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The Impact of Media on Traditional Communities

Editor

Raul Reis

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Editorial

The Impact of Media on Traditional Communities

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Abstract
This editorial provides a brief historical overview of research on the impact of media on traditional communities, and introduces the articles featured in this issue.

Keywords
ethnography; indigenous communities; media impact; social media

Issue
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Mass media globalization is a phenomenon almost as old as mass communication itself, starting in the beginning of the 20th century as movies, radio shows and later television programs became profitable cultural products, easily exportable to international audiences. It accelerated in the 1980s and 1990s, as technological advances such as satellite telecommunications became a reality, allowing audiences to share those cultural artifacts in real time. The Internet and social media further demolished all geographical and chronological barriers, allowing even the most distant and isolated communities to share globalized media experiences (as long as they have access to electricity, connectivity, and the proper hardware, which is by no means guaranteed, even as those become cheaper and more widespread.)

Interest in the effect that mass media exposure has on traditional communities also started almost as soon as mass media itself became an international phenomenon. It soon became apparent to anthropologists, sociologists, and fledging mass communication researchers that exposure to mass media was, at a minimum, influencing (if not disrupting) traditional ways of life. What followed in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s was a flurry of Frankfurt School–inspired studies that mainly focused on the negative aspects of that influence. Terms such as cultural imperialism and cultural hegemony were widely used to define that process, as researchers worried that ancient traditions and ways of life were seriously threatened by the culture industry.

With the growth of cultural studies in the 1970s and 1980s, the critique became much more complex and nuanced, as scholars such as James Clifford and Stuart Hall (heavily indebted to French philosophers such as Michel Foucault, Felix Guattari and Jacques Derrida) started to talk about culture as being polysemic and formed by "seriously contested codes and representations" (Clifford, 1988). The field of intercultural communication has also dissected (with varying degrees of success) the complex ways in which cultures and cultural groups come to influence each other, once they start interacting. Instead of focusing only on the negative aspects of that interaction, more recent studies have also focused on the way mass media may empower communities to seek agency and self-determination (Martín-Barbero, 1993; Reis, 1998).

As media production technology becomes cheaper and more readily available, researchers have paid more attention to how previously disenfranchised communities develop their own communication systems, using mass media not only to communicate, but also to advance their own agendas (Horst, 2011). More recently, researchers have turned their attention to the Internet, social media and micro–blogging, asking, for example, how Brazilian favela residents engage with social media,

and if we should look at their social media engagement as another form of empowerment (Nemer, 2015).

This thematic issue of *Media and Communication* lands within this historical backdrop, pushing against its current disciplinary boundaries. In "Media Portrayals of Hashtag Activism: A Framing Analysis of Canada's #IdleNoMore Movement," Derek Moscato examines the confluence of activism and social media, using framing theory to analyze how two prominent Canadian publications portrayed the #IdleNoMore social media campaign initiated by Canada's First Nations communities. No longer at the recipient end of the traditional mass media flowchart, Aboriginal communities are turning the tables, and engaging with social media in a way that inserts their demands and concerns right in the middle of the political arena. As he discusses in his article, from Tunisia to Canada, micro–blogging has been a particularly effective way to organize and give voice to politically disenfranchised communities.

Through framing analysis, Moscato has found that the reaction to hashtag activism by traditional media has been mixed, allowing national circulation publications to highlight or give voice to indigenous demands, while at the same time admonishing against possible escalation of political confrontation.

From Canada we move south to Brazil, where Laura Graham sets her sights on the A'uwẽ-Xavante indigenous communities of Mato Gross state and their use of audio–visual technologies. What started as the communities' attempt to preserve and disseminate their own rites and ceremonies (mainly as teaching tools and historical artifacts), has evolved to allow the A'uwẽ-Xavante peoples to exert greater control over how they are *presented* and *represented*, in a process that Graham describes as "representational sovereignty."

As a rebuke to the idea of a "Faustian contract," whereupon indigenous communities' use of modern technologies would inevitably compromise their purity, Graham argues that the A'uwẽ-Xavante's use of audiovisual technologies is one of many recent examples of indigenous communities turning self-produced cultural artifacts into "powerful instruments for the creative expression of identity, self-reflection, political empowerment, cultural transmission, and the preservation of traditional knowledge."

Finally, in a beautifully written and powerful commentary, Richard Meadows traces the history of how communication networks have been used by Australian Aboriginals for hundreds of years, pre–dating the European occupation of the continent. As European vessels moved along the Australian coastline, Aboriginal "runners" moving through inland tracks kept informed a complex maze of Aboriginal nations speaking upwards of 250 languages. As more and more Aboriginal Australians embrace community-produced radio and television, even fostering a creative national alliance, Richard Meadows decries the lack of a national Indigenous media policy, formally recognizing (and preserving) the importance of Aboriginal languages and cultures.

As we move towards a world that will make media and social media engagement as inevitable for traditional communities as breathing or eating, it is imperative that, as anthropologists and mass communication researchers, we discuss, examine and study the powerful ways in which new technologies influence those groups, including the creative (and political) ways in which those groups themselves are producing and engaging with media. The articles in this new thematic issue make an important step toward that goal.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Media Portrayals of Hashtag Activism: A Framing Analysis of Canada's #Idlenomore Movement

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Abstract
The confluence of activism and social media—legitimized by efforts such as the Arab Spring and Occupy Movements—represents a growing area of mainstream media focus. Using Canada's #IdleNoMore movement as a case, this study uses framing theory to better understand how traditional media are representing activism borne of social media such as Twitter, and how such activism can ultimately have an impact in political and public policy debates. A qualitative framing analysis is used to identify frames present in media reporting of #IdleNoMore during its first two months by two prominent Canadian publications. Emergent frames show that hashtag activism as a catalyst for a social movement was embraced as a theme by one of the publications, therefore helping to legitimize the role of social media tools such as Twitter. In other frames, both positive and negative depictions of the social movement helped to identify for mainstream audiences both historical grievances and future challenges and opportunities for Canada's First Nations communities.

Keywords
media framing; online activism; social media

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1. Introduction

For advocates of digital media as a vehicle for more inclusive public discourse around society's most pressing issues, the growing popularity of social media tools gives reason for hope. While many websites and email campaigns already advocate on behalf of social movements, global activists are being implored to expand their usage of online communication in order to enhance their two-way communication with publics (Seo, Kim, & Yang, 2009). This advent of social media in the Web 2.0 era, including such well-known social networking platforms as Twitter and Facebook, arguably has had the effect of democratizing communication between organizations and stakeholders (Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy, & Silvestre, 2011). Indeed, the theme of a more democratic form of media runs through both academic and popular accounts of Twitter's rise among activists. A growing segment of social media usage on Twitter includes individuals advocating for humanitarian causes, environmental problems, or political and economic debates (Beirut, 2009). Hashtag activism, a term that entered the public consciousness when *New York Times* media columnist David Carr (2012) wrote of the phenomenon, gives communicators an ability to streamline their messaging on the micro-blogging social networking platform. The hashtag, a function of Twitter that allows users to cluster their tweets around a single issue or focus, has garnered growing media interest in the wake of well-publicized efforts stemming from the Arab Spring and Occupy movements.

More recently, an example of hashtag activism that has captured, if not the imagination, at least the attention of media, politicians, and the public is that of #IdleNoMore, an activist movement that launched in Canada in November 2012. Tanyo Kappo, an Indigenous activist and law student from the University of

Manitoba, had organized a teach-in in Edmonton, Alberta, to inform the public how a Canadian government bill would negatively impact the country's First Nations (Aboriginal) peoples. In the days since that first usage of the #IdleNoMore hashtag, the movement has become a rallying cry for all of Canada's First Nations peoples and has spread to the United States and internationally to signify the concerns of Aboriginal peoples (Carleton, 2012).

Twitter users used the hashtag to link to media stories about Aboriginal and related issues and engender commentary; it invited individuals to flash mobs, protest events, educational seminars, and other gatherings. It supported activists and community leaders. It also quickly caught the attention of domestic and international media. The National Public Radio program *All Things Considered* (2013, para. 3) dubbed it "a grass-roots indigenous movement…shaking up politics in Canada. Like Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring, it spread quickly through social media." While the movement came to be characterized as "an eruption of updates and reporting over social media sites" (Ornelas, 2014, p. 5), it also ushered in a new wave of traditional media articles focused on First Nations and Aboriginal issues—particularly in Canada, where the impact of the movement was initially focused and certainly most pronounced.

This study seeks to understand how hashtag activism and online-based social movements impact the reporting of social and environmental issues by the traditional media. Using the #IdleNoMore movement as a case study, it examines how hashtag activists may be reframing debates about public and economic policy in the media in order to change public perceptions and add social and historical context to social and environmental issues. Understanding this trajectory is important as the usage of online activism continues to grow and as the traditional press grapples with social media's role in the public sphere. This study uses media framing to understand what aspects of the #IdleNoMore movement were made most salient. Within political and social movement communication, media framing has been shown to shape environments favorable or hostile to certain forms of public policy or debate. Identifying the saliency of different dimensions of #IdleNoMore provides insight into how the movement influenced broader debates about Aboriginal rights and living conditions in Canada, themselves having an impact on future public policy.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Online Mediation of Activism and Social Movements

The interplay of protest movements both online and off factors into much online activism literature. In their examination of democratic media activism through the lens of social movement theory, Carroll and Hackett (2005) maintain that actions such as Internet activism, culture jamming, and media monitoring have transformed the strategy of traditional protest movements, making them more reflexive. At the same time, Valenzuela (2013) finds that in order to effect changes in society, social movements need to bridge the gap between online and offline environments and ultimately facilitate offline forms of citizen participation. Such convergence of digital and offline activisms has been credited as one of the key reasons for the success of the 2010 Tunisian uprisings (Lim, 2013).

While some skeptics of social media's confluence with protest movements dwell upon the disparaging concepts of "armchair activism" or "slacktivism," social media assist movements in empowering individuals to carry out activist tasks that were once carried out by centralized organizations (Kessler, 2012, p. 213). Research on the communication practices of social movements both challenges structural views that conceive of alternative media as separate from the broader media field and also shows that communication is becoming more important for contemporary movements (Della Porta, 2013). This assertion complements the perspective that all social movement actions, including strategizing, lobbying, mobilizing, and protesting, involve forms of both online and offline communication (Ryan, Jeffreys, Ellowitz, & Ryczek, 2013). In part this positions the social movement as a network that emphasizes diversity of membership, while affording agency for actors assigned to different roles. A social movement's online network emphasizes the mobilization of resources locally, for example, while developing a media narrative at a national level (Conover et al., 2013).

Through online social media, social movement actors have a new means to disseminate self-representations that are not subjected to mass media filters (Uldum & Askanias, 2013). In turn, activists are able to break through preconceived notions or agendas that might provide greater resistance in traditional media spaces. Studies of online civic participation, dovetailing with the notion of activists reaching out to wider publics in online blogs and forums, show that these non-political spaces allow individuals to more fully engage in political activity (Van Zoonen, Vis, & Mihelj, 2010).

An examination of the Popular Association of the Oaxacan Peoples and the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles draws from the concept of transmedia mobilization, itself a combination of transmedia storytelling on different media platforms (Jenkins, 2003) and network communication theories derived from social movement studies. Such an approach allows for the circulation of ideas and frames across platforms while creating a shared social movement identity, requiring collaboration and co-creation across the movement

(Costanza-Chock, 2013). Additionally, new media technologies—upheld as "democratic, high-quality, horizontal communication"—have made more permeable the divide between media producers and audiences, in great part due to the reduced financial and skills-based barriers to accessing them (Della Porta, 2013). Using the example of video-sharing website YouTube, social media emerges as a means to widening the scope of audience but also reinforcing political commitment within a movement (Uldum & Askanias, 2013). Along with YouTube, the social networking platform of Twitter has emerged as an increasingly prominent venue for studies of online activism.

3. The Role of Twitter as a Platform for Influence and Protest

To some outside the medium, Twitter remains a communication curiosity. Its potential as a medium for virality is not always immediately apparent. Many messages—especially those coming from users with few followers or high privacy settings—will never reach audiences of more than a dozen people. What gives communication on Twitter potential leverage for wider distribution are the tools allowing users to cluster, rebroadcast, modify, or reply to ongoing messages and conversations. At real-time events involving advocacy or protest, live tweeting can serve multiple purposes, not only providing on-the-ground perspectives or directives, but also delivering key information to a broader public, garnering newfound publicity by reaching other media, or attracting attention from local governmental authorities (Penney & Dadas, 2014) in positive or negative ways. Twitter's ability to foster ongoing dialogue and conversation positions it perfectly for digital activism:

> "The promise for these huge processes of networked action directed towards mutual understanding cannot be dismissed lightly. This particular platform, as one instance among many, is built on a set of computer protocols that foreground interaction, enabling a greatly expanded reach for critique and organization among interlocutors." (Hands, 2011, p. 18)

One of Twitter's more distinct advantages is its ability to leverage audience interest to amplify messaging. Retweeting, for example, allows a movement's members not present at an event or rally to still participate in the distribution of information and thus the shaping of public opinion (Penny & Dadas, 2014). Twitter offers no guarantee of successful message distribution in terms of amplification or even accuracy, however. Accounts of hashtags being hijacked by interests outside the original purpose—whether for consumer products or social movements—have been fairly common. Even the supporters of a hashtag can undermine its goals. Poell and Borra's (2012) examination of social media accounts of the 2010 G20 Summit protests in Toronto showed that the hashtag #G20report became overwhelmed with accounts of police activity—at the expense of communicative demonstrations for issues such as "Native Land Rights," "Queer Liberation," and the "Environment." At the same time, while social media use has emerged as a significant and important tool for certain types of activism, its impact varies from one form of protest (such as street protests, traditional media outreach, or e-petitions) to another (Valenzuela, 2013).

4. Hashtags as an Approach to Informing and Educating Publics

More organizations have discovered social media—and Twitter specifically—to be a powerful device for public education approaches. Hashtags as a tool play a prominent role in the stages of reaching out to people, building and deepening emergent ties, and mobilizing supporters (Guo & Saxton, 2014). In politics, informing is the primary function of a hashtag (Small, 2011) as contributors scour the Internet for pertinent and timely information and disseminate their findings with an appropriate tag. More so than a tweet by itself, the existence of a hashtagged message via Twitter actively invites audience attention by setting parameters for the embedded discourse (Brock, 2012). The messages adjoined to such hashtags may invoke context, histories, emotions, or calls to action. Furthermore, and perhaps at odds with the reputation of social media "slacktivism" sometimes promoted in traditional media venues, some researchers report that hashtagged tweets strengthen bonds between networked users on Twitter, regardless of cultural affiliation (Brock, 2012).

The reporting of protest and dissent is another area where a divergence between traditional media and hashtagged Twitter communication has been identified. A content analysis of social media activity during the Egyptian Revolution, marked by the hashtags of #egypt and #jan25, shows that while established media stuck to official sources and emphasized the spectacle of the event, Twitter feeds and blogs provided more legitimacy to the protesters and more opportunities to their readers for interactivity and understanding (Harlow & Johnson, 2011). This raises the question of whether traditional media are susceptible to influence by online social networks and the movements they help spawn. Previous research has shown that evidence of a movement's legitimacy and the active support it has received is enough to sway public opinion and awareness over time (Kowalchuk, 2009), which can alter both the quantity and quality of mainstream press coverage (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, & Augustyn, 2001).

Retweets, hashtagged or not, can empower the diffusion of information and help it spread well beyond the reach of the original tweet's followership, which raises the question of whether Twitter is itself a social

network or a form of news media (Kwak, Lee, Park, & Moon, 2010). This also invokes the issue of how traditional media report on protest movements borne of, or fueled by, Twitter's mix of social network diffusion and potential mass audience reach.

5. Framing and the Shifting Grounds of Media Coverage

The framing of public policy debates by traditional media has enjoyed significant attention over the past two decades. Entman (2007) suggests that media interventions in the everyday contests to control government strategy within mainstream politics help to set the boundaries for public debate. In a news text, the frame represents an imprint of power, calling to attention some aspects of reality while obscuring others (Entman, 1993). The media's role becomes one of selection and salience, directing attention to how communicated text exerts its power:

> "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." (Entman, p. 51)

For example, U.S. President George Bush's description of his government's post September 11, 2001 policy as a "war on terror"—while highly contested at the time—was an effective framing choice that influenced most media coverage and debate in spite of some outliers in the press (Entman, 2003). More recently, media framing has been shown to shape environments favorable or hostile to certain forms of public policy. An examination of the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts by the Bush White House Administration reveals that the media's framing of such cuts in relation to economic growth—as opposed to individual economic interests—diminished citizens' ability to understand the new policy (Bell & Entman, 2011).

In summation, the ability of hashtags within Twitter to diffuse and amplify information and ideas across social media has afforded activists and advocates of various movements new media outreach opportunities. The growing legitimacy of such movements invites more scrutiny of portrayals of these online causes by traditional media, and in particular the media framing of such movements. Using the case study of #IdleNoMore, this study establishes how media framed an activist campaign borne of social media, as well as the differences of such frames between media outlets, by asking three research questions:

> RQ 1. How did the national media frame the #IdleNoMore movement?
>
> RQ 2. How did hashtag activism factor into the framing, if at all?
>
> RQ 3. What aspects of the movement did the media make more salient, and what were the political consequences?

6. Method

6.1. Framing Analysis

To answer the research questions, this study uses a qualitative framing analysis to examine traditional media articles about #IdleNoMore that appeared in the first two months of the movement. Analyzing media texts can highlight information that is more or less salient by placement or repetition—illuminating how influence of human consciousness is exerted by the transfer of information (Entman, 1993). Devices such as word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images (Gamson & Lasch, 1983) help establish media frames. Entman (1993) notes that "even a single unillustrated appearance of a notion in an obscure part of the text can be highly salient, if it comports with the existing schemata in a receiver's belief systems." To this end, a technique such as counting, while helpful, is not a primary driver of the qualitative framing analysis (Altheide, 1996). The collapsing of media texts and discourses into containers based on size or frequency might obscure embedded meanings, while a qualitative approach allows for analysis of ambiguity, historical contingency, and an emphasis on meaning making (Reese, 2001, p. 8). Such an approach, then, is well-suited to fulfilling a key objective of framing as posited by Entman (1993): the yielding of data that effectively represent the media messages being picked up by most audience members.

7. Media Selection

Because #IdleNoMore started in Canada and within days became a coast-to-coast event in terms of on-the-ground activity and media coverage, I examined articles about the movement from two Canadian national media outlets—The *Globe and Mail* newspaper and *Maclean's* magazine. The Toronto, Ontario-based *Globe and Mail* is Canada's top circulated national newspaper, with a weekly (six day) readership of 2.5 million. *Maclean's* is Canada's weekly current affairs magazine, with a readership of 2.4 million. Like the *Globe and Mail*, it is based in Toronto.

8. Sampling and Data Collection

To collect the media coverage for analysis, I used the LexisNexis database and the *Maclean's* magazine website archive employing the search terms "#IdleNoMo-

re" as well as "Idle No More" to account for different spelling variations of the movement. I examined the months of December 2012 and January 2013—the period marking the critical first six weeks of #IdleNoMore. From December 19 to January 31, the *Globe and Mail* published 33 articles about the movement in its newspaper and on its website. During the same timeframe, *Maclean's* Magazine published 54 articles about the movement in print and online. The articles analyzed from the *Globe and Mail* and *Maclean's* were published between the start of the movement and during a number of key events during December 2012 through the end of January 2013. These included marches, blockades, a hunger-strike, and high-level meetings involving the federal government.

In the case of both publications, I removed articles where #IdleNoMore was mentioned in passing or was not central to the article or report (for example, if included as part of a broader story about government economic or environmental policies). In order to gauge framing by the media institutions themselves, I also removed articles provided by wire services (such as the Associated Press or Canadian Press). Using these criteria, I was left with a total of 51 news articles. From this number, I selected the most information- and text-rich articles—12 from the *Globe and Mail*, 13 from *Maclean's*—for the analysis.

9. Coding and Analysis

To determine how the media framed the movement, I read over the articles several times to identify frames using Entman's framing definition. I recorded notes for article focus, theme, language use, tone, sources, and differences or similarities in the coverage between the *Globe and Mail* and *Maclean's*. Catchphrases, terms, and metaphors were recorded to identify whether their usage was suggestive of a particular frame. Finally, notes and findings were categorized to assess what frames were ultimately present.

10. Results

Collectively, the articles created frames of this movement representing competing but also coalescing perspectives and agendas. The frames that emerged for both publications will be briefly described. The results from each media outlet are presented separately to account for the differences in editorial approaches.

10.1. Globe and Mail

10.1.1. Technology/Social Media as Benchmark of a Protest Movement

This frame suggested Twitter and social media were positive drivers of the offline movement activities, ushering in a new era for social movements in Canada and a digital foundation for cross-country and global growth. Analysis of hashtag and other social media metrics were provided to help assess the progress of the movement. The newspaper's "analysis of the hashtag" on January 1, for example, included tweets per day from the previous week, mentions by gender, percentage of tweets that were favorable, and a comparison of social media mentions between Twitter and Facebook. Digital communication specialists provided further context and commentary. For example, one analyst explained that a Twitter-wide slowdown on Christmas Day softened #IdleNoMore's otherwise strong Internet foothold during this time period. Describing the week's previous data that included 12,000 mentions on Facebook and 144,000 mentions on Twitter, the publication declared that "Idle No More had found a strong foothold on the Internet." A later report compared the number of #IdleNoMore-tagged tweets with major offline events happening at the same time. The article showed the movement enjoyed 19,858 tweets on the same day it staged a peaceful demonstration at the West Edmonton Mall in Alberta; and 23,304 tweets on a day that saw protests both along the Trans-Canada Highway in Nova Scotia and along an oilsands highway near Fort McMurray, Alberta. As the movement neared the end of its second month, however, a social media analyst suggested the movement couldn't keep growing at its current pace: "The rate of growth of the movement has stalled, there's no fresh blood."

10.1.2. Changing Demographics: Gender and Youth

This frame suggested that educated women and young people are enjoying a newfound voice within Aboriginal communities and in Canadian politics as well. This was presented as revolutionary and sometimes at odds with the traditional leadership pattern within First Nations bands. "Young, university-educated women" were responsible for the majority of messaging for #IdleNoMore on Twitter and indeed founded the movement. A January 25 analysis described the fact that the majority of tweets were coming from women as "an extremely unusual finding" in light of online political discussions of being dominated by males. Women are described as being "part of a new political class that has emerged as an alternative to the traditional First Nations leadership—the chief and band council system—which is often described as male dominated." Although Canada's population is aging, demographics in Aboriginal communities skew younger. The median age of Aboriginal Canadian was pegged at 27, compared to 40 for non-Aboriginal Canadians. To this end, the elevation of demographics as a frame helped highlight the changing relationship dynamics between First Nations and the general population but also forecasted changes within First Nations communities. The "explo-

sion of native activism" was attributed to "a very young population, rising levels of income and education and a community that has suffered decades of injustice." Not all analysts agreed with the notion that young people were the driving force of #IdleNoMore, however. At least one recognized "there is a perception that Idle No More is being driven by youth, but that is only because they are the ones most adept at using their computers to share their anger and organize these types of events. But it is supported by First Nations members of all ages."

10.1.3. Canadian Geography and Constitution

This frame showed the #IdleNoMore movement within the lens of Canadian confederation and unity. The protests and debates were presented as a truly coast-to-coast phenomenon that involved communities, businesses, and other stakeholders across the country and that also had implications for, and indeed challenged, the nation's constitution. "Aboriginal leaders want the federal government to lead provinces and territories toward changes that would provide a share of resource revenues to their communities to finance social and economic development" reported the *Globe* on January 17. Federal politicians countered that "Ottawa will work with the provinces and industry to ensure aboriginal Canadians benefit fully from the looming opportunities offered by Canada's resource boom." Meetings and discussions between Canada's Prime Minister and First Nations leaders were highlighted and often encouraged. A January 29 article reported that "demonstrators affiliated with the grassroots movement…rallied on the snowy plaza outside Parliament's Centre Block on Monday, the first day politicians returned to Ottawa following a Christmas break in which the outcry of first nations dominated the news." While this pan-Canadian perspective often homed in on cross-country civil disobedience, it also noted involvement and support of everyday Canadians. Still, a January 25 editorial argued that "Canadians are not blind to the troubling conditions on some native reserves, and to the plight of native peoples in urban areas, but they do not believe it is entirely the fault of the federal government. They know that Ottawa funds first nations to the tune of billions of dollars annually and, to a degree, lets those communities manage the money."

10.1.4. #IdleNoMore as a Long-Term Movement in Canada

The *Globe and Mail* presented numerous instances of demands unmet among First Nations peoples in Canada as a precursor and potential justification for further growth and spread of the #IdleNoMore movement—as opposed to a movement that would run out of energy or spirit in the short term. Such long-term implications—"a revolution of rising expectations"—served as a warning to Canadian politicians and the general public that the protests and unrest needed to be taken seriously. "With the rise of the Idle No More movement, a different side of native Canada has marched into view—determined, not passive; insistent, not patient" argued a January 16 editorial. A commentary written by a conservative strategist and campaign manager, focused on the wider implications of the debate sparked by Idle No More, argued that the movement's "indigenist ideology" represented "a direct challenge to the existence of Canada as a state. Canada is not going to last long if it really contains more than 600 sovereign Indian bands, now known as first nations, plus the Metis, plus whatever the courts eventually determine non-status Indians to be." That #IdleNoMore was unique to Canadian politics was highlighted by another report, which noted that "IdleNoMore is only going to get bigger…It has seen sustained activity for weeks—it's unusual for any topic in Canadian politics to maintain this momentum."

10.2. Maclean's

10.2.1. Fear of Escalation and Confrontation

This frame highlighted the polarization between the Canadian government, led by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, and the country's First Nations, leading to the latter's "mobilizing across the country" and "anti-Harper vitriol." Reaching peaceful resolutions seems far-fetched in the face of "radicalism, road blockades and hunger strikes." Such hostility was adjoined by descriptions of political ineptitude and public confusion to create a picture of inevitable conflict. A January 15 article reported that Ontario's police commissioner was forced to respond on YouTube to "criticism of what some perceive as a failure to end rail blockades and other protest disruptions," this after court injunctions to end First Nations blockades. The head of Ontario's police force trumpeted "public safety" and "the fact that there haven't been any reports of injuries to protesters, police or members of the public at the protests in the (Ontario) jurisdiction." Meanwhile, reports also described several hundred protesters blocking traffic to the Ambassador Bridge, which connects Windsor, Ontario to the U.S. city of Detroit; and 60 protesters taking over a parking lot in Niagara Falls, Ontario.

10.2.2. Jobs and the Economy

The framing of the movement as primarily an economic issue was highlighted by one pundit's use of the term "casinos and pipelines" and regular allusions to the country's energy industry in particular. Canada's bountiful natural resources and prosperous economy were juxtaposed against demands for land or royalties, bloc-

kades of transportation infrastructure, and "an underutilized labor pool" in First Nations communities. Job growth for First Nations was contrasted by private sector leaders lamenting a loss of jobs for companies impacted by blockades. With the Canadian National Railway, the Aamjiwnaang First Nation in Sarnia, Ontario is described as having found "a big and easy target in their backyard...leading in and out of one of Canada's largest industrial complexes, Sarnia's Chemical Valley." Companies associated with the complex, such as Nova Chemicals, slowed production, while the Canadian Propane Association warned of gas shortages. In addition to Sarnia, *Maclean's* pointed out rail disruptions in Manitoba, eastern Quebec, and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Meanwhile, another report warned of "blockades and demonstrations against pipelines and mining developments in hot spots across the country." While First Nations were seen as a disruption to the economy in the short term because of political action, they were positioned as a panacea to the country's long term economic goals. A politics and policy commentator for the magazine argued that the way for the Prime Minister to "offer new hope to impoverished reserves is to link their fortunes to natural resource developments. Instead of seeing First Nations' grievances in sweeping historical and constitutional terms…frame the problem as an underutilized labor pool that could be matched with an expanding economic sector."

10.2.3. Colonial History

The notion of British monarchy intervening in negotiations between Canada's government and First Nations as a frame invoked the classic symbolism from Canada's colonial past: Buckingham Palace, The Queen's representative in Canada (the Governor-General), and Queen Elizabeth II herself. This highlighted not only historic grievances between First Nations and the British Empire before the establishment of Canada, as well as the continued importance of centuries-old treaties, but also potential cracks within Canada's current constitution, which potentially validate the involvement of another country such as the United Kingdom. Such history also reinforced longstanding First Nations grievances. The magazine described Aboriginal leaders at a hunger strike as having "lashed out at the media and a long Canadian history of disrespect towards First Nations people." One *Maclean's* commentator noted that First Nations' "preferred solutions—a fundamental rethink of Canada's treaty obligations, a royal commission, an intervention from the Queen—are not on offer." This assertion was backed by another report that many First Nations leaders wanted to boycott talks with the Prime Minister since he would not agree to include Canada's Governor-General (the Queen's representative) in discussions. A reminder of Britain's role in the saga came in mid-January, as the magazine described "100 peaceful protesters gathered outside the British Consulate…to remind the government to honor the treaties signed between the Crown and Canada's Indian nations."

10.2.4. Cause Celebre

The cause celebre frame showed how the #IdleNoMore movement had extended beyond the traditional forums of public debate to venues where politics and public policy—particularly around Aboriginal affairs—are traditionally not paramount, and where there is interest by the general public at a more casual level. A humorist conveyed frustration with the inconvenience of blockades, while one pundit described how "shopping-mall drum circles" disrupted the Prime Minister's agenda. Another noted friendly visits by a Hollywood celebrity to one of the protest sites. Meanwhile, commentators took umbrage with Attawapiskat Chief Theresa Spence's well-publicized hunger strike, with one arguing that a diet of fish broth, tea, and vitamins was hardly a hunger strike at all. A humorist with the publication chimed in that "fish broth is food! Although, if we're debating the calorie count of fish water, we have perhaps strayed some distance from the larger point." While all of this had the effect of packaging the movement as tabloid fare, it importantly established accessible entry points to the issue for readers normally averse to coverage of weighty political, economic, or social matters.

11. Discussion

The *Globe and Mail*, as a newspaper of record in Canada, provided frames that contributed to a better understanding of the social and technological forces that gave rise to the movement. At the same time, the newspaper lived up to its coast-to-coast mandate with a treatment of the movement as a truly national phenomenon—including its implications and challenges to the country's existing constitution. By providing updated social media metrics of the movement through the first several weeks of the movement, the Globe helped validate social media as legitimate grounds for advocacy and debate. The regular representations of the movement in locales across the country, as well as highlighting the importance of educated women and young people to the movement, helped position First Nations as an integral aspect of Canadian Confederation in the years to come. This is accentuated by the frame depicting this movement as a longer-term phenomenon, hardly the flash-in-pan movement that some protests or movements are labeled as by media pundits.

Maclean's, as a current events magazine, provided news and commentary of the movement that was more provocative and showed greater polarity—at various levels between protesters, government, industry, and the general public. Part of this can be attributed to

Maclean's existence as a current affairs weekly magazine and its greater usage of opinion articles and even humor-driven commentary. By invoking the British monarchy and First Nations historic treaties with British settlers, it provided entertaining symbolism of Buckingham Palace and the Queen, while raising important issues about historic grievances dating back centuries that have yet to be rectified. More irreverent coverage of the movement—including humor, celebrity mentions, and references to protests in superficial contexts—is more polarizing but also increased accessibility to casual readers. A future study might examine whether this "cause celebre" frame actually helped increase total media coverage of the movement. It may have also helped balance a darker and more serious frame invoking fear—fear of blockades, violence, and further escalation of the movement. The economic frame, importantly, recognized the financial stakes of this movement but also the longer-term jobs and business implications—for the government, for the general public, and specifically for First Nations. Notably, references to natural resources extraction and Canada's unmet labor demands that Aboriginal peoples might eventually fill helped place First Nations in the context of the future economic prosperity of the country.

Both publications developed frames that played off their mandates and leveraged their respective media strengths. As a Canadian daily newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*'s holistic framing was more sober in its approach, taking care to address #IdleNoMore in the context of federalist politics and the modern Canadian state. That it focused on social media communication, transformed Aboriginal demographics, and inevitable growth of the movement speaks to its role in mediating a daily discourse across the country's regions and populations. *Maclean's*, as a weekly magazine, considered the movement in a broader and sometimes more controversial approach, with editorial content that strived to be predictive, provocative, and even amusing. It did not provide the #IdleNoMore hashtag activism with the same legitimacy afforded by the *Globe and Mail*. Rather, the online origins of the movement were either treated by *Maclean's* as background noise or a kind of "slacktivism" that precluded the rise of the aforementioned "shopping mall drum circles" and celebrity supporters. While critics of such an approach would argue that it serves to distract audiences and sensationalize the bigger picture, some of *Maclean's* frames had the effect of moving peripheral but ultimately relevant issues—such as First Nations' relationships with monarchy or with mainstream Canada—to the political fore. Even *Maclean's* biting commentaries—which disparaged some of the tactics of the protesters—saved some of their harshest words for the Canadian government's treatment of First Nations and the "atrocious living conditions" on reserves. At the same time, neither the social media origins and metrics of the movement, nor the transforming demographics, received the same kind of attention in *Maclean's* as they did in the *Globe and Mail*.

The emergent frames from both publications ensured that the #IdleNoMore movement would have immediate and longer-term political consequences in Canada. By invoking history, economy, and Canadian nationhood, the publications ensured that non-Aboriginal Canadians would be aware of the scale of this movement and the depth of its support. This was reinforced by the *Globe's* social media metrics, which regularly showed large numbers of tweets, retweets, and other forms of digital network support. *Maclean's* "cause celebre" frame went so far as to bring awareness of #IdleNoMore to those who are normally averse to political or business news in favor of lighter entertainment fare.

The media framing of the movement echoes Entman's assertion that media interventions help to set boundaries for public policy debates. In the case of #IdleNoMore, certain themes—such as demographics, economy, and the role of social media—were made more salient, underscoring the high stakes of the movement for the future of Canada and its First Nations communities. Other frames projected, while also a result of selection and salience, served to reinforce skepticisms of social media activism as mere "slacktivism," or to even serve as comic fodder. Ironically, *Maclean's* stories connecting the movement to British monarchy provided one of the few mainstream venues for articulating a post-colonialism in Canada that is marked by social inequality and historic grievances. A frame featuring celebrity drop-ins and shopping mall activism may have brought perceptions of the movement closer to the "slacktivism" envisioned by critics, but it also provided a connection to the movement for otherwise disengaged or apolitical Canadians. To these ends, media frames emanating from hashtag activism not only set new boundaries for public policy debates, but also reconfigured the composition of media audiences of First Nations activism, and the histories through which Canada's Indigenous communities are understood.

This study ultimately focused on one case, #IdleNoMore, and therefore does not yield generalizable results. It does provide a specific example of how portrayals of social movements—particularly those with fast-moving events fueled by social media—are susceptible to different kinds of framing. While these frames often serve the purpose of a media outlet's mandate—to report, to mediate, to debate, to entertain, or to take a political or economic position—they can also leverage the efforts of activists by providing history and context while widening perspectives.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

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

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

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

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1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

The idea of representational sovereignty builds on and expands Michelle Raheja's (2007, 2010) notion of "visual sovereignty," defined as acts of self-representation by Indigenous media makers that destabilize hegemonic stereotypes, ideologies and media practices (Peterson, 2013; also Dowell, 2013). Broadening Raheja's notion to "representational sovereignty" avoids privileging the visual mode and honors the importance of sound in Native ideology and practice. It also recalls the words of Rosalind Morris (1994, p. 14) who, when remarking on the scholarly reduction of film to the visual dimension, asks "Why is voice the mere supplement of vision?" The notion of representational sovereignty also embraces various forms of embodied performance and audio productions, modes of auto-ethnographic representation that A'uwẽ-Xavante have also embraced (see L. Graham 2005, 2014).

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Faustian Entailments

In her seminal essay, "Faustian Contract or Global Village," Faye Ginsburg (1991) responded to the reasoning of Frankfurt School theorists and their followers by raising the question of "whether indigenous (or indeed, minority or dominated subjects anywhere) can assimilate dominant media to their own cultural and political concerns or are inevitably compromised by its presence" (Ginsburg, 2011, p. 238). The burgeoning body of scholarship that emerged over the next decades, including analyses of Indigenous media work following the launch of communication satellites over remote areas in Australia and northern Canada (see for example, Ginsburg 1993, 2002; Michaels, 1986), overwhelmingly disproves dismal Frankfurt School predictions and provides copious evidence of Indigenous Peoples adopting and deploying new media in creative ways that assert and conserve unique identities (see Ginsburg 1995a, 1995b; also Turner, 2002a). Numerous studies of Indigenous use of new media—in communities stretching from Canada, the U.S., Australia, and New Zealand, to Mexico, Brazil, and Bolivia—that follow in the wake of Sol Worth and John Adair's (1972/1997) first experiments in subject-produced film, repeatedly demonstrate that audio-visual media are powerful instruments for the creative expression of identity, self-reflection, political empowerment, cultural transmission, and the preservation of traditional knowledge (see, for example, Ginsburg 1991, 1994, 1999, 2002, 2011; Michaels, 1986; Turner 1991a, 1992, 2002a; Prins, 2002; Wilson & Stewart, 2008). There can be no doubt that new media technologies give Indigenous Peoples powerful means to destabilize hegemonic stereotypes that circulate in the mass media, assert greater control over processes of representation and fortify their cultures. Simultaneously these technologies serve as important political instruments (see Turner, 1991a; Smith, 2010). Contemporary Indigenous Peoples use media to effect change and assert their rights to achieve autonomy and sovereignty—on their own terms (Raheja, 2010; Wortham, 2013).[2]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Erica Wortham (2013) describes the specific institutional contexts in which *video indígena* emerged in Mexico in the early 1990s and reveals the internal conflicts and tensions that plagued projects in Oaxaca. Problematic ideas and methodologies adopted by idealistic urban collaborators and internal contradictions, such as the tension between individual and collective authorship, plagued Indigenous video from the outset. As elsewhere, projects suffered a chronic lack of resources, a problem that appears to be common to Indigenous media projects across the globe (also Graham, 2009). While describing the challenges associated with programs that train media makers in locations apart from their communities, Wortham (2013, p. 82) observes that individuals were often at pains to make their projects understood and compelling to their home communities. Indigenous media makers, culture brokers who straddle two worlds, frequently face challenges associated with their movement between local and extra-local contexts. Wortham (2013, p. 82) notes that this dilemma arises in relation to outside funding: "Outside funding lends videomakers a needed source of motivation, moral and financial support, but can also estrange them from the very communities they aim to represent and strengthen."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

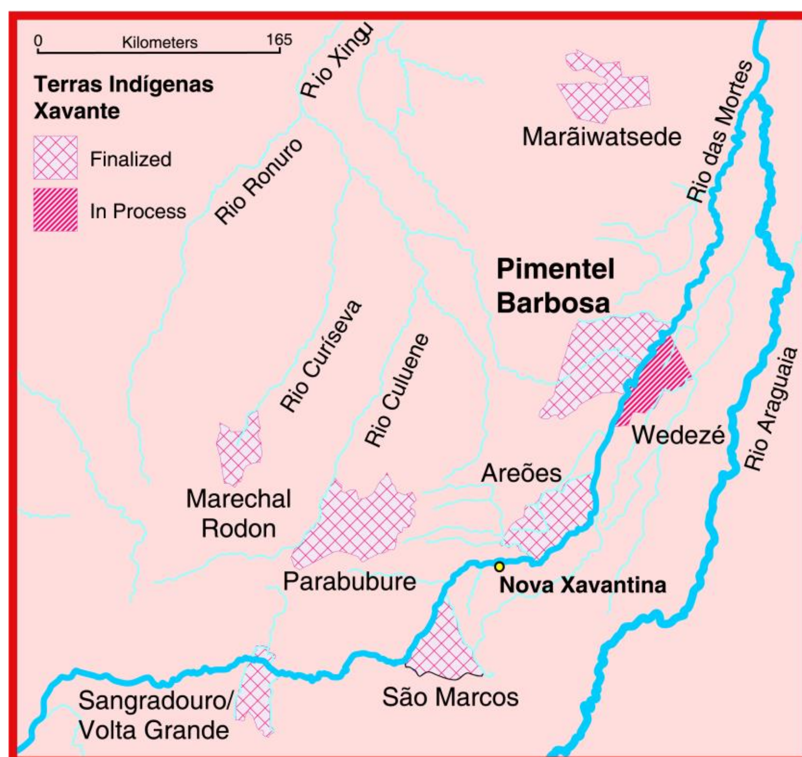

Figure 2. Xavante indigenous territories. Source: Courtesy of Graham, Hernández and Waiassé (2009).

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

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

Juruna first saw a cassette recorder for sale in a shop window on one of his visits to the state capital of Cuiabá and realized it could help him in his struggles against corrupt government officials (Veja, 1980). He used it to record high-level government officials' lies and false promises about the return of stolen A'uwẽ-Xavante lands. Then—surrounded by dozens of A'uwẽ-Xavante men who arrived from their communities stunningly decorated in body paint and armed with war clubs, bows and arrows for dramatic effect—Juruna played back his recordings in face-to-face follow-up confrontations with mendacious officials in front of the national press. Armed with his tape recorder, Juruna publicly exposed top military officials as liars, and demanded honesty and accountability.

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

4. Introducing Video in Eténhritipa-Pimentel Barbosa

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

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

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

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

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

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

In June 1991, seven years after the padre's visit made its indelible impression on me, and inspired by Terence Turner's work with the Kayapó video project and Vincent Carelli's *Video nas Aldeias* (Video in the Villages, VNA),[9] I travelled to Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa to discuss the possibility of implementing a video project. After presenting the idea in the *warã* men's council and discussing it with community leaders, who were extremely enthusiastic, I again returned with a video camera, television, VCR machine for playback and, since there was no electricity, also a generator (see Graham 1995: 230). Given Juruna's astute use of the cassette tape recorder in political struggles over land, national media's history of manipulating representations of A'uwẽ-Xavante to serve dominant interests, elders' interest in communicating about themselves to audiences "across the sea," as well as A'uwẽ-Xavante's inability to control mediated representations of themselves and their culture to the world "outside," I expected that members of the community would discover many possible uses for this new technology. Also, since I had witnessed young men's rapid and enthusiastic uptake of cassette recorders to record and play back singing, known as *da-ño're*, in the 1980s, I expected that men would eagerly embrace this technology. *Da-ño're* is a form of song and dance closely associated with boys, adolescent males, and young men (see Aytai, 1985, and Graham, 1995, pp. 103-136). I also wondered if women might try the new technology and how they might use it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2. Experimenting with Audio-Visual Technologies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3. Incorporating Video

Within several years leaders further underscored their endorsement of video work by designating Jorge Protodi, one of Waiassé's age mates and his *da-ãmo* ceremonial friend, as a second *dahöirbari'wa* or *dapótó'wa* as "photographers" are called in A'uwẽ-Xavante.[12] Protodi, who was fascinated with the video camera and actively expressed interest in working with the camera, is an ideal counterpart to Waiassé, for their *da-ãmo* bond as complementary social selves translates into their documentary work.[13] Camera operators are expected to meet their ceremonial obligations fully and film when their participation can be spared. In ceremonies where Waiassé and Protodi must both participate, their social complementarity generally means that one is able to film while the other cannot. During the initiation ceremonial for the *Ai'rere* age-set, they juggled roles as the initiates' sponsors and camera operators. Adorned in full ceremonial regalia, they creatively adapted the obligations associated with their social personae and ceremonial participation with their roles as camera operators; when one was obliged to fulfill his ceremonial role, the other stepped out of his to take up the camera. While filming the *Wai'a rini* ceremonial featured in the film *Darini* (Waiassé & Protodi, 2005), Waiassé's and Protodi's membership in complementary segmentary groups enabled them to alternate the roles of camera operator and ritual participant. Together they maximized their participation in ceremonial activities and filming. (Figure 5).

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

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

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

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

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

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

During the late 1990s and into the new millennium, when men from Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa collaborated with cultural presenters from São Paulo to stage ethnographic spectacles for audiences in Brazilian cities and also internationally, they designated at least one coveted spot on their trips for a cineasta. One camera operator, either Waiassé or Protodi—if not both, traveled with groups of performers to make an audio-visual documentary record of their performance and experiences (see Graham, 2005). In this way, those who stayed behind could see and hopefully have a better understanding of the work as well as the world and people that the travelers encountered in Brazilian cities and *öpore* "across the ocean." Organizers and participants could also review, evaluate and critique performances, as they do with footage of other ceremonials, and use their observations to improve future performances (see Waiassé, 1995). One day, Waiassé says, he hopes to edit this footage and make a film of the *öpore* trips and work.

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

5. Partnerships and Challenges

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

The Eténhiritipa-Pimentel Barbosa communities do

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

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

5.1. Narrative Construction and Editing

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

> "Waiassé had had the camera for several years and was accumulating a lot of footage. He was filming, filming, filming but didn't have the slightest idea what to do with all of the images. We [Video in the Villages] decided that it was time for him to make something [a film product]." (Nunes, personal communication 1999).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a grant from the Brazilian Ministry of Culture.

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

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

Filmmakers from all P.I. Pimentel Barbosa communities use the facilities in Wederã to edit films for local consumption. "There are now many films of rituals, all in Xavante [language], for internal consumption" (Waiassé, personal communication, 2015). Some projects for local consumption and, so far, all longer films directed to non-A'uwẽ-Xavante audiences are completed working in collaboration with city-based partners. For example, in July 2015, Waiassé travelled nearly 2,000 kilometers to Curitiba to work with a new partner, the firm PRESERVAR, to edit films for use in the Wederã school. He plans to finish a film on A'uwẽ-Xavante butchering practices for his final project in a five-year program for Indigenous educators at the State University of Mato Grosso and expects to graduate in January 2016 with a degree as a *Professor Licenciado* (licensed teacher) and a concentration in Language, Arts, and Literature (see Waiassé 2014).

5.2. Equipment, Data and Archival Management

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. Conclusions: Looking Forward

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Commentary

Dangerous Dancing: A Commentary on Australian Indigenous Communication Futures

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Abstract
Indigenous communities in Australia have fought for access to the airwaves, despite resistance from the dominant European population. The uncertainty of the government policymaking process has created challenges for Indigenous media producers in appropriating a range of media technologies to serve Indigenous interests. Indigenous-produced media provides a first level of service to communities across the continent but the struggle to maintain this complex communication system continues.

Keywords
Australia; Indigenous communication; Indigenous media; media policy

Issue
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The vastness of the Australian continent only really becomes apparent when you experience it from above; flying across it. It is extraordinary how similar the landscape appears to the highly identifiable Central Australian Aboriginal dot paintings, many of which relate to landscape and our place in it as human beings. From the moment you leave the fringing white beaches of the coastline and head inland, the colours change from the subtle green and yellow hues associated with native forests and agriculture to the deepening white, yellow and red ochres of the Central Australian desert. Dendritic river systems, flowing inland from the Great Dividing Range that stretches for more than 2,500 kilometres along the eastern edge of the continent puzzled the early European explorers who believed the streams flowed into a huge inland sea. They were right in one sense—except that the sea they sought in vain was underground: a massive artesian basin that captures the sporadic rainfall and water flows that define one of the driest continents on earth. The European invaders saw the Great Dividing Range as a barrier to the settlement of this continent, eventually finding ways across it, in many instances following Aboriginal pathways that had existed for millennia before Europeans took their first tentative steps into the mysterious interior. Of course, Aboriginal people were closely watching every detail of the first European visitors with curiosity and trepidation. The clans in northern Australia had traded with the Macassans for possibly one thousand years before the first European contact. This is evident in the extensive rock art that adorns shelters around the Kimberley coast and the Top End. They followed the progress of the strange European sailing vessels, negotiating reefs and coastal waterways in search of new worlds to conquer. Aboriginal people used their own long-established communication systems to alert neighbouring clans of the potential threat to their way of life so that groups living along the coast knew of the approaching ships months before they were sighted, the news carried by a network of Aboriginal runners. Aboriginal clans watched unnoticed and unbelieving as hapless European explorers seeking knowledge of the interior of the continent starved and died of thirst within easy reach of some of the country's richest sources of food and water. The details of these oases had been inscribed into Indigenous cosmology, again using a network of communication that was invisible to European senses. Many of these sites

are significant or sacred sites, incorporated into Dreaming Tracks or Songlines which criss-cross the Australian continent. Many of these tracks were actual pathways along which Aboriginal clans travelled in search of seasonal food or to take part in ceremonial gatherings, trade or to strengthen community social structures. These pathways can also be considered as lines of communication along which information travelled for both practical and ceremonial reasons. Communication networks were most certainly nothing new to Aboriginal Australians (Michaels, 1986). In fact, these networks represented a critical dimension of their survival.

The European concept of four seasons—still predominant in much of the heavily populated parts of the country—have little relevance in regions where Aboriginal clans identify up to six or seven different annual cycles based on local climatic variations, coupled with intimate knowledge of plant and animal behaviour. At the time of the European invasion, an estimated 250 different languages with around 500 dialects, divided the continent into countries, an important identifying concept still used by Aboriginal people today. They were civilisations as different as modern European nations in terms of their culture and language. One language group, which usually defined a country, would commonly speak the tongues of adjoining countries and so Indigenous people were fluent in four, five or six languages. English was just another one but with it, came the force of authority and power.

To the first Europeans, this was terra nullius—the so-called empty land!

Based on this monumental misunderstanding of the complexity and diversity of Aboriginal cultures, perhaps it is not surprising that the relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in the Great South Land began so badly. The European invasion began in earnest in 1788 with the arrival in Botany Bay—near the present day city of Sydney—of the first fleet of settlers from England. The majority were convicts, their sentences of death or life imprisonment commuted to transportation to the new British colony of New South Wales. For many, it may have seemed a welcome reprise from the disease-ridden prison hulks moored in London's River Thames, used to house felons because of overcrowding in more traditional gaols. But the unfamiliarity of the landscape and environment, for many, raised a new challenge—survival. The First Fleet arrived at Sydney Cove on 26 January 1788. The first Aboriginal prisoner was taken into custody on New Year's Eve that year.

The fractious relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians in the first decades of settlement set up a framework for thinking about Aboriginal people that has been difficult to shift in the intervening 230 years. The stereotypes ignored the extensive Indigenous knowledge of the environment and how to manage it sustainably. The impact of this massive oversight is perhaps only now becoming apparent as climate change emerges as the biggest threat to global survival.

It has been almost impossible for Indigenous people to break away from the frameworks imposed by those first few decades of contact with the non-Indigenous world. Coupled with the theft of Aboriginal land in the name of progress, it has left behind generations of Indigenous people with no economic basis on which to base their survival and sustainability. And, like many other Indigenous peoples around the world, they continue to survive on the fringes of mainstream society. Of course, there are many examples of achievement by Indigenous people around the globe and they need to be celebrated. But a majority remains trapped by the economic framework forced upon them by the harbingers of global capitalism.

Introduced communication systems have played a central role in perpetuating the myths and stereotypes that continue to define Indigenous people in modern Australian society. This long history of indifference and racism is a major reason why Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people moved to appropriate imposed communication systems for their own use—and on their own terms. The first experiments involving radio and Indigenous communities were in 1938 and with villages in the Torres Strait. This government-controlled scheme went no further and it was almost 40 years before the first Indigenous voices were heard regularly on the radio airwaves. An Australian federal government decision in the 1970s to support a national community radio sector was the catalyst for Indigenous communication to expand. Initially, Indigenous voices had to find a niche beside English language or multicultural programs through Australia's Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). The first Aboriginal community radio licence was issued in 1984 to the innovative Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) with second licence—and first capital city radio station—going to the Brisbane Indigenous Media Association (BIMA) in 1993. It was a modest beginning but it heralded an explosion in interest as Indigenous communities from across the country realised the potential power in having access to their own broadcasting network, largely on their own terms. Although it was a federal government-funded program, local communities had some autonomy over program production and content.

Australia launched its own communication satellites in 1985, raising the stakes considerably. Remote Aboriginal communities, in particular, voiced their concerns about English language television programs beaming into outback communities who were still waiting for their first reliable telephone service. Canada had dealt with the same challenges 12 years earlier with the launch of its own telecommunications satellites with the ability to send English language broadcast televi-

sion into remote Inuit communities across the Arctic. It was described then by Inuit activist and politician Rosemary Kuptana as ‘neutron bomb television’. A decade later in Australia, Aboriginal linguist Eve Fesl described mainstream television broadcasts into remote Aboriginal communities as ‘a cultural nerve gas’ (Molnar & Meadows, 2001).

These responses by Indigenous people in both countries led to government inquiries into the possible impact of television on remote communities. In Australia, several investigations confirmed the potential for English language television to threaten the survival of already endangered Aboriginal languages, a form of technological determinism. In 1988 when I first travelled to remote islands in the Torres Strait to explore this, it was clear that the arrival of mainstream television on the outer islands had impacted significantly on daily life, including changing fishing schedules to enable crew to watch television soap operas! Of greater concern was the potential loss of endangered languages like Meriam Mir, spoken only by a small speech community of around 200 on Mer and several adjacent islands perched at the northernmost extremity of the Great Barrier Reef. Today, of the 250 Indigenous languages spoken in Australia at the time of first contact, it is estimated that fewer than 50 survive, with around 20 described as being in a healthy state.

As a direct result of Aboriginal concern over the impact of English language television, 80 remote communities received in 1987 a relatively inexpensive technology package—the Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme (BRACS)—that allowed them to switch off incoming mainstream television programs and to substitute their own. While seemingly good in theory, in practice, communities were offered little or no training in how to create their own programs and the equipment provided was of poor quality, totally unsuited for the often extreme effects of desert dust or salt air corrosion in the remote communities that were the target of this scheme. Within a year or so, many of the BRACS units had fallen into disrepair with no funding for maintenance or support. In some communities, people living there still had no idea what to do with this strange technological array. In one case in North Queensland, a local community's BRACS equipment arrived unannounced one day on the back of a large truck. When the small group of technicians left three days later in a cloud of dust, no one in the community was any the wiser as to what this equipment was for nor how to use it! Stories like this were commonplace as the government enacted its ill-considered policy. Fortunately, in a handful of communities who managed to enlist talented, local program makers, Aboriginal producers ‘invented’ a new kind of television that was very different to its European counterpart. American anthropologist Eric Michaels' work in the Yuendumu community in central Australia in the early 1980s revealed what was possible when communities were able to use Western communication technologies within a framework that was socially and culturally appropriate (Michaels, 1986). His work led to responses like BRACS although his original recommendations ceded far more control to community producers than the flawed federal government model.

In spite of a policy vacuum, Indigenous media in Australia has continued to expand, although its application remains uneven across the country. Community radio is the major outlet for Indigenous voices on the airwaves with almost 40 radio stations in remote, rural and urban centres dedicated to Indigenous programming. There are eight regional radio networks that coordinate between them around 150 Remote Indigenous Broadcasting Services. These services include some local video production although most operate primarily as radio stations. A creative alliance among remote regions led to the emergence in 2001 of the Indigenous Remote Television Association (IRCA) that at its peak, produced around 300 hours of original video content each year on a shoestring budget. However, moves to establish a national Indigenous television service, driven primarily by urban-based Aboriginal broadcasters and federal government policymakers, led to ICTV being unceremoniously taken off the air in 2007 to make way for the new National Indigenous Television (NITV) service. This policy decision created an unresolved conflict between Indigenous media producers in the cities and in those in the bush communities. Essentially, Indigenous communications producers were told if they did not accept the government's NITV package, they would receive no funding at all—hardly a way to negotiate Indigenous air rights (Forde, Foxwell, & Meadows, 2009; Meadows, Forde, Ewart, & Foxwell, 2007). There was little choice: and although ICTV subsequently found other ways of delivering its programs to remote communities via satellite and the Internet where appropriate download speeds existed, the majority of Australian television viewers still cannot view the innovative programs produced by the bush communities. The gradual roll-out of high speed broadband to remote Australia will change all that from 2016—in theory, at least (Indigenous Community Television, 2016).

The lack of a coherent Indigenous media policy continues to seriously limit the creative potential of Indigenous media producers, particularly those who live well away from the capital cities. There is still no formal recognition of the importance of Aboriginal languages and cultures in Australia's *Broadcasting Services Act* putting this country out of step with comparable neighbours like New Zealand and Canada. Indigenous media policy has become conflated with a broad ‘close the gap’ scheme, initiated by the federal government to address the disadvantage experienced by remote Indigenous communities at a number of levels. Unfortunately, communication has become all but invisible in

this melange, belying its primary function to provide Indigenous communities with a first level of service. The Indigenous communication policy process has been subsumed by the daily political demands driving the prime minister's department that has taken over management of Indigenous media policy and production.

Regardless, Indigenous media producers continue to struggle for communication equality. Remote Indigenous Australia remains the most digitally excluded with an estimated 1,000 communities still without access to a reliable Indigenous media service (Featherstone, 2011). The growth of Indigenous media in Australia is akin to a dangerous dance—two steps forward and one step backwards—and although the establishment of the national Indigenous television network NITV is to be applauded, it features little content which reflects remote Indigenous Australia (National Indigenous Television, 2016). In many ways it was in 'the bush' where Indigenous communication was 'invented'. While this does not deny the significance of urban-based Indigenous media producers—after all, the majority of Indigenous people live in Australia's cities and regional towns—the lack of acknowledgement and recognition of the central importance of local media remains a challenge.

The uncertainty of policymaking in general, coupled with the institutional specifics of the Indigenous media sector in different social, cultural and political settings, continue to make it a difficult process to define. But this should not prevent anyone from trying. The clear evidence of innovation by generations of Indigenous media producers suggests the need to create a space for experimentation from the bottom up. Top-down, government-initiated programs have failed spectacularly to deliver media autonomy and to take account of the cultural diversity that defines Indigenous Australia. There have been many excellent bottom-up innovations that have successfully melded traditional Indigenous cultural frameworks with the latest communication technologies. It can be done; but only if Indigenous people are listened to and allowed to control the process. A lack of dialogue between Indigenous media sector workers and federal government policy makers is an acute flaw in the current process. The uncertainty of the policy process in general—described by one senior policy maker as 'waiting until the stars align'—suggests that the Indigenous media sector needs to be always on alert, ready to seize the moment when it emerges. Ideas, needs, strategies should be prepared well in advance of such policy moments if they are to have the slightest chance of being considered.

Since I first visited the outer islands of the Torres Strait more than 25 years ago there have been changes—and yet some things remain the same. Advances in communications technology have enabled Indigenous voices and images to reach local communities in languages that were initially threatened by the arrival of English language television. But have such innovations come too late? Generations of Indigenous children have grown up with images of non-Indigenous culture to inform their ideas and assumptions about their world. Can Indigenous television and radio possibly counter that? Despite all of the setbacks, I remain positive about the future of Indigenous media in Australia and beyond. A qualitative study of remote Indigenous television audiences I conducted with colleagues from Griffith University in 2007 revealed that Indigenous people place a high value on their own programming; seeing their own images (Meadows, 2010). By far the major role of Indigenous-produced media, according to their audiences, is education. It is the next generations who will benefit if we are able to get it right now.

Technological solutions can counter, to some extent, the dogged intransigence of the government policymaking process but it is in the resilience and creativity of the people that the real strength resides. It is this unmitigated ability to struggle against adversity born out of more than two centuries of oppression that has enabled Indigenous people to take on this challenge. I see no reason why this will not continue into the future for as long as it takes for communities to achieve genuine communication equality that, frustratingly, remains an elusive goal.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Book Review

Cultural Resiliency and the Rise of Indigenous Media

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Abstract
Valerie Alia's book, *The New Media Nation: Indigenous Peoples and Global Communication* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012, 270 pp.), points the way to major communication breakthroughs for traditional communities around the world, in turn fostering a more democratic media discourse. From Canada to Japan, and Australia to Mexico, this ambitious and wide-reaching work examines a broad international movement that at once protects ancient languages and customs but also communicates to audiences across countries, oceans, and political boundaries. The publication is divided roughly into five sections: The emergence of a global vision for Indigenous communities scattered around the world; government policy obstacles and opportunities; lessons from Canada, where Indigenous media efforts have been particularly dynamic; the global surge in television, radio and other technological media advances; and finally the long-term prospects and aspirations for Indigenous media. By laying out such a comprehensive groundwork for the rise of global Indigenous media over a variety of formats, particularly over the past century, Alia shows how recent social media breakthroughs such as the highly successful #IdleNoMore movement—a sustained online protest by Canada's First Nations peoples—have been in fact inevitable. The world's Indigenous communities have leveraged media technologies to overcome geographic isolation, to foster new linkages with Indigenous populations globally, and ultimately to mitigate structural power imbalances exacerbated by non-Indigenous media and other institutions.

Keywords
communication; indigenous; first nations; globalization; native American; new media

Issue
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With the closure of 150 remote Aboriginal communities in Western Australia imminent during the spring of 2015, including their own village of 200 residents at the edge of the Great Sandy Desert, siblings Layangali and Nelson Bieundurry needed a platform to voice their opposition to another government-forced relocation of Indigenous populations. Australia's mainstream media had proven to be mainly indifferent to their plight. Yet the pair soon found an effective venue for dissent in social media. Starting with family and friends on their Facebook accounts and then moving to the microblogging platform of Twitter, the #SOSBlakAustralia movement came to connect Indigenous communities and their supporters not only across Australia but indeed the world (Stein, 2015).

Similarly, when Canada's #IdleNoMore movement became a significant online force in 2012, it represented the culmination of a long trajectory of media developments impacting Canada's First Nations communities. The hashtag activism, borne of growing frustration by Indigenous peoples with the environmental and social policies of the country's federal government, revealed more than just a gap of representation and citizenship, but also a disconnect between the roles of mainstream and grassroots media in representing Indigenous histories, values, and priorities.

Like #SOSBlakAustralia, one of the defining dimensions of the movement was its transnational character. Carried by the medium of Twitter, #IdleNoMore quickly jumped across the Canadian border into the United

States as an online and offline movement, and was embraced by Indigenous populations in communities as geographically disparate as Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and Buffalo. Heat maps of the social media movement also showed the hashtag's remarkable popularity globally: in Australia, Finland, Egypt, the United Kingdom, and Mexico. This was a remarkable fusing of traditional customs with new and liberating media technologies to promote a pan-Indigenous agenda and global network.

Valerie Alia's book, *The New Media Nation: Indigenous Peoples and Global Communication,* points the way to these more recent communication breakthroughs for traditional communities around the world. A scholar, journalist, photographer, and poet, Alia is currently Adjunct Professor at Royal Roads University in Victoria, Canada. Her *New Media Nation* represents a broad international movement that at once protects ancient languages and customs but also communicates to audiences across countries, oceans, and political boundaries. This necessary and timely work is divided roughly into five sections: The emergence of a global vision for Indigenous communities scattered around the world; government policy obstacles and opportunities; lessons from Canada, where Indigenous media efforts have been particularly dynamic; the global surge in television, radio and other technological media advances; and finally the long-term prospects and aspirations for Indigenous media.

The United States, we learn, presents a particularly hopeful case. Alia notes that while U.S. policies have historically vacillated between assimilationist and outright hostility (such as the tragic relocations of Indigenous communities to Oklahoma via what is known as the Trail of Tears), a cultural renaissance that started in the 1960s has given way to important institutional changes, themselves ushering in a crucially expansive era for Indigenous media and culture. Literature—nonfiction, fiction, and poetry—has thrived. News media developments have been equally prolific, though they have enjoyed mixed results in terms of their long-term viability. She points to the example of the Pulitzer-nominated *Tundra Times*, Alaska's landmark Indigenous newspaper, which ceased publication in 1997, attributed in part to declining circulation and advertising revenues. Indigenous journalism success stories are susceptible to the same downfalls as their non-Indigenous counterparts.

At the same time, Alia's work acknowledges but doesn't dwell upon the contentious arena of Indigenous representation in mainstream filmmaking, particularly Hollywood productions, something well detailed in the 2009 documentary *Reel Injun* directed by Cree filmmaker Neil Diamond. (The issue of Indigenous representations in Hollywood films most recently flared up in the global mainstream media when Native American actors walked off of the set of a comedy produced for the Netflix streaming service called *The Ridiculous Six*, the script from which depicted contentious and offensive caricatures of Native Americans.) Rather, Alia is focused on landmark cinematic works from Indigenous filmmakers—including 2000's *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* from Inuk director Zacharias Kunuk. The first full-length feature to be produced, written and acted by Inuit in Inuktitut, the movie also won the Camera d'Or award at the 2001 Cannes Film Festival.

The film's massive success underscores one of the key themes of Alia's work: the ability of Indigenous media to transcend national borders and foster international linkages. In the Americas, she points to the example of Canada's Native Journalists' Association morphing with the U.S.-based Native American Journalists' Association. Such a coming together, she argues, represents a point that Indigenous people have been making all along: "The cultural and political divisions between Indigenous people in Canada and the United States have been artificially created and manipulated by state governments." Significant also is the rate of change defining these developments. Alia, reflectively noting her own participative role in fostering Native American media projects in Washington State with the Lummi Nation, points out that in the 1990s, the focus was still very much on more localized newspapers and newsletters. A decade later, the Lummi were producing digital media, including websites, and a television newscast called *Northwest Indian News*—itself carried by television feeds across the northwestern United States and into Canada as well.

Within Canada, Alia points to the rise of one of that country's most important developments in Indigenous media: *The Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN)*—the first Aboriginal national broadcaster in the world. Run and produced by Canada's First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples for a nationwide and multicultural Canadian audience, it follows a tradition of community engagement and participation cultivated by Indigenous radio. It has fostered national visibility and opportunity for Canada's First Nations musicians and other cultural performers, and provides distinctly Aboriginal perspectives on news and current events to coexist with Aboriginal-themed (and produced) entertainment. While over 50 percent of the programming is in English, nearly one-third takes place in traditional Aboriginal languages. Australia's emerging National Indigenous Television Service (NITV) has a similar mandate in reflecting the diversity and Aboriginal cultures and communities in the country.

However, it isn't until the fourth chapter of *New Media Nation* that the breadth of global Indigenous communication and its crucial societal role is laid out fully for the reader. Concrete examples of high-tech media to go along with the low-tech include solar-powered satellite receivers delivering programming from international satellite services; diesel-powered

video screenings of a cable television project for the Tripura Adivasi people in Bangladesh, with the goal of reclaiming cultural traditions and providing information to the wider community; and the *Guatemala Radio Project*, broadcasting to Maya peoples across Guatemala. The importance of Guatemala's Indigenous languages being heard on community radio is juxtaposed against "Spanish-language commercial radio and television (that) leaves Maya peoples out of the picture." Across the Pacific, in Japan, Canada's flourishing Indigenous radio programs inspired the creation of FM-Pipaushi, which carries programming of northern Japan's Ainu people, whose culture was long suppressed by Japanese assimilation programs. Today, Pipaushi's programming has evolved into Internet transmission of Ainu-language news and culture across the Asian continent and around the world.

It's in the realm of video, however, where the possibilities of global Indigenous new media seem to be most fully realized, and documented, by Alia. In presenting Indigenous media projects from Mexico, the author invokes the important work of Amalia Córdova and Gabriela Zamorano, emphasizing the centrality of the production process in democratizing media. In tracing the development of Indigenous video in Latin America, they present such deep-rooted cultural aesthetics as "the poetics of Indigenous media" and contrast the notion of imperfect media—rooted in active audiences and subversive ideas—with the "hegemonic structures of film production, distribution, and consumption dictated by the Hollywood system" (Córdova & Zamorano, 2004). Building upon this foundation, Alia points to the formation of the Organizacion Mexicana de Videoastas Indigenas (OMVIAC) in 1992, as well as contemporary clusters of independent and state-sponsored media production centers across Mexico. One such example comes from Chiapas, where the Chiapas Media Project—producing a number of videos, including *The Land Belongs to Those Who Work It*, about a dispute between local communities and resort developers—positions itself as part of the resistance as opposed to merely documenting it.

Identity politics are pivotal, but Alia points out they can also can come with their own risks. In the U.S., she highlights a case from 2007, when the Cherokee Nation voted to revoke the 2,800 descendants of former slaves "owned" by Cherokee people of their tribal citizenship. It's a clear example of her warning that "communities that are already marginalized sometimes promote the marginalization of others"—but also to identity politics being exploited to further the aim of existing divide-and-conquer tactics deployed by governments in order to reassign land holdings.

For a book as ambitious and wide-reaching as this one is, *New Media Nation* is not without its limitations. There is a greater depth of analysis for media developments in the Americas than Asia, for example. This is a minor quibble, however, as providing the same degree of texture to each international case examined would probably require at least another volume on this topic. At the same time, Alia is wisely playing to her strengths. At the same time, she makes up for any national gaps by drawing from her rich sources, primary research, and key scholarship from international and Indigenous communication.

Where Alia's book really shines is in its ability to understand various Indigenous media on the terms of Indigenous communities, and its mapping out of connections to Indigenous audiences worldwide to create transformative moments and movements. Building on Córdova and Zamorano for example, the point of "imperfect video" and other grassroots communication is not of high production value for a mass audience. It is instead about cultivating communicative participation, media democracy, and cultural tradition. Writing toward a theory of cultural resiliency and drawing from the metaphor of a medical awakening, she postulates that the "cultural coma" once afflicting Indigenous communities may be easier to recover from than initially thought: "Just as a person in a coma may appear to be dormant, but often has consciousness, people experiencing various stages of cultural coma may also retain consciousness. Cultures are never static." The *New Media Nation* is explained as part of a rapidly growing global media movement—one that both facilitates interventions into existing media and provides a platform for local and regional minority voices to become "global choruses."

Despite many advances, there continues to be a shaky relationship between dominant media forms and Indigenous communities. As Alia notes, media depictions of Indigenous peoples continue to be steeped in the language of conquest and colonization, often treating them as "exotic items for study or observation" when they are not being relegated to historical footnote status. Recent controversies involving Indigenous depictions in popular culture underpin this idea—from the aforementioned *Ridiculous Six* film production to the controversial Redskins mascot adorning the jersey of Washington, D.C.'s National Football League team. Indigenous media networks, meanwhile, exist in spite of insurmountable obstacles—which can come to include hostile state governments, threatened corporations, and other forms of opposition. Both journalists and Indigenous leaders have been targeted by authoritarian governments globally. Public reaction to such initiatives can range from supportive to indifferent to antagonistic. Alia remains hopeful, however. The upsides of such adventures into global media completely override the bumps along the journey: "The New Media Nation is a catalyst for identity association and transformation, a multidimensional international movement, and a force for global change."

But what of the development of social media in In-

digenous communication? Canada's #IdleNoMore movement on Twitter proved to be not only a cultural force but also a political one—moving ideas and activism across borders, but also into mainstream media and politics. The *Indian Country Today* digital media network continues to set an Indigenous agenda in North America for issues ranging from the Keystone XL pipeline environmental debate to the battle for gay marriage on tribal lands. Its YouTube channel's video of Native American actors bravely walking off the set of *Ridiculous Six* has been championed and rebroadcast by mainstream entertainment programs like *TMZ*. Such digital media channels—and some of the transformative media moments they have created—are not a focus of this book, nor are they meant to be. But by laying out such a comprehensive groundwork for the rise of global Indigenous media over a variety of forms, particularly over the past century, Alia shows how these recent social media breakthroughs were in fact inevitable. The world's Indigenous communities have leveraged media technologies to overcome geographic isolation and ultimately mitigate structural power imbalances exacerbated by non-Indigenous media. From radio to satellite and now to Twitter, Aboriginal communication continues to build communities, foster dialogue, transcend borders, and reclaim cultures—in the process creating an unprecedented global nation.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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