47. Pierre, “A Talk with Katherine Dunham,” 75; Aschenbrenner *Katherine Dunham*, 49.
49. “Katherine Dunham on Her Anthropological Films, video clip #34,” MDLC.
50. This relationship prefigures John Jackson’s observation of the ways black Harlemites positioned themselves as participants in the making of video ethnographies by expecting a level of reciprocity between the filmmaker and themselves. See Jackson, “An Ethnographic Filmflam.”
51. Katherine Dunham fieldwork films, “Urban social dance, Jamaica and Martinique, 1936, video clip #20,” MDLC.
52. Katherine Dunham fieldwork films, “Urban social dance, Jamaica and Martinique Fieldwork, 1936, video clip #21,” MDLC.
53. In the films available it appears that Dunham is less intrusive than her predecessor, Zora Neale Hurston, who at times positioned and posed filmic subjects or appeared herself before the camera within the ethnographic frame (Rony, *The Third Eye*, 203–11). Hurston made two sets of ethnographic films in the United States, one between 1927 and 1929 and another sometime during the mid-1930s (MPLC). Rony examines the way that Hurston’s trickster-like appearance with the subjects in the church films undermines the typical objectification inherent in ethnographic film. The participation, direct gaze, and posing of Hurston’s subjects act not as data collection but as an editorial presentation of an ethos, of beauty, and of community character. Dunham’s display of ethnographic subjectivity in her filmmaking is more disciplinary and less playful than Hurston’s but maintains some of this intersubjective impact. Hurston’s gazing back in film acts similarly, however, to Dunham’s dancing of Western dances for a Jamaican polity. Both performances posit the irony of their own bodies as ethnographer and subject in ethnographic performance. While their work shows how performance culture appropriated anthropological methodologies to construct black racial identities, these black anthropologist artists also show how anthropological practice could use performance to accomplish black ethnographic subjectivity.
55. This position is akin to Kirin Narayan’s “shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations” (“How Native Is a Native Anthropologist?,” 671–86).