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Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 Stanley Tambiah (1981: 119) says ritual is ‘a culturally constructed system of symbolic communication. It is constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts, often expressed in multiple media, whose content and arrangement are characterized in varying degree by formality (conventionality), stereotypy (rigidity), condensation (fusion), and redundancy (repetition).’
- 2 A few weeks before Roy Rappaport died, he said to me on the phone, ‘Grimes, just so you know, I added the “more or less” before “invariant” for you.’ I am sure he thought the ‘more or less’ would get me off his back, since we got along well but argued about ritual variation at conferences.
- 3 This point was made by several interviewees; see (Grimes 2011a, 2011b, 2012b).
- 4 These actions and the emotions they evoke have a history; see (Høeg 2015).
- 5 Madson (2005) and Nachmanovitch (1990) are the bibles of improvisation as a way of life.
- 6 In the video ‘Making It Up as We ... Go’ (Scott-Grimes 2011), the ritual was improvised, made up on the fly in two different locations. However, Cailleah, the film-maker and my daughter, edited the films to give them structure and continuity.
- 7 For example, collective sermons at St. Lydia’s Dinner Church in Brooklyn; see (Grimes 2012f).
- 8 See Grimes (2017). For crowd estimates, see Pressman and Chenoweth (2017).
- 9 The project proposed this question, ‘Can new rituals create arenas for cross-cultural encounters, democracy and social change for the benefit of all? We are particularly interested in new forms of participatory democracy, where respect for individual differences and the need for community are negotiated in new ways’ (REDO 2013).
- 10 ‘The circle wampum is a very important belt for the Haudenosaunee. The equal strands of wampum represent the 50 chiefs. Each chief being equal and united. The one longer strand represents the people’ (Onondaga Nation 2017).
- 11 Listen to the CBC podcast ‘Tocqueville’s America Revisited’ (CBC 2017), also to ‘American Fascism: It Can’t Happen Here?’ (CBC 2016).
- 12 Graham Harvey’s (2013) edited collection has reanimated the term ‘animistic’, which can be of considerable use in discussions of open-system, species-inclusive rituals.
- 13 The source of this quotation is debated. Maybe Darwin said it, maybe not (Darwin Correspondence Project n.d.).

- 14 Also see *The Sunflower Forest* (Jordan III 2003), which is about ecological restoration, ritual and the new communion with nature.
- 15 Philip Deering and others associated with Native Immigrant (<http://www.nativeimmigrant.com/>) are currently in an email discussion at precisely this convergence point.
- 16 Michael Houseman (2016) provides some astute observations about the contrived, awkward nature of New Age and Contemporary Pagan rituals.
- 17 'In general, DNA polymerases are highly accurate, with an intrinsic error rate of less than one mistake for every 107 nucleotides added. In addition, some DNA polymerases also have proofreading ability; they can remove nucleotides from the end of a growing strand in order to correct mismatched bases. Finally, post-replication mismatch repair mechanisms monitor the DNA for errors, being capable of distinguishing mismatches in the newly synthesized DNA strand from the original strand sequence. Together, these three discrimination steps enable replication fidelity of less than one mistake for every 109 nucleotides added' (Wikipedia 2017).
- 18 One of the most compelling arguments about the creativity of deviations and mistakes is Radiolab's podcast, 'There and Back Again' (2019).

Chapter 2

- 1 As with most of his other neologisms, *différance*, Derrida suggests, was born of necessity, a response to the inadequacy of the verb *différer* (to differ), which connotes only spatial but not temporal difference. The 'a' in *différance* thus indicates a deferral, 'by means of delay, delegation, reprieve, referral, detour, postponement, reserving', positioning the neologism *différance* at the intersection of the spatial and temporal sense of the verb *différer*, that is, 'to differ' and to 'defer' (Kamuf in Derrida 1985: xii).

Chapter 3

- 1 The anti-religious communist regime that took power in Mongolia in the 1920s and carried out religious purges in the 1930s, executing numerous high-ranking lamas, secularizing others and destroying a large proportion of Mongolian monasteries (Kaplonski 2014), did not exactly follow a religiously permissive regime either. Actually, one of the reasons the communist regime cared so little about shamans when they undertook their anti-Buddhist policies is because they had already been marginalized by the Buddhist clergy, during the mass (and partly forced) conversion to the Gelugpa school from the sixteenth century onwards.

- Some Buddhist missionaries advocated the burning of shamanic artefacts stored in Mongolian households and the fining of those who kept them (Bawden 1989: 31–7). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, shamans mostly retreated to the taiga in the North and would only be found among the Buryat minorities living on both sides of the Mongolian-Russian border.
- 2 What has been implemented in the 1990s in post-socialist Mongolia is effectively a regime of ethnic discrimination whereby the majority group, the Khalkha, claimed the exclusive possession of a ‘pure Mongolian blood’ that could only be found in lesser quantity (and quality) among members of the western and northern minority groups or among the ‘hybrids’ of mixed descent (Shimamura 2014: 22–8). See Uradyn Bulag (1998) for a detailed account of this essentialist regime and its applications in post-socialist Mongolian political life.
 - 3 Although the regime of historicity set up by the People’s Republic of Mongolia during the Socialist period was indeed very selective, the idea that it amounted to a complete obliteration or even rewriting of Mongolian ‘traditions’ and ‘history’ is a misconception (Aubin 1993). See Christopher Kaplonski (2005) in particular for a convincing case against the claim that Chinggis Khan as an historical figure had been erased from Mongolian history books during the Socialist period.
 - 4 Ariuka’s particular arrangement with her mother did not last very long either. In April 2009, she stopped taking part in rituals and went to South Korea to study business and marketing. Her adoptive mother thus took it up from there, finally accomplishing the calling she had her daughter fulfil for both of them in the first place. The reason given for this transition was that Ariuka could not sustain being possessed by a spirit who was not her own biological lineage. Grandfather had to be channelled by Saraa herself. Grandmother, on the other hand, disappeared from the picture, thus depriving the ritual apparatus of one of its halves. In 2012, when I met Saraa again, her mode of ritual operation had changed once more: she had settled at the outskirts of the city, and she had reinstituted a bi-cephalous structure to her shamanic practice. Grandfather was still coming down after nightfall (he was growing more and more irascible though), but now a new spirit from her own genealogy, called ‘Queen’ (Hatan), would be summoned in the late afternoons. ‘Queen’ was at the centre of female-only rituals, where women came for more or less the same issues as those taken up to Grandmother before.
 - 5 While Mongolian shamanism, as emphasized previously, would certainly be characterized as ‘hierarchical’ by Charles Stépanoff (2019) in the dual model he proposed, the disappearance of the medium *behind* the mediation she realizes sounds more typical of what he termed ‘heterarchical’ apparatuses. As will become clear in the next section of this chapter, some ritual modalities in post-socialist Mongolian shamanism are definitely more ‘hierarchical’ than others. While Byambadorj’s rituals are indeed centred on his mediation and its visibilization through elaborated and highly signifying costumes and stagings

(one could almost say that it is the mediation, in this case, which disappears behind the mediator), several features in Ariuka's story can be likened to what Stépanoff describes as heterarchic shamanism. The prominence of Ariuka as a specialist, as we saw in the previous note, was only temporary, and the proliferation of more or less temporary shamans throughout Mongolia since the 1990s almost looks like the cases he drew on, of some Siberian populations where everybody could become a shaman in turn, for a variable yet always limited period of time. All in all, the presence of heterarchic apparatuses within the otherwise hierarchical Mongolian shamanism might be an incentive to relativize the opposition between these and perhaps take more seriously than Stépanoff did the 'exceptions' he mentions in passing (such as the Selkup) where both ritual modalities can be found simultaneously. What the Mongolian case suggests – more comparative work would be needed to substantiate this intuition – is that heterarchy and hierarchy, in varied dynamic associations, could be seen to form two indissociable components of human-organized attempts to make the invisible manifest in ritual contexts.

Chapter 4

- 1 The capitalization of terms like 'Indigenous', 'Modern' and 'Western' is deliberate and points to diverse strategic uses and does not indicate an essentialism. Because festivals rarely involve debates about what 'Indigenous' means or whether there is a defining characteristic or taxic indicator of 'Indigeneity', these important topics are not debated here. But see discussions in Hartney and Tower (2016); Johnson and Kraft (2017); and Astor-Aguilera and Harvey (2018). 'Nation States' and other terms are similarly capitalized to draw attention to their strategic deployment (not only or even primarily here) in the project of Modernity.
- 2 Support from the *Reassembling Democracy: Ritual as Cultural Resource* (REDO) project enabled me to attend the festival four times between 2011 and 2015 and to establish friendships so that I can continue discussing developments.
- 3 Support from the Open University Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences has enabled me to participate in the festival biennially since 2011 and to collaborate with the festival director and team in various events.
- 4 That is the homelands of the various Sámi populations now within Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia.
- 5 This has already been challenged in Ronald Grimes's contribution to this book.
- 6 I am grateful to Douglas Davies not only for quoting Árnason (in Davies 2017: 78) but also for a conversation in which we enthused about how thinking about dividuals enriches our work.

Chapter 5

- 1 The first quotes are from the official Biodanza website (<http://www.biodanza.org>); the last is one version of an idea often expressed on Biodanza websites and by Biodanza practitioners. Biodanza is well established in South America and Southern Europe; less so in Northern Europe, United States and elsewhere. Official teacher training schools (143 in all, eleven in France) grant diplomas recognized by the worldwide International Biocentric Foundation founded in 2003. There are at present close to 100 active Biodanza teachers in France. Spin-offs of Biodanza include Vital Development or Vitaldanza in the United Kingdom, Dansevida in Germany, Heart in Motion in Norway and Sistema Javier de la Sen and Otra Mirada in Spain.
- 2 For the social composition and patterns of participation of dance sessions, see Houseman and Mazzella di Bosco (2020).
- 3 I regularly attended weekly Biodanza sessions run by two different facilitators in Paris, one from 11 September 2014 to 2 July 2015, the other from 15 September 2014 to 13 July 2015 and from 31 August 2015 to 9 May 2016; I also participated in occasional sessions run by other facilitators and in a weekend training workshop. The names of participants have been changed, and all translations from French are mine. I would like to thank the facilitators and participants for their warm and tolerant welcome, as well as Daphna Arbell Kehila, Cath Elderton, Delphine Le Roux, Marika Moisseeff, Sarah Pike, Bambi Schieffelin and Peter Wortsman who kindly commented on previous drafts.
- 4 Musical selections, while not limited to those of the official repertoire, tend to be 'organic' compositions whose internal coherence is particularly self-evident (Dixieland marches, Latin rhythms and mid-1960 Beatles songs are especially favoured).
- 5 For the pervasiveness of weak ties in contemporary society, see Blau and Fingerman 2009. The Internet provides further evidence to this effect; as Fine has remarked, 'Chat rooms, discussion boards, networking sites, and email lists enshrine the weak tie as the essential connection of the digital age' (2012: 149).
- 6 Although not always. Tocqueville, for example, writing in 1886, uses this expression to describe the 'frozen [social] body' (1967: 153) of pre-revolutionary France composed of a multitude of small cohesive interest groups of homogenous persons thinking and acting only for themselves (*ibid.*, 176). More recently, but just as negatively, the CEO of a Danish cooperative bank has castigated a large 'sharing economy' platform like Airbnb or Uber as being 'more like a collective individualism. It organizes a lot of people, but everyone is acting on their own, for themselves' (<http://www.we-economy.net/case-stories/merkur-bank.html> (accessed 20 April 2017)).

- 7 In a later published paper (Soon and Kluver 2014), she uses the expression ‘individualized collectiveness’.
- 8 <https://superbalist.com/thewayofus/2016/12/30/butter-boyz/1065> (accessed 15 April 2017).

Chapter 6

- 1 I had been visiting Fátima regularly since 2009. In April and May 2016, I spent some weeks in Fátima, as well as on subsequent occasions from August 2016 onwards. In March 2017, I settled in Fátima with my daughter, while I did intensive fieldwork until the end of October 2017. In 2018, I made shorter visits during May and October, as well as staying for two months in July and August to undertake follow-up interviews and observe changes in the ceremonies and devotion of the inhabitants of Fátima after the celebrations of the centenary (2016–2017) were over. I had informal conversations with residents of Fátima and spoke with pilgrims from different countries in Europe, the Americas and Asia. As for my earlier research, the compilation of life stories was particularly useful for understanding the worldview and ritual practices of the pilgrims, as well as their evolution over time and their connection with the cultural and social background. I also stayed in touch with them through WhatsApp and Facebook after their arrival home to see how they described their pilgrimage experiences online, discussed it with fellow pilgrims and/or started preparations for the next pilgrimage.
- 2 For a more specific focus on embodied ritual experiences, see the special issue ‘Ritual Creativity, Emotions and the Body’ of the *Journal of Ritual Studies* 28.2 (2014), edited by Anna Fedele and Sabina Magliocco.
- 3 (‘Portugal: High and Rising Emigration in a Context of High, but Decreasing, Unemployment’ n.d.). <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/article/2016/portugal-high-and-rising-emigration-in-a-context-of-high-but-decreasing-unemployment> (accessed 29 July 2019).
- 4 The intertwining of Salazarian as well as anti-communist politics and religion in the case of Fátima is particularly evident and has already been analysed by historians and anthropologists (e.g. Zimdars-Swartz 1991; Christian 1996; Scheer 2006). It is not my aim to underplay this dimension, but in the context of my analysis and based on the pilgrims’ accounts, this dimension is not of primary importance here.
- 5 In Portugal, as well as in other Southern European countries, the Scout Movement is strongly related to Catholicism. In Portugal the Scouts are involved in all the most important celebrations in Fátima helping to care for the pilgrims during their walk as well as during the crowded masses.

- 6 David Soares's research activities were part of the research project funded by FCT (IF/01063/2014/CP1233/CT0001) (2015–2020). Rita and her group knew about his participation in the project I coordinated and the pilgrims David interviewed all gave their written consent.
- 7 I cannot describe in detail the ritual of the guardian angel, suffice it to say that during the journey every pilgrim was randomly assigned one person she had to protect, care for and even pamper in a concrete but also discrete way, keeping her role as a guardian angel secret. Only at the end of the pilgrimage the pilgrims discovered who their guardian angel was. This ritual helped to strengthen the relationships among the pilgrims, especially among those who did not know each other before the pilgrimage.

Chapter 7

- 1 Other than on stage, religious symbols are used to advertise Antakya as an interreligious tourist destination. They can be seen on the brochures and posters. In some cases, visual icons of religious symbols indicate and reflect upon the religious diversity in Antakya. The choir has a considerable amount of promotional material that was produced with the support of local Turkish businesses and local television stations and recording studios. The members of the choir even selectively distribute CDs and DVDs that are intended as personal gifts.

Chapter 8

- 1 In addition to Breivik's own texts and the transcript from his court case in spring 2012, primary data for this chapter are based on participant observation and from regular attendance of his trial. Additional data are drawn from informal conversations with other participants, from footage, film clips and news reports, as well as notes from the multi-workshop in 2014.
- 2 Hybrid religious imageries à la Breivik are common in the Radical right movements in Europe and North America. Spirituality is not rejected but annexed in the name of 'natural religion'. Yet, what kind of religion is 'natural,' and how does religion support Radical right politics? Editorials in the journal *Telos* regard the joining of the 'spirit' of Christianity with the 'spirit' of Paganism as a specific European, cultural heritage. French New Right philosopher Alain de Benoist disagrees. In *On Being a Pagan* (2004), he argues that a revival of 'high' Paganism must be the sole and supreme organizing social principle for a future European empire of federal (fascist) states. The Russian New Right thinker Aleksandr Dugin (2012) identifies with Russian Orthodox Christianity, which he regards as 'a natural religion' to

Eurasia. Orthodox Christianity is not a foreign religion but claimed to have developed historically in his homeland in conjunction with a specific pre-Christian, Russian local (Pagan) culture. Greg Johnson (2013, 2017), PhD and former adjunct professor of Pacific School of Religion at GTU, Berkeley, now publisher of the Radical right Counter-Currents publishing house, agrees that the religious options available to white nationalists are Christianity and reconstructed Paganism. He believes that both traditions are the true religious heritage to people of European descent.

- 3 Nevertheless, Breivik named the weapons he used at Utøya after the gods of Norse mythology. He called his pistol *Mjolnir*, after Thor's magic hammer, and his gun *Gugne*, which is Odin's magical spear of eternal return. These names were also carved onto the actual gun and pistol with Rune letters. The same holds for the car he used to Utøya. Breivik named his vehicle *Sleipner*, which is the Old Norse label for Thor's wagon as he roars across the worlds, throws Mjolnir at random and creates thunderstorms and fears of *Ragnarok* – the final cosmic battle and the end of life as we know it. Cf. Gardell (2003) for more on Odinism and gods of the blood.
- 4 <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/q55qe/breivik-med-ny-hoeyreekstrem-hilsen-eksperter-markerer-at-han-naa-er-nazist>.
- 5 Cf. Griffin (2000). To claim a (religious) worldview is in fact an indication of having a meta-political project.
- 6 Mouffe (2002: 62). I was first made aware of this fact by Katinka H. Grane when reading her BA thesis in international relations, 'Liberalism, democracy and populist right in Hungary' (University of Oslo, spring 2019).
- 7 I presented this argument in a paper session at the *Nordic Conference on Violent Extremism*, hosted by C-REX – Center for Research on Extremism, University of Oslo, 29–30 November 2018.
- 8 Cf. Høeg (2015) and Døving (2017) for more on Ocean of Roses.
- 9 Different terms were used about these responses in the streets. The gatherings in Oslo were called *Rosehav* (*Ocean of roses*), *Blomsterhav* (*Ocean of flowers*) and *Rosetog* (*Rose march*). The Norwegian *Artistic Plan for Memorials after 22 July* (Kunstplan for Minnested er etter 22 juli (KORO)) used *Blomsterhavet* for the experience in Oslo, cf. <https://koro.no/content/uploads/2015/12/Minnesteder-Kunstplan.pdf>. The Norwegian Language Council found that the most popular term in Norway in 2011 was *Rosetoget*, cf. <https://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/hva-skjer/Aktuelt-ord/Rosetog-er-arets-ord/>. This term was related to the Facebook event 'the torch march', planned to take place all over Norway, Monday 25 July, to protest Breivik's terror in terms of 'counter-acts'. Because of summer heat and fire danger, torches were in most places exchanged with flowers, which thus dominated 'the march' (denoting walking as in demonstrations or rallies). In Oslo there was no 'march' since too many people showed up – it became practically impossible. The flowers and roses, put on the ground, took on a sense of an independent ocean

- of flowers and was therefore an expression solely used in Oslo. It referred to the material shape of the ritual objects put on the ground and how ‘it moved’. Tellingly, on 28 September 2019, a national memorial named *Iron Roses* was unveiled outside Oslo Cathedral.
- 10 Seligman (2009: 1077) concludes that generative ritual is not focused on belief and is inherently non-discursive. Ritual does of course create its own world of meaning, but whatever its semantic contents turn out to be, it is still far secondary to its subjunctive creation.
 - 11 Cf. the memorial *Terra Incognita* in Trondheim, which was elected in dialogue with citizen votes. A huge white uneven circle-stone embraces a water pool with seventy-seven lights, one for each of the victims. It was designed by artists Anders Krüger and Marianne Levinsen and inaugurated in 2016. The original national plan for a memorial (*Memory Wound*, by Swedish architect Jonas Dahlberg) close to Utøya, as well as near the government building, was in the end cancelled due to massive protests against its ‘realist design’ of cutting a rock cliff into two as a metonymical sign of the 22 July killing. A temporary memorial was finally unveiled outside the bombed government building 22 July 2017. It consists of a pierced wall of stone and glass with all the victims’ names, both the dead and the survivors. Cf. *Kunstplan for Minnested er etter 22 juli*. <https://koro.no/content/uploads/2015/12/Minnesteder-Kunstplan.pdf> (accessed 29 June 2020).
 - 12 Altogether thirty people participated in this experiment. A majority were female college students. Some of them were recruited through the University of Oslo and also assisted us with practical preparations.
 - 13 Cf. Koro’s (2013) QuestBack Survey and the word-cloud figuring the dimensions of peoples’ associations with 22 July (p. 47). <https://koro.no/content/uploads/2015/12/Minnesteder-Kunstplan.pdf> (accessed 29 June 2020).
 - 14 The main results of Anker and Lippe’s research in Norwegian schools were already known at this point (published in 2015). See Anker and Lippe (2015) and (2018).
 - 15 3RW Architects, <https://www.archdaily.com/770709/the-clearing-memorial-at-utoya-3rw-arkitekter> (accessed 29 June 2020).
 - 16 Cf. Amelia Taylor-Hochberg, “‘The Clearing’, memorial to Norway’s July 22 attacks, opens on the tragedy’s fourth anniversary”, *Archinect News* (22 July 2015), online at <https://archinect.com/news/article/132497273> (accessed 29 June 2020); see also <http://www.utoya.no/minnested> (accessed 29 June 2020).
 - 17 Thanks to Irene Kiebert for generous help with proofreading the text.

Chapter 9

- 1 The statistics from 1 January 2018 comprise immigrants (14.1) and Norwegian-born children with immigrant parents (3.2). The statistics from 2011 were slightly lower, with 12.2 per cent immigrants (Statistics Norway).

- 2 The annual survey on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, conducted by Statistics Norway, reports that Norwegians have tended to become more positive. In 2014, various indicators showed the highest score since the questions were first posted in 2002. Adults between twenty-five and forty-four years have the most accepting attitudes and young people (16–24) are more tolerant in areas such as acceptance of inter-ethnic marriage and rejection of demands for assimilation (Blom 2014: 30).
- 3 In 2018, 166,861 Muslims in Norway were affiliated with a Muslim community which received government grants, while in 2011, this figure was 106,735.
- 4 The number of Muslims at the beginning of 2016 was estimated at between 148,000 and 250,000, between 2.8 and 4.8 per cent of the population. Researchers at Statistics Norway, Lars Østby and Anne Berit Dalgard find that the best but still uncertain estimate of the number of Muslims to be 200,000, or close to 4 per cent of the population (Østby and Dalgard 2017).
- 5 This means a Muslim undertaker (for Mona and Bano), and Christian (Bano, Rafal) and Muslim faith communities (Mona, Bano, Rafal), the Labour Party (Rafal, Mona, Bano) and the local authority (Rafal).
- 6 For Bano the memorial assembly was held in the local upper secondary school and for Mona at the local community centre.
- 7 Rolf Kjøde in the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society, *Normisjon*, made some critical remarks about the funeral in an editorial printed in the Christian newspaper *Vårt Land*, 5 September 2011. Kjøde asks if the church is of the opinion that it is proper to mix Christian and Muslim funeral rites and beliefs when it comes to death (2011: 20).

Chapter 10

- 1 See Kaufmann and Gonzalez (2019) for a discussion of the institutionalized and uninstitutionalized nature of emotionally affecting events.
- 2 See, for example, Gorer (1955, 1965); Kübler-Ross (1969); Vovelle (1974, 1983); Thomas (1975); Aries (1975); Ziegler (1975); Morin (1976); Elias (1998); Dechaux (2001); Memmi (2011).
- 3 See, for example, Pouchelle (2003, 2008); Godeau (2007); Moisseff (2013a, 2013b, 2016b).
- 4 For a paradigmatic example, see Bloch (1982).
- 5 For an overview of present-day mortuary practices among Aboriginal Australians, see Glaskin et al. (2008).
- 6 See also Tonkinson (2008). For a similar analysis regarding Amazonian Amerindians, see Allard (2013).
- 7 See Schieffelin (1976); Feld (1982); Munn (1995).

- 8 Based on observations made in 1996. For a more detailed description of the end of mourning among the Beti, see Laburthe-Tolra (1985).

Chapter 11

- 1 The use of film as a non-Indigenous art form to tell Indigenous stories is a common point raised in discussions of Indigenous movies, although these discussions typically do not touch on the ways in which this usage is tied to the films' potential to help heal colonial trauma. See, for example, Columpar (2010); Pearson and Knabe (2015); Schweninger (2013); Wood (2008). In her discussion of self-representation in Indigenous television productions in Canada and Australia, however, Faye D. Ginsburg (2002) does raise points similar to those of Episkenew and Singer. She states, for instance, that 'indigenous people are using screen media not to mask but to recuperate their own collective stories and histories – some of them traumatic – that have been erased in the national narratives of the dominant culture and are in danger of being forgotten within local worlds as well' (40). For her part, Jane Mills (2018) ventures near the notion of film-as-medicine by considering the outward-facing side of Indigenous Australian cinema. She contends that much of this work employs Hollywood genres and tropes precisely as a way of critiquing the dominant culture in certain respects: 'In discussing some of the ways in which First Nation cinema is in dialogue with American cinema, specifically Hollywood, I argue that cultural hybridization lies at its heart: it questions the norms and knowledges of any culture presented as discrete, whole and separate' (83).
- 2 For a discussion of an Indigenous film and hybridity that is more in line with Bhabha's conceptions, see Thornley (2015).
- 3 For an examination of similarities and differences between *Mahana* and *Bulibasha*, see Fox (2017: 203–15).
- 4 For a further discussion of the links between *Mahana* and Hollywood westerns, see Fox (2017: 208–10). In contrast to my own understanding of the film, Fox does in fact see *Mahana* as a simple morality play – and is critical of the film on this basis. He finds Ihimaera's original novel more satisfyingly complex.
- 5 In his examination of *Mahana*, Fox (2017) discusses the characters' adoption of colonial behaviours and interests (203–4, 212–13). This discussion does not concern the ways in which the Māori integration of settler culture functions to either help heal Indigenous communities or critique colonialism. Instead, Fox is mainly interested in thinking about 'cultural hybridity' as an indication 'of a culture in the process of change' (203).
- 6 The press kit for *Mahana* explains that the film-makers took great care not simply to make Ramona's *moko kauae* culturally and historically accurate, but

also acceptable to the community from which it was drawn: ‘The *moko* was researched by the film’s *kaumatua* (elder) Haare Williams and designed by *tā moko* (tattoo) artist Inia Taylor For [Nancy] Brunning [the actress who plays Ramona], the process around creating and wearing the *moko* was important because of conventions prohibiting the wearing of *moko* from another family. “I was a bit worried about where it was coming from but Haare Williams referenced it to an East Coast ancestor and Inia Taylor did a variation, which meant it is connected to the Coast but given to me with permission from some of the *whānau* from that area. And before they put it on me, Haare did a *karakia* (prayer) just to make sure all that transference was OK. Everything seemed to fit really nicely for Ramona, so I was feeling quite safe on set and during the process” (Wild Bunch 2016: 9).

- 7 Ihimaera has said that Simeon’s experience at the court is autobiographical: ‘That scene is exactly as it happened. I was with a school group and at the end of it I was asked to give a speech of thanks to the judge. My life changed in that courtroom. I realised that justice is not always equal and from that point onwards my political path as a Māori writer was forever sealed’ (Wild Bunch 2016: 5).
- 8 As Graham Harvey mentioned in his comments to me on a draft of this chapter, it is perhaps not coincidental that Tamahori concludes *Mahana* with a reference to *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*. This is a film that is commonly seen as referencing American Cold War concerns about being overtaken by communists. In this respect, it reflects a long-standing anxiety of colonial powers about being colonized themselves: ‘Like H. G. Wells’s *War of the Worlds* (1898), [*Invasion of the Body Snatchers*] is a horror story about colonisation coming home to roost’ (Grant 2010: 22). In the context of the final scene in *Mahana*, the allusion to *Body Snatchers* may be Tamahori’s tongue-in-cheek way of suggesting that, in some ways, Indigenous people are the new invaders, stealthily taking over and remaking colonial art forms (like film-making) from within. In a recent interview regarding his amazing Indigenous zombie film *Blood Quantum* (2019) – which just had its world premiere at TIFF – Mi’kmaq film-maker Jeff Barnaby makes a similar comment: ‘I take tropes from popcorn films and put them in my work to dress up subversive ideas in a way that makes them palatable. My films are Trojan horses for ideas that non-Natives wouldn’t normally engage in’ (Simonpillai 2019).
- 9 Between approximately 1905 and 1967, Australian government and church officials took Aboriginal children away from their families in order to raise them in a ‘civilized’ way. Records were typically not kept, so that when these children grew up they had no way of knowing who their parents were or the location of their true homes. For more information, on the ‘Stolen Generations’, see Read (2006).
- 10 For a discussion of how Sen uses genre (including the western) in his films, see Rutherford (2019: 79–83).

- 11 Film noir is notoriously tricky to define. One helpful, classic attempt is offered by Foster Hirsch (1981). For further considerations of *Goldstone* and 'outback noir', see Dolgoplov (2016); McDonald (2016).
- 12 Houston Wood (2008) similarly states: 'Some Indigenous people have seen dozens, occasionally even hundreds of films, presenting their culture through the distorting perspectives of outsiders. Many Native film-makers thus make films that explicitly aim at countering the effect that these earlier misrepresentations have had on their own Indigenous, as well as on non-Indigenous, audiences' (73). See also Ginsburg (2002); Columpar (2010: 32); Schweninger (2013: 1–4); and Blackmore (2015: 63–4).
- 13 Faye D. Ginsburg (2002) makes a similar point regarding Indigenous-controlled television production in Canada and Australia (44, 51).
- 14 For discussions of the ways in which Indigenous control of various forms of modern/colonial media (including television, internet and newspapers) can have positive social and political effects, see Avison and Meadows (2000); Ginsburg (2002); Baltruschat (2004); Landzelius (2006); and Budka (2009).