SOVEREIGN SCREENS

ABORIGINAL MEDIA on the CANADIAN WEST COAST

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University of Nebraska Press | Lincoln and London
For Vancouver’s Aboriginal filmmakers who so generously shared their time, creativity, and spirit with me on this project.

And for my family, for everything.
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One bright spring morning, I sit with Cleo Reece (Cree), filmmaker, activist, mother, grandmother, and Indigenous Media Arts Group (imag) founding member, sharing coffee at the bakery around the corner from the imag office. Our conversation meanders from talking about her filmmaking career to her long involvement in Aboriginal activism to the latest update on her grandchildren. The imageneration Aboriginal Film and Video Festival finished a few weeks ago, and our conversation turns to the festival.

“How did you come up with the name imageneration for the festival?” I ask, remarking, “That’s a very powerful name.”

Cleo responds, “Well, we wanted to do something about our image. So we came up with ‘Image Nation’ because we call ourselves nations rather than tribes. The image is what’s important because that’s what video is.”

Cleo leans in close, our hands on our coffee mugs almost touching in the cramped space at the small table. Softly, but forcefully, she declares, “That’s what we’re trying to portray, our own image in our own way rather than somebody else’s take on us. We’re doing it ourselves! We’re producing our own images. And nation is a strong word, and we’re made up of nations. So why not an image nation?”
The emphasis that Cleo Reece placed on the capacity of Aboriginal media to express self-determination illustrates the central concept of this book—Aboriginal visual sovereignty.² As an ethnographer I was profoundly struck by this idea of an “image nation,” and throughout my fieldwork I was interested in the ways in which a discourse of “reclaiming the screen” (Ginsburg 2002) was a significant aspect of the narratives of the Aboriginal filmmakers, artists, and activists with whom I worked in Vancouver.³ Sovereign Screens explores the idea of Aboriginal visual sovereignty by examining the role of media production in shaping community practices and cultural identity among intertribal, urban Aboriginal filmmakers in Vancouver, Coast Salish territory, British Columbia. I use the frame of Aboriginal visual sovereignty to address the ways in which Aboriginal media makers seek to “decolonize the screen” (Columpar 2010; Singer 2001; Raheja 2011) as I analyze aspects of on-screen Aboriginal media aesthetics. However, as an anthropologist of media I focus on the off-screen, behind-the-scenes, social processes of Aboriginal media production. In this book I argue that Aboriginal media production simultaneously alters the visual landscape of Canadian media by representing Aboriginal stories on-screen and serves as a vital off-screen practice through which new forms of Aboriginal sociality and community are created and negotiated. In other words Aboriginal media are more than merely expressive of Aboriginal narratives and cultural traditions; they are also constitutive of Aboriginal social relationships.

Canada has been at the forefront of the global indigenous media movement through its pioneering legacy of state support for indigenous media production for over forty years. From the 1969 Challenge for Change Program of the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) to the 1999 launch of the groundbreaking Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), the Canadian government, in response to pressure from Aboriginal activists, has offered support for Aboriginal filmmakers through institutional
funds, training programs, and access to media resources. This longevity of state support has helped to sustain a vibrant, diverse, and multigenerational group of Aboriginal filmmakers.

Vancouver is home to an Aboriginal media world that has made numerous contributions to the field of Aboriginal media production in Canada and to the global indigenous media movement. Vancouver is an incredibly productive center for the production, distribution, and circulation of Aboriginal media. There are dozens of individuals working in various capacities in the media industry, several Aboriginal-owned production companies, Canada’s premier Aboriginal media training program (Capilano University Indigenous Independent Digital Filmmaking Program), an APTN production office, several APTN television shows in production each season, a National Film Board of Canada office, and artist-run centers (grunt gallery, Video In/Video Out [VIVO], and the Western Front)—all contributing to a vibrant Aboriginal media world.

As a visual anthropologist I have had the privilege to work in this dynamic, cutting-edge media world where Aboriginal media makers create innovative media works ranging from documentaries and community media to television shows and feature films to experimental video and new media. These media makers interrogate colonial histories, articulate Aboriginal narratives, and reclaim the screen for purposes of cultural documentation, language preservation, and inventive digital storytelling. Through the stories and voices of the Vancouver filmmakers with whom I have worked, I aim to give the reader an on-the-ground ethnographic sense of the challenges and accomplishments of these filmmakers who actively invest media technology with Aboriginal cultural protocols, stories, and aesthetics, creating new cinematic visions in the process.

Researching Aboriginal Media in Vancouver

I became interested in Vancouver’s Aboriginal media world after working as an intern in the Smithsonian’s National Museum of
the American Indian Film and Video Center while a graduate student in 2000. As an intern I assisted with the cataloguing of videotape festival submissions for the 2000 Native American Film and Video Festival. While viewing these submissions, I noticed that there were a large number from Canada, a significant portion of which were submitted from Vancouver in a wide range of genres. Filmmakers in Vancouver were not just making documentaries but appeared just as likely to be creating experimental video, feature films, and short narrative films. I was intrigued by the creative output of Aboriginal filmmakers in Vancouver, and I was curious about how Vancouver became a center for Aboriginal media in Canada.

After several short “pre-fieldwork” visits to Vancouver in 2002, I learned that Vancouver was home to IMAGeNation—an annual Aboriginal Film and Video Festival—three Aboriginal media training programs, a National Film Board of Canada office, art galleries exhibiting contemporary Aboriginal art, and a nonprofit Aboriginal media resource center named the Indigenous Media Arts Group. There is an infrastructure in place for the production, exhibition, distribution, and reception of Aboriginal media in Vancouver. IMAG was a key site in this infrastructure, and it was at IMAG where I found a home base in Vancouver as a volunteer while getting to know many people in Vancouver’s Aboriginal media world.

During thirteen months of fieldwork between August 2003 and September 2004, I conducted research primarily at the Indigenous Media Arts Group, the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) at the University of British Columbia (UBC), and the National Film Board of Canada. I worked most closely with IMAG and spent most days during the week hanging out at the IMAG office helping out in any way that I could. I lived in the Mount Pleasant neighborhood, a residential neighborhood with a sizeable percentage of Aboriginal artists and filmmakers as well as being home to many artist-run centers, including IMAG, the grunt gallery, and the Western Front. While working as a
volunteer at IMAG, I organized their video library into a computer database, assisted students with editing their videos, made VHS dubs of videos for filmmakers to submit to film festivals, helped to organize fundraising events, assisted with publicity for IMAG screenings, and attended IMAG staff meetings. During the 2004 IMAGeNation Aboriginal Film and Video Festival hosted by IMAG, I served on the programming committee and helped in the organization of the film festival as well as doing numerous behind-the-scenes tasks to keep the festival running smoothly. My deep engagement with the activities of the IMAG office provides the material for chapter 1, which conveys an ethnographic portrait of daily life in this lively grassroots media organization.

Having access to the daily office activities at IMAG was invaluable because I learned firsthand the ways in which it served as a community center and a focal point for Aboriginal filmmakers in Vancouver. Numerous filmmakers, artists, and community members stopped by the IMAG office, and it was during countless hours of participant-observation through “hanging out” at IMAG that I came to know key members of Vancouver’s Aboriginal media world. My relationships with filmmakers established through IMAG, particularly those with the film festival staff, became strong friendships, and I spent many hours with filmmakers in their homes sharing meals, helping to care for their children, attending family nights at the Friendship Centre, attending art openings at the grunt gallery, and sharing many conversations over endless cups of coffee. These friendships enabled me to see the ways in which the networks mobilized for media production were deeply embedded in the social fabric of the Aboriginal community in Vancouver, as explored in depth in chapter 4. In attending Aboriginal hip-hop events, activist gatherings, Redwire Native Youth Media events, powwows, poetry readings, Aboriginal performance art events, art exhibits, and music performances, I was able to see the ways in which Aboriginal media production is connected to a distinctive world
of Aboriginal cultural and artistic production in Vancouver, as discussed extensively in chapters 5 and 6.

In addition to participant observation carried out in the IMAG office and at numerous sites of Aboriginal media production and exhibition in Vancouver, I have conducted in-depth audio-recorded interviews with Aboriginal filmmakers from a range of generations, tribal backgrounds, and levels of experience in the media industry. I saw at least three generations of Aboriginal filmmakers working in Vancouver. I returned twice to Vancouver in 2005 and conducted additional interviews during my summer 2009 fieldwork stint: some of these were follow-up interviews, and several were interviews with new participants to my project. These interviews form the basis of chapter 3, which examines the impact of APTN and the representation of Aboriginal diversity on-screen within Aboriginal media.

During fieldwork I also conducted archival research at the National Film Board of Canada’s headquarters in Montreal. This archival research provided much of the data for chapter 2 about Canadian cultural policy and NFB initiatives supporting Aboriginal filmmakers throughout the last forty years. Additionally, I had access to the archives at the grunt gallery, where I obtained documentation about every Aboriginal art exhibit and performance art event curated at the grunt gallery since it changed its mandate to include contemporary First Nations art in the early 1990s. The archival material from the NFB and grunt gallery along with filmmaker interviews, participation in screenings, oral histories with “older generation” filmmakers, and documentation of local Aboriginal community events provided a framework for understanding the emergence of Vancouver as a center for Aboriginal media production as well as the ways in which this world is embedded in the urban Aboriginal community and larger arts world in Vancouver.

IMAG officially disbanded in 2007 and now no longer exists as an active organization. However, that does not diminish its legacy or the tremendous impact it made while it was active.
in Vancouver. While in operation IMAG screened over 450 Aboriginal and international indigenous films and videos at eight IMAGeNation Aboriginal Film and Video Festivals. IMAG trained dozens of Aboriginal youth and adults in their beginning and advanced media training programs and hosted numerous workshops on Aboriginal media. They honored key figures in Canadian Aboriginal media industry, including Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki), Shirley Cheechoo (Cree), Loretta Todd (Cree/Métis), and Dana Claxton (Hunkpapa Lakota), and offered video equipment and editing facilities for local Aboriginal filmmakers while participating in activist events and collaborating on Aboriginal art exhibits with various artist-run centers. There is no doubt that IMAG and its dedicated board members, staff, and volunteers made a lasting difference in raising visibility for Aboriginal media in Vancouver.

This book is, in part, an homage to the significant impact a grassroots community media organization such as IMAG can have on Aboriginal media production and on the cultural and community needs of Vancouver’s urban Aboriginal community. As an anthropologist I found it disconcerting to see a key organization with which I have worked dissolve. After all, despite the postmodern turn in anthropology and the deconstruction of the culture concept whereby anthropologists have rejected the notion of culture as static, timeless, and bounded in a turn toward highlighting change, heterogeneity, tension, and disagreement (Abu-Lughod 1991), change can still be unsettling, both for the anthropologist and for the people with whom anthropologists work. But the reality is that cultures do change, people move on, and organizations disband for a whole host of reasons. Change and flux are particularly characteristic of grassroots indigenous media and arts organizations where there are limited resources, unstable funding and a heavy reliance on a few key individuals who put in long hours often with little compensation and with the risk of burnout. The dissolution of IMAG should not be seen as a failure, but instead as an indicator of the shorter lifespan
of some arts organizations that nonetheless make a significant impact while in existence. That IMAG no longer exists does not mean that Aboriginal media production has ceased in Vancouver. On the contrary, as discussed in the epilogue, there are new and inventive ways in which Aboriginal filmmakers continue to make media on the Canadian West Coast.
Acknowledgments

This book has been many years in the making and represents the culmination of a long journey to get here. There are many people to thank. I extend my deepest gratitude to all the filmmakers with whom I worked in Vancouver. It is a tremendous honor for me to be able to work within Vancouver’s Aboriginal media world. I thank you all for your encouragement and friendship throughout the research process. Your dedication to telling Aboriginal stories and commitment to using this technology to build community remain an inspiration.

I extend a special thank you to those filmmakers who became like family to me as they generously welcomed me into their homes and lives. For wonderful conversation over countless dinners, trips to Granville Island, and sipping cups of tea late into the night, I thank Vera Wabegijig and her daughters Storm Standing on the Road and Grace Wabegijig, whose strength, creativity, humor, and kindness continue to be a blessing in my life.
I thank Leena Minifie for her generosity of spirit and friendship, Odessa Shuquaya and her daughter Nakiah Shuquaya for their friendship, support, and encouragement. I thank Cleo Reece and her family, especially her daughter Skeena, for welcoming me.
into their home, where I shared in delicious home-cooked meals and learned many new words while being defeated many times in our Scrabble games! I am deeply grateful to Loretta Todd, without whom this research simply would not have been possible. I thank the IMAG Board of Directors, which, at the time I did fieldwork, included Dana Claxton, Dorothy Christian, Zoe Hopkins, Cleo Reece, and Jackson Crick, for their permission and support to do research with IMAG. A special thank-you to Kevin Lee Burton and Helen Haig-Brown, who generously shared with me copies of their films and gave permission for me to screen these films in presentations and classroom settings.

I thank the Indigenous Media Arts Group, the Museum of Anthropology, and the National Film Board of Canada, which provided letters of support for this research project and served as institutional hosts. I thank Jennifer Kramer, Michael Ames, and Jill Baird for hosting me as a Fulbright Scholar with a research affiliation at the Museum of Anthropology. I thank Bernard Lutz, archivist at the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) for his help with my archival research at the NFB. I also thank George Johnson, formerly with the NFB’s Pacific Centre in Vancouver, who provided letters of support for my research project. Thank you to Glenn Alteen, Daina Warren, and Aiyyana Maracle at the grunt gallery for providing access to the gallery’s archives and for sharing their wealth of knowledge about the role of contemporary First Nations art in Vancouver’s artist-run centers. I also thank Video Out Distributors for making videotapes available for my research and to Wanda Vanderstoop at Vtape for her support in providing access to DVDs of several films featured in this book and for her assistance with film stills for the book. I also thank Ragnhild Milewski for his assistance with film stills from the NFB films included in this book.

This research began while I was a graduate student at New York University, and I must offer my deepest thanks to my primary advisers Faye Ginsburg, Karen Blu, and Fred Myers, whose influence on this book is evident throughout. I cannot thank you
enough for your mentorship and intellectual guidance as well as for the numerous research and academic opportunities you made available to me. It was a privilege to have been a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at New York University, whose preeminent faculty provided the intellectual environment in which my research project was nurtured and from whom I have learned so much. The training and skills that I acquired through the Culture and Media Program honed my understanding of media production, strengthening the theoretical framing of my research as well as providing skills that I could contribute to Aboriginal filmmakers in Vancouver.

I am tremendously grateful for the generous financial and academic support NYU’s Department of Anthropology gave me, especially the opportunity to participate in the 2004–2005 Indigenous Cosmologies Working Group in the Center for Religion and Media and as a festival assistant for the First Nations\ First Features Film Festival. Working on the First Nations\First Features Festival was invaluable in shaping my understanding of the global circulation of indigenous media as well as introducing me to important indigenous filmmaker networks while providing funding and support for my work. My research was also enriched through my work as a teaching assistant at NYU. I greatly benefited from the opportunity to be a teaching assistant for courses with Karen Blu, Fred Myers, and Tejaswini Ganti, as well as from the opportunity to work as a research assistant for Faye Ginsburg.

I am indebted to Faye Ginsburg for sharing the resource of her remarkable indigenous media collection and for the resources of NYU’s Culture and Media Program. This project would not have been possible without her support and mentorship.

I am also tremendously thankful for the chance to work with Karen Blu, who was an incredible mentor to me throughout graduate school and whose scholarship enabled me to place my research within a comparative Native North American framework. I am indebted to Fred Myers, under whose guidance I
learned a remarkable amount about the role of artistic production in indigenous life. I also thank Jeff Himpele and Lorna Roth for their insightful feedback about my research and writing.

It was through my work at the Film and Video Center at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) that I first became interested in developing a research project with Aboriginal filmmakers in Vancouver. I thank Elizabeth Weatherford, Amalia Cordova, Millie Seubert, and Michelle Sven-son from the NMAI Film and Video Center for their instrumental support in helping me to develop this project.

This research has benefited from several presentation opportunities at the School for Advanced Research (SAR) Membership Lecture series on visual anthropology and at the University of Rochester Humanities Project on visual representations of Native Americans. Thank you to James Brooks, Jean Schaumberg, and Jason Ordaz at the SAR and to Eleanna Kim, Janet Berlo, Rosemari Ferreri, and Carlie Fishgold for their assistance in my travels for these lectures. The inquisitive questions and dialogue during the question and answer session after these lectures helped me to clarify my argument in this book. And it was such fun to present Aboriginal experimental media to appreciative and engaged audiences!

I have received much help and guidance from colleagues who read earlier drafts of this manuscript. I thank Susanna Rosenbaum, Eleanna Kim, Aaron Glass, Danny Fisher, and Luther Elliott for their careful reading and constructive criticism in our writing group. I also thank Ayako Takamori, Lydia Boyd, April Strickland, Sabra Thorner, Rebecca Howes-Mischel, Brooke Nixon-Friedheim, and Stephanie Sadre-Orafai for their insights, helpful suggestions, and friendship. I thank my cohort including Stephanie Spehar, Nina Siulc, and Amahl Bishara for their camaraderie and friendship throughout graduate school. I also extend my deepest gratitude and admiration to Jessica Cattelino, who has been a remarkably generous mentor and dear friend throughout graduate school and beyond.
I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to be a faculty member in the Department of Folk Studies and Anthropology at Western Kentucky University and to work with extraordinary colleagues there, especially Michael Ann Williams, Erika Brady, Darlene Applegate, Kate Hudepohl, and Tim Evans. I cannot thank you enough for your support of me as a junior colleague. I learned so much while a faculty member there and could not have asked for a better departmental home.

I would like to thank the many students of my visual anthropology classes who have offered questions, critiques, and feedback about my research on Aboriginal media over the years. Being a professor is truly a blessed occupation, and there is nothing more rewarding than having the chance to work with extraordinary and intellectually rigorous students. I extend a special thank-you to Mahdis Koohestani for the opportunity to collaborate on an independent study course on Iranian media and for your feedback on this book as well as for your assistance during the final revisions. Thank you also to Cassandra Warren, Jeffrey Morning, Randi Dossey, Amanda Hardeman, Matthew Hale, Amanda Lillard, Calli Waltrip, Donna Longhorn, Jamie Gua, and Royce Freeman.

This book manuscript benefited immensely from my participation in an anthropology writing group at the University of Oklahoma. I am so thankful for my writing group colleagues: Circe Sturm (who is now at the University of Texas at Austin), Marc David, Amanda Minks, Daniel Mains, Erika Robb-Larkins, and Misha Klein, whose insightful criticism, tough questions, and editorial eyes all improved this manuscript substantially. I simply could not have done it without you, and for that I am eternally grateful. My deepest gratitude and admiration to Amanda Minks, who graciously read many drafts of the entire manuscript and who has been such a generous colleague and dear friend throughout this whole process, in particular keeping me on track during the final revisions! I also wish to extend my sincerest thanks to all of my colleagues at the University of Oklahoma, who make
teaching and working here such a pleasure: in particular Daniel Swan, Mary Linn, Diane Warren, Misha Klein, Lesley Rankin-Hill, Pat Gilman, and Susan Vehik, who have provided specific feedback and support on this project, and Tassie Hirschfeld, faculty mentor extraordinaire!

My deepest thanks and highest regards to Matthew Bokovoy for his interest in and engagement with this project and for his insightful editorial eye. I am especially thankful for the editorial feedback from Joeth Zucco and my copyeditor Jane Curran, whose keen suggestions strengthened the book.

A special thank you to my undergraduate advisers, Janet Berlo and Robert Foster, at the University of Rochester, who supervised my honors thesis project and encouraged me to pursue graduate school. I thank Janet Berlo for her mentorship, encouragement, intellectual inspiration, and friendship. I thank Robert Foster for encouraging me to pursue graduate school and a career in anthropology. I would not be where I am today without the support and guidance you both provided during my years at the University of Rochester.

I am deeply indebted to my family for encouraging me to pursue my dream of receiving a PhD and providing the necessary support to see it become a reality. I thank my parents, Ed and Valerie Dowell, whose countless sacrifices to support my educational pursuits and whose love sustained me through this process. Words cannot begin to convey how much this has meant to me. I thank my brother Brian Dowell for his unceasing support and encouragement and my grandparents Brian and Marilyn Burke for instilling in me an intellectual curiosity from an early age. Thank you for your constant belief in my academic endeavors and for always reminding me how pleased Emily and John would have been to see me fulfill the academic legacy they were not able to complete. I thank my grandmother Doris Dowell for her thoughtfulness, love, and kind words. I also thank Andrea Burke-Harris, Gregg Harris, and Laurie Naglee for believing in me. My deepest thanks and highest regards to Sereta Wilson and
the staff of Annie’s Ruff House for taking such good care of my dog, Arlo, on all those long writing days!

A special thank you to Karl Schmidt for technical assistance with the photographs in this book and to Todd Fagin, who designed such an elegant map for the book.

My deepest gratitude and highest regard to Jeff Beekman, whom I met toward the end of completing this book but whose insightful observations during many conversations about my research and our shared interests in art and media have enriched this book and my life immeasurably.

My sincerest gratitude to the remarkable P.E.O. sisters of Chapter FA in Gahanna, Ohio, and Chapter P in New Rochelle, New York, whom I greatly admire. Their numerous hours of fundraising every year provide financial support for women in higher education, and their support, in part, made my graduate education possible.

This research has been funded by the generosity of many fellowships, including a Fulbright Fellowship to Canada, the Canadian Embassy Graduate Student Fellowship, P.E.O. Scholar Award, New York University MacCracken Fellowship, Beinecke Brothers Memorial Scholarship, the Annette Weiner Memorial Fellowship, the New York University Department of Anthropology, the Ethel-Jane Westfeldt Bunting Summer Scholar Fellowship at the School for Advanced Research, a regular faculty fellowship from Western Kentucky University, and three junior faculty summer fellowships, travel grants, faculty enrichment grants, and the Ed Cline Faculty Development Award from the University of Oklahoma.

Duane Ġastant’ Aucoin (Tlingit) said to me shortly before I left Vancouver, “Eegooiyax’wan. Do your best.” I hope that the Aboriginal filmmakers with whom I worked feel that this book lives up to my best effort to represent their films, their lives, and their stories. The filmmakers with whom I worked in Vancouver have given me so much in their generosity of spirit, friendship, and creativity. Any proceeds generated from the sale of this book
will be donated to the Vancouver Indigenous Media Arts Festival (VIMAF) as long as that organization is in existence. In the event that VIMAF is not viable in the future, then I will donate the proceeds to another organization that supports Aboriginal media production in Vancouver.

This book has been influenced by those thanked here as well as others; however, any inaccuracies or misinterpretations in the book are, as always, solely my own.
Abbreviations

AFP  Aboriginal Filmmaking Program
AFTP  Aboriginal Film and Television Program (Capilano College)
AIM  American Indian Movement
APTN  Aboriginal Peoples Television Network
BBM  Bureau of Broadcast Management
CBC  Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CFDC  Canadian Film Development Corporation
CGMPB  Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau
CRTC  Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission
CTV  Canadian Television
CYC  Company of Young Canadians
DIA  Department of Indian Affairs
DTES  Downtown Eastside
FNAP  First Nations Access Program
IFC  Indian Film Crew
IFTP  Indian Film Training Program
IIDFP  Independent Indigenous Digital Filmmaking Program (Capilano
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>IMAG</td>
<td>Indigenous Media Arts Group</td>
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<td>INAC</td>
<td>Department of Indian and Northern Affairs</td>
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<td>KAYA</td>
<td>Knowledgeable Aboriginal Youth Advocates</td>
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<td>MOA</td>
<td>Museum of Anthropology</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(University of British Columbia)</td>
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<td>NARP</td>
<td>Native Alliance for Red Power</td>
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<td>NFB</td>
<td>National Film Board of Canada</td>
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<td>NMAI</td>
<td>National Museum of the American Indian</td>
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<tr>
<td>PANE</td>
<td>Protest Alliance Against Native Extermination</td>
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<td>SAR</td>
<td>School of Advanced Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFU</td>
<td>Simon Fraser University</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRC</td>
<td>Truth and Reconciliation Commission</td>
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<td>UBC</td>
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<td>UBCIC</td>
<td>Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs</td>
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<td>UNYA</td>
<td>Urban Native Youth Association</td>
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<td>VIMAF</td>
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