

## SMARTPHONES AND THE COLLABORATIVE MULTIPLICITY OF 'IMPERFECT CINEMAS': EXPERIENCES OF INDIGENOUS MEDIA PRODUCTION AND CIRCULATION DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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DOSSIER: ETHNOGRAPHIES AT THE TOUCH  
OF A SCREEN - EXPLORING METHODS,  
ETHICS AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL KNOWLE-  
DGE THROUGH SMARTPHONES

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## ABSTRACT

The film-article discusses the production and circulation of indigenous media with smartphones during the COVID-19 pandemic, an indispensable object for the elaboration and dissemination of the results. It is based on the experience and reports of collaboration between a non-indigenous audiovisual technician and Nambikuara, Tikuna and Xavante indigenous people to produce three short films thematically related to agrobiodiversity during an event called Mutirão Vivo Online. The concept of 'imperfect cinemas' is mobilized to reflect on how smartphones, in their practicality and immediacy in producing and consuming audiovisual materials, promote forms of media sovereignty in indigenous cinemas. Multiple modes of collaboration are described based on how smartphones are used, such as loudspeakers for communitarian decision-making, camouflaged camcorders, audiovisual archiving and/or transfer systems, screens for viewing films, among others. It is argued that, from the collaborative adaptations of how the smartphone is performed, shared worlds are created and made visible - as the filmic results themselves.

### KEYWORDS

Cinema,  
Collaboration,  
COVID-19,  
Indigenous People,  
Smartphone

## INTRODUCTION

This film-article discusses collaborative practices of indigenous media production and circulation with smartphones, such as recording, scripting, editing and its dissemination. In the films presented, and for this text, the smartphone was indispensable for both the production and spreading of the result. The concept of 'imperfect cinemas' is mobilized to reflect on how smartphones, in their practicality and immediacy in producing and consuming audiovisual materials, can promote forms of media sovereignty in indigenous cinemas. Plural in aesthetic and ethical terms, the films described here will showcase multiple forms of collaboration that flourish from how the smartphone is performed. Smartphones can metamorphose into loudspeakers for communitarian decision-making, camouflaged camcorders, audiovisual archiving and/or transfer system, a recording site for remote collective editing, screens for watching films, among other things. It is from the collaborative adaptations of these ways of performing the smartphone that, we argue, shared worlds are created and turned visible - as the filmic results themselves.

The description presented is based on three short films, featuring the Nambikuara, Tikuna and Xavante peoples respectively, made for Mutirão

*Vivo Online* event, organized by the Agroecology Working Group of the Indigenous Missionary Council of Mato Grosso (CIMI- MT)<sup>1</sup>, along with Misereor<sup>2</sup> in 2021. This event is part of the exchange initiatives between different indigenous ethnic groups in Latin America, with an emphasis on indigenous agrobiodiversity to maintain their seeds and territories and to promote local and traditional cultures.

### **'IMPERFECTION' AND INDIGENOUS CINEMAS**

It is true that indigenous cinemas are plural. Córdova (2011), for example, analyzes *vídeos indígenas*, in Spanish, in the Mexican context based on references to Ginsburg's (1994) work on 'embedded aesthetics', a notion that attests to an aesthetic rooted in the production processes and products of indigenous cinemas (*indigenous media*, in English). It is Córdova (2011, p. 83, personal translation) who characterizes indigenous cinemas as "quite heterogeneous, geographically dispersed, and strongly linked to social processes and local pressures", in which indigenous filmmakers, due to the lack of control over the production and circulation of their own image, adapt audiovisual technologies to question the cultural hegemony of exoticism and the disappearance of indigenous peoples. This ability to control the production and circulation of their own image is what Ginsburg (2016) defines as media sovereignty. According to Córdova (2011), these indigenous cinemas, which are 'rooted' but do not necessarily have common denominators in aesthetic terms, tend towards the documentary mode, and contribute to a rupture in the hegemonic audiovisual landscape. 'Indigenous', therefore, in addition to an aesthetic form, gives adjective to such cinemas more by their practice and work ethic, by the joint and collaborative perspectives of indigenous peoples, and often because they are produced and circulate together with networks of support and solidarity, not only of indigenous people, but made up of activists, filmmakers and researchers. Frey and Brito (2020), on the


1 The Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI) is a Brazilian national organization linked to the National Conference of the Bishops of Brazil (CNBB) that has been active since 1972, "in the service of the life projects of indigenous peoples, denouncing the structures of domination, violence and injustice, practicing intercultural dialogue, inter-religious and ecumenical dialogue, supporting the alliances of these peoples among themselves and with the popular sectors for the construction of a world for all, egalitarian, democratic, multicultural and in harmony with nature, on the way to the definitive Kingdom" (personal translation from the official CIMI website, accessed on 01/03/2024, <https://cimi.org.br/o-cimi/#1488470098075-43e58479-0ce8>)

2 Misereor is a charity linked to the German Catholic Church, that operates globally through local partners such as Catholic institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), social movements and research institutions. It provides advice, expertise and funding (from Misereor's official website, accessed on 01/03/2024, [www.misereor.org/about-us](http://www.misereor.org/about-us)).

other hand, raise aesthetic traits common to indigenous cinemas, and conclude that this can be an umbrella concept, for different reasons. The authors state, for example, that many of these films deal with themes related to colonization and, therefore, drive cinematic decolonization processes.

Garcia Espinosa's (2019) concept of 'imperfect cinemas' re-emerges here to accompany us on this journey. In referring to an anti-elitist and popular art, Espinosa proposes a cinema in which authors and spectators mix in flows of mutual influences where we can all be artistic and cultural producers and consumers. The author describes this cinema as an art form that militates with the struggle of a people, even if it is temporarily elaborated by specialized cinematographers, looking at the post-revolutionary context in Cuba that marked Latin American cinema. A central proposal of this cinema is the gradual abolition of the cinematographic specialist himself when he communicates with his audience for the 'revolution of the masses'. However, Espinosa recognizes the temporary necessity of the specialist for this, and it is precisely this that characterizes the 'imperfection' of this cinema. It is on this imperfect path that Núñez (2012) recalls how authors and spectators merge by simultaneously breaking, in aesthetic and ethical terms, with hegemonic cinemas, by creating other qualities. Audiovisual materials and their sharing have expanded creatively since the entry of the internet and smartphones into indigenous villages and indigenous mobility, through urban-rural migrations, encampments, meetings and protests. But this expansion escapes techno-optimist interpretations and cannot be aesthetically determined by them, like the "cinematic mode" of new iPhones (not to mention their high cost). Regardless of the technical quality of the smartphone, in the case of collaborations between and/or with indigenous populations, the growing production and circulation of audiovisual materials is already a step towards overcoming the distinction between those who create and those who consume such material. Salazar (2004, *apud* Córdova, 2011), for example, uses the term '*imperfect media*', overlapping Espinosa's imperfect cinemas (2019) with Ginsburg's idea of a rooted aesthetic and media sovereignty (1994, 2016). In our case, the figure of the 'expert' appears by joining the struggles and demands of their respective peoples when (co)producing and circulating their own images, even if this position is abandoned at a later date. In other words, they are ephemeral positions.

In indigenous cinemas, especially those that circulate in the external networks of their communities, there are multiple ways of collaborating in



co-authorship with non-indigenous people ('experts'). This presence, which is often temporary, comes through workshops, university and research projects, and/or friendships, in an effort to support the production and circulation of indigenous media. It occurs both technically, such as in editing and in montage, and through contact networks, which ends up increasing the chances of the outcomes leaving the villages or Facebook and reaching national and international festivals.

Research into authorship in indigenous cinematic collaborations would be invaluable to better understand asymmetrical relationships, notions of mastery, ownership and authority, as well as the creative process itself in indigenous thought. In the context of the Kuikuro indigenous people, who set prices for their exchange relationships, Fausto (2012) analyzes the recording of traditional music on tapes and concludes that there are, at least, two relationships of ownership and authorship. One, in which the Kuikuro Indigenous Association, which recorded the tapes and 'owns' the means of production, has, in a way, authorship due to the materiality of the tapes recorded. The other, in which those chanting have ownership over the process of learning the songs, that is, authorship over the passing of knowledge learned in relation to those who access the content of the tapes.

In the case of the indigenous Marubo people living in the Javari Valley, Cesarino (2012) describes how the *master-chiefs*, those with authority and/or possession over something, carry the whole collectivity of which they are part 'rooted' in themselves. At the same time, the author demonstrates how the body of a Marubo shaman contains multiplicities of 'doubles' (spirit- persons, who may be foreigners), who sing, through the shaman's body, songs that have existed since mythical times. In this context, the shaman's role is to create new combinations and update what has always existed. The notion of authorship would therefore be decentralized and at the same time include a collectivity - including other-than-humans and something that has always been 'given' and not necessarily new, but transformed. How to coordinate such definitions in a context that is historically dominated by the authority of the creative individual, such as in hegemonic cinemas? After all, do the films belong to the community, to the spirits, to everyone? To that who interviews or is interviewed? To that who teaches or learns the content of the film? To the person who holds or directs the camera? Or even, to those who finance and/or produce the movie?


The proliferation of collective authorship, both by indigenous film collectives and by co-authorships with non-indigenous people, is in line with the analysis of films that circulate and were produced through the *Cine Kurumin Festival*, the largest indigenous film festival in Brazil. In Frey and Brito's (2020) reflection, the authors identified how productions in villages avoid authorial cinema in favor of a collective, intercultural and shared perspective. For them, in addition to the appropriation of cinematic language and audiovisual technologies by indigenous people, there is a process of indigenization of filmmaking. In the case of the three short films described below, each one has its own specificity in our collaboration, aggregated in forms of shared authorship<sup>3</sup>.

Like imperfect cinema, which temporarily requires specialists to overcome 'cinematic specialization' and create a popular art, temporary collaboration with non-indigenous people is one of the 'imperfections' for the production and/or circulation of indigenous cinemas today. But the indigenization of cinema through these collaborations seems to run parallel to Fausto's (1999) conceptual proposal on the processes of familiarizing predation. In it, the dialectic between predation as an act of capturing an element from outside, such as the collaborators' knowledge, technologies and contact networks, that is, traces of the alterity of hegemonic non-indigenous cinema as 'Other', becomes familiarized, appropriated, absorbed and therefore indigenized during the collaborations for the reproduction of indigenous society itself, through its cinemas. In other words, this hegemonic cinema is digested, and the 'expert-collaborators' indigenized in favor of their own cinemas. This is in line with the statement made by Alberto Álvares, a Guarani-Nhandewa film director, when he says that the inversion of the camera's point of view and the production of his own footage transmits his perspective to the world, moving from being the prey to becoming the hunter (Frey and Brito, 2020, p. 172).

## PERFORMING SMARTPHONES

Science, Technology and Society (STS) is an area of knowledge in expansion, including the semiotic-material approach (Mol, 2002). In this inherently

<sup>3</sup> We recognize the importance of the role of partners, such as the scientific community and NGOs, who help in the production and circulation of audiovisual productions, during recording and editing processes, film registration and/or submission to festivals. But we also have in mind how each of these relationships have specific dynamics of power disparity. In any case, what is argued is that these collaborations, even with their imperfections, are often the first steps in the autonomy of indigenous producer-consumers to take their own cinemas forward, driven even more by smartphones.



anti-essentialist perspective, practices are understood as performances of contingent realities, both materially and symbolically, in which human and non-human entities come into existence (Law, 2019). Therefore, these technology studies explore how objects emerge through specific practices.

Based on Annemarie Mol's (2002) reflections on how objects construct multiple realities in their practice, we consider this film-article to be a *praxiography*. In the example of the Zimbabwean water pump, examined by Laet and Mol (2000), the boundaries of this technology are understood to be fluid, since its operation extends to community participation and, due to qualitative incommensurabilities, international standards are not applicable. The Zimbabwe water pump, this mutable and adaptable object, is enacted in different circumstances and rebuilt at every moment.

The pump is characterized by the authors as fluid, because even when it is transported to remote locations, it does not impose itself on its surroundings, but affects and is affected by them in order to remain useful in this new context (Laet and Mol, 2000). It can be performed as an effective hydraulic system that provides water, but also as a provider of health by making water available, without pollutants. It can be performed as a symbol that builds a nation and its government, while at the same time uniting a community and becoming a center of collective responsibility by, for example, working with the community's *nganga* (equivalent to a shaman) to identify and drill water sources suitable for consumption. Its mode of evaluation has to be fluid, because even if he replaces parts of the pump and transforms its elements, its 'whole' can be maintained. And if its 'whole' is modified, the way of enacting the pump will accompany this mutation and, therefore, its own mode of evaluation.

This is why the authors state that this water pump, in terms of how it is performed and its very nature, becomes an actor who is intertwined with and by multiple worlds. The pump remains fluid without losing its agency and incorporates its imperfections by being flexible when instrumentalizing alternatives. It, then, dissolves into everything it helps to achieve, but it is, still, a bomb - the common denominator between its performative multiplicity (Laet and Mol, 2000).

In this film-article we explore the ways in which the smartphone can be enacted. It is the water pump's fluidity that brings it closer to the smartphone's ability to metamorphose in every circumstance. Işıkman (2018), reflecting on the aesthetics of smartphone films, identifies a 'mobile' component stimulated by the very size and mobility of this object. By being 'mobile', these films extract sensations of immediacy, intimacy and everyday immersion. Because of their ability to overcome obstacles related to budget, geographical boundaries and equipment restrictions, as well as



the general public's ease of access to these films, Işıkman (2018) proposes that there is a potentially participatory structure in smartphone processes and films. She therefore sees the smartphone, which turns everyone and everything into content creators and consumers, as a possibility for the democratization of cinema, along with the ability to produce its own representations. It is the proposed democratization of the smartphone that provides an updated meaning to imperfect cinemas as popular art, as well as paving the way for media sovereignty in indigenous cinemas.

One example of how the smartphone enhances the media sovereignty of indigenous peoples in the context of cyberculture is in the use of TikTok by indigenous people. Leite (2022, p. 266, personal translation) reflects on how the appropriation of smartphones and social networks by indigenous users, such as Maira Gomes (@cunhaporanga) from the Tatuyo ethnic group and Kauri Waiãpi (@daaldeia), contributes to a “decolonial perspective on the image of indigenous people in Brazilian society”. This is due to the way in which indigenous people, individually and collectively, can represent themselves, as well as demonstrating, through these smartphone images, how indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge can coexist rather than contradict each other.

The descriptions of the filmmaking processes in the following session will demonstrate, as the fluidity of the water pump, the performative variations of the smartphone and its collaborative multiplicity. Through our films and their processes, it becomes visible how smartphones can enhance trajectories towards media sovereignty - at the heart of the democratization and decolonization of cinema. Smartphones are performed as camcorders, as conductors of remote film editing, as well as libraries of old archives and exhibition screens. Their borders are diluted, and they can affect and be affected by their surroundings, including communitarian participation and decision-making processes. The metamorphosis in which smartphones exist is multiple, and each requires different ways of collaborating. The ‘experts’ themselves, like the authors of this article, can be considered fluid, since they are temporary - and may or may not, in the future, use the smartphone to produce and/or circulate more images. This metamorphosis of the smartphone is literally visible in the films presented and resonates with Nuñez’s (2012, p.180, personal translation) reflection on the aesthetics of imperfect cinemas: “... each cinematography will be distinct, as it depends on the technological and artistic capacity of its filmmakers, the political level of its audience and the cultural particularities of each people. Therefore, there are no *a priori* aesthetic rules for this cinema”. In other words, the metamorphosis of the smartphone makes it possible to collaborate in multiple forms with processes of media sovereignty, such as that of indigenous peoples, updating the very concept of imperfect cinemas.

## MUTIRÃO VIVO ONLINE AND THE FILM PRODUCTION COLLABORATIONS

This article is based on experiences with CIMI's Agroecology WG supported by Misereor during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2021. An event called *Mutirão Vivo Online* was proposed with the audiovisual participation of different indigenous peoples from the Legal Amazon<sup>4</sup>. The *Mutirão Vivo Online* was structured on the basis of 'Aulas Vivas', a methodology developed in Colombia by the NGO *Fundación Caminos de Identidad* (FUCAI)<sup>5</sup>, along with *Fundación La Cosmopolitana*<sup>6</sup>, funded by international institutions such as Misereor. It is based on annual inter-ethnic meetings where, for approximately three days, several indigenous people from different ethnic groups and indigenists<sup>7</sup> take part in an immersive meeting in a village. This immersion fosters the exchange of knowledge and seeds between indigenous people and indigenists, with themes linked to the conservation of agrobiodiversity, native cuisine and indigenous cultures. This methodology had been adapted to Brazil since 2012, first with the work of Myrian Vasquez Tikuna; since around 2014 with the *Associação das Filhas do Imaculado Coração de Maria* with the Kokama indigenous people of the city of São Paulo de Olivença (Amazonas), and, then, mainly through the *Associação Caminhos da Abundância – ACAAM*, since 2018, in the city of Benjamin Constant, Amazonas, a partner institution in one of the films presented here, produced by Markus and Myrian. In the 'translation' of *Aula Viva* to Brazil, the nomenclature *Mutirão Vivo* was adopted. Due to social distancing during the COVID-19 in 2021, the *Mutirão Vivo* had to take place virtually. In October 2022, the "Mutirão Vivo: scarcity or abundance in the tekoha" took place in Mato Grosso do Sul in Guarani-Kaiowa villages, bringing together seeds and peoples from 21 ethnic groups in Brazil, Paraguay and Peru<sup>8</sup>.

*Mutirão Vivo Online* was attended by the Apurinã, Enawene-Nawe, Guarani-Kaiowá, Kayabi, Mĩky, Nambikuara, Tikuna and Xavante indigenous peoples. While this film-article focuses on the Nambikuara<sup>9</sup>, Tikuna and

4 Mutirão Vivo Online can be accessed on CIMI's YouTube at the following link: [www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLSz4boCyoVs13GjrZ06zpdndmgmW39GmT](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLSz4boCyoVs13GjrZ06zpdndmgmW39GmT)

5 See FUCAI's official website, accessed on 01/03/2024, at <https://www.fucaicolombia.org>.

6 See the official website of *Fundación La Cosmopolitana*, where there is more information about the 'Aulas Vivas' available at the following link, accessed on 01/03/2024 <http://www.fundacionlacosmopolitana.org/es/plataforma/aula-viva>.

7 *Indigenistas*, in Portuguese, is the term commonly deployed for non-indigenous partners, normally from institutions, working with indigenous people and involved with the indigenous cause.

8 This event sought to "discuss strategies and difficulties in building food sovereignty in indigenous territories", according to one of the partner institutions, available and accessed on 01/03/2024, at <https://raizesdopurus.com.br/blog/em-busca-da-abundancia/>.

9 With regard to spelling, we will use 'Nambikuara', as this is how one of the authors identifies himself and is recorded in official documents.

Xavante films, there have been other audiovisual productions with the Apurinã, Guarani-Kaiowá and M'byk peoples, which are not included in this reflection. In the Apurinã case, the process was carried out entirely by the indigenists partners, while in the other two cases, filming took place with professional equipment and with already established indigenous film collectives, respectively ASCURI<sup>10</sup> and Coletivo Ijã Mytyli<sup>11</sup>. During the event, the Enawene-Nawe and Kayabi peoples took an active part in *Mutirão Vivo Online*, even though no films were produced with them. Despite the scope of our analysis, the event highlights the multiplicity of indigenous filmmaking, including their own consolidated collectives and collaborations with non-indigenous partners.

The idea of 'imagic circuits' can be used to accompany the films presented here. Serber (2020, p. 5, personal translation), in reflecting on how the videos act in parallel to the systems of exchanges and marriages in the pluriethnic context of the Xingu Indigenous Land (TIX), proposes 'imagic circuits' as a network where indigenous peoples who "do not necessarily share the same cultural universe" remain connected, mainly through two regimes. The first is mostly the result of workshops, strong in collaboration with non-indigenous partners, and aimed at both an internal audience and an audience that is external from the indigenous community (national and international). This would be the regime we commonly refer to as 'indigenous cinemas'. The second imagery regime is more spontaneous, the autonomous initiative of the indigenous themselves and with more energetic consumption internally, which can even come close to the 'amateurism' of *homemade-videos* and rarely reaches the non-indigenous cinema circuits. Participating in the *Forumdoc.bh Festival* program, one apex of the indigenous cinema circuit in Brazil, Divino Tserewahú, a well-established Xavante filmmaker, seems to be referring to the second regime when he says that 'true' indigenous cinema is produced and shown in the village, in their own language, with greater concern for the film's meanings and relationships, when compared to its aesthetics (Frey and Brito, 2020, p. 173-4).

Of course, the boundary between these two definitions can be blurred, but for the purposes of this film article, it is worth noting the predominance of the first regime in the imagery circuit of *Mutirão Vivo Online*. It's also important to remember that our thematic focus is the use of the

<sup>10</sup> To find out more about the work of the Cultural Association of Indigenous Filmmakers (ASCURI), see [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC\\_EviOBMTbte94t3YtJWT\\_Q](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC_EviOBMTbte94t3YtJWT_Q).

<sup>11</sup> To find out more about the work of the Ijã Mytyli Cinema Collective Manoki and M'byky, see <https://www.ijamytyli.org>

smartphone, since the event itself was only attended by indigenous and non-indigenous leaders and participants due to the connectivity provided by such object.

The pluriethnic meeting was in virtual territory, because even in villages with health barriers, COVID-19 proliferated – not in the least due to the negligence of governmental indigenous health agencies (see Palamim, Ortega and Marson, 2020). For example, the Kayabi video could not be made, as the indigenous women in contact with CIMI and responsible for filming were quarantined in the city and could not return to the village in time for the making of their smartphone film. Hosted by ZOOM, *Mutirão Vivo Online* screened the short films made and, after each film, presentations were held by indigenous leaders about their own territory with an emphasis on its agrobiodiversity, following the Agroecology WG. At the end, a round table discussion allowed the indigenous people and indigenist partners to share their experiences and exchange knowledge.

The smartphone made it possible to go beyond the virtual barriers of the pandemic context to produce short films when there were no consolidated indigenous film collectives. In the Xavante case, it was Newi Top'Tiro's smartphone, with the help of José Laurício Tsereto, that filmed. In the Nambikuara case, under the direction of Milton Nambikuara, the filming was done by Márcio Nambikuara, overlaid by footage from the camera of Rodolfo Ferraz, CIMI indigenist. In the Tikuna case, under the guidance of Myrian Vasquez Tikuna, it was Markus

S. Enk, who had already been working with the Tikuna before the pandemic, who films with his smartphone. Indigenist organizations, such as CIMI, worked with the communities and their representatives to decide who would be responsible for filming in the villages and putting them in contact with Markus. In the Tikuna case, for example, as Markus himself had already been working with the Tikuna, he contacted Myrian directly, who coordinated the audiovisual production procedures. In the Nambikuara and Xavante cases, CIMI introduced the proposal to Hiparidi Top'Tiro, the Xavante leader, and Milton, the Nambikuara leader. It was from conversations mediated by these figures with CIMI that the films presented here were articulated at a distance with Markus.

Teaching material was prepared in both the audiovisual and written formats, with basic filming techniques, framing and camera movements, as well as general guidelines, such as the use of the same smartphone, which would be kept in a horizontal position to avoid problems during editing. One of Markus' orientations regarding cinematographic language was influenced by observational (ethnographic) cinema, especially in the attempt to build knowledge beyond language and discourse. In an attempt

to balance imagery with verbalized language, he emphasized, during the exchanges with collaborators, to avoid the pressure of only filming testimonies, and to include people's actions and landscapes in relation to the context of the film (see Carta, 2015 and Postma, 2022).

In this way, we agree with Córdova's (2011, p. 83, personal translation) observation about the difficulty in identifying "major personal stakes in the style of auteur cinema", since many indigenous cinemas have close relationships with institutions such as human rights and territorial protection NGOs. Through their common agendas, these relationships end up enabling the production and circulation of these media, while at the same time influencing what could become an 'authorial language' of indigenous cinemas. Frey and Brito (2020, p.175), referencing filmmaker Mari Côrrea from the Catitu Institute<sup>12</sup>, mention the hybridization of indigenous cinemas due to the influence of non-indigenous tutors who, intertwined by relationships of otherness, become part of a process of intercultural dialogue. At the same time, learning through these types of "projects" ends up being valued by indigenous people so that their films can adapt to external expectations and become a product with a more expansive reach in media circulation networks (Demarchi and Madi, 2018, *apud* Serber, 2020, p.14).

Although the instructional material prepared by Markus was praised by the indigenist partners, it didn't prove to be of much use to the indigenous filmmakers. Even though Markus asked his collaborators about the usefulness of the material, this reflective tone was directed in conversations towards pragmatic issues that arose during filming. Newi recalls, for example, that she only accessed the material when she received it, but that she preferred to focus on the ideas that emerged from the conversations and interactions with Markus. In this way, she feels that her own gaze was freer in terms of what to record and what not to record. In other words, the relationship and the instructive dialogues took precedence over the didactic material, in the pragmatic sense of exchanges based on the intuitive experiments of the temporary filmmakers. It was from these experiences and experiments that questions and reflections arose to build and establish the relationship with Markus. Therefore, rather than using didactic material, it was practical experience that guided the conversations in specific ways during the exchanges via Facebook, Telegram and WhatsApp.

These moments of equivocations<sup>13</sup> are great for understanding the differences in values and perspectives on the use and meaning of

<sup>12</sup> The Catitu Institute has held more than 42 audiovisual training workshops with different indigenous peoples, producing 47 authored and shared films that have won national and international awards at festivals. To find out more about the Catitu Institute, visit [www.institutocatitu.org.br/instituto](http://www.institutocatitu.org.br/instituto)

<sup>13</sup> Equivocations is a concept proposed by Viveiros de Castro (2004, p.5) as a mode of communication between different perspectives, in which translations deploy "alien

audiovisual tools. Although this issue will not be explored in depth here, it is curious to associate this practicality with two similar stories. The first comes from Serber (2020) when she was helping to edit a film in a Kalapalo village (TIX). Considering that the act of editing starts from a principle of scripting and (re)ordering the material already filmed, Serber (2020) asked the indigenous Kalapalo about what the film should show and who the audience should be - in other words, the idea and conception of the film. He saw little point in his questions and ended up answering that the film would be shown to children and other villages. Soon after, he focuses on the practicalities of editing, such as cuts, transitions and inserting credits. The second story is by Frey and Brito (2020, p. 167) about curating films for an indigenous audience in a village in Bahia. In this case, the authors report how the activities and daily life of the village transformed the festival program during the event. The curatorship and the film screening schedule had to be left open to absorb the contributions and be transformed by the activities taking place in the indigenous communities.

## O HA WA HOIMABADZE



“O Ha Wa Hoimabadze” [Água e Vida], 2021, Markus S. Enk & Newi Top’Tiro, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L485QyfMU3w>

The preparation of the films followed four phases: pre-filming and scriptwriting, recording, editing and dissemination, all of which intertwined and overlapped. The first phase included defining a theme within the scope of agrobiodiversity and elaborating a script, thanks to the smartphone’s connectivity. In the case of the Xavante, several WhatsApp audios were exchanged with Hiparidi Top’Tiro, since, according to his instructions, the audios could be heard by the entire community. The fact that audios predominated compared to written language suggests that, beyond the limits of literacy in indigenous communities, collaborative aspects can be multiplied

concepts to deform and subvert the translator’s conceptual toolbox so that the *intention* of the original language can be expressed within the new one”.

collectively and communally through the smartphone. In other words, what can be an individual device in certain circumstances metamorphoses into a communitarian tool in others, such as when audio replaces writing by collectivizing information. This finding is in line with that of Gallois and Carelli (1988, p. 29, personal translation) on the “true face of the ‘electronic Indian’”, who proposed that the entry of audiovisual means of communication has led to a technological revolution in indigenous daily life. This is because the centrality of the transmission of oral and community knowledge has been taken into account directly by the audiovisual technology without the indigenous people having to go through writing. Regarding audiovisual media - to which we would include certain smartphone performances - the authors go on and affirm: “And precisely because it does not go through this individualized route of appropriation and transmission of knowledge, it enhances traditional processes, such as the collective debate of information, at the time of appropriation of new information”.

Even if the distance was mitigated by audios and smartphones, the scriptwriting was the real challenge, especially when trying to work out what the film would be about, who would take part, what would be filmed (the actions) and in what locations. The difficulty of defining a film before it is made, of imagining a script, seems to show that the final theme is only revealed during the action of the image, that is, filming and editing. In the case of the Xavante, there is an intense conflict in their territories in relation to the advance of agribusiness, and the Xavante Warã Association<sup>14</sup> was already expressing the need to externalize and publicize the problem. After dialogues in their community, the theme of the short film was decided, which would include speeches by certain leaders, actions that would characterize these speeches and, finally, landscapes of significant places. The script was limited to this general outline, and Newi began filming<sup>15</sup>.

After taking the initial shots, Newi instructed Markus to download and interact via Telegram. She said that when she was photographing the Indigenous Women’s March in Brasilia/Brazil in 2021, the Indigenous Work Center (CTI – Centro de Trabalho Indigenista) recommended using Telegram instead of WhatsApp, because while one preserves the quality of the files, the other compresses them to make them easier to send. In this case, Telegram, the smartphone’s app, kept the intention of preserving the

14 To find out more about the Xavante Warã Association, visit the link at [www.xavantewara.org.br/en/wara-en/](http://www.xavantewara.org.br/en/wara-en/).

15 Between 2022 and 2023, the independent newspaper “*O Joio e o Trigo*”, published as part of the project “*Entre a soja e o Cerrado*” (Between soy and the Cerrado), which investigates the advance of agribusiness on indigenous lands, the series “*Os Parceiros do Rio das Mortes*” (The Partners of Rio das Mortes), addressing the situation of the Xavante indigenous people in relation to the advance of agribusiness on their indigenous lands, available at the following link: <https://ojoioetrigo.com.br/2023/04/os-parceiros-do-rio-das-mortes/>

size and quality of the files for the editing process. Each new edited version was shared between the two, and Newi shared the results with her companions, who facilitated her recordings.

She mentions that when she went to film on the border of the Sangradouroo Indigenous Land, there were workers from the agribusiness fields present in one area, which worried her filming companions, as the threats of territorial conflict were constant. As Newi was finishing recording, the boys became afraid and wanted to return to the village. The smartphone was a crucial tool because it didn't show that filming was taking place, while the use of professional equipment, such as tripods and microphones, could have threatened their presence. This finding makes clear certain performances linked to the smartphone as a camcorder that distinguish it from the paraphernalia of professional equipment: its capacity to camouflage, its tactical mobility, its speed and practicality to start and finish recording, as well as its potential to soothe uncomfortable affects, such as the fear of exposure.

While editing, Newi didn't approve of the blue macaw being superimposed on Hiparidi's story, as the bird was angry and this feeling shouldn't be associated with his speech, which led to a change in the editing of the scene. When we agreed that something was missing from the short film, Newi would film and send the files to Markus via Telegram with suggestions for editing the film. As much as the result is the first smartphone audiovisual work by both Markus and Newi, it gives an updated meaning to the imperfect cinemas proposed by Espinosa: its experimental and spontaneous character, an 'other' aesthetic close to amateurism and the adherence to the political struggle and territorial claim of the Xavante people that led subjects to become temporary specialists.

## WENSA YAYTXA WENJASU



"Wensa Yaytxa Wenjasu" [A Criança que se tornou Alimento], 2021, Markus S. Enk & Milton Nambikuara Halotesu, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fEet1ehSt68>

The context of the work carried out with the Nambikuara was different and could be considered a smartphone archival research, because the indigenous filmmakers didn't record specifically to produce the short film, except for the end credits. Milton had been working in the fields of the Nambikuara villages with the Manduca Indigenous Community Association (ACOIMA), and during a communal work in *Aldeia Verde*, his own village, there were sacred rites from the Nambikuara tradition available. This prompted him to record a scene about the Nambikuara food's origin myths. Dressed in traditional costume and under the sound of the sacred rites, Milton searches in his cassava field for the boy from the mythical narrative who will give rise to traditional Nambikuara foods. Some of these videos had been shared with Markus via WhatsApp since 2019, the year they met, but without the initial intention of making a short film at the time<sup>16</sup>. At the same time, Rodolfo, an indigenist working for CIMI at the time, had been recording Milton's work in the fields, and at the time he wasn't worried about making an audiovisual product. It was for the planning of *Mutirão Vivo Online*, during COVID-19, that these files were accessed with a new look of producing a film. The videos were retrieved from WhatsApp and Rodolfo sent Markus a flash-drive containing his footage. Editing basically involved overlaying the WhatsApp videos with selected parts of Rodolfo's recordings. We had to use the low-quality files shared on WhatsApp, which surprisingly proved to be suitable for the Nambikuara reality, one of restricted internet access and smartphones with limited memory capacity.

Whenever new versions were edited, the file was compressed via WhatsApp so that Milton could receive them. He replied with audios containing suggestions and practical comments for the adjustments, which were (re)forwarded to Milton after the appropriate adaptations had been made. In the case of Nambikuara, the smartphone's limited memory and the low-quality videos allowed both for greater collaboration in our work, because the file had been compressed and was light, for Milton to receive its updated version. In 2022, Milton asked again for the film's file via WhatsApp, as Cacique Sérgio, who appears with him in the screen, had passed away.

According to Nambikuara culture, Sérgio was the only person who was really considered Milton's brother-in-law because, as well as being a friend and kin, he was his partner in promoting and encouraging traditional food. Together, they were committed to revitalizing Nambikuara culture through traditional stories. This time, to avoid losing it again, Milton decided to save the video on his smartphone's memory instead of its memory card, which is symbolic - in addition to the content recording stories about Nambikuara food, a

<sup>16</sup> The authors have known each other since the first edition of *Mutirão Vivo* in 2019 and have since kept in touch via social media, where they share photos and videos. Unfortunately, most of the videos from that time were lost and it was only possible to recover some that Markus had saved on his own smartphone.

new layer of importance emerges from the film: the memory of the image of his real brother-in-law, who is now gone. The video therefore had to be recorded on the body of the smartphone, and not just on its memory card, as this can be removed, corrupted and/or lost. Although we'll discuss the circulation of the video later, it's safe to say that the smartphone and its body's memory capacity metamorphose into mediators of remembrance of the loved one, sometimes having to cease its circulation so as not to arouse despairing affects in the loving kin. At the same time, their circulation makes the historical trajectories of Nambikuara food and tradition shared by Milton and Sérgio visible, both for future generations and for other projects that will be implemented in their territories.

### **TOCUMAGU RU MAUNI'I**



"Tocumagu Ru Mauni'i" [Nosso Jeito promove a Vida], 2021, Markus S. Enk & Myrian Vasquez Tikuna, available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ttypW\\_sPObA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ttypW_sPObA)

Before Markus returned to the Tikuna living in the region of Benjamin Constant, on the triple border between Brazil, Colombia and Peru, he organized with Myrian, via WhatsApp, which communities we would visit and who could be selected for filming. We considered the indigenous people who had already been working with the partner organization, ACAAM, where Myrian and Markus had worked together. In this way, both the theme of indigenous agrobiodiversity would be aligned and there would already be an established relationship with the communities that would facilitate contact, negotiations and filming. Initially, we had agreed to film only cultivated fields without slash-and-burn in the Guanabara III community, but Myrian organized a Native Cuisine activity in her community, Filadélfia, together with the Ticuna Indigenous Women's Association (AMIT), which was incorporated into the film. During the process, all recorded in the Tikuna language, Myrian directed the scenes and talked to the indigenous people before the shoot, in order to clarify the themes and objectives of the short film, directing its production. Markus' smartphone filmed following Myrian's instructions, as he was unable


to take a more active part in the process due to the language barrier. When we arrived at each location, Myrian shared her imagination of the film, outsourcing the technical part of the image action to Markus' smartphone. After the recordings, we would sit down and stay in front of the computer until dusk with the editing program open, translating the lines and editing the film, until it was finished. It was only after the translation into Portuguese that Markus understood how Myrian's improvised and imagined script had become a movie.

### **FILM CIRCULATION COLLABORATIONS**

Before concluding the film-article, some aspects of the circulation of these smartphone short films will be discussed, considering the production elements described above. The *Mutirão Vivo Online* event was the first promotion of these three films, as well as a moment for conversations and exchanges of knowledge. Most of the indigenous people present were connected by smartphone on ZOOM, and the indigenous leaders who were to present went to the cities to ensure quality internet. After watching each short film, the indigenous leaders intervened and continued their stories. The films turned out to be living products that went beyond their production and export, since they included processes of reflection that they themselves promoted during the event.

The smartphone also played an essential role in publicizing the films, such as registering them with ANCINE, the Brazilian government agency responsible for national cinema. Contracts had to be drawn up with the division of assets and copyright, with signatures exchanged in photo and PDF files via WhatsApp<sup>17</sup>. Participation in film festivals was also intermediated by the smartphone: during the IndiFest of Indigenous Cinema in Barcelona (Spain), Myrian and Newi made a short introduction video to be exhibited in the festival. Although they couldn't be physically present, they received photos of their videos playing on the screens of the auditoriums in Catalunya, connecting them intercontinentally through their virtual presence during the event. During the XIV SALSA Biennial Conference 2023, held at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Leticia/ Colombia, Myrian presented the short film while Markus received her audios about the event and photos of the film on the big screen in the

<sup>17</sup> The difficulty of registering indigenous cinemas with ANCINE and obtaining the Brazilian Product Certificate (CPB) deserves more attention, as does the difficulty of translating collective authorship into the authorial-individual model based on registration numbers (CPFs), and/or the need to prove funding or expenditure of resources in contexts of political struggles and self-organization for the making of films. The registration of indigenous cinemas and the CPB process was one of the topics addressed in the prior consultation for the proposals at the 2023 National Forum of Indigenous Filmmakers and Film Collectives.



Amazon region. It was from this film experience that Myrian's curiosity was excited to continue producing audiovisual materials, especially since the visibility that AMIT gained in the region with the circulation of the short film. The desire aroused by the potential of the smartphone as a working tool opened the door to AMIT's cooperation with the "Amazonia Stock" project, run by the Zagaia Association, in which Myrian collaborates with a group of young Tikuna students to use smartphones to produce digital content for the social networks of local Tikuna associations<sup>18</sup>. They are currently organizing the filming of two short smartphone films about the history of the General Council of the Tikuna Tribe and another about the AMIT itself, the first Tikuna women's organization in the Upper Solimões. The release of the smartphone film has given Myrian an understanding of the importance of occupying virtual spaces and festivals, making their struggles visible (inter)nationally and generating new partnerships to carry out activist projects.

Regarding the Nambikuara movie, Milton felt that it was one of the first times that a movie had been made the way he wanted. He said that although other videos had been produced in his presence, when they were going to show the cassava (*manihot esculenta*) or the yam (*dioscorea spp.*), they would arrange these plants on a carpet or on sulphite paper, which bothered him. In our video, the plants are alive, showing the branches of the manioc, for example, and how they are 'complete' in their proper place. Milton shows the video whenever possible, especially at meetings, such as one that brought together the 30 (agro)environmental agents from the 30 villages of the Nambiquara Indigenous Land in 2021. At this meeting, since the topic was food, the video served to spread the word about the work that was already being done in his own village. The participants, especially the (agro)environmental agents, recognized the importance of both the theme and the video. However, after the death of his brother-in-law, he chose to circulate the film with caution.

Milton says that when a video with the image of a deceased person is shown in the presence of a family member, they can feel despair over it, a feeling that he prefers to avoid arousing. Because it's not possible to know who will attend to meetings, and out of respect for his brother-in-law's family, the film is no longer shown in public. On the other hand, Milton explains that when the family is not present, it is important to show the video, precisely to build his brother-in-law's story. For example, when a powerful shaman, who performed many healings and was able to show what was happening to his patients, passes away, he is always remembered in Nambikuara movements and meetings, especially when

<sup>18</sup> To find out more about the Amazonia Stock project, visit [www.amazoniastock.com.br](http://www.amazoniastock.com.br)

it comes to rescuing traditional culture and chants. In the case of his brother-in-law, Milton emphasizes that he needs to be remembered too, because he was the only one who dedicated himself to working in the traditional fields with him. Therefore, he is already part of Nambikuara history, and it is no coincidence, Milton recalls, that they made the film together and are recorded there. In this way, Cacique Sérgio's presence becomes part of the history of traditional Nambikuara food, both as a teaching for future generations and at meetings to promote projects that have to do with Nambikuara food. Even so, and out of respect for his brother-in-law's family, there is a precaution in circulating Sérgio's image so that despairing affects are not aroused.

The Nambikuara video was not circulated at festivals either, despite its submission. At its only screening at a visual anthropology event in Europe, in the presence of Markus, the comments were more focused on aesthetic issues (or the lack of them) and less on production processes, relationships or meanings. Some of the images used to compose the Nambikuara film, specifically those retrieved from WhatsApp groups, could be considered part of the second imagery regime proposed by Serber (2020), which is more spontaneous, autonomous, homemade and circulates internally. In this way, it would be possible to understand the aesthetic distance between hegemonic cinema audiences and the imagery expected of the 'indigenous cinemas' themselves. In any case, the notion of *embedded aesthetics* (Ginsburg, 2016) and its rootedness, seems to be confirmed when Milton considers the film to be 'complete' because the plants are also rooted and therefore alive - giving clues to a Nambikuara cinematographic perspective.

Milton also comments on how the production of this film helped him on new cinematographic paths. In 2023, along with the Amazon Institute, a non-indigenous documentary maker was hired to record the Nambikuara Menina-Moça Festival, a traditional female puberty ritual which included four young Nambikuara girls, two of whom were from Milton's family, as well as the 'baptism' of one infant<sup>19</sup>. He guided how he envisioned the result of the film, giving instructions based on his previous experience. During the presentation of the film, Milton commented that parts of the movie went by too quickly and that certain Nambikuara subgroups only appeared briefly. Even so, he understood that the film could not be more 'complete', showcasing each Nambikuara subgroup in greater detail and at greater length, due to the cost constraints of producing a documentary. In this way, it is possible to glimpse at the equivocations between the filmic expectations that can arise during collaborative projects and between professional paraphernalia and the smartphone. The 'complete' films

19 More information about the Menina Moça Nambikuara Festival can be found on the Instituto Amazonas website, available at [www.institutoamazonas.com/ritualmeninamoça](http://www.institutoamazonas.com/ritualmeninamoça).

voiced by Milton, which can be associated with the second aesthetic regime proposed by Serber (2020), seem to be in line with how Divino Tserewahú (see Frey and Brito, 2020) interprets ‘true’ indigenous cinema. For the Xavante filmmaker, the meaning of the films has more value than their aesthetics, which have fewer cuts and time suppression, while being aimed at an internal audience and not necessarily circulating outside indigenous territory.


The film produced with Newi, on the other hand, circulated mainly on WhatsApp and in Xavante groups, including the YouTube link, on the smartphones of the Abelinha village (TI Sangradouro) in an imagetic circuit that is impossible to trace. The film was promoted on both Facebook and Instagram by the Warã Association, and there was also a post about the film being selected for the *IndiFest de Cinema Indígena* in Barcelona (Spain)<sup>20</sup>. It was after participating in this festival that an opportunity arose for the film to be included in the catalog of the indigenous film platform *MiradaNativa*<sup>21</sup>, which is still under negotiation.

## CONCLUSION: FROM IMPERFECTION TO ONTOGENESIS

Display screens, including those of smartphones, are virtually demarcated as indigenous territory and can plant seeds for future generations, by rooting the records of their histories and struggles for territorial protection. The multiplicity of collaborations, made possible by the smartphone range, from the script and communitarian decisions transmitted via WhatsApp audios, to filming *per se* with the smartphone, virtual exchanges for remote editing, and dissemination, whether through events on ZOOM, Telegram, YouTube, compressed versions of WhatsApp, as well as the potential partnerships that arise from the circulation of this material. What is certain is that the smartphone is a technical object that enacts multiple virtualities and connects them unexpectedly. The origin of this object becomes practically irrelevant because what stands out are the performances and techniques employed with it. Just as Frey and Brito (2020, p.179) conclude that the Cine Kurumin festival “makes possible the coexistence of images of ontologically distinct worlds”, by enacting the fluidity of smartphones, multiple borders, limits and potentialities are constructed, which generate collaborations.

20 The Instagram post on the Xavante Warã Association page is available at [www.instagram.com/associacao\\_wara/p/Cj8eFhMuLr1/](https://www.instagram.com/associacao_wara/p/Cj8eFhMuLr1/), accessed on 01/03/2024.

21 This specific indigenous film channel is a cooperation between the *Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Cine y Comunicación de los Pueblos Indígenas* (CLACPI) and *alterNativa Intercambio con Pueblos Indígenas*. It can be accessed at: [www.miradanativa.org](http://www.miradanativa.org).




Other worlds are unveiled in the multiplicity of collaborations, even if only at that moment, just as ontogenic processes. Sautchak (2019), using Simondon's (2009) terminology, proposes that thinking about ontogenesis in relation to technical objects can trace a path that combines the functionality, the relationship and the meaning of objects in a way that avoids both analyses, based on the materialism of substance and the dematerialized projection of notions of agency. In other words, to think about technical objects, in our case smartphones, is to consider how technicity composes moments of encounters between different ways of inhabiting the world which, by connecting people and their environments, become common.

In the case of Sautchak (2019), a relationship of ontogenesis between the harpooner and the pirarucu, a fish that inhabits the lakes of the Amazon, exists through the harpoon which, through synergies with the pirarucu's environment, intertwines both worlds. But this ontogenesis has been reconfigured since the introduction of net fishing, since the capture of the pirarucu takes place in opposition to its environment, which requires a reorganization of the subjectivity of both the fisherman and the fish. Tracing the change in the relationship between the fisherman and the pirarucu through the object, allowed Sautchak (2019) to identify new ways of being and operating in their shared world (the lake), such as the emergence of a feeling of cowardice in the fisherman and a lack of trust on the part of the pirarucu, which gradually leaves until disappearing from the lake.

When it comes to smartphones, the filmic result itself is a visible consequence of ontogenic processes. It's enough to realize how the smartphone has made it possible, from a distance and in a pandemic context, for indigenous and non-indigenous worlds to coexist. Based on praxiography, the description of the creative encounters in this film article, through the production and circulation of three smartphone films, is an attempt to enter the multiplicity of collaborations allowed by this object. Regarding non-indigenous collaborators, their role was based on articulating and fostering connections, such as through CIMI and Misereor, and in the technical preparation of the film through Markus. On the part of the indigenous people, it is important to use this network to aggregate their own political struggles and to indigenize the knowledge of non-indigenous partners, not only about agrobiodiversity, but also about the technical process of making and disseminating their films using smartphones.

Just as net fishing triggered a symbolic reconfiguration in relation to the harpoon that would include a feeling of cowardice in the fisherman and a lack of trust in the pirarucu (Sautchak, 2019), filming with a smartphone



in the Xavante context reconfigured a camouflage relationship to alleviate fear of the object of filming (the border of the indigenous land) compared to professional filming equipment. In the Nambikuara case, the circulation of the film via smartphone was re-evaluated with caution to avoid arousing despairing affections in members of the community.

The Latin American notion of imperfect cinemas can add to the understanding and struggles that indigenous cinemas are spreading, made more popular by the accessibility, practicality and budget costs of the smartphone. But also, indigenous cinemas update the very notion of imperfect cinema, especially with the usage of smartphones, indigenizing cinema and temporarily collectivizing the cinematic 'expert' with his audience.

Common worlds are traced from the multiplicity of collaborations made possible by the smartphone, where ontogenic processes are glanced at. Each film structured its own collaborative principle by practicing with the smartphone in different ways, depending on the people, the technical object, and the environment they were in - which, for example, includes the absence of film in the Kayabi case. Therefore, by analyzing indigenous cinemas from this perspective, we hope to overcome both material and technical determinisms and the very discussions about rupture or continuity, modernity and tradition. Above all, following the criticism that has always accompanied these cinemas, the persistence in creating worlds far removed from the ideals of the exotic or extinction, recurrent in the imaginary about indigenous peoples.

Perhaps the smartphone can be solidified as a vector of creation for imperfect cinemas, in which techno-scientific advances are intertwined with the popularization of these means of production and circulation of images-sounds, even if they are temporarily dependent on specialists. Proliferating ontogenic processes, forms of collaboration are multiplied, and new paths of imperfect cinemas are paved, where creativity and imperfection go hand in hand. A critique of the idea of perfection can come from the notion of equilibrium proposed by Simondon (2009). The author states that equilibrium is when a system has reached all its possible transformations and no longer retains strength, when all its potentials have been actualized, where the system can no longer transform itself because it has an excessively low level of energy. In other words, in equilibrium, as in perfection, there is no room for creation due to its completeness, and even less room for becoming. But indigenous cinemas, like imperfect ones, are moving towards creating other spaces, new relationships and meanings, allowing their audiences to transform aesthetically, in the ways to see, hear, feel, observe... and just as the indigenous people are transforming from objects to camera subjects, perhaps the spectators, Us, will also become cinematographic subjects,

collectivizing the authors with the audiences. And so, other aesthetic perceptions that we can't even glimpse, that don't exist *a priori* (Nuñez, 2012), can give new meaning to the category of amateurism, sometimes less conventional and monocultural, other times more homemade, experimental, guerrillero, and spontaneous. And, following proposals such as those of a shared anthropology (Rouch, 1995), an imperfect cinema can advance alongside indigenous cinemas by multiplying collaborations and proliferating new common worlds.


### NOTE ON CO-AUTHORING THE TEXT

This text began as an experience report on the processes of making and circulating the films presented, based on joint discussions of a lesser academic nature. There was a proposal to turn the report into a scientific article, requiring the text to delve both into the comments and into conceptual paths and academic discussions. Markus tried to translate the exchanges of knowledge and experiences with Milton, Myrian and Newi, possibly with his own equivocations, into conceptual language and theoretical discussions that seemed pertinent and complementary to the experience report. This process was also facilitated by the smartphone, which tried to bridge the gap in the construction of this article in an ('imperfect') proposal for collaboration, considering the limitations of resources and time. In this way, even though the theoretical decisions were stimulated by the group, Markus takes full responsibility for the theoretical path and bibliographical references in relation to his role as an academic. At the end of the writing process, the final version was presented to Milton, Myrian and Newi.

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