its collection of documented sequences available for film productions of academic merit. This will allow demonstration films to be made which reveal man's vast range of behavioral potential in a way hitherto impossible.

The collection of research films will also provide historical information to minority groups who have little written history and, thus, it will help fulfill their need for special information for their own use and for the education of their children.

As yet there is no way to secure publication or dissemination of filmed data comparable to the publishing of written graphic data in scientific and scholarly journals. The center will attempt to remedy this by pioneering the publication of research film studies. A method of referencing information taken from research films will also be devised in order to ensure that research film authors can be accurately cited in the scholarly works which have made use of their data. Policies and standards will also be developed to ensure that deposited film documents are used only in ways which protect the rights of the filmed subjects as well as those of the legal owners of the films. The use of filmed material taken out of the center will be governed by contract in order to enforce proper use and creditation. Requests for permission to duplicate materials will be referred to the legal owner of a film, and, with the assistance of advisory committees, the center will develop policies to govern duplication of center-owned films.

Cooperative programs with other organizations and individuals are envisioned—particularly in the preparation of research film documents and the analysis of filmed material. Collaborative field studies and film analysis projects will be part of the normal scientific activities of the center. In particular, anthropology graduate students will be encouraged to collaborate by developing research film studies during their field work and using them for their research projects.

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Working Papers in Cinema: Sociology and Semiology

A seminar paper entitled Working Papers in Cinema: Sociology and Semiology is available from the British Film Institute, Education Dept., 81 Dean Street, London, W. 1, England. A complete listing of BFI's publications is available upon request.

Agriculture Extension Service, Puerto Rico

For a long time our Extension service has been worried by the fact that the majority of films available for purchase in the U.S. are produced mainly for English speaking audiences.

Although our main audiences are said to be bilingual, we recognize as a fact, that Spanish is our first language. For this reason we are certain, a Spanish spoken film can communicate more, thus facilitating the educational purposes of our agency.

Consequently, we are interested in buying Spanish spoken 16mm films or Spanish versions of English spoken films on the following subjects: Agriculture, animal husbandry, home economics, youth and youth problems, community and community problems, health, safety, consumers problems, communications, human relations and family affairs.

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REPORT FROM THE FIELD:
FILMING THE YANOMAMO IN SOUTHERN VENEZUELA

Napoleon Chagnon, Craig Johnson and I have just returned from southern Venezuela with an additional 80,000 feet of film on the Yanomamo Indians. As a result of Chagnon’s extensive fieldwork among the Yanomamo, beginning in 1964, we were able to film significant social relationships visible to him in one isolated village. We focused on four or five individuals, taking detailed footage of specific events that illustrated their varied roles and personalities within the society. Each event filmed was covered in great detail, often with long takes of several hundred feet allowing us to make about forty films of fifteen to thirty minutes, each of a single sequence of social behavior.

We chose to film the Yanomamo because their society reveals many characteristics important to the College anthropology curriculum that we are developing and because an extensive body of literature is being published on the Yanomamo.

The Yanomamo are one of the few large isolated groups of people left in the world, numbering some 10,000 to 15,000 Indians living in approximately 125 widely scattered villages in southern Venezuela, at the headwaters of the Orinoco River. Many of these villages have never been seen by an outsider. Their isolation, however, is being breached by missionaries, by teams of scientists and by the influx of western technology through intertribal contact.

The Yanomamo are being encouraged to settle near the navigable rivers. This is contrary to tradition and alters settlement patterns, political alliances, health conditions, social structure, and particularly economic patterns as a result of growing dependence on missionaries for imported trade goods.

Yanomamo isolation affords one of the last opportunities to film an American Indian society before contact with foreign cultures is widespread. The knowledge and insights gained will not only teach us more about the ways in which human groups have been traditionally organized but also afford greater understanding about how the individuals in such societies think and feel and how they may react to change.

Our equipment was selected to withstand the hot humidity of the jungle, the rough treatment of outdoor living and extensive travel by air, boat, and foot, and to suit our method of shooting sound, synchronous color film.

**Equipment taken and used in the field**

**Film:**
- 60,000 ft of ECO 7252
- 20,000 ft of EF 7241

**Camera:**
- Arriflex, synch BL with 12-120 mm zoom lens (without built-in light meter, which I strongly recommend) and offset finder.
- We used 7 400 ft magazines. I prefer the Eclair but the Arri is the only camera rugged enough to perform under extreme conditions. Although we do not yet have a really workable 16mm synch camera, Anton Bauer’s (356 Ely Ave., Norwalk, CT 06856: tel 203 866-6968) adaptations for Arri magazine, power supply and crystal synch, which enable the camera to be perfectly balanced on one’s shoulder, would make a workable camera out of the Arri, if his modifications were reliable. I have not tested them.

**Camera Spare:**
- 70DL Bell and Howell Film

**Camera Support:**
- F & B/Ceco fluid head (new design) tripod.
- Arrir shoulder pod for offset finder.
- Adjustable aluminum pod in flagpole holster.
- 1/4” neoprene pad glued under camera base when hand holding camera on shoulder with offset finder.

**Power:**
- Dana Fuller’s (1160 East 19th Ave., San Mateo, CA 94403: tel 415-345-1972) silver cadmium batteries and charger. We were able to drive 7,000 ft to 10,000 ft of film through each of his 32 volt battery belts. We charged the batteries using a 300 watt gasoline driven Sony charger.

**Synch:**
- Radio synch designed by Mr. Laurie Fitzgerald (121 Day St., Sydney, NSW, Australia 2000) for Roger Sandall, (Film Unit, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Sydney, Australia). This synch system uses a Sennheiser radio mike SK 1008 and receiver T203. The 60 cycle signal transmitted to the 111 NP Nagra was accurate well beyond a distance of 1000 ft and used a tiny 9 volt battery. This rig is so reliable that we didn’t have to use either of the other two synch rigs.

**Tuning fork synch by Dana Fuller.**

**Arrial umbilical cord.**

**Tape:**
- 3M 1/2 mil #138 polyester tape, because, in the long run, it lasts much longer than 3M #138 acetate, even though it stretches more under the extreme conditions of temperature and humidity. 1 mil tapes would play longer at 7½ ips.

**Miscellaneous:**
- Tool kit with mini-acetyleene torch, copper wire, space blanket.
- Homemade waterproof cases of the right size that could also be used to sit on and be used as work benches.
- Very heavy plastic bags tied with rubber bands to enclose at least 10 400 ft rolls of film.
- Small cans of reusable silica gel (Davison Chemical, Baltimore, MD, stock #42-08-X1009) for exposed film and loaded magazine cases.
- Gaffer tape, magic markers, particularly Sanford Sharpies, small and large sturdy notebooks, miniature Lindy pens, and some dry foods which are light to carry. A round of tetracycline cured a multitude of ills, and Pyrabenzine (if one wasn’t allergic to it) kept one from scratching the myriad, horrid insect bites.

As one can imagine, there were problems in getting all this equipment to the field. Keeping track of 20 heavy cases from Cambridge to New York to Caracas and into the first mission station at Ocomo were hard enough, but getting it upstream to the village was really a problem.

We flew from Boston to New York to Caracas where we stayed one night at Venezuela’s Scientific Institute. At dawn we were driven to a small airport in the middle of downtown Caracas, the communications center of a country dependent
on small planes to link the many frontier settlements to the few large cities.

Here Boris Kaminsky was to take us to our first mission station. He looked at all the equipment that was being unloaded and said, "Not only do you have too much, but the cases are too large. I don't want to handle any of it. I've been running cargo for the University of Michigan expeditions for the last five years and I keep telling you all the same thing. I have a small plane. I need small packages!" I had never met Boris before and I didn't know how to cope with the situation. Just getting to this airfield had been hard enough, and coupled with five almost sleepless days his remarks brought me close to tears. But as Boris criticized, he began loading the plane. He was evidently the type that likes to complain. With some difficulty we found room for ourselves on top of all our equipment and the small plane, grumbling also, rose above the city skyscrapers on either side of the airport.

We landed at Ocomo, a mission station which now has a large dirt airfield. Just two years ago it was a ragged lonely settlement. Now, thanks to Padre Coco, the priest of Ocomo, it has all kinds of comforts. For example, Napoleon met the airplane driving a huge tractor to help us unload our equipment. He was disgusted at the quantity of our possessions and upset at the prospects of having to take them all upstream to the isolated village that he had chosen for our filming expedition.

We had to use two boats to get the equipment first up the Orinoco River and then up one of its tributaries, the Mavaca, chopping our way through great logs that had fallen across its banks. Near the headwaters, the river became smaller and smaller. Finally we were stopped by a monstrous log. Here we spent the night, and Napoleon sent the large dugout canoe back to the mission at Ocomo. The next day we lifted Napoleon's small aluminum boat over and loaded it to the gunwales with half our equipment. We continued slowly upstream. Unfortunately, our equipment was so heavy and bulky that the seats which held the sides together sprung loose, leaving large rivet holes. While I frantically bailed, I pitifully announced to Napoleon that the boat was taking on a great deal of water, but he continued upstream for about twenty minutes until we reached another log that we could not cross. As we hurriedly tried to unload the boat, it swamped. We desperately started throwing all of our equipment and film onto the bank, not giving the piranha or the stingray a second thought. This long, wet journey was ending in a dismal slump.

I had much of my equipment in surplus Haliberton fiberglass cases, with waterproof gaskets and most of the rest in specially designed wooden boxes with ¼" neoprene, glued on the inside to act as a gasket. But my film was in the original cardboard cartons that Kodak had mailed it in two months before. The cardboard was light weight, good insulation from the heat and a light enough color to reflect much of the sun, but had it been plasticized and white, it would have been perfect protection. In this case, it absorbed a lot of moisture before it had a chance to reach the metal cans. As long as tape sealed the cans all the way around, my film was alright, but six of the 100 ft cans did not have tape that completely sealed them and they were ruined. Frantically, I spread out a tarp and removed all the soggy cardboard packaging, wiping the metal cans off on whatever clothing was still dry. Napoleon's Sony cassette tape recorder (which was crucial to his fieldwork) was completely soaked, but we turned it on and it seemed to work, though with very poor reproduction. He began to spin it around on its strap with great force, trying to remove the water left inside. Suddenly the strap broke and the Sony went flying out into the river with Craig in hot pursuit. (It worked well the rest of the trip.)

Although our filming was almost finished before it began, it turned out that the worst effect of our accident was on a Yanomamo headman. We had picked him up at a village at the confluence of the Orinoco and the Mavaca. He had agreed to go to his village, our destination, with us and bring men down to the river and help us carry our equipment. He was very annoyed that all of his tobacco and drugs were soaking wet. And instead of going to his village right away he must have lit a fire and carefully dried out all his possessions. After a long tense wait, we finally concluded that we had to go back to our previous base camp where the other half of our possessions remained. I was amazed when Napoleon started stacking everything back into our moribund aluminum boat, but by this time, I had given myself up completely to whatever fate might befall us, and with the water half an inch from the gunwales, we sloshed back. Nobody talked much that day or the next. The following day many villagers came. Old men, young boys, and warriors were all eager to see Napoleon again and happy to carry our things back to their village for the small trade goods (fishtline and machetes) that Napoleon would later offer. Now, with my film and tape wrapped in banana leaves, protected from the driving rainfall that seemed to indicate the wet season was upon us, we walked for hours through the jungle, anxious to get to the village.

It seemed important that I film Napoleon entering the village and he was willing to get painted up for it ("the way in which they receive me when we enter the village will be an indication of how well they're going to take care of us"), but by the time we got to the huge slash and burn gardens outside the village, he wasn't very happy about having to wait alone in the rain while Craig and I got set up in the village. I wasn't any happier about taking my camera equipment out of its soaking wet containers, and I was too tired to hold the twenty-two pound synch rig, but I felt a conflicting urge to go ahead. So, leaving Napoleon sullen and wet amidst the dead stumps, we walked into the village. Never in all my life had I seen such a beautiful place—the round village surrounded by high hills with a lovely river nearby was filled with people; about two hundred and eighty. The single steeply pitched, circular roof faced on a large open plaza and reminded me of a huge living room with everybody facing each other. The villagers were pleased enough to see me, but there was no glory in my entrance as I hastily unpacked all of my gear and started assembling the complicated synch rig, some of whose components I had barely used before. I knew that Napoleon would not wait; Craig and I were just in time to stand out in the rain and film him entering the village, his feathers damp and his painted designs beginning to run.

We had arrived but I was too tired to be happy about it, and the next day I just wanted to lie in my hammock. However, so much happened that I ended up shooting 6,000 feet of film, with Napoleon shooting an additional 1,000 feet in his Bolex.

The notes that I made that night before passing out in my hammock say that we shot the following sequences: A tug of war in the rain between fifty to sixty Yanomamo boys, girls,
and women; the whole village of boys shooting their arrows at each other in mock combat out in the middle of the plaza, which was abruptly stopped when THE headman’s son hit by an arrow and fell to crying. “That’s all right,” shouted his father. “I will avenge you.” It seemed to us that he was a spoiled brat who relied too much on his father’s position.

In the morning, we also filmed many of the men in the village performing a shamanistic curing ceremony, and in the afternoon we filmed an incipient fight which almost turned into a head pounding duel, indicating a major division within the village. That evening we also filmed children playing in the rain.

This is the way we made film the whole time we were there. Napoleon said that he was going to leave the field April 5, which gave us only five weeks to shoot 80,000 feet of film. But Napoleon knew the language and the culture so well that we were able to film sequences of behavior day after day that reveal the personalities of a few individuals in many different contexts. By the end of the month we had shot forty five separate films, each from fifteen minutes to half an hour long, including footage for three more conventional films, one illustrating Napoleon’s fieldwork techniques, a second showing the process of Yanomamo acculturation at a Protestant Mission, and the third at a Catholic Mission.

The second day we were there, the Yanomamo who had moved to allow us a large hammock space about twenty-five feet long, helped us build racks and counters out of thin round branches. We made a little home and a working space that was not in Yanomamo tradition, but enabled us to work in a style to which we were somewhat accustomed. The dishes and utensils constantly falling through the wide cracks in the counters were the bane of our existence, to say nothing of the sweat bees, tiny black gnats, the thousands of roaches that rained down on us in our hammocks all night long, and the crickets and bugs that left great piles of droppings all over our equipment and ate everything from film to leather cases.

We were particularly interested in filming two headmen. One was an older man with incredible energy. In many sequences we show him curing, not only his whole family but others throughout the village who were sick. He is a very famous curer and when not privately curing his own family, he led other males of the village in trance to cure and to send harmful magic to enemy villages to capture, in particular, the vulnerable souls of their children. We shot other footage showing him in intimate sequences with his family—eating, disciplining, being deloused by one of his wives, and interacting with his son-in-law whose hammock was nearby and who was the real political headman of the village. We have films showing the old headman gardening with his wife and family, bathing his children by the river, distributing meat, having conferences with other important men of the village, and telling myths. Each time we filmed him, we made a complete short film composed of long, consecutive camera shots, many two and three minutes, to allow natural behavior to flow relatively independent of our intervention.

This method of filming was developed over a long period of time, largely due to the influence of John Marshall. I also discovered that if the camera stays in one spot and runs steadily, it’s less likely to disturb the subject being filmed, and if the event is filmed in great detail the indigenous structure has a better chance of becoming visible. This is particularly useful for the National Research Archive film we plan to make. (This film consists of all of the footage shot in filming order. It has three sound tracks; one with all the synchronous indigenous sound made at the time the film was taken; one with all of the comments the anthropologist can bring to bear on the subject, and one with the anthropologist’s translation of indigenous conversation when it is feasible for him to do this.) It’s also a useful way of filming in order to use the material for teaching, because the viewer gets a much more accurate picture of the social relationships being filmed on its terms than it does when the filmmaker initially imposes a thematic structure on the social interaction he is filming. This is not to imply that there is some true method for filming people so that their social relationships are the ones that are totally structuring the film. It’s just a question of degree.

Filming was difficult for many reasons, not the least of which were the heat, moisture, and bugs (there were cockroaches laying eggs inside the gear chamber of my Arriflex). Lighting conditions were terrible (the light values under the shabono roof read ft. 9 and my Arri zoom lens’ widest opening was 2.2 and the values for an 80° pan out into the plaza read f.11). As people moved one had to continually pan, zoom, change aperture and focus all at the same time. I was rarely more than eighteen feet from my subject and often closer and there I slowly zoomed and panned through the full range of focal lengths, available from 12 to 120 mm, making long three to twelve minute single camera takes.

In the curriculum that we are developing, financed by NSF, we will use standard texts in social anthropology which explicate the basic concepts we will be teaching in this introductory college course. These texts will be used in conjunction with lectures, film analyses of three isolated societies (the Bushman, the Yanomamo, and pastoralists, perhaps the Dodoto) and field assignments done by students in their own society related to the types of behavioral patterns they have been analyzing from the films.

The advantage of using the Yanomamo footage is that it is filmed in great detail with indigenous dialogue translated as subtitles. Individual behavior in another society is clearly seen as it develops naturally in its cultural context. Using such a case study method reveals social patterns through specific individual behavior.

Our resource material is not designed to explore other social systems as much as it is to understand behavioral patterns in our own society. We study another society to gain perspective. A unique process of learning takes place when students are able to integrate these basic anthropological concepts within the variety of media utilized in the course. Their basic conceptual understanding of society is reinforced by the transfer of these concepts from one medium to the next.

With our films we plan to develop a modular resource curriculum which can be used in different ways and which will interpret the film material, relate it to the ethnographic literature available for each of the societies included in the course, and point out questions of comparative and theoretical importance. These films, together with similar films from other societies (IKung and Dodoto) will constitute the core of a curriculum for a college-level introductory course in anthropology. The curriculum can be adapted to high school teaching as well.

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TO SHOCK OR NOT TO SHOCK

Roger Sandall, director of the Film Unit of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, has recently returned from a tour of several U.S. universities where he screened several of his films and conducted seminars on ethnocraphic film production. See PIEF Newsletter, 2:2 (Nov. 1970) for a description of his films and distributor information.

Now that large numbers of people outside Australia have been initiated into the mysteries of Aboriginal religion it may be worth trying to review the meaning of the experience. For many it was a vivid reminder of the organic unity of Aboriginal myth, ritual, art and social structure. And evidently a surprise that so much survived with such vigour even today. For others the films usefully illustrated events read about in books. The enthusiasm and interest these audiences showed was personally warming, and did much to compensate for the solitary labour which ethnographic film-making consists of in the antipodes. Yet it was another kind of reaction which interested me intellectually, one which has implications going far beyond the matter immediately in hand. This was an occasional acute uncertainty as to how to respond, a reaction most often seen at showings of Gunabibi—An Aboriginal Fertility Cult. This is a film which bombards an audience at several levels at once. The ceaseless night-long dances and continual singing have a hypnotic power; the scene is at once dense, palpable, and enveloping; and since clues to meaning are both rare and ambiguous it was perhaps only to be expected that certain viewers showed signs of disorientation and anxiety. Their symptoms, indeed, resembled culture shock.

The use of this term to describe audience reaction may seem whimsical or forced. And in one respect it is plainly inexact: though a witness viewing an initiation ceremony from a cinema seat and a man standing present at the event may both be disoriented by what they see, only the latter is powerless to change his circumstances, and a prime criterion of culture shock is the oppressive sense that no escape is possible. But in certain others respects the situational analogy holds. From like causes come like effects. If the cause of culture shock is a disorienting environment it surely makes sense for the synthetic environment of the cinema to produce similar effects, particularly if it combines jarringly strange content and realistic methods in equal parts. A good example of the last, and instructive for the differing ways it was received by Japanese and "foreigners," was the little known film Yukoku (Patriotism, 1965) by Yukio Mishima. Earlyy prefiguring the author's later suicide it told the tale of a military officer called upon to betray his comrades, and who, refusing, follows the only honorable course and takes his life. Hara kiri is shown in loving detail, and the film as a whole appears to have been a triumph of realism. According to a witness, "while Japanese office girls out at the movies with their boyfriends complacently munched popcorn, foreigners in the audience concentrated on their clenched, sweaty hands."

The variation in cultural response is here nicely displayed: and if its realism forced foreigners to stare at their sweating hands surely Yukoku was a triumph of ethnocraphic film-making? Perhaps. But a large school of film-makers would disagree. Their aim is altogether different: they aspire to make the strange familiar, to show the unique as an aspect of the general, to reassuringly reveal even the most bizarre or violent customs as sharing much in common with our own. If they were called upon to nominate a classical Japanese "ethno-

graphic" film they would pick Tokyo Story with its readily understood themes drawn from family life, and definitely not something as difficult, inaccessible, and downright repellent as the disemboweling of an army officer by his own hand. The critical language in which they discuss film is one which makes use of phrases like "the human predicament," "the family of man," and "the universality of the human condition." And they show a tendency to reduce the awkward and the irreducible to terms which the general public can sympathetically understand.

Now this difference is important. It bears directly on the nature and purpose of ethnographic filming in the 1970s, on whom the films are for, and who is going to pay for them. In the mass media the interest in ethnographic film may well increase, and its bias will quite likely be along the lines suggested by the British television producer John Percival. In a plea for closer cooperation between anthropologists and "telly men" he writes: "As a layman I find there are a number of things I can gain from learning about other societies: I gain in tolerance . . . I gain in insight . . . I gain in sympathy, because once the purpose of an apparently meaningless ritual is known to me I can identify much more readily with the people who are performing it" (Percival 1970:2).

In other words Mr. Percival's interest is utilitarian. He wants his bits and pieces of ethnographic film to contribute to an all round improvement in faith, hope, and charity, and he is commendably frank about the methods he plans to use. We are told that the television man has special skills and abilities in communicating with the general public: "There are strong pressures on him not to be boring and at the same time he has no academic reputation to place at risk. Provided that he makes it clear that his views are his own and not necessarily endorsed by any abstract notion of the truth, I think he has a right to be opinionated. He even has the right to vulgarise a bit, if by vulgarising he can get across a difficult and sophisticated idea to a general audience" (Percival 1970:2).

The writer's proposition is tempting. The anthropologist who accepts his terms may get a five-man TV crew to make a film of his chosen tribe or people. But before there is a rush to hand over thousands of feet of film for televised public instruction it may be worth noting that not everyone is as sanguine as Mr. Percival regarding the result of bringing distant global relatives into the family living room, live on TV. In his excellent book on McLuhan, Jonathan Miller has this to say: "in so far as TV has enlarged the family of man, it has done so beyond the point where genuine sentiment can be expressed for all its constituent members . . Confronted as he is now by the image of so many human predicaments the spectator becomes confused, frustrated and finally, in self-protection, isolationist" (Miller 1970:126). To which may be added the observations of Northrop Frye: "when I read articles on satellite broadcasting and the like I am often told, with a teacher's gassy smile, that the increase in the range of broadcasting will lead to a far greater international understanding, because very soon now we can have all the problems of Tanzania or Paraguay brought to us by touching a button, and won't that be nice? One answer from the public which is remarkably loud and clear is that they don't want all those people in their living room" (Frye 1970).

Now the above opinions are unlikely to alter television programming in any way. Nor perhaps should they. But they
might well give pause to any maker of anthropology films who regards television release as a hoped for final goal. Plainly a desire to avoid producing the reaction described by Frye is a powerful one in TV circles, one which in the handling of ethnographic material is likely to be expressed in a persistent playing down of differences, a minimizing of the likelihood that anyone, anywhere, will be televised into a state of culture shock. It can be counted on to avoid any techniques which might disorient, frustrate, or bewilder—especially the anti-interpretive methods of direct cinema.

As the producer of ten films which would never have been made by any television company in their present form I can only be grateful that alternative sources of funds were available. One can imagine the cozy production conferences between anthropologist and film-maker there would be on films like Gunabibi or Camels and the Pitjantjara under Mr. Percival’s dispensation. Editorial control, he says, means “that my ideas and somebody else’s facts may have to work out a comfortable co-existence.” But what he is calling his ideas are only partly his own. They become at a certain stage indistinguishable from the tone and format demanded by television presentation, and as soon as these deeper demands are acknowledged we enter a realm which may or may not have room for the uncomfortable realities of anthropology.

It is to the nation’s credit that ethnographic filming in Australia has not had to conform to the mass media’s demands and expectations, but has been lavishly supported by the state; and in this connection it should be noted that the Australian commitment to serious ethnographic documentation relative to national resources has been markedly greater than the American. Without this commitment, channelled through such agencies as the AIAS and the Commonwealth Film Unit, some 40 films made over the last decade would never have seen the light. My impression is that the position in most other countries is still grim, though an optimistic reading of the AAA resolution printed in these pages last January gives some encouragement. Certainly one hopes that the words about undertaking and promoting the filming of diverse, rapidly changing cultures mean what they say. To be left to the tender mercies of television production is a fate no diverse culture deserves. If the prospectus in Film and Society is any guide, its distinctive features would all be generalized and interpreted, astutely assimilated to what is already known. A Gunabibi with its towering phallic emblems would no longer risk producing culture shock. It would be presented as just another form of the old English maypole dance. And hara kiri might seem the natural thing to do.

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PHOTOGRAPHY AND PRIMATE STUDIES

My wife, Naomi Hawes Bishop, and I went to Nepal in April 1971 to study the social behavior of the Himalayan Langur (Presbytis entellus) at 10,000 to 12,000 feet. Our year and a half study will be the first long-term primate study in the Nepal Himalaya and will be primarily concerned with social adaptation to this particular environment. Because our study requires relatively undisturbed forest and several adjacent troops of langurs, our study site will be in a remote region, probably several days walk from a village.

This paper is a consideration of the use of film and photographic equipment as they apply to primate field studies.

Aristotelian science accepted only the data gathered by the unaided senses. The naked eye in conjunction with paper and pencil is still the most dependable means of amassing data from a field situation.

Binoculars and tape recorder yield a richer concentration of data. Speaking is faster than writing and taped notes allow one to abstract more from the flow of behavior. Also, one need not remove the binoculars from one’s eyes to make an entry. However, this is paid for with hours of tedious transcription.

Movies are the richest concentration; more data can be culled from each viewing, and there is less chance of data being edited out by the note taking process. Parameters that did not seem significant at the time of observation are in the film for later analysis if need be.

One must be wary of considering photographs as data, for in addition to recording phenomenon, photographic materials are themselves phenomena. Reactions are as much to the reality generated by the photograph, as they are to the reality that generated the photograph.

A still photograph is a slice of time selected to give a desired impression which may frequently differ from what it purports to record. Choice of lens and vantage point, for example, can grossly distort the spacing of animals. A 1/500th second peak can give a dramatic but erroneous impression of an interaction. I have a picture of my dog turning on a much larger dog with a vicious snarl. Though I present it as testament to my dog’s ferocity, it is actually a picture of amicable play.

This is not to say the still camera can’t be used for data collecting; only that one must be wary of such use. Conditions permitting we will use still photography to obtain rough measurements of seasonal changes in vegetation density, spatial composition of langur troops as it varies with both annual and daily cycles, and population counts.

Most importantly, still photography will be used to illustrate the study. This involves pictures of the terrain, the associated flora and fauna, the people, and of course, the monkeys.

Footage has the advantage over stills for recording social interaction in that it places peaks of activity in context. The most serious problems are keeping a non-distorted perspective
and having all the animals involved in an interaction within the frame. Too often I have seen animals in the frame being obviously influenced by something out of the frame. The frame is the universe you have to analyze; but it must be considered open-sided. Whereas the Hollywood cameraman works to exclude the mike booths, light stands, and production crew from his frame to leave you with an intimate bedroom scene, we must step back and include these influences on our actors.

Naomi and I have been familiarizing ourselves with the langur behavioral repertoire by watching an outdoor caged group at the National Center for Primate Research at Davis. By taking films and viewing them in slow motion between visits, we have increased our sensitivity to and awareness of the subtle communicative gestures of these animals. Discrete parts of gestures are sometimes only a few frames in duration, faster than can be seen unless you know what you’re looking for. After several film viewing sessions, we found ourselves calling behaviors with greater acuity and confidence. We trust this will carry over in the field where we will be dependent on the speed and accuracy of our observations.

These films have also been helpful in clarifying the motor patterns involved in grooming, eating, etc. which we may not be able to see very clearly in the field.

This combination of observing and careful film watching gives a substantial head start on field work, especially in a situation such as ours in which we will be observing an arboreal, forest-dwelling species and observation conditions will be poor. We also found that our experience in observing and doing film analysis of other species (various macaques and the spider monkey) was instructive by the contrasts they presented.

In the field, we will not be trying for dramatic footage or records of freak, unusual behavior. We want footage of typical behavior which can be used when we get back for closer looking at and corroborating of what we witnessed in the field. An example would be footage of all the types of locomotor patterns seen in the troop which could also be compared to similar footage of langur locomotion from other locales, not to speak of other species.

For still photography we took two Nikon FTNs, and the 20mm, 55mm Micro, 85mm, 135mm, and 200mm lenses. We decided against a motorized camera because of the need for extra batteries and the long-term unreliability of the motor drives. We will have no way of repairing broken equipment.

Our movie equipment consists of a Nikon Super-8 and a Sankyo Super-8. This format was chosen over 16mm for its lower cost and lighter weight. (All transportation is by porters.) We will use the footage for analysis rather than commercial release, so the advantages of 16mm do not touch us.

Both cameras are compromises. The Nikon is rugged, has low battery drain, and was available. We anticipate difficulty with the focusing which is reflex on a clear glass with a split image in the center and is impossible to use except at the extreme telephoto extension of the zoom lens. Also, the 45mm maximum focal length is short for animal photography.

The Sankyo has a 64mm lens, a microprism grid, and a handle zoom lever, all of which combine for surer focusing. A special feature of its metering system is a compensation for backlit subjects, for example a monkey in a tree with the sky behind it.

We had wanted to take a Beaulieu 4008mm but the excessive cost, extreme fragility, and a finicky power supply that requires frequent attention (recharging), made it impractical.

Our equipment is flexible and should adapt to the conditions we find. If it fails us, we have a large supply of paper and pencils.

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FIELD PHOTOGRAPHY IN EXTREME CLIMATES

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Has there ever been a study concerning the prevalence of masochism among anthropologists? ... Probably not, however most of you will agree that there is a subliminal agreement that research projects conducted on the French Riviera are somehow less worthwhile than those conducted in the steaming jungles or in frozen waste lands. Having made the choice, anthropologists have brought down upon their heads, a multitude of difficulties, some monumental, some piddling, but all of them a drag.

With a thought to relieving some of the anxiety, due to the possibility of equipment failure and the like, I wrote questioning letters to manufacturers, suppliers and professional photojournalists. I was interested both in the choice and care of equipment and supplies in hot/damp, hot/dry, and cold/damp and cold/dry conditions.

The first reply was from an old friend, a former Foreign Correspondent, Life Photographer, and now a distributor/manufacturer/designer of standard and exotic photographic equipment. Jack Birns had this to say: "... the filmmaker will have as much problem with his ass at 40 to 50 below zero as he will with his equipment." Jack comments on his troubles in Manchuria some years ago ... "I was trying to operate both a Contax and a Rolleiflex, and both of them froze. I had to use the Contax at shutter speed of 1/1250th of a second in order to come up with the equivalent speed of about 1/25th of a second. The shutter really moved like an old man!" The only trouble he had with the Rolleiflex was that the oil in the camera lock froze and after taking only 12 pictures he couldn’t change film. He tried to thaw the thing out by putting it directly atop the engine block of a jeep that had been running for some time ... the block never got beyond luke-warm. "I would have lost face with the Chinese Army had I told them that I couldn’t shoot any more pictures, especially after they got about 500 troops crashing through the snow and ice up in Manchuria, and so I just kept cranking the camera as though I had lots of film."

A few of the other problems you might encounter in the cold are, slicing the fingers on razor sharp film edges, having
fog freeze on the lens or moisture freeze within the camera body, film break in the camera, your fingers freeze to the metal of the camera body, or the reflex mirror crack.

In my own experience, filming in 30 to 40 below, I have been able, fortunately, to avoid all these problems ... probably because I’ve limited my shooting to periods of 30 minutes up to two hours. I carry two 35mm cameras, a very old range finder and a Mamiya SLR. I load my own cartridges, spoiling only enough film for the shooting session (from 15 to 40 frames). At the end of the day I remove the film from both cameras for developing. This eliminates the possibility of the film getting hard and breaking at the bends.

While out in the weather I keep both cameras under my jacket or parka, taking one out only when ready to shoot, and then replacing it immediately. For periods of up to two hours this has effectively eliminated any problems. For somewhat longer durations one might consider constructing a pocket on the inside of the parka to hold a catalytic hand-warmer or two ... however it also works if you just drop the warmer in your sweater pocket.

If you are required to remain in the deep cold for extended periods of time, an inexpensive “underwater housing” (may look like a skin-diving mask with a heavy plastic bag attached) would be a good investment. Before going outdoors, the camera and some dessicative should be placed in the housing. If you are lucky, this will allow any moisture to condense on the outside of the bag, not on or in the camera. However this anti-moisture business can be carried too far. If the film is allowed to get “bone-dry” static charges may build up and leave tracks on the negative.

Dr. Nelson Graburn, who stays out in the cold longer than I’d want to, suggests that a camera with a take-up spool that winds the film in the same curve that it comes out of the cartridge, might prevent breaks under certain conditions. He also suggests that a reflex camera with a stationary mirror (Pellic) might be insurance against viewfinder hangups.

Procedures for using motion picture cameras are pretty much the same as still, however the danger of the film snapping or sprocket holes breaking are much greater. Keeping the camera undercover will help, hand warmers are a good idea, however if motion pictures are an important or major part of the venture, one might be wise to invest in a heated barney.

Here is Jack Birn’s comment on the subject of barneys. “... These barneys have been in use around the world with two dozen types of cameras and they work very successfully. They are heated barneys so they will work at 30 or 40 degrees below zero and surprisingly enough, can also be used in hot humid climate so that the heat within the barney will dry up the humidity.”

Choice of motion picture cameras: It has been suggested that a spring wound camera, such as the Bolex, has some advantages in the cold over the battery operated cameras. There may be some truth to this, however it is not all roses. In cold weather the spring camera may tend to run slower, and the actual film run per winding (not too great in the first place) may become annoyingly brief. Providing batteries are kept warm, one should experience little trouble. Keep the equipment at a reasonable temperature, and the choice of camera remains the same as it would be in a more temperate climate. Once the selection is made, it is possible to have a camera “winterized” (de-oiled and certain parts machined). In my opinion, this route should be taken only in extreme situations, and the process conducted by a highly trained expert.

In the tropics one runs into difficulty with heat, moisture, fungus, and sometimes driven sand. Film can get soft and sticky, heat can ruin the balance of color film, and drastically affect the speed of B&W film. Fungus attacks just about everything, and can even get between the elements of a camera lens.

The best protection for unexposed film is to leave it in its original packaging and keep it as cool as possible. Open the film only as needed, and develop as soon as possible after exposure.

Jack Birns suggests, “All lenses should be washed carefully with a dab of soft warm water (do not let the water run over the front element and into the mounting A.M.S.) nightly and dried with a soft cloth or (lens) tissue. Most hotels in Southeast Asia provide a low wattage bulb which burns all night in order to dry out one’s cloths and keep fungus from growing on one’s shoes. It is not a bad idea to put one’s camera down near the light to take advantage of some drying-out period.”

If no light is available you might try to desiccate a small cardboard box by placing it near a stove, fire or lantern. If the equipment is then packed for the night in the slightly warm, very dry box, it should be in good shape in the morning.

Jack Birns again: “My basic advice to anyone going into the Tropics would be to take as little equipment and as little supplies as possible and shoot it up as rapidly as possible and then get out. It might be better to have small shipments sent in frequently rather than one big barrelful of equipment and supplies to fester ... One of the things I found useful in my work in the Tropics was only to take with me the film that I would shoot for that day. In other words, I would not expose to damage or danger any more than I really had to.”

Processing film and paper in the tropics causes some interesting problems. The ideal temperature for darkroom chemicals is about 68 to 70 degrees, but often it is not possible to get solutions below 85, 90 or 95 degrees. This plus other difficulties can make ordinary formulas unusable. However special formulas have been worked out. Anyone interested can send me a self-addressed stamped envelope and a dime to pay the xerox people, and I’ll send them the information.

One last problem: Rechargeable batteries. I have been unable to get any good advice on this subject so I can just pass along what has worked for me. I make it a policy to run brand new batteries through several discharge/charge cycles before taking them out on a job. This enables me to spot the duds well before disaster. With ni-cad batteries, it is believed by some (myself included) that frequent recharging, after the batteries have had only light usage, is a dangerous habit. Ni-cads seem to have a memory and if only used for short periods between charging, they sometimes later refuse to cooperate under extended load. My practice is to use the battery for about 75 percent of its suggested charge before re-zapping it. With this approach I often find that the battery will perform better than the manufacturer claim.

Suggestions on some things to take:

- Silica gel
- Plastic bags (with wire ties)
- Oversized shutter button (makes it easier to work release with gloves on)
Silk gloves (keeps hand warm if heavy gloves have to be removed)
Hand-warmers (pocket-sized catalytic heaters.)
Haliburton (type) case (Aluminum, gasketed, foam lined carried that will protect equipment from heat, cold, moisture and grit.)
Underwater camera housing (useful in all climates and protects equipment from wind born grit, sand and snow.

Sources of further information
American Cinematographer Manual, P. O. Box 2230, Hollywood Calif. #90028 $15.00. Although written for those working in motion pictures, I believe this manual to be indispensable for all photographers.

AN INTRODUCTION TO FILM
AS A RADICAL RESEARCH TECHNOLOGY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES


“And I don’t see how you can have a good analysis if you haven’t felt it, tasted, and experienced it”
(Kurtz 1969:7)
—Jerry Rubin

When events have passed, historians of every variety, from academics to police detectives, move onto the scene to gather data and tell a story. But what happened was experienced, for each man a different experience. The total event was a phenomenon—the sum, perhaps, of all the private experiences and all the interexperiences, etc. But only as a whole is it accessible; the interior of the event is mostly closed. Jean Cocteau comments on a road accident:

The real witnesses of the accident move on. They are really moved—and unable to tell exactly what happened. Evidence about it is given by those who were not present. By this alone, seizing on a fortuitous pretext to make their little mark, they give expression to their own non-wisdom. Behind them, on the road, the accident itself remains, a blood-bespattered thing, postures petrified. It is now desperately alone, the prey of he said—she said—it is said—and police reports (Cocteau 1956:1-2).

Regardless of his relationship to the truth of the matter, the historian usually has great influence in the world, through the imaginative power he exercises over his data, as a storyteller.

The customary radical critique of the social sciences is an attack on the notion of utility informing the discovery of data and the construction of analysis. Radicals propose to substitute a new sense of utility for the old, the interests being served depending on the basic analysis from which the scientist works. The tendency, then, is to substitute one “side” for another or even, in the Marxian frame, to call one side a non-side, attempting the dissolution of all sides.

Professor Swatz and I began our work on the 1968 Democratic Convention in much the ordinary way: developing hypotheses, “scripting” our shooting of film to generate the kind of data necessary to substantiate or discredit our hypotheses, even working self-consciously from a “point of view” that was clearly Marxian and expressed our contempt for central committees and the Johnson-Daley-Lowenstein forces that best typified them.

Our point of view, however, became irrelevant, and the frame of analysis only hindered our work. Naturally, we were aided in our leap out of the frame and into the fire by the nature of the 1968 Convention itself. It has been called by many a “radicalizing experience.” One well-dressed lawyer comments after his time in the streets: “I might just go get me a gun, and might just go get me a cop” (In The Seasons Change, a film treating the 1968 Democratic National Convention, N.Y.: Quest Productions, for the American Civil Liberties Union, 1968). That indicates his deduction from immediate experience, but the conclusion is not what we mean by radicalisation. Radicalisation has reference here only to the rendering of one’s expectations of the world as non-essential to one’s experience, in order to experience certain limited events as they appear, without the intrusion of what Marx named “false consciousness.” A commonly reported experience of the Convention week, for example, was that of ordinary citizens being assaulted, shouting for help, and then realising that they were being assaulted by the police. Most events, however, do not have this absolutely compelling quality, and so it is worthwhile talking about the conditions of radical experience, and the nature of the data that flows from it.

From the simplistic—and dangerous—sense that as radical scientists we had to speak from a “side” located in a political arena, Swatz and I learned that we had to put to the side our expectations of what we would find, simply in order to discover what was happening. We hope, then, that our account derives from the life-world of the event, rather than from any political predilections we carried at the outset. This is our understanding of a radical social science: simply the capability of putting expectations to the side, of seeking to experience social or political activity as itself—that is, to experience, as scientists, our human experience of a situation. To suspend judgment, to parenthesize our life experience as analytical scientists in favor of experiencing the new-to-us with clarity and in its own mundane terms is what Edmund Husserl calls the “phenomenological reduction,” the beginning of radical science. As an approach, Husserl points out, it resembles Cartesian method, but what is important is not so much that
one discover his own being as that he discover his being-in-the-world, that he grasp the world phenomenologically rather than struggling to grasp it in itself (Husserl 1962). This is our understanding of "engagement:" it is engagement with the facts of the world, rather than with our frames of analysis.

How to do it:

Hegel argues that we attain to truth when all possibilities of thought are exhausted and seen in their necessary sequence and order. Heidegger argues that we attain to truth after the possibilities of traditional thinking have been exhausted and we are brought to confront the source of our tradition in a dimension of human experience which precedes such thinking. Accordingly, in Heidegger's view, the approach of truth ought to be heralded by a crisis in thinking (Macomber 1967:9).

The nature of the crisis—at least for us as social scientists—is obvious. We sense, with Heidegger, that our language is "used up." To paraphrase a computer in a recent movie: "Words have lost their meanings, and meanings their words" (from Alphaville, a film by Jean-Luc Godard). Heidegger, with his predilection for pre-Socratic philosophy, romanticises Husserl's phenomenological reduction in which, "at first we shall put out of action all the convictions we have been accepting up to now, including all our sciences" (Husserl 1960). But the fact of grasping experience as itself, instead of through categories, is an important step toward the discovery of the facts of the world, from which we conceivably can reason such categories as "pathology," "a better world," and so on. The method is not itself the basic analysis; but it may lead to a basic analysis that seems viable.

The problem is, in a word, one of data, and especially of accuracy. Much of our data is of resulants, or outcomes, but we sense that, as researchers of human phenomena—whether of behavior or action—we need the data of ambience. In the Convention film, we have tried to render a life-world, and have realised that, as participants, as well as observers, the life-world is to some degree our own, rather than simply "theirs." And this has meant the necessity of making clear the dimensions of one's experience—not simply to control for contamination, but because one's human experience of a situation is at least as valid an object of analysis as the situation experienced "objectively" in the way of research in the physical sciences.

This argument seems to suggest a degree of idiosyncracy, in the generation of data, that has commonly been held unacceptable in any field that calls itself scientific. The ordinary assumption has been that data, by its nature as data, is experiencerentially universal and fully replicable. The difficulty with this formulation is that it begs the question of accuracy. Is the data true? The conventional quality test of data has thus come to be contained in the question, "Can anyone make a living from it?"—that is, how readily usable is it? Whether what we are saying is true boils down to the articulation of controls to ensure probable accuracy, and to the construction of a concerned mask regarding method. Some students go so far as to complain that we are not dealing with the "real world" when we perform in our accustomed ways as social scientists. Clearly, data must first be accurate; questions of accessibility and usability follow in priority. Analogically, they are engineering problems.

The investigator's problem is, in form, simple: first, to perceive, second, to communicate his perception to others who may not have had something resembling his experience. On perception, Norman O. Brown comments:

The principal reason which Lévy-Bruhl, Durkheim and others assign for the fact that primitives "do not perceive with the same minds as ours, is that in the act of perception, they are not detached, as we are." Primitive participation, participation mystique, is self and not-self identified in the moment of experience. "Primitive mentality" involves participation; an extra-sensory link between the percipient and the perceived; a telepathy which we have disowned (Brown 1966:121).

We are accustomed to look for the outer manifestations of experience, rather than its inner structure, with the faith of the observer of behavior, with Merleau-Ponty, who argues that film "offers us yet another chance to confirm that modes of thought correspond to technical methods and that, to use Goethe's phrase, 'What is inside is also outside' " (Merleau-Ponty 1964:59). But to assume the inner structure on the basis of the observed external appearance involves the danger of missing the inner structure entirely. As we cannot see what is inside a social situation simply by looking at others who are there, we need to become, provisionally, part of the situation ourselves, and then report our experience. The development of the overview emerges thus as the last task of analysis, rather than the first.

Even making every effort to perceive the structure of a life-world, however, is only a step toward communicating it understandably. We have generally assumed that good data are objectively accessible and universalistic. But our effort to render the 1968 Democratic Convention as data has suggested to us that neither of those conditions is necessary.

(On objective accessibility)—Conventions: The Land Around Us has been called "art" by some of our colleagues, who have wished to praise it without necessarily accepting it as a legitimate presentation of data. At one level, the difference between science and art is not difficult to grasp. Science presents objectively valid results as objects, equally accessible to everyone. A scientific report is complete in itself; art, however, is completed in the experience of the perceiver. We feel that data generation is an art, rather than a science: the data is made whole in the experiencing of it.

(On universality)—Furthermore, not only does the data not exist in an objectively complete form, it is highly particular to experience of time and place. A critic, treating a Robert Mitchum film as an example of maudit (damned) "art"—a form in which "the raw texture of the work is rubbed across our minds," comments:

Traditional works of narrative art can be set in locales and circumstances unfamiliar to the audience, but which are still open to vicarious participation that does no damage to the success of the work. Not so THUNDER ROAD. It is a work whose charm is open only to those who have first-hand knowledge of the world it depicts ... the ambience of night driving which convinces us that life is one long four-wheel drift (Thompson 1970:13).

As particular, the data are intersubjectively testable. But they become universal only to the degree either that large numbers of people have shared the life-world from which the data is developed, or that large numbers of people can be made to share that world. The latter is still, in most areas that social scientists research, the task of the artist, not of the scientist.
Jean Cocteau’s voice opens his last film, *Testament of Orpheus*:

It is the film-maker’s privilege to be able to allow a large number of people to dream the same dream together, and to show us, moreover, the optical illusions of unreality with the rigor of realism. In short, it is an admirable vehicle for poetry.

There are two distinct styles of filmmaking with which we have been concerned in our work: *cinéma-verité* and *montage*. Each expresses data differently. *Cinéma-verité* involves the condensation of long, picture-sound synchronised shots and is intended to present the fullest possible account of the behavioral aspects of a situation. This style is most appropriate to Merleau-Ponty’s argument about the utility of film, that “What is inside is also outside.” *Montage* theory, on the other hand, argues that what is inside can be communicated only by its reconstruction in the experience of the audience. *Cinéma-verité* attempts the objective representation of reality; *montage* attempts only to provide the objective conditions under which a reality might be re-experienced. *Montage* does not represent. Most social scientists would agree with the possibility of *cinéma-verité* as a scientific research tool; most associate *montage* with “the movies” and subjectivity. But, twenty years ago, Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites, in their study of the movies commented:

> ... in a culture like our own, day-dreaming itself is apt to be frowned on as impractical, an unproductive use of one’s energies, even a mark of failure. We are aware of the resultant impoverishment of our own day-dream production, so that we take up a novel, tune in on the radio or television, or go to the movies, instead of being able to tune in on our own day-dreams for vivid make-believe experience. The story or drama which thus becomes the shared day-dream of thousands or millions has the further advantage over the private day-dream that we know others share it, and we feel that it is about others rather than about ourselves. In this way, the embarrassments and anxieties which often haunt private day-dreams are removed (Wolfenstein and Leites 1950:12-13).

This raises important questions of choice of method. *Cinéma-verité* assumes that behavior reliably expresses inner life and that this style of filmmaking, as a language, is as nearly congruent with behavior as possible. The technique is valuable, then, to the degree that inner life can be understood from behavior. We must recognize, however, that the verité technique can never take adequate account of the presence of the camera. (The most interesting attempt to do this is the film by Jean Rouh, the filmmaker, and Edgar Morin, the sociologist, titled *Chronique D’Un Été*. Although generally considered one of the most important films of the decade 1960-1970, it falls short of success in this one respect. The model film of *cinéma-verité*—particularly in its extensive interview material—is Chris Marker’s *Le Joli Mai*, where the camera is always the simple recording device.)

*Montage* film is as much a product of editing as of recording. Whereas the verité editor cuts to eliminate the inessential, the *montage* editor juxtaposes to reveal an essence that is not objectively accessible in the material. This seems artificial. But, as some evidence—including that of our own senses—suggest, when we talk of “life as a movie,” we have reference to experiencing the world not so much as a camera, but as an editor: experiencing our own consciousness as a synthesizing mechanism, the camera becomes internalised, and its effect accounted for in the editing.

One commitment Swatez and I had made, in deciding not simply to do film, but to experiment with it, was to remain as near the original medium of research as possible in our presentation of data. In form, we experimented the 1968 Convention not very differently from Leopold Bloom’s experience of a day in Dublin; the behavior and speech of others led us to believe that they experienced it similarly. (James Joyce’s *Ulysses* is concrete evidence that the internalisation of the camera (audience), or “seeing life as a movie,” antedates the developed technology of cinema, or the widespread experience of movies.) Within the limits of film technology, *Conventions: The Land Around Us* is in the style of *montage*. The film, as a language, is true to the data of our experience. And, despite the apparent mystification in our claim that the data is made whole only in its experiencing, the film is actually more broadly accessible than most scientific reports. Beyond that, something more than presentation of data is involved in the use of, especially, montage technique. As presentation, the film is analogous to print. But, in our experience, the use of film can move into a realm in which it is actually instrumental to the development of ideas, analogous thus to writing, or even to language.

* * *

In our opinion, the radical purpose ultimately served by the use of film for appropriate research derives from two aspects already mentioned. One is the possibility—as with art, generally—of suspending frames of analysis in order to discover and represent the facts of experience. Second, is the quasi-hypnotic power of the medium to bring many people into a grasping of the facts. The second is most important. It suggests what we have all experienced anyway, but seldom admitted: the possibility of what we might call “Cartesian social meditation.” Not one man in a dark room discovering that he is, but many men, discovering in common a fact, and then deciding together what they will do, rather than harboring movie day-dreams as if they were private property. It is a rationalising experience simply to realise that others know the same things about the world that you feared were only your fantasy. In one film of the 1968 Convention, for example, people are clubbed by the police, and a voice shouts to the audience, “Hey! did you see that?” (The Official Statement of the Youth International Party, *Here is Yippie!* [N.Y., 1968, distributed by the American Civil Liberties Union]). The next question implied is, “What are you going to do?”

Edgar Morin once said, in a commentary on the feature film industry, that “Making a film ultimately appears to be the game of games” (Morin 1961:60). The “game” involves “putting people on,” and keeping them sufficiently apart from one another that they will return for the next film. Movies sell movies. Film made in the mode of social Cartesianism must never sell more film, must not be any one’s game, but must reveal fact accurately, upon which collective action in the world can be based.

**Bibliography**

Brown, Norman O.

Cocteau, Jean

Husserl, Edmund
TRAINING IN VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

In our continuing efforts to discuss training possibilities in visual anthropology, we have asked anyone teaching such a course to send us a description and syllabus. The Newsletter will continue to publish this information in the hope that it will aid others in their efforts to establish similar programs, and generate some discussion.

DANCE EXPRESSIONS IN SELECTED CULTURES

Dance as a social and cultural experience in the life of man

A seminar class which will examine the ways in which dance has been studied and understood as a social and cultural experience in selected cultures. Emphasis will be put on a survey of readings which illustrate various approaches that have been taken to this subject with analysis and critical commentary on these readings forming the major portion of the classwork. The readings will focus on such areas as: 1. Dance as an aspect of ritual—ritual theories of Van Gennep, Chapple, Gluckman will be discussed, the mythic-ritualistic complex as understood by the Cambridge School of Anthropology and by Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Pritchard will be examined early in the class' chronology and new approaches by Levi-Strauss, Turner, Geertz will be taken up later in the class. 2. Dance in relation to ethnology as particularly understood through the works of Sachs, Kurath, Hanna, Kealiinohomoku will be analyzed. 3. Dance as a part of the non-verbal or expressive behaviors of a culture and its potential for cross-cultural analysis will be studied through the works of Birdwhistell, Hall, Lomax-Bartenieff-Pauley, Ekman. Also such new approaches as the linguistic analysis of dance through the work of Kaeppler will be discussed. New tools for the recording and collecting of these observations such as the various forms of movement notation (Laban, Effort-Shape, Benesh, Eshkol) and new methods and approaches to filming will also be briefly analyzed.

Allegra Fuller Snyder
Department of Dance, UCLA

Educational Media Institute

From the beginning I read with great interest your Newsletter which fills most of the international information gap in this field. To keep you posted I may inform you that for some years I give now a course for the post graduate students in anthropology at the University of Utrecht; a course lasting a year during 2 hours a week on the practical application of photography and cinematography and lately also on the use of AV means. This course is a mixture of theory and practice with discussion of books and articles like: Visual Anthropology, Photography as a Research Tool by John Collier Jr., Still Photography in the Systematic Recording and Analysis of Behavioral Data by Paul Byers and similar information. There is no examination. The use of the tape recorder is also practised and well known films like Dead Birds (Gardner) and Matjes Mosh (Gerbrands) are shown, if possible with introduction by the makers.

The course is aimed at 4 objectives:
1) To be able to make single handed a good set of photographs to be used for teaching and research;
2) to produce single handed a lip-synch 8 mm or 16 mm sound film from which data can be derived in which motion is essential;
3) to produce high quality sound recordings without help;
4) in the case a professional cameraman or team should be available, to know what can practically be asked from them.

Unfortunately my course outline is in dutch only so sending it is of no use, but if there are lecturers who do a similar thing I would like to learn from their experiences.

J. W. Varrosseau, DGPh, FRPS
Director, Educational Media Institute
Rijksuniversiteit van Utrecht
Universiteitscentrum "De Uithof"
Utrecht, Netherlands

Canon, manufacturers of the 16mm Scoopic Newsreel (Anthro-Film) camera, has introduced a new model. Retaining the same general configuration and built-in power supply of the original, the New Scoopic will take 200' daylight loads while the old model would take only a hundred feet.

There is a conversion for the hundred foot model, but it is expensive and involves an external power supply and the attachment of a bulky magazine.

Along with the introduction of the 200' model comes an unofficial discounting (several hundred dollars) of the original. These fully automatic cameras can now be picked up as demonstrators or brand-new for $750 to $995.
NOTICES

Temple University’s Fifth Annual Anthropological and Documentary Film Conference

Temple University will hold its fifth annual Anthropological and Documentary Film Conference on March 8-11, 1972. The Conference seeks to bring together all persons interested in the use of behavioral recording media, including film, videotape, and sound tape, for the portrayal of the human condition.

In 1971, the Conference added workshops in still and motion picture techniques, videotape, and multi-media approaches to teaching to the screening and discussion of documentary and anthropological films. Sessions on the analytic use of videotape, the use of social science theory for filmmakers, and the creation of relevant programming for the public media, were included. A good range of equipment for motion picture, still, and video work were displayed in a technical exhibit. Filmmakers, both American and foreign, were invited to discuss the making and intent of their films.

Because the introduction of technical workshops and formal symposia proved to be of interest to many of last year’s participants, the co-ordinators of the 1972 Conference are broadening the program to include four different types of sessions: seminars, symposia, workshops, and screenings, in addition to a technical exhibit. Seminars will consist of small-group discussions, ranging from informal rap sessions to more structured discussions based on a single topic. Symposia will consist of invited papers dealing with topics of general interest concerning film, video, and sound use and analysis. Individual volunteered papers are also solicited. Research footage, film or videotape, to show in conjunction with papers is welcome, as are still presentations. Workshops will provide introductions to and basic instruction in the use of technical equipment, including motion picture, still, video and sound. Screening sessions will provide opportunities for viewing the latest documentary and anthropological films. The technical exhibit will display 16 mm, 8 mm, still and sound equipment.

The Conference directors would like to invite those interested in directing symposia to submit their suggestions for themes and participants by December 1, 1971. Persons interested in establishing discussion seminars or volunteering papers should also submit abstracts by December 1. Persons wishing to submit films may request the appropriate data sheets from this office. These forms must be returned no later than November 1, 1971. Do not send films until requested to do so. Previewing of films will be completed early in December. Eligible films can include: 16 mm optical or magnetic sound, super-8 magnetic stripe or silent, standard-8, single-8, sound-stripe or silent. 35 mm films or films with double-system sound are not eligible. Acceptable videotape formats include 1/2 inch (UCC), 1 inch, and 2 inch helical scan and 2 inch quad low band.

Note: this is not a competition. No prizes will be awarded, although we try, within the limits of a small budget, to bring the filmmaker to the Conference. Five to ten minute films will be given special consideration. We expect a large variety of films, but short ones can be more readily included in the program.

If you wish to submit a film or paper abstract, or seek further information about the Conference, write to: Film Conference, Room 200 South Hall, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122, or call (215) 787-7601.

International Film and TV Students’ and Graduates’ Association

Malcolm W. Gordon, a graduate film student at Temple, attended an international conference of film students at Helsinki on April 22 to 26. The conference was sponsored by IFTSGA, the International Film and TV Students’ and Graduates’ Association, and was attended by delegates from thirteen countries including Tanzania and the Soviet Union.

IFTSGA was organized in 1968 by a group of European film students to promote communication between film students on an international level. Its more specific purposes are to help film students and film school graduates communicate personally about educational opportunities in their various countries for film students, to assist in international distribution of student films, and to share information about developing employment opportunities.

Any further information about IFTSGA can be obtained in the United States from Malcolm W. Gordon, School of Communications, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122, and in Europe from Ives Swennen, Chaussée de Bruxelles 382, 1410 Waterloo, Belgium.

Ethnographic Film Making

An independent producer of documentary and educational films seeks an affiliation with departments of anthropology, museums, or individual anthropologists, whereby he might be able to devote more of his time and production capability to ethnographic film making.

During a 5-1/2 term as Superintendent of Elementary Education in American Samoa from 1958 to 1963, Ted Hollingsworth became interested in the educational value of culturally oriented instructional films. From 1961 to 1963, he filmed Samoan events for the New Zealand and the Australian Broadcasting Commissions. In addition, he has completed film assignments in New Caledonia, New Zealand, and Thailand. Two of his educational films are in the National Film Library of New Zealand.

After seven years abroad, he returned to California and established his own educational film production company, Documentary Films, in 1968. Since then, he has produced films in the areas of physical education, language arts, marine science, and anthropology.

It has become evident to Mr. Hollingsworth that his main film interest lies in the documenting and recording of the life styles of non-sophisticated cultures. To achieve this, he would welcome collaboration with anthropologists whereby, under their direction, he could offer his professional competence in film making. Inquiries should be addressed to: Ted Hollingsworth Documentary Films 3217 Truoth Gulch Rd., Apts, CA 95003

Motion Picture Films Available for Loan from the Museum of the American Indian

These 16mm films are part of the motion picture archives of the Museum of the American Indian and represent various subjects taken by field representatives of the Museum for the purpose of preserving visually some of the fast-disappearing activities of the Indian. Most of them were filmed by non-professional photographers, often under very adverse
circumstances, and the point of view was that of a straightforward ethnographic record. They are not suitable for general entertainment and it is suggested that they not be requested by groups for showing to youngsters; they are simply too technical in ethnographic application to hold the interest of viewers other than those with an anthropological concern.

All of these films were made between 1912 and 1927 and were originally photographed on nitrate-base 35mm film. In 1960 it was found they were rapidly deteriorating due to the volatile nature of this material. Because of their ethnographic value, application was made to the National Science Foundation for a grant to permit their transfer to 16mm safety film for more permanent preservation. As a result, a project was established in 1961 which has been successful in making these available for educational needs. Unfortunately, when the transfer was undertaken, it was found that some sections of the nitrate film had so deteriorated that it was impossible to salvage them. Therefore, it must be understood that these are not in exact sequence as originally photographed, and there will be inevitable gaps throughout each film representing those portions now lost. We are pleased to acknowledge here our gratitude to the National Science Foundation for granting the funds that enabled us to accomplish this film salvage project.

ETHNOLOGICAL FILMS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN BLACK & WHITE—SILENT SPEED ONLY—16mm

Zuni Indians of New Mexico
A series of ethnological films made in 1923 for the Museum, under the direction of Dr. Frederick W. Hodge, illustrating the arts, industries and ceremonies of the Zuni.

No. 1 THE LAND OF THE ZUNI and COMMUNITY WORK
Scenes of the Pueblo and surrounding country; daily activity in the village; community work of harvesting, threshing and winnowing wheat.
All levels. 417 ft.—17 minutes.

No. 2 PAPER BREAD (home) MAKING and CORN GRINDING
Community grinding of corn with mano and metates of varying coarseness. Applying the batter and cooking the paper-thin bread on the baking stone.
All levels. 295 ft.—12 minutes.

No. 3 THE RAIN CEREMONY
The rites in the sacred spring at Ojo Caliente are followed by two of the Rain dances in the plaza of the village. Included are the sacred Koyemshi clowns, wearing their so-called “mudhead” masks.
College and advanced levels. 560 ft.—23 minutes.

No. 4 DEERSKIN TANNING and WRAPPING THE LEGGINGS
Detailed process of tanning deerskin, and a demonstration of wrapping the several layers of deerskin worn as leggings by Zuni women.
All levels. 240 ft.—10 minutes.

No. 5 HAIR WASHING
Gathering the yucca root for making amole, and a demonstration by two Zuni women of washing and dressing the hair.
All levels. 350 ft.—14½ minutes.

No. 6 THE SANTO CEREMONY
The procession of carrying the figure of St. Gerónimo is followed by a dance in the plaza. (Limited titles.
College and advanced levels. 130 ft.—5½ minutes.

No. 7 POTTERY MAKING
Well-detailed steps in mixing the clay, forming the jars by coiling, applying the white slip, decorating the pottery, and the firing process.
All levels. 675 ft.—28 minutes.

No. 8 OVEN BUILDING and BREAD MAKING
The making of a beehive oven. Kindling the fire. Kneading the dough, and baking the many loaves. (European-style bread, called mulave).
All levels. 345 ft.—14½ minutes.

No. 9 WEAVING A BLANKET
A Zuni man sets up his loom and several stages of progress are seen as he weaves the blanket.
All levels. 180 ft.—7½ minutes.

No. 10 MAKING ADOBE BRICKS and HOUSE BUILDING (ZUNI)
The adobe bricks are made in molds and sun dried. Scenes of constructing a house with the bricks, and of a Zuni woman plastering a wall with her hand.
All levels. 210 ft.—9 minutes.

No. 11 THE SALT LAKE CEREMONY (ZUNI)
Planting of the prayer sticks in the lake and gathering of salt from the lake by the Zuni men.
College and advanced. 180 ft.—7½ minutes.

Crow Indians of Montana
Filmed in 1927 by William Wildschut, for the Museum of the American Indian.

No. 12 SWEAT LODGE CEREMONY OF THE CROW INDIANS and the MINIATURE SWEAT LODGE CEREMONY
The Sweat Lodge Ceremony is well illustrated with diagrams, titles and filmed action outside the Lodge. The Miniature Sweat Lodge Ceremony is incorporated into this reel for a fuller understanding of the Miniature ceremony.
College and advanced. 432 ft.—18 minutes.

No. 13 SKIN DRESSING and TANNING PROCESS OF THE CROW
A step process of the dressing and tanning of a hide as practiced by the Crow Indians in 1927. (For a comparative process, see No. 4 of the Zuni Ethnological Films).
All levels. 168 ft.—7 minutes.

Shoshone Indians of Wyoming
Filmed in 1927 by William Wildschut for the Museum of the American Indian.

No. 14 SUN-DANCE CEREMONY OF THE SHOSHONE INDIANS
A large encampment and 57 dancers participate in the Sun-Dance Ceremony as performed by the Shoshone Indians in 1927. The ceremony is fully presented, from the cutting of the center pole through the final blessing of the dancers. All levels. 660 ft.—28 minutes.

There are no charges for the use of the films but all transportation costs must be defrayed by the borrower. The films will be shipped by Express and all inquiries concerning their use should be directed to The Museum of the American Indian, Broadway at 155th Street, New York, NY 10032.

Roy Pinney
Curator of Documentary Films

Employment Desired
I am experienced in film and 1/2 "video tape, and have a B.A. in anthropology. I am interested in working on a project with primitive people. Will work cheap. Contact: Ken Schwartz, 929 President St., Brooklyn, NY 11215.

Spring Issue 1971 of FILM COMMENT
The Spring 1971 issue of Film Comment (Vol. 7, No. 1) has a special three article section on Visual Anthropology with an introduction by Margaret Mead. The articles are 1) “Toward an Anthropological Cinema” by Jay Ruby, 2) “Ethnographic Film Production” by Tim Asch, and 3) an interview with Argentine filmmaker, Jorge Preloran, by Howard Suber.
Copies may be obtained for $1.50 from: Film Comment, 100 Walnut Place, Brookline, MA 02146

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST Film Reviews
If you have a film that you want reviewed in the American Anthropologist or if you wish to review a film, please write to Timothy Asch, A.A. Film Review Editor, 73 Frost Street, Cambridge, MA 02140
New Film Releases from Extension Media Center

Iyomande: The Ainu Bear Festival

A rare anthropological record of a yearly ceremony performed by the Ainu people of northern Japan is contained in Iyomande: The Ainu Bear Festival, a 16mm film available for purchase, rental and preview-before-purchase.

Filmed in the 1930s by a British doctor who had settled among the Ainu and gained their trust, the ceremony reveals many traditional attitudes and activities that are now disappearing. The "bear festival," the most important ritual of the Ainu year, vividly displays the animism of the traditional outlook.

Iyomande: The Ainu Bear Festival may be purchased for $160; the rental fee for one day's use is $11.50. Further details and order forms are available from the Extension Media Center, University of California, 223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, CA 94720.

San Xavier del Bac, 1968

The restoration and cleaning of a famed Spanish mission in Arizona is documented in a 16mm film, San Xavier del Bac, 1968, available for rental, purchase or preview-before-purchase.

The 33-minute color film is intended as an introduction to the mission and as a measure of the importance of saving such significant art treasures from age, erosion and pollution. It should also be valuable for the study of art and art history, anthropology, Western history, ethnic studies and religious architecture and history.

San Xavier del Bac, 1968 was made by Helga Teiwes, a photographer at the Arizona State Museum. It is narrated by Robert M. Quinn, professor of art at the University of Arizona; music is by the Indian Choir of San Xavier, the Montreal Bach Choir and Hilmuth Rilling, organ.

Rental is $23 and the purchase price is $395. Further information may be obtained from Extension Media Center, University of California, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, CA 94720.

American Indian Documentary Film Program Announced

The appointment of Mr. Roy Pinney, New York City, as Curator of Documentary Films was announced by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, today. Mr. Pinney, a well-known producer of numerous documentaries for television, is an experienced field photographer who has investigated many tribes throughout the Western Hemisphere. He is the author of sixteen books dealing with primitive tribes and natural history subjects, as well as numerous articles treating on the technique and principles of photography.

In commenting upon the new appointment, Dr. Frederick J. Dockstader, Director of the Museum, enthusiastically outlines the goals of the program as one which will enable the institution to increase its public services, as well as provide additional means of preservation of Indian cultural qualities which are fast disappearing. In collaboration with the Museum's Photography Department, headed by Mr. Carmelo Guadagno, it is hoped that the project will accomplish the following:

1. The collection, cataloging and preservation of all available films depicting the lifeways of the Indian tribes of all America.
2. Compilation and publication of an annotated list of cinematographic records.
3. The production of films for television documenting all phases of the rapidly vanishing cultures of aboriginal America.
4. The expansion of a collection of film materials to be made available to schools and colleges throughout the nation.

The Museum of the American Indian, founded in 1916 by Dr. George C. Heye, is devoted to the study, preservation, and exhibition of the culture of the American Indian, and is the largest institution of its kind in the world. Its activities are supported by an endowment, supplemented by gifts from foundations and private individuals. It is located at Broadway and 155th Street, New York City. Admission is free at all times.