Native American Films as a Means of Resistance Against White American Stereotypes

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Films as a Medium of Contemporary Politics

Duncombe and Bleiker (2015) wrote a very interesting chapter entitled “Popular Culture and Political Identity”\(^1\) which shows the film's strategic position in the development of political narratives in society. The beginning of this chapter shows how ISIS made a video beheading prisoners to show their hatred for America. The video, which was made in a cinematic manner, succeeded in creating terror in the global community and it did not take long for Western governments to be able to launch attacks to demolish ISIS to the end. The role of pop culture used by ISIS clearly shows how strategically popular culture is used as a medium of resistance and political media.

This chapter attempts to explain how popular culture is not only inseparable from politics, but also supports one another in building and distributing narratives. Popular culture can create a political identity where we can finally determine who ‘we’ are and who the 'others’ are. Contrary to popular beliefs that popular culture is an escapism platform from the exhausting political frenzy, it actually has such great political strength due to its closeness to the society’s consumerist culture.

Popular culture is able to strengthen one's political identity because it is not uncommon for popular culture to be supported by political leaders at the time to create a sense of national unity through entertaining media. Popular culture is also not necessarily considered as a unifying medium for a nation and then becomes a slave to the authorities. Because popular culture often criticizes and questions the truth of a big authority like the state, for example. Martinez, T.A.(1997) explains how rap music is a tool of Black resistance against various forms of racism and oppression from the police who often treat Black people discriminatively and also treat excessive violence to the point of causing death.\(^2\)

In the context of creating a spirit of nationalism and unity, this chapter tries to see cases where film and television as media have succeeded in instilling values to the people who consume it. As an example for this chapter, the role of Captain America as a superhero from America managed to create a wave of vague nationalism through the symbolism of this character. Captain America wears a costume that represents the American flag and the attitude he shows is a general reflection of American society which is always honest and brave. Hollywood as a producer of television programs and films has succeeded in using popular culture to be able to define and bind the values of togetherness and

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\(^1\) Caso and Hamilton. (2015). *Popular Culture and World Politics: Theories, Methods, Pedagogies*. E-International Relations. Bristol, UK.

nationalism in a pleasant manner to the people of America or even the world. Ida Rochani Adi (2018)\(^3\) explains this concept with the example of the film "Rocky", in which Rocky won a landslide victory against Drago who was supported by various boxing training technologies by the Soviets. This film was launched in 1985 before the collapse of the Soviet Union and shows how America is represented as a super power country.

The boomerang experienced by the government from the existence of popular culture is how popular culture itself then questions every action taken by the state so far, whether it is right or wrong. Several films such as the Bourne Trilogy (2002-2016) and Zero Dark Thirty (2012) then question their identity as a nation, a matter of pride in being citizens because the country they live in has many problems that directly involve them as characters in the film. The "heroes" in these films are shown not as optimistic, honest, and courageous characters like Captain America. The main characters are depicted as characters who are depressed and filled with fear due to the many events that have happened to them. In this context, they question America's position, which creates problems rather than solutions to their lives or in the global realm. So in a nutshell we can see that popular culture can ignite the spirit of nationalism to love the country and at the same time has the capability to ignite people's skepticism about government chaos which has turned out to be not good. Sarah R. Nielsen (2021)\(^4\), provides an example through music that the resistance and love of the American people can be seen clearly. He gave an example of a fragment of the song from the band The Killers entitled "Land of the Free" which reads "And we got more people locked up than the rest of the world right here in the red, white and blue." This song criticizes the high level of imprisonment rate, especially against minorities. there is still a form of racial superiority that causes oppression and repression against other people. "My Country 'tis of Thee", a song by Samuel Francis Smith which glorifies patriotism in America which reads "Long may our land be bright, With freedom's holy light" is another example that Sarah takes. This is strong evidence that the use of pop culture can be used as a vehicle for resistance or as a vehicle for hegemony.

Popular culture is then also used by non-Western nations to create counter-narratives by changing the roles that have been created by Western nations. In Turkey, a film was made in which a Turkish spy agency successfully resisted the violence perpetrated by American authorities and made the Turkish spy a hero and the American authorities a defeated villain. In the Bollywood film, KuchKuchHota Hai (1998), all forms of romantic comedy film formulas are used in this film to show how India has developed into a modern country that creates a modern entertainment industry as well, but this film also continues to insert the original culture of India as a form of identity power they do not want to erase from their nation.

As an opening, we can see how popular culture can be used in such a way as to maintain or even create a sense of pride and love for the nation in order to create political stability in a country. However, the power of popular culture is also shown by how they can strongly attack the stability of a nation with various opposing opinions that they have. Popular culture focuses on the visual products they create and how these products can generate a big and quick reaction to whoever consumes them.


Native American and White American Stereotypes

Merskin defines the concept of stereotype as "a belief in a group in general and is reductionist in nature, in the end the view of each member of the group becomes the same." Stereotypes become so important, because the group with so much power over the culture at the time can create stereotypes as a tool to suppress those who were considered as the opposition. Not infrequently also with this stereotype, the line between their group and the opposition becomes stronger to be able to maintain their hegemony as rulers. In this context we can see how the Americans as a colony used this stereotyped narrative to humiliate Native Americans in order to maintain their culture as a way of life that they considered right and proper. With the bad and scary image that America has regarding Native American people, the white American community has a common "enemy" to fight and finally has a strong sense of unity to protect each other.

Continuing Merskin, Oboler defines stereotypes as the compartmentalization of an individual in a misrepresentation and is believed by many people, so that this depiction becomes something undisputed. In my interpretation, Oboler sees stereotypes as efforts to provide facticity about certain individuals or groups in a negative context, where stereotypes are embedded by one party and the other party cannot fight the context that has been pinned on them. Then in this context, we can see the stereotype of giving psychological satisfaction to the American people because there are things that differentiate them from Native Americans which they label uncivilized or savages.

In Burcham's thesis on Native American postmodern representation in film, he sees that the defeat of General Custer is the main driver of the creation of Native American stereotypes for the next hundreds of years in the context of paintings, radio broadcasts, films, television shows, whose products direct the narrative that Native Americans are uncivilized people who have a super-objective (borrowing a concept from Konstantin Stanislavski about the main goal of theatrical characters) to destroy the presence of white Americans everywhere. This is similar to the context when we see or hear news or media products that carry the narrative of the 9/11 tragedy, the possibility of stereotypes about Muslims and terrorists becoming stuck in our heads. During the Custer era, Americans were always reminded of the brutality of Native Americans by slaughtering American troops in the final battle of Custer. This portrayal reinforces the murderous and brutal character of Native Americans and unfortunately becomes permanent in the context of American culture by becoming a myth as well as a romanticization of the past.

The news coverage at that time described how brutal Native Americans were by massacring whites, including killing Custer, even though on the ground this did not exactly happen as reported. A businessman, Adolphus Busch, purchased a chromolithograph by Cassily Adam depicting Native Americans as a hideously violent group for $35,000 in 1892. In this depiction, there is an unequal battle

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7 There are Objective and Super-Objective, where the Objective is what a character does and the Super-Objective is the main motivation why the character does that. See “An Actor Prepares” by Konstantin Stanislavski 1936.

by showing Native Americans slaughtering white soldiers, and there is a side of heroism with one American soldier who stabbed a Native American. Native Americans did not "win" the battle, because basically their group was slaughtered by Custer starting from men, women, old people, even children in "The Little Big Horn." However, because media coverage is so biased, it is this image that will last, making it difficult for Native American culture to enter white culture and vice versa. This chromolithograph later became very famous because it was used as a promotional tool for Budweiser beer at that time. With this kind of depiction, white American hatred was born for Native Americans who were considered to have killed many soldiers and white people in that event.

Native American Stereotypes in the American Film Industry

Brian Young, a Navajo who worked as an actor, wrote an article about the history of Native American discrimination in Hollywood for Time Magazine entitled "Why I Won't Wear War Paint and Feathers in a Movie Again." He began his story in 1883, where the journey of Native American performances of Buffalo Bill began being held. This show featured Native Americans who they had managed to "tame" and played in rodeo shows, various acts that felt authentic such as living in skin tents, hunting bison, skinning enemies, and various other uncivilized acts were perpetuated in this traveling play.

Not infrequently, these Native Americans are forced to play various plays that depict their defeat in their own land, like Wounded Knee. Ironically, this show often depicts the defeat of Native Americans against white colonials who always lose badly, but the Native Americans who play it also have no other way because this is a source of income to provide for their families. In 1913, a white director, Thomas Ince, got a Native American who had been a traveling show regular to play at his film production studio in Santa Ynez Canyon near Santa Monica, California. Ince also recruited several Sioux people from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. However, they were treated like a commodity, when they were not used by Ince, they were loaned out to other directors.

Throughout this decade, white directors such as Ince, Cecil B. DeMille, and D.W. Griffith made stories that became key stories for Hollywood by taking many influences from the Wild West. In Griffith's Battle of Elderbush Gulch in 1913, Native Americans were portrayed as uncivilized people and threw annual dog feasts before invading white lands. Stories about defeating Native American tribes were so successful and popular that Hollywood started producing films like these. In the Western context, the white Cowboy is a symbol of a shining future, while Native Americans are a dim past. Cowboys are portrayed as logical and civilized people, while Native Americans are irrational and uncivilized people.

Even though these films included a lot of Native American stereotypes, making a living to make ends meet in the film industry was extremely difficult for Native Americans. Many of them later left post-World War II reservations and worked in Los Angeles to become actors. Rosenthal writes about an irony that occurs when the Tribal Chief as the main character and also the highest honorary opinion is actually filled by white Americans while Native Americans are placed in the background and then given lower wages than other supporting actors. The context of intersectionality can be seen in the inequality of pay and also the placement of characters in films for Native Americans. Even today, according to Native American director and head of the Cherokee Nation Film Office, Jennifer Loren, said that the

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9. https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_326129
representation of Native Americans in film and television is still below 1% and to be able to make authentic films about natives is still difficult in terms of funding.  

**Artists Resist!**

In 1926, several Native American actors founded the War Paint Club, to provide support to Native American actors seeking work in L.A. and to encourage filmmakers to cast them in the role of “Chief”. The War Paint Club also demanded that film companies pay Native American actors the same rate as white American actors. They organize public demonstrations in hopes of dispelling the negative stereotypes perpetuated by Westerners.

The War Paint Club grew into the Indian Actors Association in 1936, headed by Luther Standing Bear, William Eagle Shirt, and Richard Thunderbird. This was later absorbed into the Screen Actors Guild in the early 1940’s. The struggle of Native American artists continues to gain support even from great white artists like Marlon Brando who uses the historical moment of the Oscars as a means of conveying aspirations for culturally oppressed Native Americans. On the eve of the 45th Oscars 1972, Brando announced that he would boycott the ceremony, and would send Native American actress and activist SacheenLittlefeather to take his place to address the podium. After Brando's name was announced as Best Actor, presenter Roger Moore (the main character in several James Bond films) tried to hand over the Oscar to Littlefeather, but he raised his hand to refuse, then said that Brando could not accept the award. Littlefeather then read parts of Brando's lengthy statement, the whole of which was later published in the media, including The New York Times.

...the motion picture community has been as responsible as any for degrading the Indian and making a mockery of his character, describing him as savage, hostile and evil. It's hard enough for children to grow up in this world. When Indian children watch television, and they watch films, and when they see their race depicted as they are in films, their minds become injured in ways we can never know.  

SacheenLittlefeather, refused an Oscar for Marlon Brando in front of millions of viewers. On behalf of Brando, she used the opportunity to make political statements denouncing Native American stereotypes in films and television programs, and to support the activists of the American Indian Movement at Wounded Knee where on December 29, 1890 the United States Army massacred 300 native Lakota. Some audience members booed, but others in the audience found it inspiring even years after that moment. As a result of his heroics, Littlefeather says she was blacklisted in Hollywood after her speech, but later received support from civil rights figures such as the widow of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Coretta Scott King, who thanked her for the movement. Since then, Littlefeather has taught at university, been involved with film projects such as "Reel Injun," a 2009 documentary exploring how Native Americans are portrayed in Hollywood, and has continued her activism.

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Shift in Portrayals of Native Americans in the Entertainment Industry

During the American Indian Movement of the 60’s and 70’s, Wes Studi broadcast the events of the Wounded Knee occupation through these television channels, and viewers across the United States can now better understand how Native Americans lived on the reservation. At the same time, changes began to be seen in Native American stereotypes that evolved from uncivilized violent humans to victims of romanticism trapped in facticity due to discourses that had been attached to their ethnicity for hundreds of years and the "exoticism" and activism trends emerge that support native Americans. We can see from the bloodthirsty and brutal Geronimo in *Stagecoach* (1939) to the focused Geronimo saving his tribe in *Geronimo* (1963).

However, in order to see how Native American and white American artists struggle in suppressing stereotypes and also wanting to make works that are considered authentic to the Native Americans themselves, the author will give an example of a film that is considered a monumental film because of the involvement of Native Americans in making this film that is so large and focused, *Smoke Signals* (1998) becomes a monumental work that tells the story of Viktor and Thomas, two characters who struggle to find their identity through various their daily problems as youths and of course as Native Americans in America.

*Smoke Signals* represents a major advancement for Native Americans because it finally provides a form of representation as well as an intellectual platform for people to learn about Native Americans. “*Smoke Signals* is like the victory song that Native Americans look forward to and love,” said director Eyre. This film represents a turning point for Native Americans in cinema. *Smoke Signals* seemed to be a solution for telling Native American stories, because with the mainstream film industry being so complicated, Native Americans had to come up with their own stories. Smoke Signals revolutionizes the Native Americans' past and then frees them from the stereotypes that have always stuck with them; Victor and Thomas as the main characters stand out as part of modern American society. The production of this Indie film was not driven or possibly contaminated with white narratives, as Eyre and Alexie (*Screenplay*) became the curators of the new Native American narrative. For the first time, Native Americans are telling Native American stories.

Furthermore, *Smoke Signals* avoids the conflict between Native Americans and non-Native Americans, and instead focuses on Victor's inner turmoil with his family, especially his father. This film is enjoyable for both Native Americans and non-Indigenous people because this film tells about authentic and universal human problems. “For me this film is a revolutionary moment,” said Alexie. *Smoke Signals* succeeds in bringing a narrative of inclusiveness and peace to Native Americans and non-Indigenous people, while helping the Native American community take its representation back to modern times and forget the evil stereotypes that have been attached.15

Cobb (2003) succinctly describes the urgency of this film by saying, *Smoke Signals* is very significant because it is the first feature film written, acted, directed, and co-produced by Native Americans. So this proves that films made by Native Americans can be properly accepted commercially, this is also important because *Smoke Signals* forces the audience to review Hollywood stereotypes about

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Native Americans and most importantly, this film is a strategic medium for Native Americans to tell stories. themselves. This film clearly shows the concept of Native Americans as American citizens, Native Americans as Native Americans, and most importantly Native Americans as complex whole human beings.16

Progressively, the dynamic between white and Native American filmmakers and vice versa began to improve. Filmmakers or entertainment creators are starting to include Native Americans and also focus on the problems Native Americans face in their audio visual products. In 2017, Taylor Sheridan, a white director, made a film called “Wind River” and all Native American roles were played by Native Americans, because for him “What's so hard about casting Native Americans to play in movies they should be in?”17

Film Awards To Native Americans
In its journey, Native Americans in the context of film art began to receive affirmation and appreciation with several awards for the hard work and works that had been issued by Native Americans. Saginaw Grant, a Native American actor, won the lifetime achievement award at the 2014 Oceanside International Film Festival in Australia. In 2013, Saginaw played Chief Big Bear in the film The Lone Ranger which also starred Johnny Depp. Saginaw has also played in major series such as Breaking Bad and also Baywatch where Native Americans have the capability and integrity as a filmmaker.18

An Indigenous from Cree Nation, Sainte-Marie, an artist and activist uses song to fight back. Sainte-Marie apart from releasing her own social justice-themed protest songs, she also writes music for other people she wants to make songs for. In 1982, the co-writing product for the song "Up Where We Belong" from the film An Officer and a Gentleman, won an Academy-Award and a Golden Globe for Best Original Song.19 Even though she is a Canadian citizen, from this achievement, Saint-Marie later said that "I am the only Indigenous person who has ever won an Oscar."20

Native American Films As Virtual Reservations
Rajeha (2010), said that Native American intellectuals' resistance by making films that try to fight against stereotypes of white Americans are an attempt to build a reservation for Native Americans, which is not in general a material reservation but a virtual reservation. As an imaginative site for individual critical thinking, virtual reservations function as a space to challenge pre-existing stereotypes while also articulating a new model of Native American knowledge through visual culture. Unlike Jean Baudrillard's notion of the virtual as simulacra, fake, and surrogate of what is "real," virtual reservations are additional arenas of contingencies that then initiate and maintain dialectical relationships between the various layers of Native American knowledge systems — from the dream world to the topography.

real and imaginary world. Virtual reservation does not then reject reality or substitute for the material world, but creates a dialogue between these worlds. This concept helps us see things in the material world in different dimensions, thus enhancing our understanding of on-line and virtual communities as well as off-line and off-screen communities.\footnote{Raheja, M.H. (2010). Reservation reelism: Redfacing, visual sovereignty, and representations of native Americans in film. Manufactured in the United States of America. Page 9 and154.}

Referring to Duncombe and Bleiker's argument at the beginning of this article, we can see that film as a medium for symbolic and intellectual oppression and violence can then be studied and used to fight back against majority opinion as well as an effort to strengthen the cultural foundations of Native Americans. We need to see the production of the film Smoke Signals as an effort to build a virtual reservation that can be accessed and used as a school for every Native American to be able to maintain the cultural roots of his nation, and moreover not only for education for white Americans but for the writer is learning for the Native Americans. themselves so they don't end up becoming consumers of the evil stereotypes that have been pinned on them.

Smoke Signals is deservedly and appropriately called a virtual reservation for Native Americans. The Native American narratives are neatly tucked in to keep up with the times and do not seem imposing or even preaching, like most films that are intended for education. The concept of this virtual reservation becomes so egalitarian when this product can reach individuals universally. In Rajeha’s context, Smoke Signals is also included in the concept of virtual sovereignty, where Native Americans can make a product from them for them and the product can represent their group as a whole and not be interfered with by capitalistic matters that can shift the main meaning that you want to present by filmmakers, their sovereignty as an artist and a cultural activist becomes intact.

However, the problem for the writers with these two things is that artistic freedom and representation can be pinned on Smoke Signals because the production of this film is still indie. It is clear that the freedom of filmmakers can be maintained without pressing for the message of investors to film products. Even though Smoke Signals is a film that is considered a pioneer of pure Native American films, the income of this film is not very impressive, which can be seen on the other hand that the audience's interest in the film is not that big in the market, where efforts to spread awareness to the public are not as accessible as that the filmmakers wanted.

This product of resistance can be problematic when compared to mainstream films. The strong context of whitewashing and the stereotypes of native American exoticism can make the representation and equality that have been fought for weak again. The author takes an example out of Windtalkers(2002), which tells the story of Private Ben Yahzee, a Native American who was deployed against Japan in World War II, and became a cipher expert because the cipher at that time used the Native American language which was then difficult for the enemy to crack. Even though Yahzee is in the spotlight and he survives the war and at the end of the film he performs a Native American ceremony to pray, the star in this film is Sergeant Joe Enders, played by Nicolas Cage. In this film there is also a scene where Yahzee is asked to disguise himself by Enders as a Japanese soldier for reasons as simple as Yahzee and the Japanese soldier's faces are considered similar (which the author finds offensive), even though according to the writer Yahzee is actually used as a living shield when Japan attacks.

What then becomes a problem is that Native Americans have no power if films featuring Native Americans are made by mainstream capitalist producers. As an example of Lone Ranger (2013). Even
though Johnny Depp, who plays Tonto, says that he has Native American heritage, he will still be seen as white American. Depp’s appearance was also criticized by UCLA professor, HanayGeiogamah, a descendant of the Kiowa tribe, he said that Depp extended the list of white American actors who played Native American roles. Tonto’s portrayal in this film uses a dead crow as a hat and a face painted like a warrior. also considered as a form of perpetuating stereotypes that have begun to be abandoned.

Another example is "Ridiculous 6" (2015) by Adam Sandler in partnership with Netflix. This film was so offensive and made Native Americans so angry that it featured stupid Native Americans as comic relief. In this film, there are two Native American character names, namely Beaver Breath and No Bra, which makes it apparent that the response from Native Americans will not be good. However, in early January 2016, this film was ranked number one on Netflix. This shows that the struggle against stereotypes will become a “David vs Goliath” battle if Native Americans do not use the channels that have been opened by previous artists to be able to build considerable economical strength so the work that is created will remain safe as with Smoke Signals. Native Americans will still find a long way to go until finally the American film industry can be free from stereotypes, because the cultivation of over a hundred-year-old stereotypes is definitely not an instant thing to deconstruct. However, with the achievements of Native American artists to this day, it may be difficult, but it is possible.

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