# Visualising Situatedness

The Role of the Audience/Reader in Knowledge Production

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#### The third man

Within the field of anthropology, methodological discussions have often focused on the movements of the researcher. Effort has been put into understanding how the anthropologist can learn the behavioural practices of their informants and how they can acquire the informants' systems of interpretation. Anthropologists have also been preoccupied by the challenges of making adequate descriptions. Belief in the existence of absolute truths and the idea that scientific training may enable the anthropologist to identify these truths within the field of social relations and to represent them "adequately" were long taken for granted. However, progressively, these perceptions have been questioned and the consequences of researchers' situatedness have been an ongoing preoccupation for many anthropologists. But we think that, when looking at the situatedness of anthropological knowledge, the perspective has been too narrow.

Many researchers (Riesman 1977, Jackson 1977 and 1989, Stoller 1989) have reflected upon and written about their own position, their own negotiations, the role of their own behaviour in the production of what we call anthropological representations and knowledge. We think it is necessary to widen the anthropologist's perspective to include the role of the recipient as well. By recipient, we mean the person who is supposed to acquire the knowledge created by anthropologists in collaboration with their informants (the third man). The

recipient may be a reader, a viewer/spectator, or a listener. In spite of being only imagined, the recipient may play an important role in the construction of anthropologically based representations and knowledge. Description has always been central to the anthropological enterprise and description implies a reader. This means that the representations are supposed to be shared. Thus the objective of creating anthropological knowledge implies dissemination and sharing knowledge about society, implies "understanding". In spite of this, the situatedness of the recipient has attracted far less attention within the debate on situatedness than that of the other actors involved: the informant and the researcher.

It is our contention in this article that we must look into the movements of all three actors situated in the field of knowledge creation, if we are to develop good research strategies and methodologies: "The researcher, the ones the research is made about and the 'reader' of the representations are all present in our representations" (Altern and Holtedahl 1995). In the following, we want to illustrate and concretise the often-forgotten but nevertheless important contribution of the reader, imagined or real, to anthropological representations and knowledge.

Sociocultural research means encounters between different experiences of reality, and these encounters do not necessarily differ much from other social encounters. We need to try to create a common ground of communication and a shared definition of reality through continuous negotiations. In these processes, the perspectives the three "actors" have on one another do not necessarily change much, but often, new attitudes are added, horizons are broadened, and relations and positions changed. Through these negotiations, which are the object of thorough analysis, we acquire a valuable source of insight into the creation and dissemination of anthropological knowledge, and lay open important aspects of how the representations are situated.

The examples we want to present come from our anthropological research in North Cameroon; a study in which the film camera has been used as an important research tool. We have filmed informants' activities and relationships as well as our own negotiations and relationships with our informants. We hope that our examples will convey just how strong the influence of our own as well as our informants' imagined, implicit or real audience/reader is on the development of these negotiations and thus on the knowledge itself.

When we presented our article at the conference "Challenging Situatedness - Gender, Culture and the Production of Knowledge", the projection of selected film sequences was a vital part of our contribution. What can be learned from actually watching these film sequences cannot fully be substituted by our textual references and descriptions. The screening of film sequences literally gave the audience a possibility to see and hear both of the two other partners' presence in the anthropological research process.

# Negotiations inside and outside the field

Our preoccupation with the recipient should be seen mainly as a result of many years' preoccupation with the impact on society of research-based knowledge. Our engagement with film and our attempts to create and disseminate knowledge by the use of film as a tool have proved to be very useful for such an appreciation. When analysing the situatedness of knowledge and focusing on the person who is supposed to "receive" "the knowledge", it is necessary to differentiate possible positions of the receiver. When the anthropologists are in the field interacting with local "informants", i.e. with their research partners, they have notions about who will be their target groups. They see themselves processing material for future dissemination. These target persons have qualities and interests. We think that these notions are relevant for the anthropologists' observations and behaviour. But the research partners, too, have their target groups: First of all, they are each other's audience in the social situations. In addition, they are often conscious of other audiences or target groups with which they are more or less familiar: the future readers of the anthropologists' books and viewers of his/her films, for example.

If we adopt Goffman's (1969) perspective, we can say that the researcher and his/her research partners may try to frame their own participation in the social processes in ways which match these other imagined actors. They, too, are present on the scene, so to speak.

#### Filmwork in progress: "The Fish Come with the Rain"

As one of the illustrations of the role of the audience in the building of social-scientific knowledge, we will draw on experiences gained from the production of Bjørn's film "The Fish Come with the Rain". We focused on the relations between the different actors involved in the film: those in front of and behind the camera, and the recipients. First, we will give some glimpses into the context and the general scope of the film.

One of the bigger inland fisheries of Africa is in Lake Chad in Central Africa. From the early 1960s, people from different countries in Central and West Africa started to migrate into the area to take part in the rapidly expanding fishing activities. This has created local communities with a multi-ethnic and multinational population. Today the fish from the Lake Chad Basin is sold at markets in many countries in the region, and the technology in use is efficient with a large capacity. Together with long periods of drought, this has led to reduced fish stocks.

In 1999 Bjørn started his fieldwork on these fisheries by settling in Djilam, a fishing-quarter in the little town of Blangoua, close to the shore of Lake Chad. The film was recorded half way into a stay that lasted a total of nine months. By

focusing on the fishermen's competence, Bjørn's aim was to give insight into the coexistence of fishermen of different ethnic and national origin, and into their way of handling a continuously changing natural environment.



Two of the fishermen, the Cameroonian Kotoko Abalhadj and the Senegalese Fulbe Ibrahim Seidou, repairing their nets outside the local mosque.

Using a video camera for his film made it clear for Bjørn how the persons he studied were involved in similar processes as he himself was as a researcher. They did their research on him and his perspectives, and tried to find out what he was up to, and the conclusions they drew influenced the way they related to him. When reflecting on these fieldwork experiences, the philosophical hermeneutics of Gadamer (1989) and his concept of "fusion of horizons" became useful. Originally Gadamer developed his methodology as a tool to acquire the meaning of texts, but it also appeared to be relevant for interpretation of human relations. Hermeneutics deals with bridging the gap between the familiar world in which we stand and the unfamiliar meaning that resists assimilation into the horizons of our world. In a meeting between persons who are willing to confront the otherness of each others' horizons and open themselves to the other, those

involved have a possibility to move beyond their initial horizons. This implies, first of all, that the researcher's position is not privileged in relation to the people with whom he co-operates in the field. Our investigations are simply carried out more systematically. The second implication is that approaching the horizons of the other consequently then becomes a question of sensitivity, motivation and imagination. Through these movements, something different, something that did not exist before, can come into being. Although difficult to achieve, Gadamer's concept of "fusion of horizons" is interesting as a position important to strive for. It may create a consciousness of how knowledge is created through negotiations and shake us free from the notion that the anthropologist's representations mirrors "the natives' point of view". The result of the encounters in the field is a broadening of horizons which involves all the different actors respectively.

Bjørn started to shoot the film by following the work of four of the fishermen working together; a Senegalese, a Malian and two Cameroonians. This triggered discussions in the quarter on the consequences of film activity. Bjørn continuously developed ideas about what he saw as relevant for the film, and the locals on their side tried to grasp his perspectives. In one instance, to ensure that he had the material for creating an intelligible narrative, on the last day of shooting he invited the fishermen to make an outline of what they considered to be central features of the fishing activities in the quarter. Bjørn found their account very interesting. This was a subject with which they themselves and the other fishermen in the quarter were preoccupied and about which they had continuous discussions. But still what they said was related to Bjørn's presence and the way they perceived him. This seems to be the way we all communicate; when presenting an argument we want it to trigger resonance in our partners.

In Blangoua religious beliefs have significance for the fishing activities, but the fishermen wanted Bjørn to understand their perspectives. Therefore they did not mention their theory that the lack of fish was punishment from Allah for their sinful lives, but emphasised the impact of new effective fishing gear. Perhaps they did this because what they knew about Bjørn told them that the "punishment theory" was a kind of explanation he might have problems accepting. We see that, although Bjørn started to take the religious aspects more into account and the fishermen became aware of and perhaps also less influenced by Bjørn's perspectives, a fusion of horizons did not take place. But, through their negotiations, both the fishermen and Bjørn moved beyond their initial horizons. And moving is exactly the point here.

The concept of broadening horizons is also relevant when attempting to understand what happens when the film/text encounters the reader/audience, but first we will take a closer look at how the perceptions of the reader/audience influence encounters in the field.

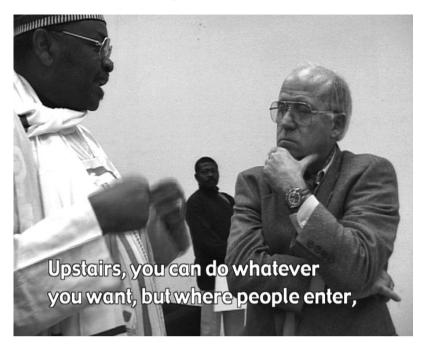
#### Why build Castles in Africa?

In Lisbet's research project, "A castle in Africa", which concerns a Muslim industrialist, Al Hajji Mustapha, in northern Cameroon, filming has been going on for seven years. The footage will be made into a documentary on the industrialist's everyday life over these years. It will also be used for exchange of interpretations and analysis by Lisbet, and the main character and his close partners so as to produce a book intended for a wider audience.



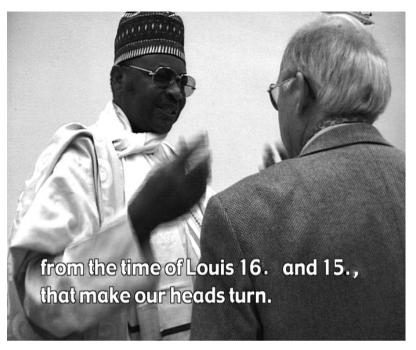
Al Hajji Mustapha arriving with his followers at a furniture exhibition in Milan.

To illustrate the influence exerted by the reader/audience, we will describe a short sequence from this project. In this sequence, Al Hajji Mustapha, from Ngaoundéré, is in a furniture factory outside Milan with his architect, Peter, a Serb who lives in Paris. Peter is responsible not only for building the castle, which has been under construction for some seven years, but for the whole interior: decor, furniture, etc. The relevance of Al Hajji's taste, likes and dislikes, is constantly negotiated between the two, and open conflicts constantly emerge.



In the factory sequence, Al Hajji Mustapha refers to a clash between the two of them the day before when they were visiting the Fiera del Milano: he says to Peter: "You remember these sofas you didn't like? What did you call them? Rustique? I like them very much!" Al Hajji Mustapha points at some white sofas which Peter finds "sober" and which he is eager to buy. Al Hajji says: "You see, people in Ngaoundéré (Al Hajji's home town) they like the furniture you call 'rustique'; they are big, with gold, golden leather and decorations, you know like Louis XV or Louis XVI. This style makes their heads turn!" Al Hajji points to his own head to show their potential enthusiasm. "When people come into my house, they want to see this kind of furniture! Gold and things like that. This is what people understand and appreciate." Al Hajji points to white minimalistic sofas, "this kind of furniture which you like so much; my people will think that I have bought them in the local market! I think we will put these white things you like so much on the second floor!"

In the following footage, Al Hajji tries to convey to the architect and to the spectator why he does not feel able to "obey" the architect's orders. The architect says to Al Hajji: "You have to 'évoluer' to become civilised!" He looks right into the camera, his face expressing his strong frustration with a person he thinks lacks taste. Al Hajji then says to the world he imagines that he wants to ask Peter to wear a gandura (big male Fulani dress) so that his own people would consider him "civilised", i.e. from the point of view of the Fulani society. Peter makes a face



of disgust at the camera and he says that, since Al Hajji drives a Mercedes and not a horse, he has expressed that he is striving to become Western, i.e. civilised.

Both characters / research partners seem to be fully aware of the presence not only of Lisbet, but also of the camera. Al Hajji's and Peter's behaviour and negotiations are not much different from their typical everyday life when there is no camera present—but none the less—in the footage they both seem conscious of the access of a whole world "out there" to their conflict. They are always negotiating values and power. But here their behaviour, their expressions, etc. reveal their different framings of their struggle, of their different relationships to the future audience and, in this way, we also get an impression of the important differences in their self-perceptions. The camera also "pushes" these differences. We see that, for both of them, the camera becomes a tool in their hands when struggling for power. Al Hajji wants to show his respect for the local people of Ngaoundéré (i.e. as one of several future audiences) and he explains why this is necessary not only to Peter but also to an imagined white audience. This is expressed in his body language and by his looking directly at Lisbet and the camera.

Peter, however, does not question his own position and superiority, and tries regularly to capture the attention of this future audience by directing glances towards Lisbet and the camera which express how ridiculous, primitive and uncivilized he thinks Al Hajji is. He thinks he shares this point of view with his imagined spectator. Peter does not perceive any problem of legitimisation, even less does he see possible cultural differences. Al Hajji, on the other hand, as was

the case with Bjørn's research partners, does not trust Lisbet to mediate between himself and the spectator. He thinks he will be judged with prejudice. He strives to ward off a stigma by trying to fill the cultural differences gap that he sees between Ngaoundéré and "the world".

#### Al Hajji's and the fishermen's perceptions of the recipient

The fallacy of the assumption that the persons who are going to be represented do not address the viewers directly because they are not aware of the implications of what is going on has been demonstrated in the illustrations from the furniture factory. It is also going to its demise under the weight of media globalisation. Rich industrialists and famous architects are not the only ones who are aware of a potential audience outside the actual social situation in which they are being filmed. As we can see from the Lake Chad scenes, the recipient or rather the perceptions of the recipient are also part of what is going on in front of the camera.

The fishermen in the film have been reflecting on the fact that images of them will cross continents. Once when the fishermen were moving their fish traps, a discussion started between Abalhadj and Ibrahim on the possible consequences of me filming them. Abalhadj says: "Ibrahim, you will be known in the white man's land!" Ibrahim responds by saying: "As long as it's only there it's not a problem". As we see, the screening of the film for a Western audience seems not to be a



problem in itself for Ibrahim. He thinks that it might be more problematic that the film will be screened locally in Blangoua where he is known to everybody.

The discussion continues. Abalhadj reflects a bit on being known in the white man's land, and says: "In the West they will say that this is the head of a black man". Ibrahim replies "Yes, that can be a problem!". We see that after some arguing with his fellow fisherman, Abalhadj, Ibrahim admits that it can also be a problem that the whites will look upon them with a prejudiced eye. They don't look upon blacks as fellow humans.



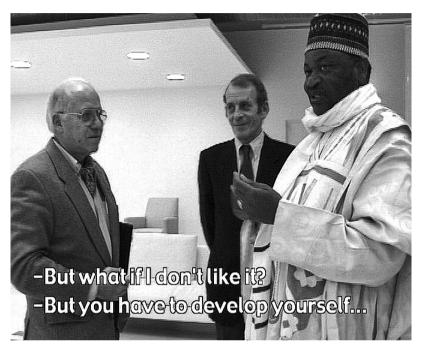
As we see, the fishermen are aware of the presence of an audience. In saying this, we are not claiming that the fishermen constantly act strategically in accordance with their comprehension, but only that it is something that they are conscious of. As researchers, we also bring with us conceptions of the recipient and what we perceive as relevant knowledge into fieldwork and filming. After Bjørn's return to Norway, in the editing and writing phases, the influence of these conceptions became especially significant. As one of the sequences of the film shows, the fishermen are aware of their loss of control. While the others involved in the discussion seem to trust that Bjørn will make an adequate representation of the situations filmed, Oumar Sanda is a bit worried. As he points out in the discussion with the others: "He is going to leave and rearrange the film in a way you could not imagine", "Just think for a moment about films, there are those who add things", and "But what is the reality of certain things we see in films?"



The film production has made them reflect on how films are made, and they have realised that a lot happens after the shooting of the film. During the filming, they were able to control what was going on to some extent; but this is not the case with what happens afterwards. This is a comprehension that people who are a lot more familiar with film and TV often do not have. Although Oumar has gained his experiences from watching other kinds of films, he has reason to be nervous. It is obvious who is in control in this final part of making the film. As Talal Assad points out; in the encounter between the British middle class academic games and the modes of life in tribal Sudan, the latter is in the weaker position (Assad 1986:159). This goes for ethnographic filmmaking as well. By being socialised into these academic games, we as researchers bring them with us into the field, and when the representation of what has been going on in the field is created, the notions of what is considered relevant knowledge in the academic milieus are influential.

When Lisbet participates in the social situation in the furniture factory, she is not a neutral actor. Her research interest goes towards discovering and understanding micro-processes and aspects of macro-level relations between the North and the South. She sees Al Hajii's and Peter's relatively relaxed communication with the different imagined audiences "behind the camera" as very important for her understanding of the development of their conflicts as well as of their compromise. The presence of the camera sharpens their pedagogic ambitions, and Lisbet profits. Peter thinks that she thinks that there is only a white audience out there. He does

not hesitate to express his feeling of being more civilised than Al Hajji. Al Hajji seems to be addressing two audiences, the local African people and the West. He wants to show respect and to create new knowledge for the white audience, i.e. what is most often and wrongly called "translating" by anthropologists (Assad 1986).



Since Lisbet wants to make a film, not only a book, she is constantly thinking about what she sees as the qualities of the scenes and sequences in relation to a future film which would attract people's attention and create understanding of white—black relations, local Muslim societal transformations, etc. The knowledge Lisbet is building up with Al Hajji and Peter is also negotiated with her imagined future audience through her own behaviour as a researcher. She openly negotiates her role as a mediator between Al Hajji, Peter and her anthropology students and more general audiences. She cannot help thinking, "this is a very good sequence", and she measures and frames what took place, what entered the camera, in relation to what the imagined standard audience would like and dislike (Holtedahl 1995).

There is no doubt that Western academic standards and our perception of the recipient are influential, but the potential that our preconceived notions will be modified through our encounters in the field is also present. This will depend heavily on our ability to take advantage of our capacities for sensitivity, empathy and imagination emphasised above.

### Situating the recipient

There is an iconic relationship between the recorded social situations and the film sequences. On film a lot of things look similar to what they look like in "reality". This means that, by using film, the recipients gain access to this field context in a quite direct manner. One has the possibility to change a lot in the editing room, but still the viewers have some kind of control over what opinions they develop. When the viewer judges, it is to some extent a question of experience. The experienced viewer is, for instance, capable of reading a lot from a film sequence about what takes place in front of the camera, but also about the relationships between the participants behind and in front of the camera. It is a matter of reading, and the reading is influenced by the viewer's capabilities, which are not only personal but embedded in a worldview situated in a specific historical moment. As mentioned above, the hermeneutics of Gadamer was originally developed as a tool to acquire the meaning of texts. According to Gadamer (1989), the encounter between reader and text is an encounter between different horizons, and it is in the gap between these that understanding is created.

The audience takes an active part in creating the meaning of the film. In this encounter, a new understanding that did not exist beforehand is created. This is a process, which has little in common with "pouring water into bottles". To be able to share our knowledge with others, we first have to specify with whom we want to communicate and what the frames of reference of this audience are. Then it becomes possible to identify the devices, which can enable us to share the knowledge created during our encounters in the field. There have been strikingly few in-depth empirical studies of the way ethnographic films are understood by different audiences. Martinez's studies of American undergraduates' reactions to ethnographic films indicate that the filmmaker's intentions are rarely fulfilled. One of the reasons he sees for this is that

[...] most ethnographic films assume their viewer rather than construct her/him. The privileged anthropological viewer 'owns' the informational and theoretical resources to interpret films competently, that is to infer and recycle anthropological significance – which then become the standardized measure to evaluate other viewers' responses (Martinez 1996:74).

The viewer has to be constructed, but perhaps it is neither an unproblematic nor a straightforward process to communicate with Western audiences of anthropologists. If the fieldworker has difficulties with "leaving" or widening his initial horizon after having spent months in the field, this is no easier for the Western recipients within the academic milieu. Whether a film succeeds or not in moving these recipients beyond their initial horizons must be examined. It might not be an easy task to generate such a movement. According to Talal Assad

(1986), the academic audience is expecting to read about another mode of life and manipulate the text it reads according to established rules, not to learn to live a new mode of life. The risk of underpinning prejudices is present; the viewer may be even more grounded within his initial horizon after viewing the film.

### The spectators

After returning to Tromsø, Bjørn's film was edited within a two months period. It might be that these days it is more fashionable to say that the locals of Blangoua were the main target group for the film. But looking back at what happened, we see that this was not the case. This choice was, among other things, influenced by the fact that the film was going to be part of the material, which was going to qualify him for his doctorate. The main audience was Western academics. The message we focused on – how locals, anthropologist and recipients are present in the knowledge created – is grasped primarily by a Western academic audience. Still it was Bjørn's intention to go back and screen the film for the fishery population of Blangoua, and this also influenced the way the film was put together in the editing phase.

Subsequently the film was screened for different kinds of audience. The comments received from them have been a source of better understanding and so also of a continuation of the research process. One reaction from Western academic audiences has been that the film gives an idyllic impression of this African society. Bjørn has been asked questions like: Where are the conflicts? Is it your dream of this society, which is represented here? To some extent these are relevant comments since the film is a story about people with different backgrounds who manage to co-operate. One way of responding has been to say; of cause there are conflicts in this society, but still family problems and personal conflicts, which you will find everywhere, were not the subject of the film. The film was also shot in a period when the important natural resources were abundant. Problems related to natural resources where not at the forefront of their lives. A pertinent answer to the questions could therefore be; this is also Africa. The claim that the film gives an idyllic impression might be related to people's impression of Africa as connected to problems and starvation. Although different, this comment has similarities with the reaction: "Aren't they a bit skinny? Do they have enough food?" Bjørn received these questions when he screened the film in Jøvik, a fishing village in Northern Norway, where he did his fieldwork for his Masters degree.

When the film was screened at the University of Ngaoundéré in Cameroon, the reactions were divided. Some of the students present said that the film gave them nothing. It seems like they expected a commentary voice telling "now we are here, now we see this, that's because of". For them, watching the film was just like taking a walk down to the local market. The film was not framed in accordance

with the topics they where occupied with, such as power relations, ethnicity, etc. Saibou Issa, a young researcher at the University of Ngaoundéré with his PhD in history and present in the audience, made another kind of comment, based on his intimate knowledge of the area. In his analysis, the scenes in the film were placed in a larger context, where the possibilities for peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the different ethnic groups were his topic of interest. Saibou Issa owns what Martinez in the quotation above calls, "the informational and theoretical resources to interpret films competently" (1996:74), and was thus able to use the film sequences as raw material in his analysis.

These examples of feedback illustrate what we could call "the recipient dilemma" in anthropology. Every time we open one of these recipient perspectives, we find a situated actor. Different audiences acquire different understandings from what they see. The commonly used concept of cultural translation is somewhat misleading when one takes a closer look at what actually goes on in these processes. What we as anthropologists aim at in our dissemination of anthropological knowledge is a broadening of the recipients' metaphors. Such a broadening depends on emotional involvement.

Anthropologists often criticise anthropological films for being seductive, but this should perhaps be looked upon as a necessary element to promote a displacement of the recipient's initial horizon and at the same time be seen as the strength of the medium. It is when we manage to touch people, make them identify with the persons appearing on the screen that they learn new things. To give the audience a possibility to get in touch with real flesh-and-blood people, with their nice and not so nice sides, their pleasures, dilemmas and doubts, portrayed as complex personalities, as humans are known to be, is what we would like to strive for.

#### The informant as recipient – film as empowerment

It is an ethical and political choice to whom we choose to address our representations. By directing our representations towards Western Academia, we, at best, contribute to a more nuanced state of knowledge within Western Academia, but we do not necessarily contribute to the empowerment of our partners if they are underprivileged. The aim of bringing films back to Blangoua and Ngaoundéré in Cameroon also influences the way we edit our films. Sometimes when editing films we feel like we have the main characters of the film stand behind us in the editing room looking over our shoulders.

When Bjørn screened the film for the population in the Djilam quarter of Blangoua, the older men said that they liked the fact that he focused on their work. As they said, the film was not about nonsense, but about something important. This reflects their worry that the minds of the young generations are being infected by new ideas arriving from outside; that what they consider as the serious matters

of life are downplayed and that the young generation is too occupied with fooling around. The elders would like the young to be more occupied with work and with religion. All in all, the inhabitants of Djilam expressed a positive attitude towards the film. However, some missed the clips left out where they themselves had a prominent role. That's the way we, too, would have felt if someone had come and made a film in which we took part and afterwards rejected the clips where we were present because they did not fit with the chosen angle.

The screenings of Bjørn's film initiated, for example, discussions on how the use of the fish resources is organised in the area. Lisbet has also extended experiences from local people's reaction on her films. They have triggered new and fruitful local approaches to conflict resolution (Holtedahl 1995). Our films give us a chance to further our dialogue with the local populations in Blangoua and Ngaoundéré. Had we used written texts only, this would have been difficult. In this respect the film medium has great potentials.

# Transcending boundaries

In his essay *Transcultural Cinema*, David MacDougall (1998) claims that ethnographic films do not simply traverse cultural boundaries. They also transcend them. And in so doing, they call them into question. While cultural differences are real, they are neither immutable nor absolute. And in films, cultural similarities seem to ride effortlessly on the back of cultural differences.

This is also our last point. When Bjørn screened the film in Jøvik, where he had carried out his fieldwork for his Masters degree, a person in the audience commented that he could see similarities between the modes of living of the fishermen - in the Djilam quarter of Blangoua and in Ullsfjorden. This statement may be seen as an attempt to counterbalance the "Aren't they a bit skinny" comment, but still; when members of a farming and fishing community in Norway, in spite of large material differences, see similarities in the challenges the population of the Djilam quarter are confronted with, perhaps Bjørn has succeeded not only in attracting the Ullsfjord-fishermen's attention, but also their willingness to question their own assumptions about other people's knowledge and lives. Clearly the encounter with the filmic representation of Djilam fishermen moved this North Norwegian beyond his initial horizon.

Lisbet's film material from "A Castle in Africa" and Bjørn's film material from "The Fish Come with the Rain" will constitute the basis for future written texts, and, as we have tried to illustrate, they already represents an audience-influenced selection. The next step, the analysis and writing up for a written publication, will again be done within a frame related to an imagined future reader. Thus the craft of anthropology includes attraction of recipients and partners, readers and viewers – and the seduction work influences the process of establishing knowledge. In

this respect, the situatedness of the reader of a written anthropological text is as important as that of the spectator seeing an anthropological film. "The Third Man" might be difficult to see, but this reduces neither his presence nor his importance.

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