"This book fills an important niche. Its focus on movements, the politics of representation, and its anthropological and activist orientation make it unique. Furthermore, it has very timely material and is framed in a manner that fits the reality of globalized indigenous politics in the twenty-first century. I strongly recommend it."

—Lynn Stephen, author of *Zapata Lives! Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico*

Throughout Latin America, indigenous peoples are responding to state violence and pro-democracy social movements by asserting their rights to a greater measure of cultural autonomy and self-determination. This volume's rich case studies of movements in Colombia, Guatemala, and Brazil weigh the degree of success achieved by indigenous leaders in influencing national agendas when governments display highly ambivalent attitudes about strengthening ethnic diversity.

The contributors to the volume are leading anthropologists and indigenous activists from the United States and Latin America. They address the double binds of indigenous organizing and "working within the system" as well as the flexibility of political tactics used to achieve cultural goals outside the scope of state politics. The contributors answer questions about who speaks for indigenous communities, how indigenous movements relate to the popular left, and how conflicts between the national indigenous leadership and local communities play out in specific cultural and political contexts. The volume sheds new light on the realities of asymmetrical power relations and on the ways in which indigenous communities and their representatives employ Western constructions of subjectivity, alterity, and authentic versus counterfeit identity, as well as how they manipulate bureaucratic structures, international organizations, and the mass media to advance goals that involve distinctive visions of an indigenous future.

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Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America

EDITED BY KAY B. WARREN AND JEAN E. JACKSON

O'Connor, Geoffrey. 1991. *At the Edge of Conquest: The Journey of Chief Wai-Wai.* Produced and directed by Geoffrey O'Connor in collaboration with anthropological consultant Dominique Gallois. New York: Realis Pictures, Inc.

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7. REPRESENTATION, POLYPHONY, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF POWER IN A KAYAPÓ VIDEO

Terence Turner

The interplay of indigenous and Western cultural perspectives in the production of hybrid representations has become a major focus of theoretical, political, and ethical concern in anthropology. This concern has animated much of the recent anthropological discussion about the construction of written ethnographic texts; but it has been more central to both theory and practice in the field of visual anthropology, where various modes of intercultural mediation, consultation, and collaboration between anthropological filmmakers and documentarists and indigenous communities have been developed within the past two decades (Turner 1990a, 1990c, 1995; MacDougall 1992; Ginsburg 1994). Contemporary with these developments within anthropology, indigenous peoples themselves were increasingly producing their own videos and TV broadcasts. These indigenous media products present different analytical, theoretical, and evaluative problems than do anthropological documentaries, although there are varying degrees of overlap with collaborative anthropological approaches (Ginsburg 1995a, 1995b; Turner 1995).

The relation between Western and indigenous cultural elements in indigenous media productions has also been a subject of much debate among anthropologists and cultural theorists concerned with the nature and value of these productions as cultural documents. Like Western anthropologists and documentarists who make media representations of indigenous and other non-Western peoples and cultures, indigenous videomakers also include elements drawn from Western forms, conventions, and techniques of audiovisual representation as well as their own cultural traditions of representation and categories of meaning. Critical discussion has focused on the extent to which indigenous self-representations of their own cultures can themselves be considered "authentically" indigenous cultural products (this essay is intended, among other things, to demonstrate the vacuousness of the notion of authenticity as a critical standard in discussions of hybrid cultural forms). The most vociferous

critics tend to define the key issue as whether indigenous cultures or cultural forms can employ Western techniques of representation, such as video cameras, without assimilating the Western cultural traditions of representation associated with them and thereby losing their own cultural integrity, authenticity, or simply their own cultures *tout court*. The main critics who have taken this position with specific reference to indigenous video are James Faris and James Wiener (Faris 1992; Wiener 1997; cf. Turner 1992, 1997).

The underlying assumption of these critiques is that non-Western cultures are so radically incommensurate with Western culture—and, in particular, Western forms of representation—that contact between them can produce only the destruction and replacement of the non-Western culture by the Western. Certain postmodern critics seem to be most concerned to deny the possibility that intercultural communication, conflict, and collaboration might give rise to viable and vital hybrid forms in which indigenous cultural perspectives, categories, and concepts of representation might frame, inform, or otherwise productively combine with Western cultural elements—in some cases on what appear to be political and ethical as much as theoretical and philosophical grounds.

The critics to whom I refer draw upon the postmodern critique of representation derived, via Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, from Martin Heidegger and Friedrich Nietzsche (Foucault 1970, 1980). For theorists of this orientation, representation is an "effect of power" and therefore an instrumentality of domination. The Foucauldian extrapolation of the Nietzschean idea of power as a natural force or universal demiurge, however, has the effect of making "power" into a self-existing essence without social sources or agents; it thus becomes both unitary, as an internally noncontradictory essence, and irresistible, as a naturalized condition of existence (for a cogent critique of Foucauldian notions of power along these lines, see Sangren 2000: 119–152). Power, in these terms, cannot be used against itself; it follows that its effects (in the case in question, representations) cannot be used to oppose or resist the exercise of power. The employment by subordinated non-Western "Others" of Western means of representation, supposedly the very means of their domination and deauthentication by the hegemonic imperial power of the West, to resist domination by Western societies and to assert their own political agency and cultural values thus appears to be a contradiction in terms. Theoretically, it seems, either the so-called crisis of representation or the phenomenon of indigenous representation using the new audio-

visual media cannot be what they have been claimed to be by their respective authors, advocates, and producers. The theoretical stakes, not to mention political/ethical postures, at risk in this confrontation doubtless account for the intensity of the attempts by anthropological critics such as Faris and Wiener to question, discredit, and even deny the possibility of indigenous media.

Indigenous media-makers and anthropologists who have studied their work, to the extent that they have responded to these attacks, have tended to emphasize the continuity of indigenous media productions with indigenous social and political perspectives and cultural orientations (Turner 1992; Ginsburg 1994). Much indigenous video, for example, tends to focus on those aspects of the life of contemporary indigenous communities most directly continuous with their cultural past. It is often undertaken by indigenous video-makers for the purpose of documenting that past to preserve it for future generations of their own peoples. A mere emphasis on the continuity of indigenous culture or "tradition," however, runs the risk of slipping into uncritical cultural essentialism. It tends to ignore or obscure the extent to which the production of representations is a socially contested process involving the conjunction of differing voices, perspectives, and values on the part of different groups and individuals within indigenous communities. The production of social and political reality—as well as the representations through which it is mediated by and to its producers—is a multivocal process in which the participants draw in different ways upon their common cultural stock of ideas, symbols, tropes, and values, thereby altering the form and content of the elements of their stock of representations. Even when indigenous actors employ a reified, homogeneous representation of their own "culture" to present a common ideological front in defending it against assimilative pressures from non-indigenous social or political-economic agents, a close examination of the social process of *creating* and asserting such representations of common culture reveals the complexity and conflict among the structural perspectives, views, and objectives of the actors involved. This point has been made cogently by Susan Wright in a recent comment on the political use of representations of their own "culture" by the Kayapó (Wright 1998).

The polyphonic nature of social processes of producing "culture" is evident even in the most fully traditional aspects of the life of indigenous communities, such as the collective ceremonial performances that have been the preferred subjects of Kayapó video-makers. It is more vividly apparent, however, when indigenous video-makers turn to the representa-

tion of unscripted interethnic encounters such as the one that is the subject of *Peace between Chiefs*, the video that I discuss in this chapter. In such cases, the indigenous cultural perspectives and categories that inform the camerawork and editing decisions of the video-makers are highlighted by juxtaposition with novel, nonindigenous contexts; the ways that indigenous video-makers employ them to order the new material and impose their own meanings upon it can reveal more about the resilience and adaptability of indigenous cultures in interaction and coexistence with national and global social and cultural systems than can any number of faithful representations of traditional ceremonies or techniques. Such videos compel anthropological analysts to deal directly with the ways members of non-Western indigenous cultures frame and interpret nonindigenous aspects of their social and cultural worlds. Close attention to the ways such representations are constructed at the levels of camerawork and editing may do more than any amount of abstract theorizing about the oppressiveness and alienness of Western technologies of representation to reveal how the indigenous cultures that produce the videos in question succeed in maintaining their own relative cultural autonomy as a basis for dealing with national and global systems and pressures.

These remarks are even more apposite when the events related in such a video constitute successful resistance or a victory for the indigenous side in a confrontation with the nonindigenous society or state, and still more when the actual making of the video in question has played an integral part in the event and its outcome. Cases of this kind in which indigenous societies succeed in imposing their own meanings and cultural forms of representation upon Western attempts to enforce cultural and social-political domination—not only at the level of representation but at the level of material political action—help to expose the gratuitous Western triumphalism and ethnocentrism implicit in much of what currently passes for the critique of representation in anthropology and cultural studies. By inverting the terms of the fashionable critique of transcultural representation as an effect of Western power over Third and Fourth World cultures, they help to clear away some of the gratuitous confusion that has accumulated around a series of fundamental theoretical issues concerning cultural representation and empowerment that are posed by indigenous media more generally.

Peace between Chiefs is a case of the type to which I refer. It was filmed in 1991 and edited the following year by Mokuka, a skilled video camera-person and editor who at that time had been working with me for two years in the Kayapó Video Project.[1]
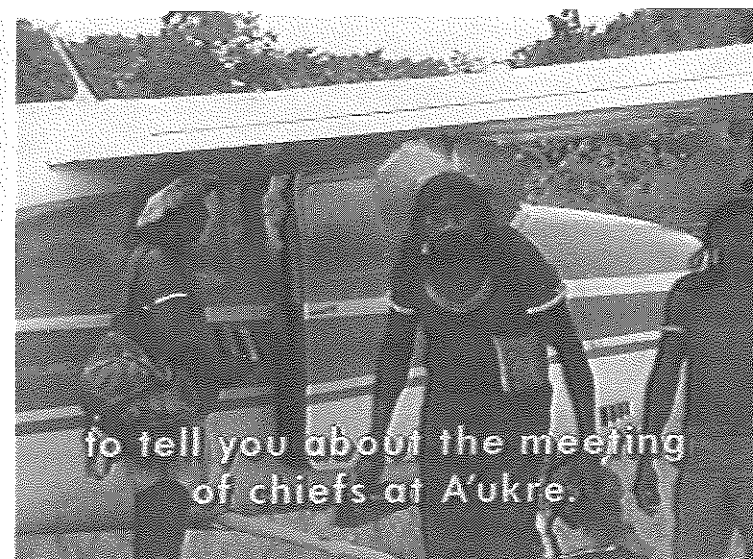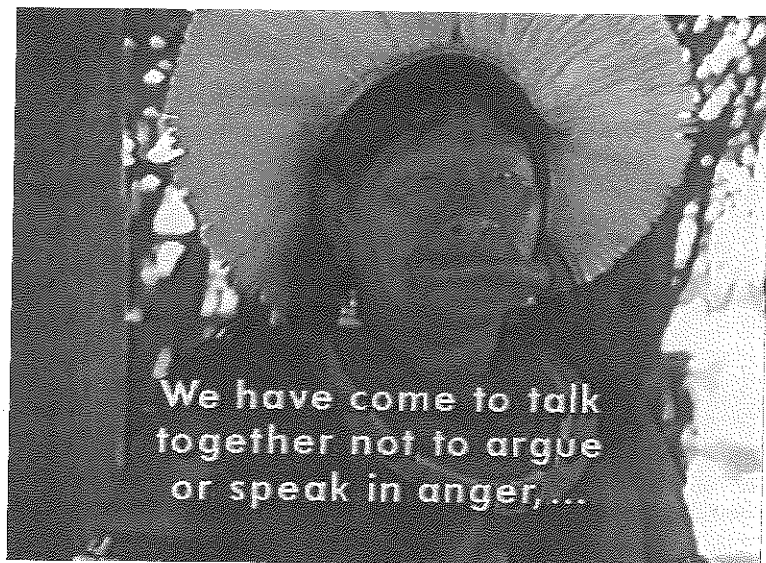
7.1 The arrival of the leaders for the A'ukre meeting. Photo by Mokuka Kayapó.
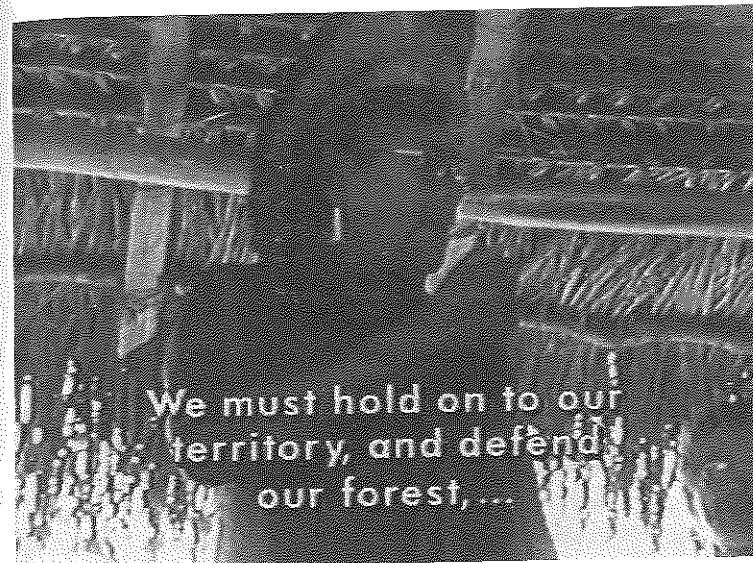
7.2 Ropni of Mentuktire greeting the president of FUNAI. Photo by Mokuka Kayapó.

7.3 Leaders of the different communities dance together before beginning the meeting. Photo by Mokuka Kayapó.

7.4 We have come to talk together ... Ropni's victory speech. Photo by Mokuka Kayapó.

7.5 We must hold on to our territories ... Pombo delivering his concession speech. Photo by Mokuka Kayapó.

A KAYAPÓ SOCIAL DRAMA: KAYAPÓ CHIEFS AND BRAZILIAN BUREAUCRATS IN DUBIOUS BATTLE

In 1991 Ropni, a Western Kayapó chief[2] generally referred to in the media as "Rauni," went on a fund-raising concert tour with the rock singer Sting. This unlikely duo succeeded in raising a large sum of money to be used to pay for the demarcation of an extensive territorial reserve for the Kayapó communities of Mentuktire, Menkrangnotire, Pukanu, and Baú, located on the west side of the Xingú River in central Brazil. One of Ropni's main goals in thus securing these communities' control over their land was to enable them to prevent the exploitation of its rich gold and timber resources by Brazilian miners and loggers. Miners and loggers had already penetrated the Kayapó area to the east of the Xingú, with the collaboration of certain Kayapó leaders. The most flagrant exponent of such collaboration was the late Tut, better known by his Portuguese name of Pombo, chief of the village of Kikretum. Pombo had permitted extensive gold mining and logging on Kikretum land in exchange for kickbacks from Brazilian mining and logging contractors. He had become a millionaire and owned an airplane, town houses, and a hotel in the Brazilian town of Tucumán just outside the eastern Kayapó reserve.

As a Kayapó leader, Pombo represented everything that Ropni opposed. The two chiefs were the most famous and influential senior Kayapó leaders, not only among the fourteen Kayapó communities but among the Brazilian (and in Ropni's case international) public as well. Ropni's successful money-raising tour with Sting was a direct challenge to Pombo's style of collaboration in ecologically destructive extractivism for personal enrichment (with some "trickle-down" benefits for his community). Ropni had raised large sums of money, equal to or greater than those collected by Pombo from his corrupt deals with Brazilian contractors, but saved the entire sum to pay the costs of demarcating the promised new intercommunal reserve. He intransigently opposed granting concessions to Brazilian miners and loggers, both because of the destruction of forests and rivers caused by their activities and because of the social and cultural damage he claimed would inevitably follow from the influx of money brought in by payoffs to leaders like Pombo.

Ropni's success was also a stinging rebuke to the National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Indio: FUNAI) and the government of President José Sarney, which had failed to create the Western Kayapó reserve, alleging lack of funds. FUNAI itself was (and remains) implicated in the collusion of Kayapó leaders like Pombo with regional Brazilian loggers and miners and was generally hostile to any projects tending to empower Kayapó communities in ways that would make them independent of FUNAI. This was precisely the effect of Ropni's successful fund-raising tour. Backed up by the nongovernmental organization that Sting and Ropni had jointly founded and funded, the Rainforest Foundation, Ropni was now demanding that the Brazilian government take the money he had raised and fulfill its promise to demarcate the huge area that had been allotted for the new reserve without further delay. This was not a step Sarney and his government—in which mining and logging interests carried a great deal of clout—wanted to take, especially on Ropni's terms. The pressure was on to find some way of discrediting Ropni, neutralizing his political influence, and thereby stalling the demarcation of the new reserve for the indefinite future.

A scheme to accomplish these ends was duly cooked up by FUNAI apparatchiks, with the willing cooperation of Pombo and elements of the Brazilian media. Pombo, in a well-attended press conference, announced that he had overthrown Ropni as paramount chief of all Kayapó (a position which did not exist and which Ropni had never claimed) and himself assumed the role. He had been driven to carry out this revolutionary coup, Pombo declared, by Ropni's selfish refusal to share the money he

had collected on his European tour with Pombo and other eastern Kayapó leaders. In a well-coordinated media blitz, reporters, editorial writers, and cartoonists from major newspapers, magazines, and television rushed to cover the story in fulsome detail, most of them credulously accepting Pombo's claims at face value and gleefully celebrating the supposed downfall of the troublesome Ropni.

The irony of Pombo's polemics against Ropni's "selfishness" was not lost on the Kayapó, who recognized the whole performance as the Brazilian-instigated political smear campaign that it was. It swiftly became apparent that no Kayapó were willing to support Pombo against Ropni and that Ropni's downfall was not at hand. Ropni came to Brasilia and took up residence in the humble Indian shelter provided by FUNAI for visiting Indians, announcing that he was planning to stay there until Pombo and the government publicly withdrew their preposterous claims and charges and apologized to him. After several months of steadily deepening embarrassment over the obvious failure of their anti-Ropni campaign, Pombo and FUNAI were obliged to do precisely this.

A relatively face-saving way out for Pombo and the government agency was found by a third Kayapó leader, Payakan. Payakan had gained national and international renown as the leader of the Kayapó-led demonstration against the Brazilian government's Xingú River hydroelectric dam scheme at Altamira in 1989 but had quickly lost his Kayapó following amid rumors that he had embezzled funds contributed to the movement by foreign supporters. These rumors, however, had circulated only among the Kayapó; Payakan, ironically, continued to enjoy great prestige as a Kayapó leader among whites after having lost his support among the Kayapó themselves. He was able to convert this reputation into a series of lucrative associations with environmentalist NGOs, green capitalist companies, and FUNAI, all eager to associate themselves with the militant Kayapó leader of the Altamira demonstration. Thus it happened that, at the time of the dispute between Pombo and Ropni, Payakan had accepted a salaried position as "advisor for indigenous affairs" to the head of FUNAI. His role was essentially that of mediator between FUNAI and the Kayapó. In the Pombo-Ropni crisis he thus found himself in the delicate position of having to obtain a resolution satisfactory to his employer, FUNAI, while persuading the rival Kayapó leaders to go along.

With his own position at stake, Payakan proposed a compromise that met the needs of both sides while highlighting the centrality of his own role as mediator: a peace-making meeting to end the dispute, to be held on the neutral ground of Payakan's home village of A'ukre. Both Ropni

and Pombo were willing to accept Payakan's suggestion. The scenario, worked out among the two Kayapó leaders and Payakan, called for the meeting to be attended by leaders from all fourteen Kayapó communities (with their air taxi expenses to be paid by FUNAI). At the meeting Ropni would be discreetly but unambiguously recognized as the winner and Pombo as the loser in the dispute, with FUNAI officials present to witness the outcome and publicly renew their respectful and supportive relationship with Ropni.

PEACE BETWEEN CHIEFS: A POLYPHONIC
REPRESENTATION OF A CACOPHONOUS EVENT

The meeting at A'ukre was videotaped by Mokuka, an accomplished Kayapó video cameraperson and editor; it is the subject of his edited video *Peace between Chiefs*. Mokuka made this video as a political and historical document of and for the Kayapó and supplied it with a running Kayapó narration. I was not at the meeting and played no part in the actual shooting. Later, in consultation with Mokuka, I made a shot record and acted as assistant editor, keeping the record for Mokuka to refer to as he edited the video. Mokuka made all the editing decisions and did the actual cutting and inserting. After he had finished editing the Kayapó version of the video, I suggested that we might produce a version that would be accessible to non-Kayapó audiences, with English subtitles and a short introductory section with English narration explaining the context of the event for foreign viewers. For the visual part of this introduction, I prepared a collage of Brazilian editorial cartoons, news stories, and photographs about the dispute between Pombo and Ropni. I wrote and narrated this introductory section and translated the subtitles. I translated my introductory narration into Kayapó for Mokuka, who approved of it and of the visual collage of Brazilian press clippings.

Like other Kayapó, Mokuka conceives of Kayapó-made videos as a way of reaching non-Kayapó publics with information about the Kayapó. The Kayapó in general feel that it is to their advantage to become better known to the outside world; they feel that this will make outsiders more disposed to support them against the Brazilian state and to provide other forms of aid. They conceive of their videos as potentially serving such an "outreach" function (Turner 1990a, 1992). The hybrid version of *Peace between Chiefs* composed of Mokuka's edited video with my introduction and subtitles thus exemplifies and fulfills one of the uses envisioned by Kayapó video-makers like Mokuka for their products: extending the

accessibility of their work to an international audience of potential supporters.

As a moment in the struggle between the Kayapó, the Brazilian government, and regional economic interests over control of Kayapó land and resources and the extent of Kayapó local autonomy, the meeting of chiefs at A'ukre was a paradigmatic intercultural "social drama" that condensed many of the most important aspects of contemporary Kayapó social, cultural, and political reality. Overtly framed in traditional Kayapó political forms of oratory and conflict resolution, it was a polyphonic dialogue of different voices,[3] including those of Kayapó and non-Kayapó others.

Mokuka's video representation of this hybrid event employs a number of indigenous cultural forms as schemas for the construction of his visual representation of the event they helped to constitute. These include collective ritual performance, rhetorical tropes of political oratory and chiefly power, symbolically charged movements in social space, the organization of social discourse by age-grade hierarchy, and the formal Kayapó etiquette of public conflict resolution. He begins the video by showing the arrival of the main Kayapó chiefs in a sequence indexing their relative importance. Next he shows the arrival of the FUNAI officials, including an episode of horseplay with Ropni in which they act like old friends: the scene is cut on the sentence uttered by a FUNAI official: "The most important thing in life is friends." The irony is not lost on Kayapó audiences, fully aware that the whole attack on Ropni had been instigated by FUNAI to begin with.

The deft framing of the event by these two opening sequences is immediately followed by an interlude of collective ceremonial dancing, in which representatives of the communities of the disputing leaders join with members of the host community and the villages of the other leaders attending the meeting. This collaborative ritual performance prefigures the reaffirmation of the collective peace and solidarity the meeting was intended to confirm. In the video, it constitutes the visual bridge from the initial scenes focused on the arrivals of individual participants to the collective assembly to come.

It also represents a pivotal transition in the symbolic terms of Kayapó social space. Kayapó villages like A'ukre are laid out in concentric zones: a ring of houses surrounds a central plaza focused on a central men's house, which is the spatial setting of collective men's social and political activities and the site of the meeting of leaders that is about to take place. Ceremonial performances like the one in Mokuka's video take the form

of massed columns of dancers circling the plaza just inside the ring of houses, as if rotating on the central hub of the men's house. Outside the houses is a circular zone associated with transitions between the social space of the village and extrasocial states or phenomena like death, ritual liminality, and the natural world of the forest.

This transitional zone is the location of the village graveyard, the seclusion camps of boys undergoing initiation, and the airstrip on which travelers from the outside world arrive. This is where Mokuka's video begins, with the arrival by air taxi of the Kayapó chiefs and Brazilian FUNAI officials who will attend the meeting. After filming the arrivals of the most important leaders, the camera follows the last group to arrive through the circle of houses constituting the village proper to the central plaza with its circling column of dancers. Only after pausing in this medial area does it move inward again to the central men's house. At first it pans into the men's house from a point outside it in the plaza: the men within gathered for the meeting appear darkly silhouetted against the brightness of the sunny plaza seen through the open walls. Then the camera moves inside and down to the center of the men's house floor, panning upward on the faces of the speakers to avoid the contrastive back-lighting of the open sides. For the Kayapó, the men's house—called "the center"— is not only the focus of social space but a dynamic source of power that holds peripheral elements like natural forces, households, and individuals around itself with a force potent enough to overcome the centrifugal force of petty conflicts that might otherwise threaten to disrupt community solidarity. The spatial movement of Mokuka's camera iconically embodies these fundamental cultural ideas and values and frames the narrative organization of the video with the cosmological significance of the concentric zones of social space.

Mokuka starts his representation of the meeting itself with a cut from Payakan's opening speech. In this speech Payakan adopts a patronizing tone toward his fellow Kayapó leaders, upbraiding them for having quarreled with one another while he was away in the city for FUNAI and calling upon them to bring their squabble to a satisfactory end so that he can report this outcome to the president of FUNAI. Payakan's rhetoric serves simultaneously to emphasize the importance of his role as spokesman and interpreter of the Kayapó to Brazilian officialdom and to evoke the authority he draws from this role over his Kayapó colleagues. The cut selected by Mokuka precisely captures the character of Payakan's ambiguous role as intercultural middleman and political broker, while epit-

omizing, in his condescending tone, the qualities that have made Payakan disliked and distrusted by many of his fellow Kayapó.

The ensuing sequence of speeches is organized according to Kayapó ideas of the hierarchy of age-set relations. As Mokuka emphasizes in his spoken voice-over, the senior men assume the active role of speakers and political leaders, while younger men and youths sit in deferential silence to listen and learn from their elders. Mokuka explains in his Kayapó voice-over that these younger men respectfully listened and later repeated to one another and others not present what was said by their elders. Mokuka selectively cuts to foreground the speeches of only the more senior chiefs. These are intercut with inserts showing the continual arrival of new leaders from outlying communities and younger men sitting attentively at the feet of the orators. Other inserts show blankly staring FUNAI officials scattered among the Kayapó audience, unable to understand a word of the long discourses they are obliged to listen to.

Mokuka cuts most of the content of the speeches but is careful to preserve the introductory passages in which the speakers assert their claims to the trust and attention of their hearers by itemizing and affirming their kinship relations with one another. Consistent with this theme, important Kayapó metaphors of solidarity and community are retained—as when one leader exclaims, with an inclusive sweep of his arms, "I like all of you, I want to sit together with you all"; or when the senior chief of A'ukre, the host village, assures the representatives of other communities located on the frontiers of the reserve that the men of A'ukre are ready to come to their support in any fight with Brazilian invaders. An account by an aged leader, Kromare of Mentuktire, of chiefly power as a kind of magic that is able to impose mutual solidarity upon members of a community, thus constraining them to stay together, is kept in its entirety.

After the other leaders speak, it is the turn of the two main protagonists, Ropni and Pombo. Never once making explicit reference to the actual dispute that occasioned the meeting, they code their respective victory and concession through metaphors of sexual potency, self-control, and fertility. Ropni proclaims that although he is old, he has great strength: the young men of distant Kayapó communities should not think that because they are far from his village they can get away with antisocial behavior, because his power is capable of projection over a great distance. At this point, Ropni's discourse recalls the aged Kromare's evocation of chiefly power as a kind of social magic. Ropni, however, goes on to suggest the source of this power of leadership: his controlled sexual po-

tency. He proclaims that he is not like those weak chiefs who have sexual liaisons with their followers' wives, thus disrupting the social peace. On the contrary, at the end of a day of hunting in the forest, he says, he comes home and "I just fuck my own wife" (the term for sexual intercourse he chooses has the vulgar connotations of the English term I have used here to translate it). The effect of macho bonhomie is echoed by chuckles among the listening men. Ropni thus simultaneously asserts his sexual power and his power to restrain and control it for social good. These, he implies, are the complementary aspects of effective chiefly power.[4]

Pombo, in contrast, laments his own sexual impotence, associating it metaphorically with inability to go hunting: "I no longer take my dog out to the forest [to hunt], because I am afraid I would trip and not be able to get up. You young men know what I'm talking about." He is no longer directly involved in procreation, he explains, but is interested only in the doings of his children and grandchildren. In contrast to Ropni's claims to vigorous sexual power and the ability to project his authority over long distances in social space, Pombo thus proclaims his loss of power. In place of personal potency, he can now only indirectly participate in the potency of his offspring, as represented by the birth of his grandson.

Following the Kayapó leaders' speeches, the president of FUNAI brings them together in an embrace, proclaiming the end of their dispute even as he acclaims their "national and even international recognition," thus unwittingly extending the spatial metaphor of Ropni's claims for the spatial extension of his potency. The video closes with a shot of an air taxi flying over the village, carrying the departing leaders back to their home villages. The shot complements the opening shot of an air taxi coming in for a landing at the village airstrip. Taken together, the two shots also underscore the spatial metaphor of power central to the discourses of the chiefs and the FUNAI representative. Ropni's power has shown its potency by compelling this coming together and subsequent redispersion of the key political leaders of the Kayapó social world, including even Brazilian government officials. Mokuka's vignette of Ropni welcoming the arriving president of FUNAI with the words "Always we have had to come to you; now you have come to us" is clearly fraught with the metaphorical significance of the spatial projection of social power carried out in the structure of the video as a whole. In this context, Ropni's words clearly carry the meaning not merely of "coming to us" but "coming to me."

Mokuka's filming was itself a meaningfully charged part of the event he filmed. As I have written elsewhere, the Kayapó think of representation as in itself a contribution to the reality of the thing or event represented.

To produce a permanent, independently existing representation of an event, such as a video, has the effect of giving that event an added dimension of objective facticity (Turner 1992). Such "facticity," of course, is seldom disinterested, and the case of the A'ukre meeting was no exception. It was very much in Ropni's interest, and very much not in Pombo's, for Mokuka to have made this video record of the public recognition and collective confirmation of Ropni's triumph. It was also in the general interest of the Kayapó leaders (Pombo excepted) to have their own documentary record of what was in effect a smashing Kayapó victory over the machinations of FUNAI and the Brazilian government.

Nor was Mokuka's own role simply that of a disinterested objective recorder. At the time of the meeting, Mokuka was Payakan's main challenger for leadership in A'ukre. Payakan was still in control, and Mokuka had been temporarily obliged to leave the community after a particularly bitter confrontation. His role as official cameraperson for the meeting gave him a pretext to return in an important but ostensibly neutral role, in an event Payakan had organized in a way calculated to dramatize his own exclusive importance as a leader in his home community. Mokuka told me before the meeting that he had hopes that the assembled chiefs, after witnessing the settlement of the dispute between Ropni and Pombo, would undertake to mediate the dispute between him and Payakan and give at least some support to his claims. In the event, this did not happen; but Mokuka's hopes gave him an incentive to make the video and in the process to give even-handed treatment to all the leaders present.

The "voices" that make up the polyphonic dialogue of Mokuka's video include those of Mokuka as narrator, the Kayapó leaders (notably Ropni, Pombo, and Payakan), and the Brazilian president of FUNAI. My introduction and subtitles add the voices of the Brazilian media and my own voice, as both commentator and translator. The present essay may perhaps be regarded as a further dialogical addition to Mokuka's original text in yet another modality of my own voice, this time as anthropological interpreter. All of these voices carry distinctive representations of the event—representations that are at times complementary and at times divergent or contradictory. Perhaps the most powerful and pervasive representations, however, are carried by no single identifiable voice. The Kayapó cultural representations of social space and chiefly power that frame and encode the action of the event as a whole are conveyed in large part not by the voices of individual personages or narrators but by the movement of the camera and subsequent cutting of the audiovisual text. It is thus ironically the most untraditional component of the hybrid cul-

tural product that is *Peace between Chiefs*, the camera, that serves as the vehicle of the most traditional aspects of its structure and meaning.

HYBRID REPRESENTATIONS, INDIGENOUS MEDIA, AND THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL EMPOWERMENT

Hybrid indigenous representations of interethnic encounters like the A'ukre meeting that is the subject of *Peace between Chiefs* provide unique insights into the dynamics of intercultural interactions.[5] They also challenge theoretical assumptions and ideological positions currently held by some anthropologists on questions of representation and the anthropological use and interpretation of visual materials. These challenges have stimulated intense critical reactions in certain anthropological quarters that have ranged from attacks on the authenticity of the indigenous cultural perspectives embodied in such videos to denials on *a priori* grounds that authentically indigenous representations in such media could exist. It is ironic that just as indigenous people themselves are learning to use media in ever more varied, creative, and culturally empowering ways, some anthropologists have become intensely invested in denying the ethnographic validity, political significance, and anthropological value of this contemporary cultural phenomenon (Faris 1992; Wiener 1997).

The effect of the postmodern critique of representation is to separate: to deconstruct the connections between sign and referent, signifier and signified, signification and meaning, discourse and reality, text and context, subject and power, culture and material social process, and cultural critic and politics, at least of the consequential kinds rooted in social issues, organized movements, and "master narratives" like the dynamics of class. This is the effect of the importation of politics into representation itself, as a relation of power between dominant signifier and subordinate signified.

The situation of the Kayapó, like that of most contemporary indigenous peoples, differs profoundly in political, social, and cultural terms from that of the Western intellectuals and academics engaged in the postmodern discourse on representation. For indigenous peoples struggling to redefine the terms of their relations to the national and transnational systems in which they are embedded, representational media such as video have been useful primarily as means of *connection* in time and space: connecting their present situations with their pasts and futures in historical time, and linking their communities in social space with their ambient local contexts as well as establishing connections with more distant

indigenous groups and nonindigenous publics, organizations, and government agencies able to offer protection, support, and alliance. The exploitation of national and transnational communications networks and the employment of new representational media and informational technologies by indigenous peoples have played a central role in making these connections.

The purpose of such temporal and spatial connections for indigenous groups like the Kayapó has not been to insulate themselves from contact or engagement with the outside world but to engage more effectively with their ambient national and global systems, draw upon their resources, and take part in their politics in order to increase their power to control their own resources and determine the social and cultural terms of their own lives. Representation in this context appears not as a relation of power in and of itself but as a mediator of social relations of political struggle, in which power is produced and mobilized by both parties through the pragmatic manipulation of representations in contexts of use. Empowerment, not the inertial continuity of "tradition"; engagement, not separation; and hybridity, not cultural purity, are the values informing the vitality and assertiveness of renascent indigenous peoples and cultures all over the world, including the Kayapó.

The approach to representation manifested by the media productions of indigenous groups like the Kayapó proceeds from these values and the social and political activities they inform, and is itself instrumental in shaping them. The intrusion of nonindigenous voices, categories, and perspectives in the construction of these complex polyphonic representations does not detract from their value or effectiveness as cultural documents; nor is it inconsistent with a decisive indigenous cultural contribution to the total representational product. In the case of *Peace between Chiefs*, close analysis of the audiovisual text reveals that the perspectives and ideas through which the orchestration of indigenous and nonindigenous voices is effected are themselves drawn from the indigenous cultural stock of notions and values, albeit in different ways and for different purposes by the various (and opposing) Kayapó performers.

In one sense, at least, postmodern critics of indigenous media are correct: indigenous media—and above all hybrid indigenous media representations of intercultural events like the one considered here—do pose fundamental theoretical challenges to these critics' whole approach to representation. For one thing, by putting representation to creative political and social use, indigenous people demonstrate that representation as such, including representation produced with the use of contemporary

Western technologies like video, can be made the vehicle of emancipatory politics and creative cultural expression, accommodation, and change. By employing representation critically as part of political struggles, indigenous media-makers demonstrate that politics consists in the way representation is used to mediate processes of social action and conflict, not in the critique of properties of representation in the abstract. The troubling implication of this for the postmodern critique of representation is clear: the effects of representation cannot be assumed on *a priori* theoretical grounds but can only be understood—and their political implications appreciated—by analyzing the production and use of representation in pragmatic social contexts.

Indigenous videos that deal with the generation and use of power, like the Kayapó example discussed here, have valuable general lessons to teach about the relations of representation and power, the issue that lies at the heart of the postmodern "crisis of representation." Inverting the terms of the Foucauldian proposition that representation is an effect of power, they show, on the contrary, that power is an effect of representation. Specifically, power is the representation by individuals or groups of some form of effective force they claim to possess and threaten to use, coupled with the acceptance of those representations, claims, and threats by other members of the relevant social field. Power, in short, is not an agent that produces social subjects but a representational medium produced, circulated, and received by social agents. Ropni's victory over Pombo and FUNAI and his rhetorical representations of that victory are not depicted in *Peace between Chiefs* as produced by some pre-representational, intrinsic "power" of which Ropni happens to be the vehicle; rather, Ropni is shown producing his power—that is, his ability to compel the deference and support of his Kayapó listeners and colleagues—through the rhetorical representation of his libidinal force and potency. Pombo, for his part, is shown acquiescing in and thus confirming Ropni's idiom of power. Power, in other words, is depicted in the video as the social production, circulation, and acceptance of representations of intrinsically effective force of a culturally specific kind, possessed by a specific individual backed by a specific faction and occupying a specific social role in which the exercise of that power is legitimate and expected: that of *benhadjuòrò* or chief.

As a final point, it should be noted that *Peace between Chiefs* employs a contemporary Western technology of representation, video, as a vehicle for the decidedly non-Western Kayapó conception of representation as an act that contributes to the material social reality of the thing represented rather than merely reflecting a preexisting objective reality separate from the act of representation. This conception is already implicit in the way the actual process of representation, in this case the shooting of the video, becomes an integral part of the event being recorded. Mokuka's making of the video of the A'ukre meeting not only fixed the meaning of the event and its outcome for its contemporary and future Kayapó audience but was itself a contributory part of that event and its meaning. With Kayapó and other indigenous media productions, we thus move beyond Participatory Cinema in David MacDougall's sense—and beyond representation conceived as an abstracted image problematically separated from its context of social production and use—to representational activity as one connected element in complexly interrelated episodes of social praxis (MacDougall 1992).

Acknowledgment

Notes

1. I founded the Kayapó Video Project (Projeto de Video Kaiapó) in June 1990, funded by a Spencer Foundation Grant. The project provided video cameras to Kayapó camerapersons in five villages and made available training in video editing, access to editing facilities, and technical assistance at the editing studio of the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista, São Paulo. The Kayapó Video Project also established the Kayapó Video Archive/Arquivo de Video Kaiapó (KVA/AVK) at the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista. This is a video editing and storage facility where original Kayapó video rushes and edited video masters are stored and recopied to prevent deterioration and where copies of masters can be produced and distributed to Kayapó communities and other interested viewers in Brazil and abroad. Mokuka had previously filmed the Kayapó rally at Altamira against a hydroelectric dam scheme promulgated by the Brazilian government and provisionally supported by the World Bank (Turner 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1991, 1992, 1995).

2. The Kayapó office of *benhadjuòrò*, which I translate as "chief," is a traditional status that combines ritual authority and political leadership. It is not hereditary but instead relies on consensual recognition by a man's age-set mates. Other factors, however, may be involved. Both the main protagonists of the social drama that ended in the A'ukre meeting, Pombo and Ropni, were propelled to chiefly office as a result of learning Portuguese and other Brazilian ways from, respectively, a missionary and a Brazilian administrative head of the

National Xingú Park (in its former incarnation as the Central Brazilian Foundation). Both thus began their chiefly careers as mediators between their communities and the Brazilian power structure. The two men went on to become relatively independent leaders, using their intercultural skills to achieve personal and communal ends.

3. On the concept of "polyphony" as used here, see Bakhtin (1981, 1984). Bakhtin emphasizes the different voices of class and status groups within the same society. In the present case, the voices of different ethnic groups involved in the interethnic situation and different groups and players within Kayapó society that define their distinctive voices in terms of contrasting relations to the Brazilian power structure—as well as different statuses and roles within Kayapó society itself—are represented.

4. There is not, to my knowledge, any conventional cultural association of chieftainship and sexual potency or behavior. The metaphorical linkage of sexual power with chiefly efficacy in the rhetoric of both protagonists was, as far as I know, an improvisation for this occasion.

5. On "hybridity," see Hall (1990) and García Canclini (1995). The event represented by the video, with the complex political, economic, cultural, and ideological processes that led up to it, and the video itself are good examples of the interplay of global, state-level, and local factors and forces—and the resulting creation of composite forms with elements drawn from different social and cultural strata—that García Canclini attempts to subsume in his formulation of the concept. The video, for example, can be seen as an exemplary representation of the construction of what García Canclini calls an "oblique" power relationship between the Kayapó and the state, in place of the "vertical" hierarchy between the state and its constituent groups that is the aim of the modernization process (García Canclini 1995: 3). The Kayapó case, at the same time, helps to clarify aspects of "hybridity" that García Canclini treats as "paradoxical" and in some respects challenges the basic presuppositions of his formulation: namely that "hybridization," as the essential process of cultural postmodernism, consists of a paradoxical combination of decentralization and dissemination in the cultural sphere with centralization and concentration of power in the political and economic sphere (García Canclini 1995: 103, 271). The Kayapó achievement of relative economic and political autonomy—against the opposition of the Brazilian state—through the global leverage of Ropni's successful international tour with Sting shows that hybridization may involve significant decentralization and redistribution of political and economic power.

At the same time, the careful construction of the A'ukre meeting as a symbolic event to show the confirmation and legitimation of this political loosening of state control over the defiant Kayapó minority by the representative of the state—through his literal embrace of the triumphant Ropni and his verbal recognition of Ropni's international as well as national renown—constitutes an important affirmation of cultural and ideological centralization (the state is

reaffirmed as the essential source of legitimizing authority as it encompasses the relative autonomy of dissident groups). The Kayapó use of video in this and other instances, moreover, demonstrates forcefully that the creation of hybrid cultural forms does not necessarily entail the submergence or disappearance of "traditional" cultural categories and principles (cf. García Canclini 1995: 36–37). The assimilation of Brazilian and Kayapó elements, notably including the use of the video medium of representation as an integral part of the event represented, exemplifies García Canclini's perspective on hybridity as a juxtaposition of elements drawn from different cultural and social "strata" brought about within a field of conflicting power relations precipitated by the impact of the global concentration of capital on state and local relations.

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8. CUTTING THROUGH STATE AND CLASS

Sources and Strategies of Self-Representation in Latin America

Alcida Rita Ramos

[L]a idea de nación en la América Latina contemporánea está basada en la negación de las culturas indígenas.—Rodolfo Stavenhagen

SHORTCUTS

One of the most striking features of contemporary indigenous movements in Latin America and elsewhere is the rapidity with which they were organized and propelled into international arenas as legitimate and widely visible political actors. From the vantage point of the beginning of the twenty-first century, one tends to regard this brisk pace of worldwide native self-affirmation less as a genuine prowess and more as the sign of the times, which since World War II has taken a vertiginous turn. However, anthropologists and other observers seemed to lag behind these events. As late as 1977, we find passages such as the following: "In this day and time, . . . nothing has changed regarding the disgraceful treatment of the peoples and ethnic minorities in the Third World" (Binder 1977: 52). Even John Bodley, who later assessed the international achievements of the indigenous cause, in 1977 still argued in favor of "cultural autonomy" as if it were an issue yet to be posed (1977: 43–44).

In short, nearly a decade after debate on the indigenous issue had taken place in supranational forums such as the United Nations and the International Labor Organization, its effects, as pointed out by Andrea Muehlebach (2001: 415), had not trickled down to the anthropological community, to say nothing of the public at large.

It is thus worth tracing, albeit succinctly, the steps taken by the indigenous cause through international landscapes of human rights, if for no other reason than to show how observers of indigenous life can lag behind indigenous initiatives. The first timid steps toward internationalization of the indigenous cause escalated to a sweeping wave of liberalization on the part of national states with regard to legislation affecting indige-