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Discovering a discourse in a multicultural community through participatory video production.

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DISCOVERING A DISCOURSE IN A MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY
THROUGH PARTICIPATORY VIDEO PRODUCTION

A Dissertation Presented

by

MICHAEL C. JOHNSTON

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1995

School of Education

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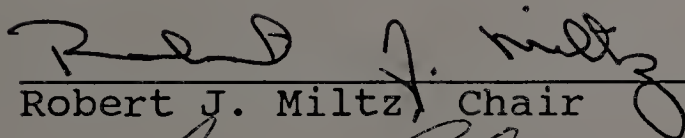
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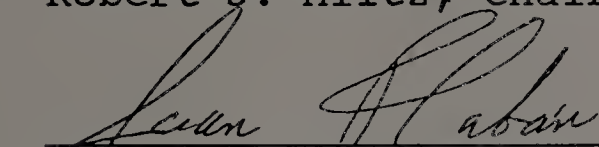
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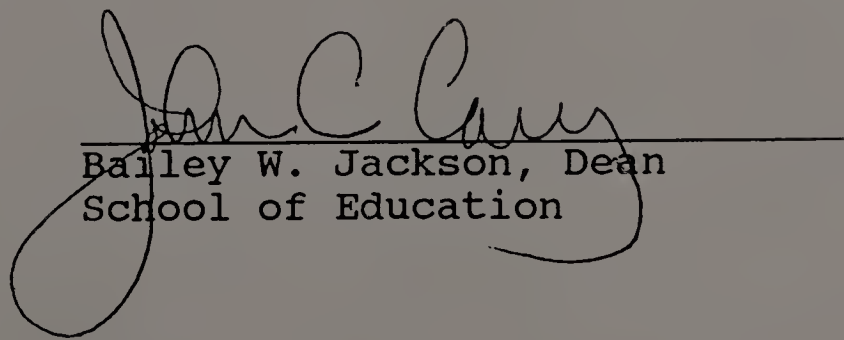
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There would be nothing to report without the participation of the crew members. Those who agreed to be interviewed were particularly important to helping me understand this process. Identified by their pseudonyms, Lisa provided insight into the necessity of accepting cultural constraints in a context marked by its fluidity. Timmy created a fine working context for the crew. In their video animation, "No Smoking, No Swimming, No Fishing," Eric Lee and Phon pointed to an organizing theme discovered in the footage the Puerto Rican crew gathered from the streets.

Axle Rose and Vanilla opened my awareness to cross-cultural contact occurring in other venues controlled by youth.

Ashley gave me confidence that the first cut was effective.

Jean Bernard reassured me throughout the process, listening and commenting as I wrestled with the project and committed my ideas to paper. Our daughter, Alysoun, accompanied me on the project site at a critical moment and provided a valuable perspective and support. With our son, Eliot, they provided an audience for the trial edits before I presented the first cut of the video for crew evaluation.

I am indebted to the independent filmmakers who were so open in sharing their ideas about filmmaking across cultures with me. John Marshall, a veteran documentarian, shared his ideas on translating lived experience into a body of comprehensible footage. Sara Stuart, who puts the production tools into the hands of non-literate people, drew my attention to the common ground shared by filmmakers from different cultures. Carolyn Strachan, discussed her experiences facilitating an alternative aesthetic and positioning film production within the structure of a society. Priscilla Hinckley, who brings worlds together through filmmaking, shared important comments on my early efforts. Jeff Kenyon and Alexandra Juhasz freely shared their experiences making alternative educational video and showed me some possibilities for my own work.

ABSTRACT

DISCOVERING A DISCOURSE IN A MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY
THROUGH PARTICIPATORY VIDEO PRODUCTION

FEBRUARY 1995

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Directed by: Professor Robert J. Miltz

This study describes the first cycle of a community video production process which aims at enriching cross-cultural understanding by involving crewmembers and facilitators in a creative endeavor grounded in participatory research. The facilitators guide the crewmembers to become researchers of their community. The crewmembers translate fragments of their lived experience into a collection of videotaped skits, interviews, and animations. With the crew's raw footage and tentative edit decisions as a guide, a facilitator enters the production process as an editor searching for converging patterns revealing shared concerns. The first cut is returned for crew evaluation, positioning the video production process as a bridge on which the collaborators, who are initially identified by their boundaries, may discover a discourse.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study is situated where education, communication, and creativity overlap. It reports a collaboration between participants who represent different cultures in contact in a single community. The study describes how young adult participants used video as a medium of expression during a production process and encountered their own work reflexively as a first cycle in a praxis leading toward critical community awareness. These strands situate the study within the larger spheres of cross-cultural communication (Dodd 1977; Banks 1987; Pearce 1990; Nieto 1992) and of media literacy (Masterman 1985; Ferguson 1991; Leveranz and Tyner 1993) as the participants directly experienced constructing a video product.

Background of the Study

Access and Control

This study occurs during a period that is marked by an enormous and continuing proliferation of small format video production and presentational equipment worldwide. Ganley and Ganley (1987) report initial patterns of video cassette recorder (VCR) use throughout the world that range from shifting the time a program is viewed to passing contraband materials on video cassettes among a select viewership. As audio and video forms converge with print and graphics in

computers, the idea of individually controllable multimedia media environments continues to be elaborated.

By encouraging knowers and novices to interact and exchange ideas rapidly using powerful communicative tools, electronic production and distribution is becoming recognized as a medium for developing media awareness and imparting a sense of relevance of learning to marginalized students (Goodman 1994). Electronic environments that allow images, sounds, and textual material to be gathered, created, tentatively assembled, and easily reorganized at the desktop offer conditions which help to reduce the distinction between the producer and the consumer and reveal the constructed nature of media. Significantly for this project, artists, authors, and producers can collaborate in constructing these environments by reviewing, editing and commenting on each other's work in patterns that can shape an educational practice aimed at improving cross-cultural understanding.

Community and Camcorders

The availability of camcorders augments the ability to preserve and distribute oral performance in patterns described as "literate orality" (Ong 1982:160). The camcorder represents an invitation for people to explore and use the range of intelligences identified by Gardner (1983) directly for self-expression and comprehension. Using a medium that is comparatively open to oral and gestural

expression raises the possibility that people whose voices are marginalized or absent altogether can reach an audience.

By retaining the visual presence of primary orality, video is capable of including a wider range of human expression, positioning video as particularly advantageous in learning environments characterized by diversity (Nieto 1992). Aside from factors of scale, the ability to produce work and make video programs available to viewers, at the very least, enriches the ways people can understand themselves, influence each other, and cultivate a sense of community. (For an exciting example, see Laura Davidson, "Rising from the Ruins: Local TV helps define a new Kurdish identity," in The Independent, 16(3) (April 1993):24-28.)

But serious use of smaller formats in the United States is trivialized by industrial producers, distributors, and manufacturers which persist in framing the smaller formats as charming but largely unimportant (M. Stuart 1980; Ouellette 1994). Such trivialization motivates calls for counter efforts to "reposition the camcorder" as other than an augmented version of the family snapshot camera (Ouellette 1994:38).

Reaching An Audience

Repositioning the camcorder in this country is complicated by the reality of limited venues for distributing programs produced outside the industrial context. Dismayingly, alternative programs often receive

minimal audience tolerance to the extent that they do not match the appearance of more costly industrial productions (Blau 1992).

The Village Video Network represents Martha Stuart's ideal of using video horizontally as a vehicle to create connections between societies throughout the world (M. Stuart 1980). Ami Bhatt (1988) offers an example in her introduction to the Village Video Network catalogue.

[F]armers in Guyana received their first information about applications of biogas technology via video tapes made in China. A year after the first presentation of the tapes, one Guyanese farmer said, "It (Biogas) is magic. I wouldn't have believed it could happen if I hadn't seen the tape." Video is an excellent transmission system for getting solutions--and the ideas and experience behind them--from place to place quickly to inspire constructive action. (v)

Sara Stuart cited this same example to indicate that while the Network has been successful in making videos available, audience reception has been impeded by differences in aesthetic expectations. She found South American audiences felt the slow pace of the Chinese video was tedious, making it difficult to sustain interest in the presentation. Stuart suggested that while audience acceptance may be complicated by artistic variance continues to limit the Village Video Network's ability to fully meet her mother's original concept, the producers from various countries who contribute to the Network share videomaking itself as a basis for sustaining a dialogue that crosses cultural boundaries (Telephone conversation, April 18, 1990).

Envisaging a multicultural group of people in contact within such a fluid environment as materials production is to suggest a space enlivened by the possibilities of diversity. At the same time, difficulties in communicating across cultures are aggravated by problems of access to production facilities and distribution. Finding effective venues for distribution and a receptive audience are ultimately critical to sustaining the viability of any work. However, the first step in bringing novice producers from different cultures together in production seems to encourage them to reach across the boundaries of their diversity.

Subjects As Producers

In the video and film that have sparked my interest as examples of educational collaboration, the filmmaker's subjects move behind the camera in some capacity to share production roles. This mobility forms a context where culturally diverse groups can meet, whether actually during the production event, or virtually within the context of the product itself. The following examples assist in conceptualizing participant involvement in video production across cultures. While the specific form of subject participation varies, these examples are shaped by interdependence between the producers and subjects.

Worth and Adair Teach the Navajo Filmmaking

In introducing filmmaking to Navajo, Sol Worth and John Adair (1972) provided a useful example of placing filmmaking

technology under the creative control of the subjects. Worth and Adair passed directorial control to the novice producers with the intention of answering the question, "What would happen if someone with a culture that makes and uses motion pictures taught people who had never made or used motions pictures to do so for the first time?" (3). While Worth and Adair were interested studying Navajo filmmaking as a window on the society, they were aware that introducing Navajo to filmmaking carried different implications for education.

Quite aside from its scientific value and on some levels transcending those values, filmmaking in the hands of native peoples of diverse cultural traditions might also be considered as a contribution to the arts and humanities. . . . The white middle-class Western eye, conditioned by its culture . . . Hollywood and the television screen, is in danger of losing sight of the beauty and vitality of the film produced simply and under the control of the filmmaker for personal expression. . . . This medium, . . . used by an artist of another society, drawing on very different myth and musical styles, dramatic structures, and different concepts of event, time, and space, might well serve not only to present one culture to another but also to enrich that store of knowledge about man which our culture traditionally calls art (261, 262).

Strachan and Cavadini Film Within the Borroloola Society

In 1979, Carolyn Strachan and Alessandro Cavadini were invited by the Borroloola Tribal Council in Australia to help them "gain control of a form of representation" (Fischel 1992:151). Throughout the production of Two Laws/Kanymarda Yuwa (1982) the filmmakers accepted the directorial control of the subjects "aim[ing] . . . to give the Aboriginal people the maximum control in direction and

expression" (Avery 1982:328). By accepting the control of a community, Strachan and Cavadini assisted the aborigine to use filmmaking to "reconstruct traditional values and ways of life on their own terms. . . . The Borroloola are self-consciously and purposefully mastering a foreign signifying medium and making it their own" (Fischel 1992:168).

One aspect of the filmmakers' agreement with the community included following the social practices. The filmmakers and their equipment entered the social space for the oral communication on the terms of the aborigine producers. In the film technology Strachan and Cavadini used, the audio tape recorder and film camera are separate units connected by a synchronizing cable. As a result, during group discussions, the filmmakers remained in static seated positions which were separated according to gender. Strachan recorded speakers from the women's arc of the circle while Cavadini filmed from the men's arc.

The second aspect required that the assembled community be maintained visually on the film rather than focussing on individual speakers. In the considerable use of a wide-angle lens, Two Laws/Kanymarda Yuwa challenges viewers who have become accustomed to conventions which hide the process and who are not socialized to emphasizing the community over the individual (Avery 1982; Strachan, telephone conversation, 1991).

Fischel (1992) points out that to concentrate on aesthetic variances misses "the extraordinary act of

inscription that is occurring in Two Laws as it activates the alternative signifying possibilities of film language" (142). Fischel continues:

The production and aesthetic strategies used in Two Laws need to be understood as complex forms of cultural empowerment, forms that are both continuous with traditional Aboriginal life and responsive to the necessities of a changed and changing present. (144)

Lastly, owing to financial constraints, the Borroloola representatives were absent while Strachan and Cavadini edited the final film. "Nevertheless, the film was made according to the original plan which had been decided by the Aboriginal people" (Avery 1982:328). The facilitator's responsibility to the community's vision despite their absence of their membership or representatives during final editing is a feature shared by other projects including the one I report in this dissertation.

Martha Stuart Introduces Video as a Complement to a Culture

Martha Stuart (1980) helped non-literate women in many countries come to know that they can use video for horizontal communication as "a way of extending themselves, of sharing what they know and think and feel, even if they do not know how to read or write (5, original emphasis).

Sara Stuart (1989) distinguishes participatory media from broadcast forms in part by emphasizing the process over the quality of the product:

"Participatory video need not be of the highest quality. In many cases, the immediate feedback is the most important use of the recording. Simpler and faster production techniques such as in-camera editing

fit the objectives of people who are tackling the real problems. Still, it would be a mistake to generalize that all grassroots video is low quality. Some is very beautiful and many teams support their activist work by providing production services for profit." (10)

In a separate article, Sara Stuart (1990) elaborates on this difference writing, "Unlike professional media producers, there is no separation between producer and viewer" (48).

Distribution and audience are also differentiated in the development work associated with the use of video advocated by Martha Stuart Communications and attempted through various projects including the Village Video Network. Sara Stuart (1989) cites an instance in which locally-produced video enabled a non-literate community of women vegetable vendors in Ahmedabad, India organized as Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) to negotiate with a municipal authority.

Video SEWA produced a tape which achieved its goal and had a very positive impact by reaching an audience of one. . . . The tape helped a leader listen to and understand the vendors in a way he could never have in a face-to-face confrontation. The vendors spoke in a way they would never have spoken to representatives of the municipality (1989:11).

Speaking more directly to the power of the particular video, Stuart (1990) draws attention to the power of the "agitated faces of the women" (48) seen on the screen and the space to respond privately created by the displaced encounter on video were critical to the success of the negotiations because they allowed a public figure to "be open without betraying his emotions" (48) and thus prepare to act. Stuart concludes:

The flexibility and adaptability of video may be its most significant characteristic. . . . Video puts illiterate viewers as well as illiterate producers on a par with the literate counterparts. The leveling or equalizing element can transform relationships, support a high level of participation and have a great impact" (49-50).

Juhasz and the Women's AIDS Video Enterprise (WAVE)

Alexandra Juhasz (1992) participated as a member of a support group to produce a video with HIV-positive black and Hispanic women in New York about living with AIDS. The women engaged in a participatory throughout the project. Juhasz discovered the viability of maintaining the community of co-producers intact in the editing process. In her writing, Juhasz celebrates the participatory relationship that grounded the project because it resulted in decisions that could never have occurred to her if she had edited in isolation. While the experience helped her overcome the notion that editing was ideally a solitary activity, Juhasz is also acknowledges that this kind of collaboration is impractical in contexts where deadlines control production.

In her attempt to replicate her first project November-December 1990, Juhasz (1992) reports experiencing constraints in terms of time, funding, equipment, access to working space from the sponsoring agency. These conditions interfered with any attempt to reconstruct the relationship she achieved in her first project limiting it to one of providing training.

In this group it only made sense . . . for me to be the teacher, the giver, and the participants to be the learners, the takers. Of course, we were friendly with

each other. But I never became the people's friends outside the group. I really didn't want to be, . . . perhaps because our differences were so marked (246).

Saltman and Hinckley Link African and American Youth

Chantal's Choice (Saltman and Hinckley 1990) was intended as a video letter telling a story to link students from Burkino Faso and the United States in a process of exploring and sharing their cultural differences and similarities (Hinckley, telephone conversation, 1991). As edited by Saltman and Hinckley, Chantal's Choice provides an example of incorporating the videomaking process within the telling of the story by showing African youth deciding what to communicate, scripting, acting the roles, and reflecting on the characters actions.

In the video, the African youth are seen deciding to address the issue of choice in modern marriage against a traditional background of arranged marriage. By examining changing patterns of wooing, they contribute to a discussion regarding the effect that access to formal education by women has on traditional patterns of responsibility and control within a family.

The videomaking took place within the school or family compounds. In their roles, the students demonstrated the controls presented by their actual social conditions. For example, the primary character, Chantal is performed by a young woman boarding at the school. According to Hinckley, the actress had access to a cash economy and was aware of Western influences through her family which operated a

trucking business. Thus in both a general and specific sense, the production was insulated from criticism and control of the surrounding society.

Siegel and Johnston Bridge Communities in Illinois

Blue Collar and Buddha (Siegel and Johnston 1987)

provides an example of the video itself serving to create a communication between the subjects. Siegel and Johnston were able to enter opposing sides in a tense situation which had resulted in a pipe bombing of a Lao Buddhist temple in Rockford, Illinois. They record community members from each side of the issue. Their mobility and the resulting video provide a bridge in a context where each subject would be unwelcome or unwilling to go.

The videomakers voice no conclusions although they exercise editorial control over the footage. By juxtaposing the points of view they have found in the community, the videomakers create a place where the antagonists can hear each other's position without the necessity of directly encountering themselves.

Levin and Hott Research Cambodian Refugees

Rebuilding the Temple: the Cambodian Experience in

America (Levin and Hott 1991) distributed in English and in Khmer, provides an example of a complex relationship developing between the filmmakers, research subjects, and audience in non-fiction film. No Cambodian is credited with any administrative role in determining the shape and content

of the film, immediately raising questions of authority and point of view. Periodically throughout the film, anthropologists and sociologists who are culturally external to the Cambodian society comment on the Cambodian community in this country. At the end of the film, the Cambodian temple being rebuilt in America is understood metaphorically as the generation of Cambodians growing to adulthood here. Whether the filmmakers are reporting a Cambodian point of view or expressing their observations having interviewed members of the community is unclear.

The older Cambodian refugees who witnessed the large scale destruction of Buddhist temples and execution of much of the religious leadership by Khmer Rouge forces appear to construe the idea of rebuilding the temple concretely and as an imperative of cultural preservation. In New England the Cambodian community has demonstrated a willingness to devote considerable effort and money to maintain monks and establish religious temples and meditation centers situated in rented apartments and in buildings and on land purchased collectively.

Yet Rebuilding the Temple should not be dismissed simply because Cambodians did not exercise administrative control as producers or that the source of the metaphor may be external to the community. Boreth Sun, a Cambodian who assisted as a translator, noted that numerous Cambodians volunteered considerable amounts of time to the film project (Personal interview, May 1, 1991). Bun Roeun, a community

leader, felt Cambodians generally welcomed the attention and construed the interest of the producers as validating their attempts to preserve Cambodian society while adapting to displacement (Personal interview, September 14, 1992).

Rather, by providing glimpses of cross-cultural interactions throughout North America, the film serves to acquaint members of mainstream and minority communities with a broader range of possible responses to encounters with people from other cultures than they might gain within their particular contexts. To the degree that Rebuilding the Temple helps people living in this society tolerate and explore the larger and evolving social context they form by their collective presence and their diversity, the film makes a valuable contribution.

Amazonian Tribes Use Video To Organize Their Resistance

The Kayapo, Waiapi, and other separate but related Amazonian tribes are using video within their communities to organize themselves and communicate between the tribes and the Brazilian government (Zimmer 1990). In The Electronic Arrow: How Indians Use Video (Vincent Carelli and the Centro do Trabalho Indigenista¹ 1993), the tribes record how they teach themselves to use video to preserve their ways as well as influence and restrain government, corporate, and individual development projects which would be detrimental to their people or exploitative of their region. The

¹The Center for Indigenous Work

ability of these Amazonian communities to organize themselves to defend against the encroachment by outsiders and prepare themselves to negotiate with the Brazilian representatives as a unified force demonstrates an impressive use of video that resulted in communication across cultures.

Collectively, these examples point to the range of possibilities as well as advantages and difficulties surrounding issues of expertise, audience, and authority that may be encountered by attempts to include video production as part of an educational practice. Each example is dependent on the impetus, knowledge, and resources provided by the combination of the outsiders as facilitators and insiders as producers. In each case, the combination of outsiders facilitating access to the technology and insiders providing local knowledge and a communicative structure in consonance with the audience shape the collaboration and give the process credibility. The quality of success seems to rely not only on the film or videomakers' ability to bring resources, expertise, and standards to bear on the project. The experienced members in these collaborations also demonstrate a willingness to take a position alongside the novices physically or influentially and, in varying ways, make room for the subjects to invest themselves as producers in the process to affect the outcome of the production.

Statement of the Problem

James Banks (1987) takes the position that awareness of differences between people based on ethnicity will necessarily persist in response to a social climate which discriminates against certain groups of people. Asserting ethnicity is an action which establishes identity and provides desirable comfort to individuals who endure rejection as members of a discriminated category.

Undervaluing Diversity

Banks suggests that resistance strategies by the dominating groups are an inadequate response to the opportunity for learning to cope with change presented by diversity, an argument supported by Nieto (1992).

Ethnic and cultural diversity is also an opportunity. It can enrich a society by providing novel ways to view event and situations, to solve problems, and to view our relationship with the environment and other creatures. (Banks 1987:7)

For Banks, diversity represents a chance for growth.

The challenge to Western societies . . . is to try to shape a . . . culture that has selected aspects of traditional cultures co-existing in some kind of delicate balance with a . . . post-industrial society. (7-8)

Nieto (1992) notes that distressingly, cultural interaction and diversity have continued to be reduced to staged events which, while offering enjoyable occasions and potentially opening inquiry, seem to have the effect of containing cultural influence by commodifying otherness and treating cultures as exotica.

Maintaining Identity

The historical exclusion of certain groups from participation in the vision of an idealized new society built in a new land from a plural but selective base cannot be overcome by the brief experience of cultural products such as home cooked meals and traditional dances brought forth on "Diversity Days" in public schools. While useful in stimulating curiosity, in reminding people of the presence of other communities, and in raising needed funds, such events do little to assist those who would like or need to learn ways of responding to the perception of otherness and including diverse points of view within their lives. The informed insulation allowed by the availability of information about contributions of ethnic communities to the society at large and the plight of particular groups in this society without the challenge of direct exposure can be criticized as having little effect in raising the self-esteem of individuals living in oppressive contexts or in truly advancing the society of which they become a part.

Assimilation can be a cynical lure, a unifying ideal but an allusive objective apparently achievable only by the select few who the dominant include structurally. Accepting inclusion in an America described as a melting pot entails losses that raise questions as to whether it is a goal worth pursuing at all. Assimilation into the cultural melting pot has implied abandonment of specific identities in order to become free from the past, motivating counter efforts to

identify strategies and descriptions which preserve heritage. Images of salad bowls and patchwork quilts provide more accommodating metaphors which describe a positive co-presence with one's roots in a diverse context. However, these images account for a plurality of groups more than personal accommodation.

Dual Identity

An accommodating strategy that marginalized individuals report having found viable for preserving a sphere of personal identity is to construct a separate public identity. Such a strategy preserves connections with a cultural heritage and offers a public persona for acceptance by the dominant society. Milton Gordon (1964) supports maintaining a dual identity, asserting that however much an outsider assimilates culturally, the underlying structural separation remains.

Robert Jiobu (1988) cites the Japanese American experience since World War II to suggest that Gordon's view "requires modification" (234). Seeing evidence of structural assimilation in the increasing rate of intermarriage, Jiobu relocates the sense of dual identity in the realm of symbol and gesture which he describes using the term "dual culture" (234). For Jiobu, dual culture becomes a privilege of wealth realized in a daily exercise of choice and deliberate nuance.

Somewhat ironically, to be dual cultured requires socioeconomic success. A poor immigrant group does not

have the resources necessary to resist cultural assimilation. The group has no choice but to use the public schools and other majority institutions, and to partake of the majority's popular culture. A poor immigrant group, therefore, will be culturally swallowed by the majority. On the other hand, a wealthier ethnic group has the means to resist acculturation. . . . While these activities [establishing language schools, importing artefacts, visiting the home country] may not require great riches . . . all require some discretionary wealth. (234-235)

People find it difficult to escape from patterns for accommodating difference which are motivated by the perceived need to maintain dominant and subordinate relationships throughout the society. While the solutions that people have employed to cope with discrimination and the critical view of the society they can exercise from the margin might usefully inform insiders who experience frustration and powerlessness in relation to the larger forces of the society, systemic subordination obstructs that process. The problem addressed here is to find ways to help members from diverse societies "establish a connection" between themselves understood as parts of a whole so that "one can experience the activities that further one's own welfare in daily life as expressions of a more encompassing social good" (Angus 1990:20).

Purpose of the Study

This study was concerned with the change that can develop in the interrelationships between groups of people, who share a locale and yet recognize important differences exist which separate them, when they are involved together in a creative project. The project was motivated by Sara

Stuart's (1990) observation that the producers throughout the world who contribute to the Village Video Network share the common micro-culture of video production. Interpreting the difficulties Stuart reported that audiences experience in tolerating unfamiliar artistic solutions in video as reflecting the cultural boundaries that maintain a sense of separate identity, the purpose of the project and this study was to find out how novices from different ethnic groups might reach across those boundaries when they enter the micro-world of video production.

European, Hispanic, and Southeast Asian youth were guided through a series of cross-cultural awareness exercises and introduced to the fundamentals of video production. They were subsequently asked to examine their understanding of diversity by identifying and treating an issue from their lives in a video production. Their interaction throughout the project shaped the primary question of this dissertation:

What does a community of novice and experienced video producers from diverse cultural backgrounds do to share their perceptions of their environment with each other?

My interest in learning how participants might explore each other's cultures presumed that the individuals would share such a fascination. Theatrical forms offer a way of envisaging how a society might appear under different circumstances as conditions change. A created world

releases actors from social constraints allowing space to practice giving voice to feelings and ideas while alleviating the pressure of direct consequence.

While an atmosphere of possibility may develop in a context organized around performance and crafts, differences which persist in the participants' daily lives can intrude in the fantasy world. When cinematic forms are used to make sense of reality (as in documentaries), the selection process brings lived experience into the environment where worlds are created. The use of video in this project was intended to offer the participants an accessible, convenient, and highly malleable means of commenting on their reality using a medium related to theater. However, the act of bringing people of diverse backgrounds together in a particularized and artificial world offered no guarantee that they would engage each other in ways that would reduce or abandon barriers erected to cope with discrimination and marginalization they experienced in their daily lives.

Significance of the Study

Technology in learning can be used to support both instructional and educational relationships (Hlynka and Belland 1991). An instructional approach to technology is often characterized by a concern with systems design, presentation and evaluation in a training environment (Heinich, Molenda, and Russell 1985). In the instructional

relationship Gagné (1987) describes, technology is understood as facilitating the transmission of knowledge between knower and non-knower. These resources position technology as useful in transmitting knowledge intended to enable the learner to contribute usefully to the workplace, derive benefit in return for labor, and assimilate recommended patterns of consuming the products of industry.

It is a basic purpose of the field of instructional technology to promote and aid the application of . . . known and validated procedures in the design and delivery of instruction. (Gagné 1987:7)

When learning is understood in terms of investment, knowledge joins products as a commodity and performance is evaluated according to the criteria of the investor. Technology used to increase the efficiency of information transfer and the performance of the learner favors a stable learning environment. Destabilizing forces seek to expand the knowledge base by including voices which have been suppressed or absented altogether (Friere 1989, 1990; Illich 1988; Adams with Horton 1975; Giroux 1992).

Education is concerned with creating an environment which enhances learning by developing curiosity, adaptability, and the capacity to criticize (Friere 1989, 1990; Gagné 1987; Hlynka 1991). In a lecture delivered at the Annual Conference of the Association of Educational and Communication Technology in 1992, Pearson observed that technology "allows learners to engage in unique activities

and . . . experience the world around them in new and exciting ways."

The term "educational technology" implies patterns of use which facilitate inquiry and enable learners to engage in a process of selecting and juxtaposing their experiences to help them develop an awareness and achieve a critical understanding of their surrounding world (Dewey 1938; Knowles 1970; Friere 1989, 1990; Giroux 1992). Rather than informing, an emphasis on education suggests a research oriented use of technology in order to construct knowledge and achieve an understanding of society grounded in critical observation and a reflection on experience.

A strong theme in much of the professional literature of the social sciences in recent times . . . has been the need for individuals to learn how to adapt to--and participate in--change. . . . [M]ost of the adults living today have been equipped by their education and experience with the attitudes and skills required to maintain stability, and that this equipment is dysfunctional in a society characterized by rapid change (Knowles 1970:95).

Knowles (1970) draws attention to the necessity of involving the learners in the planning and evaluation process asserting that the "only valid source of information . . . is the individuals themselves" adding that too often "adult educators and others . . . in actual practice act on assumptions" (95). Knowles recommends grounding inquiry and involvement in the actual lives of people to avoid contradictory purposes. He suggests asking them to reflect on their "problems" (102) rather than trying to articulate their needs, establishing a basis for facilitating learning.

When education does not empower, it can be criticized as serving the objectives of the oppressor (Dolci 1959, 1965, 1967; Gramsci 1971; Friere 1989, 1990). Progressive educators have been constructing alternative educational models in which the ownership of the learning environment is shared. Under these conditions, the objectives and the process are the result of negotiation and aim toward balance in the society (Banathy 1987).

Clarification and Delimitation

Definition of terms

"Participatory video" and "community video" are two imprecise terms used in this dissertation to describe relationships between the producers. In certain contexts, participatory video describes political uses of video that attempt to counter commercial and official forces that would marginalize or exclude critical voices from channels of media. While this use could foreseeably grow out of the relationships that develop in a project such as described in this dissertation, it would represent a later and certainly more mature phase than is the immediate focus here.

Participatory Video

In this context, participatory video describes a use of video technology which derives from participatory research. Participatory research emphasizes widening the circle of initiative, authority, and purpose in a research project to include the traditional subjects of research. Participatory

research is organized around the concept of praxis in which initial ideas and directions are reviewed and redirected as a result of practical experience in a continuing cycle. The value of participatory research for the participants is the ability of the approach to facilitate the development of a critical understanding of the forces that shape an environment as a basis for taking further action that is grounded in the interests of the community.

Participatory research characteristically relies on the collective experiences of a group for understanding (Horton 1990). The research process is used to problematize current conditions with the intention of educating for empowerment by raising participants' consciousness (Friere 1989). In this project, video is used in this manner and derives from Friere's (1987) work regarding empowerment through literacy. Using video, the editing process is the first action on that awareness which is directed toward the broader development of learning communities (Fals-Borda 1991).

Community Video

The sense in which community video is a term pertinent to this study parallels a professional community of collaborating specialists grounded in the involvement, abilities, and experiences of participants. Novices are encouraged to use accessible versions of video technology to facilitate their growing understanding of a common interest or problem. As discussed earlier, Sara Stuart feels that

this shared experience of video production crosses cultural boundaries within this circle of video producers more easily than the products themselves.

Community video also is used to signify local community cable access television facilities, products, and relations with the viewers. While a community video facility is clearly an environment which a critical community of video producers may use to advantage, it is the relations between members of the group that is the immediate concern in this project. The circumstances of establishment, facilities, access, and the resulting distribution capabilities offered by a particular community cable access station are outside the immediate concern here although the relations fostered between producers by such a facility are clearly within the interest of this study. The community of learners reported here formed without access to such a facility and distributed products by other means.

Emphasizing the process and the social aspects, the combined term "participatory community video" seems more suitable but somewhat overburdened. I use participatory video to emphasize the development of awareness through praxis and community video to emphasize the formative social forces initiated by involvement in production.

Exclusions

This study describes an internal process tracing the initial development of the creative and expressive voices

within a culturally diverse micro-community organized around video production. The study ends at a point where the participants provide personal reactions immediately after viewing a version of their work edited to suggest that they share a questioning of societal constraints that crosses cultural boundaries. An extended dialogue with the producers regarding the treatment of their work would initiate the next cycle of a praxis using this approach. This study can be seen as ending at the point of departure for a dialogue which might result in alternative treatments to the material produced in this introductory phase or provide the impetus and initial direction for the producer to continue their research.

Distribution patterns and the reactions of an audience other than the producers themselves are also outside this study although the necessity of coming to terms with a wider audience is clearly on the horizon of the producers' awareness. While the activities of concern in this study are preparatory for that larger task, it would be insufficient for a video educational practice to remain at the comparatively insulated stage encompassed by this study. Garnham (1990) calls upon media producers to look toward alternative patterns of distribution rather demanding acceptance of impoverished models of industrial and broadcast television production as the arena where a plurality of voices can be heard.

Guiding Assumptions

Three assumptions guiding this study are:

1. People in production do not exist isolated from their context. Whatever people do with video is a response to another environment including broadcast television.
2. Performance-based art forms offer individuals opportunities to use their strongest intelligences to communicate and to experience both democratic and hierarchical relationships of power.
3. Video translates lived experience into a form in which people can encounter themselves objectively, creating a distance which can be used reflexively to raise awareness.

Design of the Study

This case study describes a collaboration among members of a clearly culturally diverse group selected to represent different societies in contact within a particular community. The participants were trainees learning to use consumer and industrial grade video equipment. The collaborative production structure created the need for organization and agreement among the participants. The process invited problem solving in the manner of an artist working to reach solutions to creative problems. The participants were encouraged to contribute their strengths and creative abilities to the micro-community of producers.

As the process by which the participants developed their product is the focus of the study, their observed interaction forms a major part of the data used to discuss a role for video in organizing a relationship to advance intercultural understanding.

Data Sources and Use of Information

This case study relies on the ideas of a qualitative approach to research discussed in Patton (1990), Bogdan and Biklen (1992), Marshall and Rossman (1989), and Brenner, Marsh, and Brenner (1978). The research draws on four areas of data.

Group Development Exercises

The first area of data included the exercises used to encourage members to reflect on their experience in the larger social context and develop trust among the members of the group as they began to work together. These activities form three categories consisting of:

- a. exercises and worksheets used to stimulate discussions in areas of social concern. These were intended to make the differences and similarities between individuals more explicit to the company. The knowledge and concerns the members discovered they shared was used to guide script development.
- b. practical experiences directly related to video production. Pre-production activities such as acting exercises, scripting, storyboarding, and

preparing graphics and sets provided the base of data in this category. These activities resulted in video skits and art work that added dimension to the discussions arising during the exercises and worksheet activities mentioned in the first category above and provided experiences in collaborating to achieve an objective. These activities introduced the crew to the problems of directing, accepting direction, as well as operating and using basic video equipment.

- c. viewing and commenting upon other productions including the work of the previous groups connected with the project and professional productions that addressed some aspect of cross-cultural communication. Discussing other work in terms of its content and construction provided an additional basis for planning, constructing, and evaluating their own efforts.

Observation of Group Interaction

The second area consisted of videotape used as an observational tool to reveal patterns of clustering, evidence suggesting resistance and willingness to work together, and the kinds of language individuals use when interacting with each other. Particular areas of interest included the decision-making process, production events, and

occasions for reflection. In reviewing these tapes, I looked for:

- a. who was actively included in production events,
- b. how members contributed to or withdrew from production events,
- c. how power was distributed and who exercised authority or accepted control,
- d. patterns of interaction including physical proximity, partnership patterns and the nature of dialogue.

Personal In-Depth Interviews

The third area of data consisted of confidential personal interviews which occurred at the beginning, middle, and end of the process in which the participants were asked to "reconstruct their experiences" (Seidman 1991) with relation to the production. The interviewees volunteered and were paid five dollars per one hour interview. The interviews took place outside production hours. Not all the participants agreed to be interviewed and some of the interviewees did not meet for the full three sessions that were planned.

These interviews provided a basis for more closely describing individual perception of the production and relations with the other participants by tracing the:

- a. developing sense of community the participant felt with the others in the production company,

- b. investment and importance the production activities represented for the individual,
- c. preference for certain tasks and perception of other participant's strengths or weaknesses in production roles,
- d. choices they would exercise in inviting the other participants to form an ideal crew.

Video Material Analysis

The fourth source of data was the video material the participants produced. Visual patterns and manipulations that were present in the footage recorded by different members formed the basis for the first cut. The first cut was reviewed by the members of the original group. The discussion addressed the motivations behind editing decisions that shaped the appearance, structure, action, and content of the first cut. The work was considered for its truthful relationship to the participants' sense of their experience in an effort to open their awareness to the constructed nature of a media product and their ability to control their representation.

Organization of the Dissertation

The chapters are organized to provide a theoretical grounding to the dissertation in media theory, communication in a culturally diverse context, and in adult education practice. In Chapter 2, I look at the formation environments through the interactions between people using

mediating technologies. In Chapter 3, I focus on the multicultural environment created by the diversity of people present. In Chapter 4, the figures complete the first cycle in an educational praxis as they reflect on how their image is manipulated to construct an environment and exercise their ability to critique the representation. In Chapter 5, the activities of the project are described to form a basis for articulating theory with practical experience.

In Chapter 6, the changes in the direction of influence and control of information in the project are used to consider how the relationship that develops between participants collaborating in a video production shifts when the facilitator actively joins the production process. In examining these data, I have sought to understand how people construct identity using video and if participants collaborating on a video production develop a sense of community. I have been especially interested in grounding suggestions for using video to enhance cross-cultural understanding in evidence of a willingness or a resistance to collaborate within the community formed to make meaning with video. Rather than reproducing a hierarchical authoritative relationship in which the teacher establishes the parameters of student activity, the facilitator as participant can collaborate with learners in exploring each other's thoughts. I argue that this shift alters the environment from an instructional to an educational context.

CHAPTER 2

MEDIATING ENVIRONMENTS FOR EDUCATION

The relationship between the learner and the environment through a use of video described in this research is informed by a comparative media theory outlined by Ian Angus (1992). Angus shows how Marshall McLuhan's understanding of media as cultural environments reveals an experience of the world that can be compared with phenomenological intentionality or consciousness directed toward the surrounding world.¹ Angus has identified Don Ihde as a particularly useful resource for understanding intentionality in mediated environments. In completing his formation, Angus has drawn on Gregory Bateson for an understanding of the interdependency developing between the constituents within a system and the awareness achieved by reflection on the systemic relationship.

My aim here and in Chapters 3 and 4 is to extend Angus' formation into a critical educational practice in a context shaped by intercultural contact and an educational use of media. This practice uses video to mediate the interaction among participants and between the participants and their surrounding environment.

¹The phenomenological concept of intentionality emphasizes relations through which subjects and objects can be temporarily formed as an act of consciousness. This is a useful stance which opens the possibility of accepting diverse cultural influences as the broadening of experience rather than an irreconcilable Otherness.

Mediated Environments

McLuhan, Ihde, and Bateson provide a basis for examining human interaction within an environment that includes a mediating technology. Their work informs my later discussion of a learning context that was shaped by association with other contexts and the use of video. I begin my discussion of an educational use of technology with McLuhan, keeping in mind his comment that "All any technology can do is add itself on to what we already are" (1964:27).

Media as Translations

In Understanding Media, McLuhan (1964) explains media as extensions of human physicality and senses necessarily shaped in interaction with the environment. Among numerous examples, McLuhan describes the wheel as an extension of the feet and the book as an extension of the eye. In doing so, McLuhan is asking us to recognize the content or "message" of a medium as deriving from previous media which new forms replace. These extensions can be traced back to initial extensions of their bodies that humans made in interaction with the environment. Rather than the particular information presented on its surface, McLuhan finds the message of a medium in the relationship between previous and subsequent forms and the environment these interaction creates. For McLuhan, the content of a medium can be

recovered by looking back to the initial extensions of the human body or senses:

[A] characteristic of all media [is that] the "content" of any medium is always another medium. The content of writing is speech, just as the written word is the content of print. . . . If it is asked, "What is the content of speech?" it is necessary to say, "It is an actual process of thought, which is in itself nonverbal." (1964:23-24)

McLuhan suggests humans interact with their natural environment by translating, for example, objects into words, obstacles into accommodating movements on pathways, weather into clothing and shelter, hunger into sources of sustenance, and society into games. When these experiences are organized in speech, they can be preserved, understood, and transmitted across generations as abstractions which break the temporal and spatial bonds of direct experience.

Abstraction opens the possibility of embellishment and experimentation and association with reports of other experience. McLuhan asks us to recognize that "All media are active metaphors in their power to translate experience into new forms" (1964:63). The technologies which augment these initial extensions of the body and senses change the experience of the environment. In a fundamental example, thought becomes speech and societies form through language.

Until the availability of electricity, the extensions are mainly mechanical and within relative proportional relationship with the human body in time and space. Face-to-face speech is initially transmitted over greater distances using pathways, waterways, and seaways.

Electricity raises the possibility of instant and simultaneous presence of speech throughout the human environment as well as sending voice over generations using recording technologies. Electronic media extend the nervous system and become organic, ever closer to the self, collapsing time and space distinctions.

[T]he personal and social consequences of any medium--that is, of any extensions of ourselves--result from the new scale that is introduced in to our affairs by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology. (McLuhan 1964:23)

The influence of such technologies tends to be confused with the particular information which is recorded, confusing structure with application. McLuhan uses the example of electric light to break away from the concept of message as generally understood and show the message of any technology lies in the relationships it enables. By changing day into night, McLuhan notes, electric light "shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action" (1964:24).

For McLuhan, a medium comes to constitute the environment when familiarity, acceptance, and use allow it to merge with the user's identity.

An artifact pushed far enough tends to reincorporate the user. The Huns lived on their horses day and night. (McLuhan and Powers 1989:3)

When a medium becomes indistinguishable from the user, distinguishing the medium apart from the environment becomes increasingly difficult until the medium is replaced by a successor. The new form is understood in terms of the aging

one until the new form becomes part of the environment. The previous medium often becomes associated with creative arts.

As our proliferating technologies have created a whole series of new environments, men have become aware of the arts as "anti-environments" or "counter-environments" that provide us with the means of perceiving the environment itself. Edward Hall has explained that men are never aware of the ground rules of their environmental systems of cultures. Today technologies and their consequent environments succeed each other so rapidly that one environment makes us aware of the next.

Art as anti-environment becomes more than ever a means of training perception and judgment. (McLuhan 1964:ix)

McLuhan describes the process of translation leading to incorporation as having four distinct periods. At first, the new medium replaces a previous form. Secondly, in doing so, the new medium obsolesces the existing aging form. Thirdly, the new medium recovers a previously obsolesced form which, together with the form obsolesced by the new medium in the second phase form the context of the new medium. Fourth, the new medium emerges as a new cultural form and becomes open to direct experience as part of the environment. McLuhan applied these process to understand the technological environment formed by cable television.

Cable TV

- A. Amplifies quality and diversity of signal pickup
- B. Obsolesces diffusion broadcasting
- C. Retrieves early transmission broadcast pattern of point-to-point (ship-to-shore)
- D. Reversal is flip to home broadcasting

(McLuhan and Powers 1989:177)

McLuhan (1989) proposes this four stage process as the "Laws of Media" to provide a structure for discussing media

as "information and perception which forms our thoughts"
(206).

The "Laws of Media" have been shaped by studying the effects of media, so there is always a hidden *ground* upon which these effects stand and against which they bounce. That is the law of a medium is a *figure* interplaying with a *ground*. As with the wheel and axle, there must be an interval between the two in order for the play to exist. (McLuhan 1989:206 original italics)

Rather than focussing on particular manifestations of technological innovation, McLuhan asks us to consider anything that extends the human body and senses as "media of communication . . . in the sense that they shape and rearrange the patterns of human association and community" (1964:121). It is in this shaping of human experience that technologies become culture. That the shaping occurs in interaction with the environment encourages Angus (1992) to compare "McLuhan's media theory . . . to the phenomenological account of consciousness and world" (72). Ihde provides a basis for examining how the experience of using a mediating technology such as video provides individuals with a means of exchanging interpretations of their environment and constructing alternative possibilities from that interaction.

Awareness and Environment

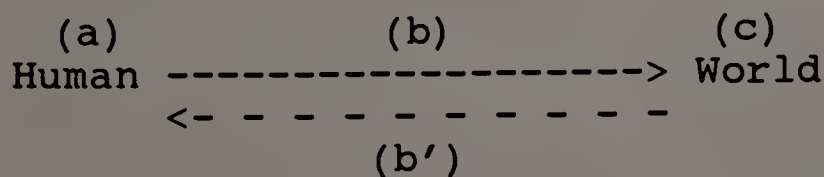
As understood through the concept of phenomenological intentionality, people form their experience by directing their consciousness toward their surrounding world and are shaped by the relationships that result from interaction

with their surroundings. This emphasis on interaction provides a helpful alternative to a positivist understanding of the world by shifting the focus away from the opposing poles of the subject-object continuum toward what goes on between the ends. Angus (1992) describes the particular sense of intentionality as understood in phenomenology as identifying the directed awareness that develops between subjects or as a subject engages an object, writing:

Intentionality is . . . not a relationship between two separate types of things such as "subject" and "object" --whose connection must always remain mysterious--but is located between two essentially related phenomena. But it is not the two terms, consciousness and world, that are most important here, but the middle term that establishes their connection. (73, emphasis added)

This emphasis on intermediary relationships rather than opposite ends of a continuum accounts for the ability of the "subject-in-itself" and the "object-in-itself" to be inverted, with a consequent reduction in the validity of a sense of superiority of either position while retaining their connectedness (Ihde 1976:35).

Ihde offers a structure to analyze the role of technology in forming experience of the world as understood phenomenologically. Ihde begins with the reflective interrelationship of primary direct experience in the lived world. He diagrams this relationship as an opposition.



(Ihde 1976:36)

In Ihde's diagram, (b) represents awareness directed towards the world which "correlat[es] . . . what is experienced with how it is experienced" (1979:6) and (b') the reflection from the surrounding world which he describes as an "experience of experience" (1976:37) which he identifies elsewhere as the means "by which we may interpret or understand ourselves" (1979:6). Ihde emphasizes that as this reflection carries:

[t]he implication . . . that I do not "know myself" in Cartesian fashion. What I know of myself is "indirect" as a reflection from the world. This also applies to others: I know myself as reflected from others." (1976:37, emphasis in original)²

This formation can be seen whether concentration is focused on social interactions between people or on the shaping of existence by the interaction between people and the place they inhabit. Mountain, river, and coastal communities comprised of villagers, farmers, traders, and seafarers are shaped by a discourse as humans extend themselves within their community and their natural environment.

Ihde expands his diagram to include technologies mediating between the human and the world, as:

human --- instrument --- world

(Ihde 1979:18)

The instrument extends a part of the body (mechanical) or the sensorium (electrical), augmenting an aspect of the

²Charles Horton Cooley (1978) adds a third dimension to this relationship: the perception of the Self estimated to be held by the Other.

human ability to experience of the world and altering a way the world is experienced. At the same time, emphasizing a particular aspect of the body or the sensorium using a technology reduces the totality of experience available to the mind in face-to-face interactions.

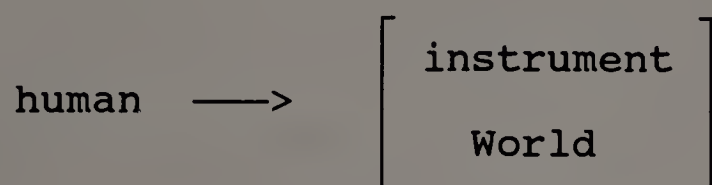
Ihde describes different ways an instrument affects awareness. In an "embodiment relationship" (1979:6-11), the instrument moves from augmenting a sense through its use to the instrument becoming partially transparent, a way of experiencing the world with an instrument. Ihde uses the examples of a telescope and microscope which make such vastly differentiated objects as amoebas and stars available to human sight but reduce them to apparently similar size in the diopter and locate them in apparently silent contexts.

As the instrument moves to the other end of the mediating continuum, the world to be experienced is a representation of primary direct experience by the meditating technology. Ihde describes the analytical use of instruments as a "hermeneutic relationship" (1979:11-13). Ihde cites the examples of infrared photographs which offer a recognizable image of an object but presented in colors that the observer must be trained to read and spectrographic photographs which provide no visual reference consistent with direct experience and must be interpreted.

This result is . . . 'text like' . . . in that there is no longer any obvious correspondence of form between the thing and the representation. It is, rather, a 'text' which tells us something about the thing. And what it tells must now be 'read' by the one who is

'literate' in its language. What is made available, is made available through the hermeneutic use of instruments. (1979:35)

Ihde describes the point at which when media become part of the environment available to experience as "background relations" (1979:13-14) writing, "I live in their midst, often not noticing their surrounding presence. Yet their surrounding presence is almost constant" (1979:14). Ihde diagrams the instrument as part of the environment thus:



(Ihde 1979:14)

Ihde's descriptions of experience mediated with technology as embodiment, hermeneutic, and background relations provide a point of departure for examining a pivotal use of video in this dissertation project. In Chapter 6, I show how I entered the process as an editor and used video sequences produced by separate crews to make the participants appear to interact unproblematically by obscuring the actual social divisions they maintained. In their separate treatments of their surrounding context, I found the crews revealed that they shared an impulse to resist social constraints which I tried to make explicit by following examples from their rough editing decisions. The participants' familiarity with production circumstances provided them with a basis for critically viewing the video product I constructed with their footage.

Approximating Ihde's "embodiment model" (1979:36), each director used the camcorder to examine the surrounding world of primary direct experience during the preparatory period before videotaping. According to the ability of the equipment and the constraints of the location, they gathered audio information clearly and framed the visual material while keeping the camcorder stationary or moving. The experience of the surrounding world, the motivation for videotaping, and the "background" experience of video (including the inability of the medium to record smells, tastes, or touch sensations) shaped how the director explored the surrounding world with the camera. The relationship with the technology in this phase can be diagrammed as:

(director-camcorder) —> world

As soon as each director stopped recording, attention shifted from exploring the surrounding world within the equipment's limitations to the director's interpretation of primary direct experience as original footage on videotape.

As a record of the director's interaction with the surrounding world, the example of motion pictures diverges from Ihde's examples of the infrared photograph and the spectrograph. Rather than an analytical device which alters an object in a way requiring a trained observer to interpret the representation, sequences of motion picture images reveal a director's particular interpretation.

Ihde (1979) indicates that in a hermeneutic relationship, "the deliberately designed transformation from mundane perception is the condition of the possibility for certain analytic functions through the instrument" (38). As all the directors' original footage is collected, their interpretations preserved on videotape form the surrounding world for each editor's subsequent interpretation again with the "background relations" which the editor brings. Approximating Ihde's model of hermeneutic relations, editor's interaction with this footage can be diagrammed as:

editor —> (original footage-world)

In the example, as a result of contributing original footage and editing it, the directors and the editor collaborate in constructing a world for the viewer to experience. The interaction between the director, editor, and audience to create meaning from experience involve the problem of domination. Bateson is helpful in determining how to interact in any environment responsibly and to maintain an ecological balance. The ability to control the necessary capacity to dominate becomes a paramount concern for maintaining survival of the system as a whole. Bateson (1972) defines wisdom as knowledge of the systemic nature of the environment and the need for balance to sustain a system. The ability of individuals to reflect on their existence within their context opens the way for learning the "humility" as well as the "spontaneity" (Angus 1992:74)

necessary to participate in the context while releasing the desire to control an environment that ultimately lies beyond control.

Human Ecology and Systemic Awareness

Up to this point, translation and reflection in media have been discussed in terms of identifying areas where the potential for understanding exists within an environment. Conditions for learning can be seen in the distance developing in the translations McLuhan traces as people develop media by extending aspects of themselves into the environment. Conditions for learning also develop between existing and emerging media as new forms are evolved which incorporate as their content the improvements to solutions and the capabilities established with previous media. By including reflection in his diagram of awareness directed toward the surrounding world, Ihde creates a device to recognize that cognition develops in the interaction of differences, a position which focuses on the contributions each end makes in shaping the relationship between them.

In his article "Difference, Double Description and the Interactive Designation of Self" published posthumously, Bateson (1982) affirms "[y]our identity, your self, depends upon the people and things that compose your associations" and claims "that difference is crucial to communication, perception, and just about all human activities" (3).

Bateson continues along lines consistent with McLuhan and Ihde, writing:

Learning the contexts of life is a matter which cannot be considered to be internal, as if you were talking about something happening inside the organism. It is a matter of external relationship between two creatures or between a creature and, say, a mountain or an environment of some sort. (Bateson 1982:4, emphasis in original)

Comprehending this external relationship in terms of multiple perspectives will yield a qualitatively different understanding. Bateson points to the concrete example of depth perception as a quality of binocular vision unavailable to monocular vision (1982:3). This attention to multiple perspectives connects Bateson's position with Ihde's recognition of the role of interaction between the ends of the continuum in developing understanding.

Bateson (1972) points out that in order to be capable of survival, any living being must be able to dominate its environment. But this capacity to dominate also carries the potential for an organism to destroy its own environment. Ameliorating the necessary but dangerous capacity to dominate is the tendency in natural systems toward balance. Bateson describes the relationship between living entities as "a combination of competition and mutual dependency" (430) which includes social relations.

What is true of the species that live together in a wood is also true of the groupings and sorts of people in a society, who are similarly in an uneasy balance of dependency and competition. . . . If any of the parts [in our bodies] did not have the expansive characteristics they would go out [cease to exist], and you would go out, too. So even in the body you have a

liability. With improper disturbance of the system, the exponential curves appear.

In a society, the same is true. (431)

Bateson indicates the imperative implied by the capacity to dominate must be countered actively by restraint. Bateson observes that recognition of the necessity for exercising restraint in systemic relationships even occurs outside human nature reporting "[t]here is a process of deuterio-learning³ whereby the creatures change so as to fit themselves to the on-going pattern of the relationship" (1982:5). In an example of a gibbon and a dog cooperating in their play, Bateson points to their willingness to forego advantages of differing physical capabilities so as to sustain the game. Their "[l]earning was rooted in the relationship between the two animals, not in something happening inside each animal itself" (1982:7).

Bateson (1972) makes a critical differentiation between natural existence, including humans, as a system striving for balance on the one hand, and on the other, human consciousness when it strives for control.

Conscious purpose is now empowered to upset the balances of the body, of society, and of the biological world around us. A pathology--a loss of balance--is threatened. (434)

Understanding Bateson's "conscious purpose" as deriving from the awareness directed toward the surrounding world of phenomenological intentionality, the risk for disaster rises rapidly if intentionality implies control and if the shaping effects of reflection that Ihde identifies are ignored.

³Deuterio means secondary.

Purposive consciousness pulls out, from the total mind, sequences which do not have the loop structure which is characteristic of the whole systemic structure. If you follow the "common-sense" dictates of consciousness you become, effectively, greedy and unwise--again I use "wisdom" as a word for recognition of and guidance by a knowledge of the total systemic creature.

Lack of systemic wisdom is always punished.
(Bateson 1972:434)

Achieving systemic wisdom requires a perspective that is unlikely to be reached from awareness developed within the system itself. But gaining a perspective outside the system is both difficult and problematic. Distance is achievable through absence, encounters with others outside the context, and translation of a particular reality abstracted from the whole. But the awareness that can be gained is necessarily incomplete.

In "Conscious Purpose Versus Nature," Bateson (1972) points out all systems share an inability to monitor and control their totality consciously. While monitoring and control devices may sample a function continuously, they are themselves additional systems. If the desire to monitor and control created systems totally cannot be suspended, a never-ending process results. The need for the unconscious is modelled in biological systems such as the respiratory and circulatory systems of our bodies. What can be consciously known is only a part of the whole which may be taken to represent the total.

Abstracting from lived experience enhances the ability to envisage the whole system but at a loss of presence,

connectedness, or of specific reference to another particularity. In each case the part, whether the national abroad, or the outsider looking in, or the translation into another form is not the whole but addresses or implies the whole. This incompleteness raises questions of selecting what abstraction will resonate well with a particular group, a systemic problem which invites collaboration.

In terms of cross-cultural understanding, translations can clarify by recasting differences as comprehensible. By changing form, translation creates the distance necessary to gain the understanding available from a stance external to the original context. Similarly, identity can be shaped through the reflective relationship of phenomenological intentionality. McLuhan (1964) clarifies the necessity of translations for knowledge writing:

We are aware only of the "content" or the old environment. . . . This older environment was elevated to an art form by the new . . . environment. . . . Each new technology creates an environment that is itself regarded as corrupt and degrading. Yet the new one turns its predecessor into an art form. When writing was new, Plato transformed the old oral dialogue into an art form. (ix)

The fictional world of drama has long provided a vehicle to guide action by providing examples to emulate and inform action at a remove from the particularities of lived reality. Keir Elam (1980) points out than reflecting lived experience:

the dramatic 'model' is essential to our understanding of our own world, not only in the sense that we continually apply dramatic metaphors to all spheres of activity . . . but also because the way in which we

make sense of our lives and their component acts is very considerably influenced by our experience of dramatic worlds. (133-134)

The interactive processes of making and reading abstractions of experience can be understood as being necessary for understanding relationships within an environment. The ability to reveal an environment through abstractions has important implications for media used educationally.

The process of understanding and acting with wisdom is seen to entail establishing an order in an environment which otherwise offers a totalizing and undifferentiated context without discernable boundaries. A role for technologies can be found mediating between undifferentiated contexts and a theoretical view of an idealized relationship, and between the ideal and the specifics of a lived context. Dewey (1966) points to the abstractions as coming to constitute the notion people have of the whole:

Society not only continues to exist by transmission (of the accumulated knowledge to the succeeding generations), by communication, but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission, in communication. . . . Men [sic] live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common. What they must have in common in order to form a community or society are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge.
(4)

It is important to affirm that a sustainable environment of any sort requires movement toward balance and communication. But a sense of common ground should not be interpreted as advocating a monoculture. A monoculture can be seen as problematic particularly if it presumes a domination of sameness and intolerance of difference.

Learning and change which lead to knowledge and strength require the conditions that offer difference. James Carey (1975) comments on Dewey regarding the necessity of difference:

Dewey knew that knowledge most effectively grew at the point when things became problematic, when we experience an "information gap" between what circumstances impelled us toward doing and what we needed to know in order to act at all. This information gap, this sense of the problematic, can often be induced only by divesting life of its mundane trappings and exposing our common sense or scientific assumptions to an ironic light which makes the phenomenon strange. (11-12)

A strong argument for media made by the participants is that in the process of translating lived experience into a form toward which awareness can be directed, the irony of circumstances can be revealed. Participants in the process can use the distance created between experience and its representation to reflect on their environment and themselves within it from an unaccustomed vantage point.

The use of media outlined in this chapter has been informed by Angus' (1992) understanding of McLuhan's media theory, phenomenology, and Bateson's systems theory which Angus has used to suggest that social movements such as ecology and feminism mediate a collaborative rather than oppositional relationship between individuals and their environment. McLuhan and Ihde have been reviewed to show how considering media as extensions of the human body in interaction with the environment sets up a system of translation and creates conditions in which immediate

experience becomes available for learning. Bateson's warning that restraint must be exercised to prevent the dominance of a particular aspect of a system from destroying the balance necessary to sustain the system has been used to describe desirable relations between learners and facilitators.

Dewey has noted that differences must be available to human awareness as a condition for learning. It follows that societal diversity is valuable as educational. At the same time, a sense of common ground is a condition for community. The need for sustaining human diversity to maintain vitality without destroying the community creates a dilemma which requires tolerance to resolve. The mediating action in the project reported in this dissertation of articulating the participants' footage to form a unified whole represented an attempt to reconstruct oppositional relationships as interactions in a shared social context to help develop tolerance of difference by facilitating the discovery of concerns that are held in common. The next chapter looks more closely at the diversity among people which ensures that their context remains a vital environment for learning.

CHAPTER 3

MULTICULTURAL STUDIES

A multicultural view of the United States challenges the idea of this society as a monoculture to which newcomers must assimilate (Pratte 1979). The idea of this country as a monoculture has resulted in the exclusion of certain groups who were considered to be so different as to be unassimilable. While disenfranchising some, the idea also obscures the plurality that has formed this society, creating conditions where distinguishing characteristics are not discernible (Dinnerstein and Reimers 1988). Where there are no differences, no need for new knowledge is perceived to exist (Dewey 1938). With that in mind, recognizing an environment as multicultural is to acknowledge that social conditions exist under which learning can occur (Banks 1987; Nieto 1992).

One task of multiculturalism according to Banks is to include a wider range of points of view than is possible in an America construed as a homogeneous society. Helping people learn how to interact with each other in ways that overcome the historical patterns of domination which were coupled with the presumption that assimilation was desirable entails creating the conditions where inquiry and toleration for multiple viewpoints can flourish. In Affirming Diversity, Nieto (1992) points out that multiculturalism results in learning how to think when confronted with something new. Thus we can say that multicultural education

involves transforming education into a process of seeking and judging unfamiliar products to find their value to the human condition, rather than subscribing to and mastering a list of authorized products (Gee 1986a, 1986b). Similarly, multicultural education guides teachers and learners to explore other ways of interacting as valid alternatives in the struggle to overcome "policies and practices that disadvantage some students" (Nieto 1992:218).

A problem arises if the multicultural curriculum simply replaces the existing construct with another that remains based on intolerance and exclusion (Friere 1990). If a multicultural curriculum simply replaces this author with that, it does not go any distance toward expanding the basis for making critical judgments by which to encounter emerging authors from any culture. It simply establishes another system of judgments effectively colonizing new authors by patterns of assimilation (Memmi 1967).

Multiculturalism raises questions regarding how diversity can be tolerated. If a plurality of valid terms for interacting is created, how will people be able to communicate with each other? Or is this difficulty necessary to sustain? Consider the loss when film and video are used to document other cultures for the home culture. Distribution considerations typically result in a product which treats complex differences as intelligible without effort, rather than providing an experience of encountering differences when explanations are not readily available.

In film and video programs, differences are observed in an enclosed environment which has a beginning and an end and can be avoided altogether rather than directly encountered randomly over a indeterminable period as lived experience. By encapsulating its subject, the technology can contribute to the sense that the differences can be contained and exist without risk to the culture of the filmmakers. Seen from a multicultural perspective, simplifying the effort of encountering difference ignores the problem of helping people discover how they can adapt to work with each other and take an interest in each other while maintaining some sense of personal identity. As products available for consumption, film and video programs risk presenting other cultures as consumable experiences.

Rieff (1993) argues that under capitalist forces, multiculturalism becomes a pragmatic response to diversity by the business community.

Everything is commodifiable, even Afrocentrism, . . . bilingualism, . . . and the other "multicultural" tendencies in American society that conservatives so desperately fear. It turns out that when Hollywood signs up black directors . . . those movies make money. . . . And if the inclusion of new voices and constituencies signifies anything, it is not that capitalism is coming to an end but that it is getting its (latest) second wind. (72)

Rieff suggests that the market forces of capitalism extended through the enlarged capacity of communications systems result in "the multiculturalism of the market, not the multiculturalism of justice" (70). For Rieff, the marketplace constructs a predictability and consistency

which obscures the differences that exist between individuals, locales, or regions. Rather, people are finding common ground or estrangement based on class. He cautions that:

Multiculturalism is many things, but the one thing it is not is the idea that will save us or bring justice to the world. Such hopes can only confuse in this time when, far from standing on the point of its redemption, our society--this multicultural, global, increasingly non-white and non-European society--is steadily becoming less democratic, less just, and more impoverished. (72)

Transferring the concepts of social uniformity described by terms such as "monocultural" and "homogeneous" to the cash register is problematic in that it detaches the artifacts of a culture from the realities of social contact. Such a reductive vision of social interaction subverts the notion of tolerance and allows cultural curiosity to be resolved as possessions rather than a motivation to inquire into the nature of difference and exert the effort necessary to allow diversity to enliven a shared social discourse.

Stereotypes quickly reveal their inadequacy when a person encounters a concrete example. But the greater risk, it seems to me, is that when such images are used and a society is manipulated to support a particular viewpoint, the action of setting aside due recognition of the multiplicity of a society in favor of an over-generalization has the effect of obscuring an apparently unified society as a site capable of change.

The counter argument is that every society is diverse by virtue of the inevitable differences between its individual members. Rather, every society contains the conditions necessary for learning and growth in the differences by which its population expresses its identity.

Human Ecology in a Multicultural Environment

The literature I review here provides a foundation for the project that seeks to contribute to efforts which encourage intercultural inquiry, promote understanding and tolerance outside the enclave, and provide useful criticism of the quality of that contact. My purpose in assembling this literature is that while stereotypical thinking about other cultures presents a major obstacle to an openness toward realities of difference, moving beyond the abstractions presents other kinds of problems to coping with change.

Cultural productions, such as videos produced about, and sometimes by, a particular group may attract sympathy and possibly create a feeling of understanding among viewers. But the product remains an object and outside the experience of the audience. Experiential contexts that allow patterns of domination to persist can reduce the encounter to tourism and result in the continued commodification of other cultures (Giroux 1991, 1992; Nieto 1992). On the other hand, involving people in encounters which activate their creativity can provide opportunities

for interaction which will expand personal knowledge of other cultures.

Describing Contact Between Cultures

Some terms used to describe the context of communication between cultures in contact include intercultural, cross-cultural, and multicultural. W. Barnett Pearce (1990) has drawn attention to the fact that when these terms are coupled with terms which describe the kinds of negotiations taking place, concepts with internal tensions are shaped by the contradiction between sameness and difference. Pearce's examples include:

intercultural communication
cross-cultural understanding
multicultural education

While there is an assumption that communication occurs within a consciously shared context, Pearce wants us to recognize that all "all communication is 'intercultural' although only some instances of communication call attention to it." (5, his emphasis). He takes the position that inasmuch as every person has a different web of experience (he uses "nexus"), each individual represents a unique microculture. The problem Pearce is addressing is that by disregarding the differences which exist within any society and presuming it to be a static monoculture, people set conditions under which they fear that the arrival of more clearly distinct societies signals the disruption of a unity

rather than expansion of the already plural conditions that characterize any society.

Intercultural

The clearest context of intercultural communication occurs when different members of whole societies come in contact. Migration and travel offer occasions to experience and cope with difference both when one encounters a new society and, when possible, returns to a previously familiar context. I agree with Pearce that the times when people with obviously different backgrounds come into contact should be prized as they afford a clearer opportunity to develop the awareness and strategies that can result in the effective intercultural communication, which Pearce calls "eloquence." Developing "intercultural communicative eloquence" is a call for education to help individuals develop their capacity to successfully bridge the gap between different perceptions.

Cross-cultural

The term "cross-cultural understanding" is useful to describe contact between clearly separated societies in settings which admit of difference and accept the separation as defining the relationship in some fundamental way. It describes an exciting moment of contact or a sojourn which provides for many experiences of difference in high relief. Other languages, foods, dress, and customs are immediate areas of fascination in cross-cultural contact. Moving

beyond tourism to resolving the tensions which develop as differences in approaches to problem definition and solutions become evident requires substantially more time and effort.

A sense of separateness can give impetus to feelings of superiority or inferiority if cultures are compared and values are assigned. Competition of this sort can obstruct understanding for as long as the differential in value controls actions, it can be difficult for conditions to take hold in which people want to make the effort to comprehend the other point of view. For people to even accept being informed by another kind of truth, let alone amalgamate a wider range of understandings into a possible solution in a particular area of concern, some sense of an ability to understand must accompany recognition that the other position has value and relevance. A clear instance is the current and ongoing effort by native Americans to find an audience among the dominate societies in North America which they witness as carrying out, through ignorance, the destruction of the environment in which native Americans had historically achieved symbiosis.

Multicultural

The term "multicultural education" is useful for focusing on the tension between individuals as microcultures which describes any human social environment, and education which helps people develop an ability to accommodate

different points of view as they work to understand an area of shared interest or concern. The intention behind multicultural education is to enable people to find ways to contribute and accept their apparent differences in order to construct an understanding or reach a solution which incorporates various points of view, a rather loose mingling of thought, a collaborative enterprise in which people try to interpret each other.

Multicultural education seeks ways to enhance communication between societies where the parts are seen as members of the whole. Cross-cultural contact describes a context where separation between societies is sustained. Both cases attempt to educate people to acknowledge and respect differences. People value and find relevance in each other's thought (or do not) in settings where they share a lot in common. When the environment is shared, the conflict is between the concepts of a "monocultural" and a "multicultural" existence. Monocultural education raises images associated with stasis through assimilation and domination. Multicultural education is education for democracy and change (Nieto 1992).

Accepting Change

At a doctoral defense in December, 1992, Sonya Nieto expressed the concern that relying on radical shifts in demographics as an occasion for multicultural education in the United States was insufficient in that without such

shifts, there would be no enrichment. Nieto also stressed the importance of gradually replacing separatist educational curricula with one which is based on an inclusive view of the society within any course of study, or risking rejection before an awareness could take hold (Nieto 1992). In her work, Affirming Diversity, Nieto describes the change from a monocultural educational curriculum to one with a multicultural focus as systemic school reform which, even if adopted, can only create conditions where change can occur in a context which, if left as it presently exists, will continue to marginalize increasingly large numbers of our fellow citizens (Nieto 1992).

Fundamentally, Nieto's concern has to do with the necessity of being able to change to survive in a context defined by its plurality. In order to maintain a democratic society that is capable of learning under conditions formed by the unaccustomed juxtaposition of previously disparate societies migrating toward each other, the society will have to find the confidence to sustain and gain advantage from change. Learning is bound with change and change is not easy.

Pearce (1990) points out that any society is diverse in terms of the individuals that comprise it. Conditions of obvious difference present opportunities to learn to act when the fact of diversity is not so apparent. The concept of homogeneity describes a recognition of a high percentage of shared attributes rather than an absence of difference

and disagreement within a society. For Nieto, this argument speaks directly to the necessity for including multicultural studies in school curricula.

Pressures to change are construed as destructive when they are perceived as disrupting a status quo desirable to an individual or narrowly focussed group. Robert Bee (1975) cautions against viewing persistence toward continuity and forces toward change as contradictory. "The actual conditions of human existence . . . could perhaps more accurately be conceived as an infinite series of adjustments between tendencies toward both change and persistence" (13).

In Steps to an Ecology of Mind, Bateson (1972) defines wisdom as "knowledge of the larger interactive system--that system which, if disturbed, is likely to generate exponential curves of change. Experience has shown that rapid growth of one part leads to unpredictable and often disastrous ends" (433). In calling for conscious interaction to consider the consequences of actions at a systemic level, Bateson is focusing attention on self-awareness and reflexivity as a source for feedback. For Friere (1989), this is the cycle of praxis by which reflection and action become educational both for the dominant and subordinate factors in society.

Ethnic Identity and Encountering Difference

Writing about ethnicity in America, Margaret Mead (1982) drew attention to the influence of context in shaping

identities. Listing examples of some social images that have been used in the United States, she wrote:

[L]ocal experiences are compounded into various negative stereotypes, widely but never completely shared, within larger categories of persons: "immigrants," "foreigners," "refugees," "colored people," "Orientals," "Indians," "Catholics," "hillbillies," "damn Yankees," "kikes," "shouters," "the poor," "people on welfare," "grape pickers," "factory hands," "the Mafia," "goyim." Each of these categories of persons . . . has been shaped by particular and differing circumstances, and the membership of each changed in different historical periods and in different parts of the country. (182-183)

Mead is pointing to the way identities arise out of interactions occurring within a particular context. Experiences achieve meaning for an individual through association with other experiences. De Vos (1982) cites four areas where individual identity is constructed through ethnic association.

[E]thnicity is defined on four levels of analysis: first, in respect to a social structural level; second, as a pattern of social interaction; third, as a subjective experience of identity; and fourth as expressed in relatively fixed patterns of behavior and expressive emotional styles. (xi)

Understanding can be reached by associating images from a particular context with others drawn from individual experiences to reveal the constructed nature of knowledge. But the process relies on awareness to create a distance which can be reflected upon. Curiosity and the willingness to reflect are necessary to open the possibility of an individual reaching an understanding based on experience and context. Freire (1989) uses the concept of praxis to

describe the development of awareness through a cycling of reflection and action which contributes to the formation of knowledge and creates conditions which can transform social conditions. Accepting that identities are constructed from interaction with the environment, it follows that they are fluid, temporary, and changeable.

Problems In Mediating Identity

That any one of the identities that Mead set out is recognizable beyond what could be anticipated from personal experience reveals something about the "particular and differing circumstances" by which the categories are "shaped." It is unlikely that all the terms derive their meaning for an individual from the range of interactions available from face-to-face encounters. Meaning developed beyond the range of interpersonal encounters involves an individual interacting with mediating representations created for public acceptance. The construction of these representations reflects distribution of power which is constrained by limits to access, patterns of selectivity, development of authority, criteria of acceptance, opportunities for action, and circumstances of affiliation.

Access

Using technologies for representation introduces issues of qualifications, production costs, and time requirements both for planning and execution. The presence of individuals in specialized positions with a particular sense

of society, preference for efficient and protective use of technology, and constraints of time and money introduce problems of control in identity creation in mediated environments.

Selectivity

One immediate problem with identities formed by representations which occur through mediation is that working with any technology involves selective processes. As distance increases, the full sensory experience of live encounters is increasingly limited. Technologies emphasize aspects of the total of available experience. Those components which gain preference and are supported by specialized transmission technologies shape the possible interaction between producers, subjects, and audience. Technologies introduce problems of access, selection, design, and engineering limitations that anticipate certain uses and exclude others.

Imposing an order to render the randomness of lived experience comprehensible inevitably detaches the products from the environment they are taken to represent. Whether as industrial processes and commercial products (books, theater, broadcasts) or as accessible venues and media (public meetings, community and street theater, access television, videotape), the products are susceptible to formative criteria in processes which necessarily select aspects from direct experience resulting in a coherent

whole. Any selective action introduces questions of whose viewpoint will shape the product and whether the selections inherent in the formative processes will be revealed.

Authority Through Repetition

Adding to the fact that representations undergo a selective process regardless of the circumstances of their formation, if the products are part of industrial processes, they are formed in contexts dominated by imperatives of financial success which favor products that can demonstrate the ability to attract and hold public attention. Products (and viewpoints) that come to achieve economic importance to the industry open a cycle which has the objective of repeating the financial success. Repetition tends to affirm a point of view while suppressing dissent that is contrary to the economics of the cycle. Suppression can be accomplished by absenting alternative voices entirely or marginalizing dissenting voices by making negative associations. When suppression occurs through a medium that is itself attractive and accepted, the potential for manipulating the audience is amplified.

Uncritical Acceptance

One measure of public acceptance of representations is the degree to which community producers emulate the form or content of a certain kind of media use. Repetition reinforces uncritical acceptance of ideas while suppressing contradictory positions or allowing an unawareness of their

presence to persist. Whether the encounter occurs in a context that is openly fictional or ostensibly factual is immaterial to the reinforcement of an attitude that is found to resonate in a society. Rather it is the contribution to the stereotype and the possibility of uncritical acceptance that is the issue.

Construction of Identity Through Personal Interaction

When a person's curiosity is activated by an encounter with apparent difference, whether direct or abstracted through a medium of communication, a process of meaning-making is initiated as the mind tries to associate the unfamiliar with the known. This confluence of perceptions results in meanings being constructed by the participants. Arriving at a definition from the coincidence of association and action lends a temporal quality to the identity and raises the possibility of the person or group taking the initiative to affect self-image. It suggests that a person's identity is an ongoing and evolving process the specifics of which will, perhaps even must, change as he or she inhabits different contexts, which themselves are in constant flux.

Identification by Social Affiliation

At the same time, a larger sense of identity persists apart from the particular fluid and temporal encounters a person experiences. The sense of affiliation through associations based on perceptions of ethnicity, gender,

race, language, age, health, status of class, prosperity, profession, trade, and nationality suggests there are supercontextual identities which persist and accompany a person through life changes. The level of abstraction or inclusiveness does not serve to indicate its hierarchy within an individuals frame of valuing.

[E]thnicity has to be seen as a matter of relative priority in comparison with other forms of identity within any given individual. (De Vos 1982:xiii)

Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Difference

As people interact, all the factors which form their individuality come to influence relationships in unexpected ways, perhaps inhibiting communication where there was an anticipation of common ground or fostering alliances allowing people to overcome barriers arising in other areas of their being. Individuals are complex and, being unique, resist being reduced and categorized. As individuals interact with their physical and social context, the perception of the interaction influences personal interpretations and constructions of meaning. Fleming (1987) is supportive in this regard.

Learning is limited by what the learner perceives. . . Perception is . . . an active, ongoing, constructive process. A learner presented with a display may . . . compare it with some schema (organized information) in memory and immediately recognize the displayed object. [If it does not resonate, the field may be broadened]. This interactive . . . process may continue until an adequate match is found, an existing schema is modified or a new schema is constructed. (237)

When societies come in contact, whether on a temporary or permanent basis, concrete knowledge of another society inevitably disrupts the previous equilibrium each side has come to understand as the "natural" order of things. This disruption creates an awareness of difference and results in an imperative to engage the other, regardless of whether the outcome is merely acceptance or moves toward inclusion or rejection. Response to this awareness is carried out in terms of that which is familiar as any attempt to incorporate new knowledge into the web of understanding will only be intelligible as it accords with previous experience (Dewey 1938; Gagné 1987; Bateson 1972).

In the United States, a desire persists to construct a homogeneous society which appears contiguous at least on the surface in the manner of the European nation state. Shared identity becomes shared economic success. Thus an image of multiculturalism appears to exist in the multi-national corporations and in diplomatic spheres. But this is more accurately understood as a monoculture based on class.

Mead (1982) draws attention to the limitations of the concept of racism compared with competition for jobs and resources in constructing identity, citing the Jewish moneylender and the Chinese laundry worker. Such descriptions reveal the prejudices of the society in which the stereotypes arose. Similarly, Weiner (1978), writing about ethnic tension in India during the late 1970s, found that while ethnicity or race was used to justify

discrimination, these are superficial reasons used to obscure motives more clearly associated with economic rivalry.

A dominant/submissive relationship can appear outwardly to be an equilibrium. However, this relationship contains conflict which makes it unsustainable (Heilbroner 1980). Memmi (1991) describes this contradiction as a colonial relationship which destroys both the oppressor and the oppressed. Essentially, the colonized people are crushed as a culture and are included in the resources for the colonizing people to exploit. But the colonizers lose their vitality by existing without effort as the privileged class in a static society.

Dinnerstein and Reimers (1988), examining the history of immigration to the United States, revised their book during a period which began with enthusiasm as different ethnic groups asserted their identity against the pressure to assimilate to an American culture created on white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant values and beliefs. They saw this initial enthusiasm recede as individuals understood the ability to succeed economically apparently implied setting aside the impulse to "[proclaim] their ethnicity" (vii).

In recent years, both the source and size of patterns of immigration have renewed interest in maintaining cultural identity, particularly in the face of persistent resistance by the dominant society toward assimilating the newcomers. Dinnerstein and Reimers point to a:

paradox which began in colonial America: . . .
Whereas on the one hand we have welcomed strangers to
work and live among us, on the other hand we have
scorned and abused immigrants or minority groups who
have deviated from the dominant culture. (3)

Dinnerstein and Reimers conclude:

The forces undermining ethnicity--mass education,
social mobility, and an American culture--are strong
determinants that no group in the past has been able to
withstand indefinitely. For the moment it seems likely
that resistance to assimilation may slow the
Americanizing process but cannot prevent it. (192)

Much of Dinnerstein and Reimer's work examines the
varied economic advancement each group has experienced.
Essentially they are encouraging a comparison of separate
groups' progression towards middle class stability,
participation in and contribution to the economic well-being
of the nation. The enclaves are seen as protecting the
immobile, usually older, less educated immigrants
economically, culturally and linguistically. The suburbs
are the destination for the successful.

The general trend was clear. The older and more
prosperous immigrants' descendants measured their
success by their movement. Many of the recent Asian
immigrant did likewise. They too headed for the
suburbs to live in more substantial housing and to send
their children to better schools. (Dinnerstein and
Reimers:170-171)

However, in their approach to ethnicity in America,
Dinnerstein and Reimer (1988) provide an example of a
dilemma that I feel is bound to the problem of objective
representation: they study from an informed distance. The
voices of the people on whom they comment are silent.
Dinnerstein and Reimers express concern with maintaining

diversity and despair as connections with old ways are severed, but do so from a privileged vantage point which distances people as statistical data.

A comparison with the second edition of Ethnic Americans published six years previously (1982), shows Dinnerstein and Reimers portray Puerto Ricans as unchanging by inserting new statistical data into a narrative framework established in the earlier edition. While they would easily argue their position is legitimate, by providing the same explanatory perspective of the problems endured by the Puerto Ricans, Dinnerstein and Reimer construct an understanding using criteria that render Puerto Ricans as significantly dysfunctional. They continue to miss an opportunity to include the voices of the members of the community explaining an insider's perspective of the situation which could, possibly, balancing attention to the hardship with examples of successful contact. Poverty, drugs, single mother households are symptoms of social and economic injustice. The Puerto Ricans in Dinnerstein and Reimer's study are reduced to a problem which can be contained, analyzed, and managed by the dominant society. Awareness of disequilibrium alone does not necessarily result in ameliorative action at a systemic level.

Another example of constructing an image of a dysfunctional minority community occurs in Rebuilding the Temple, introduced in Chapter 1, as a representation of Cambodians in the United States by members of the dominant

society. In the film, Cambodians are seen as remaining dependent refugees ten to fifteen years after their arrival. If encountered solely through the film, a person outside Cambodian society may understand the community as dependent, burdensome, out of context, temporary, disruptive, objects of curiosity, deficient, inexperienced, and substandard academically. As guests, Cambodians can be circumscribed as inconsequential except, perhaps, in affairs narrowly and directly related to their home country.

Inclusion of the perspective of each group is a critical consideration in work which purports to help bridge the distance between cultures which come into close proximity. Viewing another as an object allows that otherness to be invested with characteristics that are only grounded in the experience of the person in the subject position. In an experiment conducted in a Canadian school, a fictitious community was described in terms of ethnic jokes to one test group, in positive terms to another, and given no information to a control group. The two test groups constructed images of the fictitious group consistent with the negative or positive information they had received (Kehoe 1984). Stepping momentarily outside human to human relations, a familiar example of the excess of projecting a quality on to an object is the readiness to equate a shark's image with evil. As a result, sharks are uncritically understood as threatening and far more often killed than the attacks that have occurred would appear to justify.

In concluding this chapter, I would like to recall an interview of Anna Deaver Smith by Terri Gross (July 7, 1993) in which Smith talked about shifts in the truths people bring to the discourse on race relations that she discovered while interviewing the truck driver beaten by African Americans during the riot in Los Angeles in 1991. She remarked that rather than expressing bitterness and desire for revenge, he attempted to describe a "thread" of communication that seemed to be forming as Rev. Jesse Jackson, Arsenio Hall, and the people who rescued him sought to ameliorate the violence he experienced. As I recall the interview, Smith expanded on this "thread" as evidence of a shift in the discourse between races. Contrary to what she had predicted, Smith found evidence that people are beginning to find language to overcome the mind-numbing drugged-like condition racism perpetuates. As I understood her, Smith found people she interviewed using language which relied on their personal experiences and idiosyncratic truths to construct their understanding rather than returning to the learned language of racism.

This chapter has been concerned with the apparent dilemma of developing a unified society from a plurality of dissimilar components. The ideal is contradicted by the fact of discrimination and the need to maintain difference to retain identity. An equilibrium between these centrifugal and centripetal forces is a condition for the society to remain a vital body which is able to learn from

its diverse resources. A positive response to the fact of diversity emphasizes multicultural living as a process characterized by a curiosity that seeks to encounter otherness and welcomes diversity as an opportunity to learn from difference (Banks 1987:xiii).

Embracing diversity is not a call for one to become the other, for that is finally an impossible task. One can never be the other regardless of the shared similarities and approximations. Every society is formed by a diverse collection of individuals. Rather than rejecting and avoiding a group of unlike people who are perceived as threatening, overt dissimilarity is a convenient occasion to learn to cope with the differences and the continual change that permeate any society.

In the next chapter, the focus shifts to the contexts in which learning takes place. Underlying any context is the need to overcome oppressive relationships that hamper attempts by teachers and students to achieve the dynamic balance in which, as active co-participants, they can sustain a truly educational relationship. Formal, non-formal, and informal learning contexts are examined in terms of the conditions they support for achieving such an equilibrium and guiding students into new interactions which take advantage of the diversity that forms a multicultural environment.

CHAPTER 4

ADULT EDUCATIONAL THEORY

In Chapters 2 and 3, I discussed some ideas regarding the formation of knowledge and identity through directed awareness. Knowledge was understood as a construct resulting from reflection throughout a person's lifetime on interactions with an ever-changing environment characterized by constantly evolving social, physical, and spiritual surroundings. Through reflection, a person can develop an awareness of impinging upon as well as being impinged upon by his or her environment. Awareness becomes the basis of criticism by which an individual develops an understanding of identity through an exercise of intelligence. Identity formation was seen as grounded in conscious interaction with the environment and bound with a critique of context and the construction of knowledge.

This position challenges the idea of a person passively receiving an education. Rather, the learner is construed as an active participant who brings experience and intelligence to the construction of knowledge, a person with an ability to reflect on his or her existence in context, act on that knowledge, and in doing so, become educated. This stance is intended to recast the learner as an active subject and the educator as a guide who involves learners as participants in shaping the context of learning and the content awareness is directed toward.

Contexts for Learning

My concern in Chapter 4 is to review some of the literature I have found useful in identifying criteria for educational relationships within meditated environments. The view I support is that education involves reflection on awareness of context which is resolved in some critically informed action that provides the grounding for the next cycle of reflection. I understand education is misconstrued as constituting a discrete body of knowledge regardless of how vast. The idea of "receiving an education" as understood here involves developing an ability to reflect, analyze, and criticize experience in order to contribute to the evolution of a context through action. Simply receiving and assimilating information and uncritically aligning oneself with a particular point of view is not within the sense of education as used here.

Seen as a relationship between people and bodies of knowledge, any context can be treated as educational to the extent that the participants are included as contributing members who help each other develop the ability to reflect and act on their understanding. Kurt Lewin (1946) described the effects of this process of involving the learners as participants which he called action research:

As [Lewin] watched, during the workshop, the delegates from different towns . . . transform[ed themselves from] a multitude of unrelated individuals, frequently opposed in their outlook and . . . interests, into cooperative teams . . . read[y] to face difficulties realistically, to apply fact-finding, and to work to overcome them. . . . [When Lewin] saw the major

responsibilities move slowly according to plan from faculty to trainees [he became convinced] that the close integration of action, training, and research hold tremendous possibilities for the field of intergroup relations. (42-43)

The process of becoming educated requires effort and confidence. Engaging in active criticism can be disruptive and possibly place the participants at risk. James Baldwin (1963) in a speech to teachers remarked:

The purpose of education, finally, is to create in a person the ability to look at the world for himself, to make his own decisions, to say to himself this is black or this is white, to decide for himself whether there is a God in heaven or not. To ask questions of the universe, and then learn to live with those questions, is the way he achieves his own identity. But no society is really anxious to have that kind of person around. What societies really, ideally, want is a citizenry which will simply obey the rules of society. If a society succeeds in this, that society is about to perish. The obligation of anyone who thinks of himself as responsible is to examine society and try to change it and to fight it--at no matter what risk. This is the only hope society has. This is the only way societies change. (4)

Experience as the Basis of Education

Dewey: Validation of Individual Experience

Influenced by Rousseau, John Dewey has been a major influence in focussing attention on experience as the basis of thought and the primary resource for learning in a democracy (Gallagher 1956). In Experience and Education, Dewey (1963) tried to clarify how local individual experience could be validated in such a way as to incorporate it in formal schooling. He advocated for personal experience as a means of enlivening young minds and supporting their natural curiosity. But bound to the

scientific methodology developed to ensure objectivity in the highly subjective context of experience, he could not accept all experience as equally valid educationally.

A primary responsibility of educators is that they not only be aware of the general principle of the shaping of actual experience by environing conditions, but that they also recognize in the concrete what surroundings are conducive to have experiences that lead to growth. Above all, they should know how to utilize the surroundings, physical and social, that exist so as to extract from them all that they have to contribute to building up experiences that are worth while. (40)

Dewey construes the educator's role as providing structure yet remaining open to dialogue with the learners, the need to control the power to dominate:

[The teacher has an] ability to influence directly the experience of others and thereby the education they obtain places upon him the duty of determining that environment which will interact with the existing capacities and needs of those taught to create a worthwhile experience. The trouble with traditional education was . . . that educators . . . did not consider the other factor in creating an experience; namely, the powers and purposes of those taught. (45)

Dewey is addressing the dilemma between the converse learning environments. At one extreme is the situation described by Friere (1989, 1990) as "banking education" in which the learner is construed as knowing nothing and the knower as knowing all and investing that knowledge in the learner. At the other is the difficulty of managing the chaos of individual experience. Consciously preparing the context places the educator as a mediator between the participant's life experience and a body of knowledge which the learner is trying to embrace. In the experience-based context Dewey describes, the knowledge of all the

participants (including the knower) expands. As the learners examine their presumptions and experiences against a formal body of information, the educator engages with the particular learner's process of assimilating experience with content. Teaching becomes a praxis of selecting those experiences which will clarify the theory and using the learner's inquiry to guide further inquiry and reflection.

In an educative learning context, the development of skills and judgment are coupled with a sense of responsible human actions and an understanding of appropriate adaptation to an environment. An educational focus need not exclude instructional or training actions. Rather, it affects conditions which characterize the learning context. Knowles (1970) listed four characteristics that distinguish an educational context:

- (1) respect for personality
- (2) participation in decision making
- (3) freedom of expression and availability of information
- (4) mutuality of responsibility in defining goals, planning and conducting activities, and evaluating. (60)

These goals recast the authoritarian relationship found in traditional instructional and training contexts in democratic terms in which the participants contribute differentiated but valued experience and understanding to the learning context. Applications of crafts become subject to critique beyond the procedures which they entail, e.g. in terms of environmental responsibility or, as occurred during my research, access to technologies purchased by public

funds. An informed critique of education in trades and crafts will result in consciousness and responsibility of practitioners toward the natural environment and the conduct of the trade with its implications for society.

When the learner participates with the knower in establishing direction of the relationship, expanding an existing web of knowledge, constructing new understanding, and exercising critical capacities both in evaluating the quality of learning and the context in which it takes place, the learning context becomes educational.

There is, I think, no point in the philosophy of progressive education which is sounder than its emphasis upon the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process just as there is no defect in traditional education greater than its failure to secure the active co-operation of the pupil in construction of the purposes involved in his studying. (Dewey 1963:67)

Aware of Dewey's emphasis on participation, Brookfield (1986) offers six principles of adult learning, augmenting the range of concern encompassed by Knowles above:

1. Participation is voluntary. . . . It may be that the circumstances prompting this learning are external to the learner (job loss, divorce, bereavement), but the decision to learn is the learner's.
2. Effective practice is characterized by a respect among participants for each other's self-worth. . . . Criticism [may be present, but] attention to increasing adults' sense of self-worth underlies all facilitation efforts.
3. Facilitation is collaborative. [L]eadership and facilitation roles will be assumed by different group members. This collaboration is seen in the diagnosis of needs in the setting of objectives, in curriculum development, in methodological aspects, and in generating evaluation criteria and indexes. This collaboration is constant, so that

- the group process involves a continual renegotiation of activities and priorities.
4. Praxis is placed at the heart of effective facilitation.
 5. Facilitation aims to foster in adults a spirit of critical reflection. Through educational encounters, learners come to appreciate that values, beliefs, behaviors, and ideologies are culturally transmitted and that they are provisional and relative.
 6. The aim of facilitation is the nurturing of self-directed, empowered adults. (9-11)

Illich: Critique of the Industrial Model

The circumstances when a person is considered by the society to be capable of reflection and so become educated opens ideas regarding independence and maturity in complex ways. Ivan Illich (1988) questioned the veracity of perceiving life as a continuum between childhood and adulthood and extending such a concept into the learning context. Doing so, he argued, positions the student as a dependent child and the teacher as an all-knowing adult. But Illich reminds us that the distinction between childhood and adulthood is a construct of the middle class and by no means descriptive of a natural or universal relationship:

Before our century neither the poor nor the rich knew of children's dress, children's games, or the child's immunity from the law. Childhood belonged to the bourgeoisie. . . . After the discovery of "childhood" by the bourgeoisie all this changed.

. . . Only with the advent of industrial society did the mass production of "childhood" become feasible and come within the reach of the masses. The school system is a modern phenomenon, as is the childhood it produces.

. . . Growing up through childhood means being condemned to a process of inhuman conflict between self-awareness and the role imposed by a society going through its own school age. (39-41)

The limitations of the term "adult" are related to the notions of both adulthood and education that are inconsistent between cultures and as contexts change. Children raised in one society may be assigned or expected to undertake tasks of sorts that are delayed or outside the experience of another society. Under extreme circumstances such as wartime, disaster, poverty, dislocation, abandonment and loss, children within a particular society may have to undertake roles that might otherwise be forestalled. While such examples are exceptional, they reveal the underlying illegitimacy of excluding youth by denying their ability to participate in decision-making.

Illich sees this problem compounded when teachers and students are brought together under the control of an administration in schools which are modelled on industrial processes. Schools become authoritarian institutions separated and unresponsive to the rest of society. Under such hierarchical conditions, a disequilibrium persists which is detrimental to all the participants.

Constructed as an industry and made obligatory, school, for Illich, results in a subordination of learners because of their youth, an action which excludes their experience, intelligence, and intentionality from the formation of curriculum. Excluding children from participation in curriculum formation delays efforts to create contexts that rely on the child's capacity to develop as an educated person and exercise the right to critique. The person

treated as a child and trained to silence in school must, when again in the role of learner as an adult, overcome the expectation of the school environment, or remain silent allowing authorities to exercise their decisions unquestioned.

An institution establishes an internal logic which can result in circular arguments used to resist or prevent change by recasting externally originating ideas as totalizing extremes which would threaten to alter the institution as it stands. The systemic inertia dims prospects of incorporating more than occasional well-wrought examples of immediate individual experience in the literature that supports curriculum. The task of gathering and formalizing the immense amount of material which exists outside the context of the dominant society seems generally beyond the practical limitations of the institution taken as school systems together with publishing houses preparing materials for use in schools.

Eliot Wiggington (1987) has in the Foxfire Project provided an on-going demonstration over the last twenty-five years of the commitment to experiential process that must exist to counter the inertia of educational systems. Overcoming inertia and admitting some material does not alter the fundamental shape of the institution. The existing distribution of power allows a competition to take place between alternative materials for a place in the curriculum (such as Columbus' arrival from the Native

American perspective) while the decision to include or exclude material remains under existing authority ensuring the inclusion of material contributes to an institutionally consistent curriculum.

As Kathleen Bennett and Margaret LeCompte (1990) show in The Way Schools Work, without efforts at developing a critical consciousness and a willingness to attempt to alter conditions, the problem of bureaucratic hierarchy maintaining itself and schooling remaining an internal experience of selected material persists. Under such circumstances, while the intention of schooling is to broaden the learner's knowledge beyond the range of probable personal experience through mobility and time, if this only occurs within the boundaries of the dominant culture, minority cultures and alternative points-of-view that exist as part of the fabric of this society remain excluded and unexamined by the mainstream at a loss for all.

This interior existence has the effect of isolating schooling from the dynamic of the wider society. To the degree that school is perceived as a specialized culture, somehow separate from daily living:

The result of the curriculum production process looks like any other modern staple. It is a bundle of planned meanings, a package of values, a commodity whose "balanced appeal" make it marketable to a sufficiently large number to justify the cost of production. Consumer-pupils are taught to make their desires conform to marketable values. Thus they are made to feel guilty if they do not behave according to the predictions of consumer research by getting the grades and certificates that will place them in the job category they have been led to expect.

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In fact, healthy students often redouble their resistance to teaching as they find themselves more comprehensively manipulated . . . [by] the fundamental approach common to all schools--the idea that one person's judgment should determine what and when another person must learn. (Illich 1988:59-60)

Imperatives accompanying work within the institutional structure oblige teachers to progress through a syllabus which their students regard with detached interest. Such conditions are professionally frustrating inasmuch as they distance enthusiasm and reduce the opportunity for invigorating educative experiences. Too often, students and teachers find themselves in a relationship paralleling supervisor-employee in which grades become wages. This relationship results in teachers negotiating with students for grades rather than knowledge.

The industrial setting also places teachers in the position of meeting personal performance objectives and focusing attention on quantifiable criteria for evaluation in competition for the appearance of excellence. Ashton-Warner (1986) found that allowing disorderly but arguably highly educative conditions to develop placed her in opposition to the standard terms of evaluation.

If *only* I had the confidence of being a good teacher. But I'm not even an appalling teacher. I don't even claim to be a teacher at all. I'm just a nitwit somehow let loose among children. If only I kept workbooks and made schemes and taught like other teachers I should have the confidence of numbers. It's the payment, the price of walking alone. Yet I must present it. I've got to do what I believe. And I believe in all I do. It's the price one continually pays for stepping out of line. (198, original italics)

Illich (1988) finds the industrial orientation of institutional schooling to be a deficiency that is compounded when persons, who possess knowledge and are interested in teaching other adults, are excluded for lack of credentials. Rather than ensuring educational quality, credentials become a mechanism for maintaining parameters unions have established within the industrial model to create a basis for teachers to advance economically. When the credentialed teacher in the industrial system is bound to a pace through a curriculum which constrains the time that can be devoted to the inclusion of personal experience, there is a loss of the role of educator.

Alienation from the lived experience seems to result in a detachment of curiosity and learning from the business of schooling, creating conditions which some students respond to by disruptive actions. Rather than shaping creative conditions which engage minds, faculty and administrators routinely find themselves keeping order and repressing self-expression (such as baseball caps), in order to contain potentially violent confrontations.

When learners cannot make connections between their lived experiences and the established formal learning context, when school administrators and teachers are trapped into a cycle of repression rather than creativity, all the participants can be regarded as disempowered by the industrial model. The pre-determined curriculum and the

need to enforce order render the learner's experience of school as a passive relationship.

Generalized conceptions of the learner's role as passive and deficient in the area of instruction extends the construct of childhood into an adult learning context. Illich (1988) warns that in middle-class industrial society, "By definition, children are pupils" (42) and being "fulltime pupils permits the teacher to exercise a [less restricted] power over their persons . . . than the power wielded by the guardians of other social enclaves" (47). When adults become pupils, they risk positioning themselves for redefinition in terms of the repressive context students experience during their youth. Actions which would remediate the consequences of industrial models or replace them altogether have resulted in educational contexts that would empower the participants. The next section reviews some of the major figures who have contributed concrete examples of educational practice grounded in the imperatives of lived context, practice which has informed the development of educational theory to guide further actions.

Education in a Multicultural Community

No matter how congruent her current experiences may be with his, individual identity emerges through the convergence of a totality of personal experiences of interacting in other contexts. This view renders each person as constituting an extreme microculture of

individuated experience, formed by interpreting and being interpreted, a convergence of multiple perspectives. Angus (1992) cited Bateson's theory of ecology to shape his argument that a subject's existence is understandable only as inseparable from the physical and social environment, claiming:

[F]rom a systems theory standpoint, an "individual" is precisely no more and no less than the complex of social relationships into which it enters. (71, original emphasis)

It follows that if, in addition to the relationship within the environment as the basis of knowledge, identity is formed in human interaction, destruction of the physical environment which can destroy the being physically by removing its supporting context is paralleled by the destruction of the social environment which destroys the supportive context for the being as a distinct social entity. Avoiding such a disaster entails improving the quality of all human interaction in a context which can be understood as fundamentally multicultural, an implication noted by Pearce (1990):

In a society seen as fluid and multicultural, the notion of "good communication" undergoes a radical change "Intercultural communication" is seen as the paradigm case of communication, necessitating the development of a new criterion for eloquence, a new canon of applauded skills, and a revised critical standard for assessing the quality of public discourse.
(1)

When a society as complex as the United States is viewed only in terms of the dominant culture, a false picture of continuity can be created by emphasizing

superficial likenesses. To the extent that schools are constructed as institutions which enculturate individuals to the dominant culture, they appear to become closed circles which marginalize alternative histories, however valuable. In doing so, they contribute to a position which can be criticized as inhibiting the growth of the nation toward its evolving form. Alternatively, as Stephen Brookfield (1986) reminds us:

If adults of widely differing classes and ethnic groups are actively exploring ideas, beliefs, and practices, then we are likely to have a society in which creativity, diversity, and the continuous re-creation of social structures are the accepted norms. (1)

An awareness that everything possesses some dissimilarity, even with itself, as evident in the processes of aging and change over time provides a basis for becoming skilled in adapting and accommodating change. Tolerance for overt difference requires effort. Interacting well when differences are clear helps people prepare for dealing with evolutionary change throughout the contexts of their lives. An educational context which will help people develop the ability to adapt to their lived multicultural and democratic context should itself provide an example of the versatility, resilience, pliability, and openness to new formations.

Form in Learning Contexts

Horace Reed (1984) differentiated learning contexts as formal, non-formal, and informal. Formal contexts were represented by schools. Reed's focus was on non-formal

contexts which he described as "any organized, intentional and explicit effort to promote learning to enhance the quality of life through out-of-school approaches" (52).

Reed did not regard informal learning contexts as educational because:

[they are] unorganized, often unintended and often less consciously aimed at identified objectives. Yet much of the most crucial learnings for individuals and for the conservation of cultures is carried out informally. Prime examples are the learning of one's native language, inculcating the values of family and community, and the coordination of complex muscle control. (52)

Reed's taxonomy provides a useful basis for approaching learning contexts, but I feel his emphasis on the situations as educational misdirected attention away from validation of educational relationships. As a result, Reed cites wide ranging instances where learning takes place out-of-school but does not clarify how the relationship is educational rather than instructional, in the sense which would reserve the term education for contexts which encourage development of awareness and criticality.

Knowles (1970), Reed (1984), and Brookfield (1986) acknowledge adult learning is differentiated, whether usefully or not, from child learning in areas such as the self-directedness of the learners who exhibit motivation to initiate and maintain a course of study independently. The locus of such learning is often outside the educational institutions. The purpose may be to progress toward particular identifiable goals such as job training,

maintenance of professional qualifications as well as personal interests in continuing inquiry.

But a problem lies in the interpretation of adult in a multicultural setting. Non-formal education is generally associated with adult learning although characteristics may overlap or occur in the opposing sphere. As Illich (1988) has pointed out, equating learning contexts with the childhood/adulthood dichotomy risks contributing to a presumption of learner deficiency. When adults are again categorized as students in formal learning settings, a significant number complain of having aspects of their social status revert to that experienced by youthful students. The pattern appears thus:

the youthful population is disempowered by the authoritative institutional relationship formed by the administration controlling interaction between the faculty and students

the adult learner are devalued in contexts that involve a reactivation of institutional relationships as in remedial courses or learning outside an established curriculum in an institution.

Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) note that the term "adult education" is avoided in settings which want to avoid misconnotations of remedial or "recreational" learning, noting that "public school systems more frequently use the term *adult education*." They examine the contexts described by replacement terminology such as "*lifelong learning* (or

lifelong education), *recurrent education*, *nontraditional education*, *community education*, and *andragogy*" (12, italics in original).

This avoidance suggests that the institutional relationship in schools is disempowering regardless of the participants. But this argument is dissatisfying because such a conclusion would deny the participants the agency they are attributed by their intelligence and their ability to critique and affect their context in the first instance. Malcolm Knowles (1970) wrestled with this problem employing the term "andragogy" to avoid the disempowering connotations of childhood in this society embedded in the term "pedagogy."

I believe that andragogy means more than just help adults learn; I believe it means helping human beings learn. . . . For I believe that the process of maturing toward adulthood begins early in a child's life and that as he matures he takes on more and more of the characteristics on which andragogy is based. (38-39)

Knowles was pointing to an underlying problem which has to do with recognition of youth (and by extension probably any person disempowered in the manner of industrial schooling regardless of age) as capable of reflection. Jonathan Kozol (1992), in his opening remarks to his study Savage Inequalities, found acknowledgement among some teachers that their students understood the effect of the poverty they experience and its underlying causes. While unspoken, they often seemed to say "Well, there it is! They know what's going on around them, don't they?" (5).

Recognizing the absence of their voices, Kozol made a concentrated effort to include the voices of youth in his study remarking:

It occurred to me that we had not been listening much to children in these recent years of "summit conferences" on education. . . . The voices of children, frankly had been missing from the whole discussion.

This seems especially unfortunate because children often are more interesting and perceptive than the grown-ups are about the day-to-day realities of life in school. For this reason, I decided . . . to attempt to listen very carefully to children and, whenever possible, to let their voices and their judgments and their longings find a place within this book. (5-6)

To the extent that empowerment is bound with adulthood and learning contexts are informed as variations on a theme addressing disempowered children, formal contexts for adult education can result in a contradiction in terms when they perpetuate the authoritarian relationship of schooling directed toward youth.

Influence Between the Levels of Form

The formal, non-formal, informal taxonomy suggests an opportunity for dialogue between the levels of formality that can challenge the presumptions of immutability. Formal, non-formal, and informal are linguistic constructs that, together with others such as conform, perform, formative, formality, and formation, suggest spheres of meaning extending from "form" as the root word. Certain continua are also suggested by the particular affixes which attach to the root.

Table 4.1 Spheres of Meaning Extending from the Root Word "Form."

form n.	formal	informal
matrix	explicit	casual
convention	fixed	colloquial
contour	mandated	familiar
boundaries	settled	ordinary
pattern	stipulated	unconstrained
method		unofficial
		usual
form v.		vernacular
border		
construct		
constitute		
produce		

Source: Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged, 1986, s.v. "form," "formal," "informal."

Examining the instance of form rendered as a continuum with non- as a prefix, non-formal implies not formal, the reverse of formal, or absence of formal qualities. Informal suggests a further relaxation of formality but retaining the ability to establish constraints and move toward formality. Different spheres of meaning come into proximity which suggests a shifting of relationships of increasing or decreasing formality, but with an underlying conformity.

Neither non-formal nor informal suggest that the relationships are formless. Rather they remain bound within the parameters of a particular form whereas formless offers the sense of not having form at all, being free from or beyond the range of form. This distinction is similar to that made between the criminal and outlaw. The criminal is

subject to protection as well as punishment under law. The outlaw has no such protection and can be punished by the will of the mob.

I feel Reed (1984) in excluding informal contexts from being educational (in his use of the term) because they were "unorganized, often unintended and often less consciously aimed at identified objectives" (52) ignores the influence of the informal in shaping the formal. Informal is not the absence of form altogether, shapeless, and without any boundaries. Education, construed as awareness and conscious reflection, can occur, or not occur, in formal, non-formal and formal environments. Rather than being context specific, it represents a way of responding to any context.

Formal Contexts

Formal relations lend a consistency to school environments that seems to supersede specifics of the curriculum, the site, or the political character of a society. Reed and Loughran (1984) write:

Schools have a remarkable degree of similarity that transcends the majority of cultures; classrooms, blackboards, chalk, 25-35 children all the same age, a teacher are all familiar components of schools in most parts of the world. (2)

Philip Jackson (1968) has characterized the specialized school context as "ritualistic" (8) environment where people of a similar age are assigned to clusters of a size determined by consideration of a student/teacher ratio. Meeting in a specialized room with specific technologies,

the population is expected to tolerate a specific close proximity with others as in no other context and obliged to endure this contact for under the eye of a designated leader, the teacher, for a prescribed number of hours each day. As the teacher is expected to prepare a certain plan consistent with a larger curriculum, an evaluative atmosphere pervades abstracted from lived experience but not necessarily representative of the experience of the students lives.

Schools as institutions are constrained by boundaries that are required to establish formality that legitimizes them within society. While they are fundamentally constructs, once constructed they become limited in the manner and degree that they can include other experience. They affirm their character and guard against actions that would disestablish themselves as institutions. This suggests that schools as formal public institutions are sites that will tend to resist change in the elements that presently give them definition. Being institutionally monocultural, as Reed and Loughran indicate above, and charged with the task of enculturating, they will do so within their structure. But culture is the historical trace of human society, an aspect that reveals evidence but is also necessarily static and in the past. In its dynamic form it is communication and mutable and tends to overcome the boundaries of form and move toward the non-formal in order to develop.

Non-formal Contexts

The enclosed nature of the form is revealed when it is juxtaposed with non-formal situations where people can exercise choice in bidding for membership and acceptance by others based on various criteria including interest, attraction, time availability, ability to pay, or acceptability of payment offered. As I will show in my discussion of the project, a fundamental tension existed regarding the nature and extent of participation that would be accepted. Presumptions associated with formal contexts were transferred or denied to exist in order to shape the actual context within the parameters of a perceived form.

Reed (1984) situates non-formal education as taking place out-of-school. It draws on the lives and concerns of the participants in direct ways so that the learning activity has immediate apparent useful application. In non-formal educational contexts, he notes the learners join:

with few selection criteria being used. Staff are often lay people. . . . Teaching-learning approaches favor interaction among learners, using a wide range of experiential techniques. Learning may take place in many setting: homes, a field, an available community building.

. . . Compared with formal schooling, NFE has these characteristics: learner-centered, community-oriented context, nonhierarchical relationship of facilitator and learner, use of local resources, present time focus, age inclusive for learners. It takes place through the daily operations of self-help groups, human and social service agencies, religious groups, the media, clubs, etc. It is no accident that the formal school system and nonformal education units . . . may be at variance as to both means and ends, as well as complementary. (52)

Reed and Loughran note "far more education takes place outside of schools than inside [including] such as libraries, museums, community study groups, agricultural extension workshops, radio and television courses" (2). Reed expands the range remarking that "[t]hroughout the world, in backyards, fields, marketplaces, or meeting rooms, for thousands of such situations, vital information is shared in out-of-school settings" (52).

As opposed to the more abstract function of formal education in society, Reed observed the content of non-formal education was an immediate and

practical, rather than abstract, approach to learning. . . . The content of nonformal education tends to focus on every day concerns and is specific and close to sensory levels. Learning experiences are short-term with easily altered sequences. The learners are of widely varied ages with few selection criteria being used. (52)

The content in the cases that concerned Reed consisted of solutions to irrigation and agricultural problems, literacy and developing environments to sustain literacy, nutrition, family planning, transportation, and "local problem solving discussion groups" (55) suggesting the political possibility of nonformal educational intervention. Myles Horton expanded the model of nonformal education in this area by establishing the Highlander Folk School in Appalachia. He and his colleagues allowed the form of the school to develop through a combination of the totality of their experience and that of the community. Horton was informed by resources including his youthful experiences in

the region, his experience with Jane Addams at Hull House in Chicago, and in Denmark learning about folk high schools.

In the months immediate preceding the start of Highlander, Horton (1990) wrote in his notebook:

Can an idea be organized and still live? . . . The job is to organize a school just well enough to get teachers and students together AND SEE THAT IT GETS NO BETTER ORGANIZED. (53, emphasis in original)

The Highlander model recommends that the totality of the experience should have the relationships embedded within the structure. He and his fellow founders avoided hierarchical titles for their positions at Highlander, using terms such as "executive secretary" rather than "director or president". Horton used "educational director" as a title (65).

Another idea we didn't fully understand is that one of the best way of educating people is to give them an experience that embodies what you are trying to teach. When you believe in a democratic society, you provide a setting for education that is democratic. You believe in a cooperative society, so you give them opportunities to organize a cooperative. If you believe in people running their own unions, you let them run the school so that they can get the practice of running something. (68-69)

Horton reveals his true value as an educator by writing, "We finally understood that as long as we kept on learning, we could share that learning. When we stopped learning ourselves, then we could no longer help anyone" (69).

Informal Contexts

The problem Reed poses is whether the "vast area of learning" which he acknowledges informal contexts do constitute can indeed provide an educational environment. Reed says it does not because it is unorganized coincidental learning, not education.

But Horton seems more tolerant. He is concerned that the student experience combine study and live examples, such as participation in strikes. This is consistent with Highlander's mission as a labor school. Horton confirms the orientation to the learners' objectives writing "The school should help people broaden their outlook and acquire definite information by preserving, taking part in and analyzing situations of interest" (54). By relying on actual experience, Horton admitted that informality would inform reflection.

It's very important that you understand the difference between your perception of what people's problems are and their perception of them. You shouldn't be trying to discover your perception of their perception. You must find a way to determine what their perception is. You can't do it by psychoanalyzing or being smart. You have to ask yourself what you know about their experience and cultural background that would help in understanding what they're saying. You need to know more about them than they know about themselves. This sounds like a paradox, but the reason they don't know themselves fully is that they haven't learned to analyze their experience and learn from it. When you help them to respect and learn from their own experience, they can know more about themselves than you do. (70-71)

Rather than separate informality, Horton wants to include it to remain in dialogue with the context. He offers several examples.

I would like to see a school where young men and women will have close contact with teachers, will learn how to take their place intelligently in a changing world. In a few months, free from credits and examinations, utilizing only such methods as individual requirements called for . . . it is hoped that by a stimulating presentation of material and study of actual situations, the students will be able to make decisions for themselves and act on the basis of an enlightened judgment. (56)

He was also careful to distinguish the level of formality in communication that should characterize a nonformal educational context. He was concerned that Highlander "avoid semblance of a training school" affirming that the direction was educational (53).

Although we accomplished some things by the end of that first year, we knew we weren't reaching people the way we wanted to. The biggest stumbling block was that all of us at Highlander had academic backgrounds. . . . We ended up doing what most people do when they come to a place like Appalachia: we saw problems that we thought we had the answers to, rather than seeing the problems and the answers that the people had themselves. That was our basic mistake. Once you understand that, you don't have to have answers, and you can open up new ways to doing things. (68)

Coming very close to describing one problematic aspect of the project, Horton recalls:

Questionnaires wouldn't work, either, because we would only get what the people thought we wanted. As we began to learn that, we found out that even if people did understand their problems, they didn't know how to express themselves in terms that had any relationship to anything we could do. We found out that people couldn't tell us what it was that they wanted us to do because they wanted to make us feel good. They thought it would be impolite to ask us to do something that we

couldn't, and that it would hurt our feelings. Sometimes they didn't say anything at all.

We had to learn a new language. . . . [T]he one language we lacked was a nonverbal one the people spoke. Since we didn't have the right language, we had to learn to observe people: to watch the way they related to each other, . . . and to be sensitive to their reactions to their experience.

We had to learn to watch people's eyes. When they talked, they'd look at each other, and when they answered a question, they'd look around and we finally realized they were setting us up. We just had to learn to watch. That's when we said, "We've got to learn nonverbal language to be able to understand the people, because they're not going to put it in writing." (69-70)

Informal and non-formal are the areas where a society can learn to exist in recognition of its multicultural nature. Informal relationships appear to be the area where experimentation is grounded in experience. The commitment to a position is highly fluid. Relationships can develop outside the systemic constraints of formality, a device used in a variety of official and unofficial ways in the military to provide communication outside the constraints of rank.

While random in their informality, they become educational as the participants reflect on their awareness. By this action, the informal makes a transition to the nonformal relationship. Thus informal relationships lend direction to the nonformal which are open compared with formal institutional relationships. The particular utility of nonformal structures is that their commitment to form is responsive to context. They provide a receptivity and offer areas of inclusion that can be formalized over time.

Nonformal learning environments provide a way of approaching and valuing learning relationships that do not

adhere to the constraints that persist in formally structured educational contexts. Nonformal relationships become particularly useful in understanding a multicultural context. By focussing attention on the situation rather than the population, nonformal education takes into account educational relationships that can occur from chance encounters in any context between people who do not even recognize their activities or relationship as being educational.

The concepts of formal, non-formal, and informal education suggest that the development of critical awareness can characterize any learning context. In a formal educational context, material included as a legitimate study of a society attempts to ensure a balance between views of the populations and histories that make up the society are represented in institutional learning environments. Non-formal education entails understanding the implications of specific community activities on its environment. Informal education is characterized by care and criticism in personal relationships and within the family. These criteria of educational environments provide a basis for discussing the model of relationships in the society that was offered the participants in the project, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE STUDY

In this chapter, I report on the employment training enrichment program that I studied in its third summer session 1992. The program was located on the premises of a social service support organization in Hale, a city of more than 103,000 in central New England. In 1990, the mayor of Hale described the city's population as "a group of groups" and cited the Irish, French, Portuguese, Italians, Hispanics (primarily Puerto Ricans), and Southeast Asians as major players in the city's history.

Organization of the Chapter

To place this case in its context, I first sketch the forces that shaped the program including the history of labor relations and population formation in the Hale and the contractual agreements and presumptions which had been in place since 1990. The history and agreements shaped the decisions regarding the need for the project and the population that joined the program.

Next, I introduce those participants who agreed to be interviewed in connection with my research. These individuals include the executive director and my co-facilitator. I then outline the work accomplished by the groups during 1990 and 1991. I present an overview of the 1992 project in its pre-production, production and immediate post-production phases and show its chronology. The report

is rounded out with a discussion of the extended post-production phase and the participants reactions to the first cut to situate my subsequent analysis of the process in Chapter 6.

Forces Shaping the Project

Multicultural Urban Center

Hale was established early in the nineteenth century by New England industrialists who formed a population of workers by relocating young single women from the surrounding farms and housing them in regulated dormitories. It was expected that after a few years' work, the women would return to their communities and marry. This initiated a history of migration to the city for employment and created an important model of industrial paternalism (Whyte 1988; Wilkie and Tager 1991).

As immigrants arrived from Europe and Canada, they established households and displaced the "native New Englanders," transforming the dormitory community into an ethnically diverse city by 1900 (Whyte 1988). After the turn of the century, and increasingly after the Second World War, the newcomers were Puerto Ricans, secondary migrants from New York City (Banks, 1987).

The social changes allowed the industrialists to justify narrowing their initial extensive social support to pensions and health insurance. Broader welfare functions were gradually assumed by government and humanitarian

organizations (Whyte 1988). At the same time, technological advances required increasingly skilled workers and recast the unskilled as unemployable. In time, schools and industries recognized a role in training unskilled workers for a redefined labor context (Whyte 1988; Wilkie and Tager 1991). Southeast Asians taking refuge after the Viet Nam conflict, were often skilled farmers or fishermen but unskilled and linguistically isolated in the new context.

In response to the flow of refugees from Southeast Asia after 1975, ethnically-specific mutual assistance associations were formed in several cities throughout the United States to collaborate with government agencies. These organizations offered a complex of services which included assistance in obtaining social services and public health education. Language services were significant and included translation as well as English language tuition preparatory for job training and interviewing skills. The employment training enrichment program reported here was sponsored by one of several mutual assistance associations serving specific ethnic populations in Hale, but its focus extended beyond the range of the primary population it served.

Contractual History

From the start of the project in 1990, one underlying concern of the program expressed in the Statement of Need was the difficulty of retaining minority youth in school

(see Appendix C). When interviewed by the participants in 1990 project, the mayor indicated the dropout rate was particularly high in the Cambodian and Spanish-speaking communities, adding, "For anyone who has dropped out, we have created programs to encourage people to return to high school. Because if we don't educate them, they become a burden on the public."

Working from the idea that the very diversity of a multicultural community increases the dropout rate by compounding the tensions of adolescence, the program was envisaged as retaining youth in school by encouraging communication between ethnic groups. This position was expressed at the start of the program in the Statement of Need in 1990:

In a multi-racial environment, the pressures of adolescence can be modified by positive interaction amongst different racial groups. The alternative is all too often conflict and self-destructive behaviour. The purpose of the interactive video project is to enable youth to see clearly the similarities in the issues that they have to face in their lives. (see Appendix C)

The purpose of the project, as stated in the Executive Summary of the 1990 Proposal (see Appendix A), was "to enable the students to increase their self-esteem, to develop a broader understanding of racism and seek for strategies to deal with racism in their own lives." The statement of need related self-esteem to "[s]elf-motivation that will encourage a return to school in the Fall."

The program relied on the collaboration of young adults to produce an original video. As stated in the Scope of Services of the 1992 contract between the sponsoring and funding agencies, this process was intended to create a context which would help to:

enhance interpersonal and thinking skills of program participants and strengthen their personal qualities of self-esteem, individual responsibility, teamwork, sociability, decision making, tolerance and integrity. (see Appendix E)

I was interested in how, if at all, the participants would use a communicative technology to express themselves. I was attracted to video as it incorporates performance and graphic, musical, and written expression. I wanted to learn if collaborating in the production process might contribute to understanding across cultures. As indicated in Chapter 1, one motivation for this area of inquiry was Sara Stuart's (1990) comment that groups of producers might have more to share across cultures than their product (see page 4).

Participants

The program was funded under the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982 Title IIB Enrichment Program which provided "employment and training services to economically disadvantaged and handicapped youth and adults." The sponsor agreed to provide job training services "for eighteen . . . eligible youth [between the] ages [of fourteen and twenty-one]" (see Appendix D).

According to a representative from the funding agency, there was no conscious attempt to populate the program according to a particular ethnic scheme. Rather, according to the representative from the funding agency, the participants selected video from several options related to academic enrichment. Most crewmembers lacked prior familiarity with video production. One exception was Eric Lee who crewed in 1991 and 1992.

From the sponsoring organization's perspective, concern with the advancement of a specific ethnic minority in the city included its population's relations with other ethnic minorities and the dominant majority population. As such, it is relevant to consider how the proportions of representation by ethnic category in the crew coordinate with perceptions of their representation among the general population and within the schools in order to determine what kind of social experience was paralleled by the population assembled as a crew.

The 1990 United States Census showed that while the Puerto Ricans and Cambodians formed the second and third largest ethnic groups within Hale, they were far fewer than the Whites. As can be seen in Table 5.1 on page 113, the representation of Whites in the program was inconsistent with the city's ratio of majority to minority populations. The two facilitators are included under the White category.

This inconsistency is reduced when the program's population is compared with the proportions of ethnic groups

in the public schools. In 1990, the mayor told the first crew in an interview that, "By 1989, 1990, [the relationship between the majority and minority in the schools was] 50% majority, 50% minority: 26% Southeast Asians (SEA), 22% Hispanic, and there is 2% whatever else."

Table 5.1 Comparison of Population Categories Present in Hale with Representation in the 1992 Program. For ease of reading, only the groups represented in the 1992 program are indicated under the heading 1992 Program.

Ethnic Group	1990 Census		1992 Program	
	#	%	#	%
Total	103,439	100.0%	18	100%
White	83,859	81.1%	5	28%
Black	2,474	2.4%		
[Native American]				
Amer. Indian	165	0.2%		
Eskimo	3	0.0%		
Aleut	9	0.0%		
Asian or Pacific Isl.				
Asian				
Chinese	779	0.8%		
Filipino	76	0.1%		
Japanese	41	0.0%		
Asian Indian	1,150	1.1%		
Korean	180	0.2%		
Vietnamese	743	1.0%		
Cambodian	6,475	6.3%	5	28%
Hmong	0	0.0%		
Laotian	1,553	1.5%	1	6%
Thai	47	0.0%		
Other Asian	426	0.4%		
Pacific Islander	23	0.0%		
Other Race	5,436	5.3%		
Hispanic Origin				
Mexican	153	0.1%		
Puerto Rican	7,732	7.5%	7	39%
Cuban	100	0.15		
Other Hispanic	2,514	2.4%		

Sources: 1990 Census for Hale: Population and Housing; Race and Hispanic Origin; Report Profile 1.

Table 5.2 juxtaposes the perception of the ethnic proportionality in Hale provided by the mayor in 1990 with the actual ethnic representation in the project in 1992 and the ethnic distribution in the Hale High School 1994 as reported by the Superintendent's Office in the Student Minority Report.

When the age range of the youth (14-20) and the facilitators (43-46) is considered, the participants in the project can be seen as forming a social context statistically more akin to schools than to the general population of Hale. The participants were in fact associated with the public high school and the vocational training center.

Table 5.2 Comparison Between Mayor's Statement of Proportions Between Global Ethnic Categories Represented in Hale Schools and Those Represented in the 1992 Program.

	Mayor 1990		Program 1992		High Sch, 1994	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	unspecified		18	100%	2281	100.00%
White		50%	5	28%	1287	56.42% ¹
SEA		26%	6	33%	553	24.24% ¹
Hispanic		22%	7	39%	383	16.79%
Other		2%	0	0%	58	2.41%

Sources: Mayor's statement recorded during the 1990 project; the statistics of the 1992 project; Hale School Department, Superintendent's Office, Student Minority Report, 1994.

¹Southeast Asians were included under the general category of "Asians" in the high school statistics.

The proportion of males to females represented in the project and including the facilitators was virtually the same as the overall ratio in the city according to the 1990 Census: approximately 51% female to 49% male (Profile 1). Surprisingly, of the six Southeast Asians represented, five were Khmer speakers only one of whom was female, whereas of the seven Puerto Ricans, only one was male demonstrating an imbalance within linguistic groups. The five remaining European-Americans consisted of three males and two females.

Interviewees

Approximately half the total crewmembers together with my co-facilitator and the executive director were interviewed individually in connection with my research. Each crewmember who agreed to be interviewed as part of my research² determined the pseudonym I would use in this dissertation. In the cases of my co-facilitator and the executive director, I supplied pseudonyms arbitrarily. I use my own name when I report on my interactions. The crewmembers who agreed to be interviewed were:

Ashley

Ashley, fifteen, is fourth generation Irish and Polish. She has lived all her life in Hale. She seemed to be a very

²None of the Puerto Ricans agreed to participate in the interview process. Repeated invitations were unanswered in any manner and no explanation was ever offered. There was no penalty for declining to participate in the interview process. Where the Puerto Ricans' actions as members of the group are reported, I have changed their actual names.

ordered person. Early in the program, she alone asked if the crew was obliged to make a video about something specific. I answered that the video should emerge from their interests.

For Ashley, the Cambodians entered her life suddenly. In third grade, there were none. In fourth,

there were more than White or Black. It was strange. At first, I didn't like them. A lot of them were smart. Some of them were real nasty 'cause they didn't like us. But once you get to know a few of them and start hanging around, they are just like us. But their culture is different.

In sixth grade, she became friends with one Cambodian girl in her neighborhood, a friendship that grew from their mutual high achievement in school.

She was smart and pretty and we got to liking each other in sixth grade. Smart is grades. She is a straight A student. Always got good grades. We competed to get better grades, just for fun. I just like being around her, hanging around. We were called geeks. They didn't like the fact that I spoke English and she spoke Cambodian. . . . When people say bad words we tell them off. If they are rude to us, we are rude back to them.

Ashley's perception was that people clustered by language, reinforcing a sense of difference.

Up the street is a Portuguese section with one or two English-speaking families. Where I live it's all like Asian, Cambodian, Laotian. They speak English and their own language. . . . It happens all through school. They sat by themselves, you sat by yourselves,

it kind of goes with you. As you grow, you meet a little bit more. . . . But you could never know what they were saying. They took English classes, but they never spoke English socially and in class. . . . But it kind of balanced out and we just stayed by ourselves.

She added that, "difference disappears when we went to the movies or went skating." She felt that "kids have kid culture. Mom doesn't have any Cambodian friends."

Axle Rose

Axle, seventeen, did not discuss his background in terms of immigration. He had been born in the city near the project where he lived. His father was from Maine and his mother was from Delaware. His father was a counselor at a hospital in a drug rehabilitation program. His parents were divorced as his father had been violent to his mother. Axle lived with his mother in a lower middle class housing project which had occasionally erupted in violence. His association with the housing project rather than identification with a particular ethnic group was the source of his rejection by the mother of a girl he had been trying to date.

Her father realized where I live. It's great I love to tell the story.

And he goes, "Where do you live?" It's like, "Oh, Shaughnessy. Oh, really?"

"You can tell he lives in Shaughnessy because of the way he's dressed," she goes.

And he like pulls over . . . and says, "I lived in Shaughnessy."

I cracked up laughing. He lived there twenty years earlier. I cracked up, "You married someone like that." She didn't know what to say.

He was torn between a sense of continuity and pride with Shaughnessy and a desire to break away to his mother's family in Delaware to live in a neighborhood that was "White. Very White."

In Shaughnessy there is no such word as prejudice. . . . So many mixed cultures. It's like they are all combined. My mother asked me like, one time I was staying over at my friends Zack's house (he's Lao) and his parents love me and I'm White and it's like, ok, and my mother likes him and, like and that's fine that's great. And like one of my Black friends, Maurice, he went to school, his mom went to school with my mom, and I get along with her great and he gets along with my mom great. And this kid Jose we have been best friends since kindergarten and I get along with his mom and, I don't know, she calls me "Tall." That's all she knows. She doesn't know my name. She calls me Tall, "Jose, uh, Gringo Tall on the phone, you know. It's like that. Tall.

He was a member of one of two gangs in the city each claiming 500-600 members. He described the gang as a mix of ethnic groups but most of them were Cambodian or Lao. I asked him if they told him about troubles getting along with their parents.

No. Just they compliment their parents. Like they compliment them a lot, a whole lot. And I believe all of it is true. Not all of them say, "My parents can do no wrong." That's crazy. Everybody's got a little hell in them. But I don't know. Just compliment them

a lot. We ask questions about them. They stay quiet for a little while. They like, talk about something else. Then they, then they answer about what you asked about half hour later and you go, "Oh, that's the answer for that." They bide their time. They wait. They wait. They think about what they are going to say. . . . It's wise. It's a very wise thing to do.

I asked him about his perception of Cambodians in terms of their honesty and integrity. "I don't think they're dishonest. No, I haven't met one that's ever lied to me and I've been hanging around with them for almost nine years." However, he was less trusting of the Puerto Ricans. "Half lie, half true. They say one thing and do another. . . . It has to do with the way they were raised."

He selected "Axle Rose" as a pseudonym in this research as an expression of his consonance with the image of the rock group "Guns and Roses." He related a rock video which articulated his feelings regarding immigration.

It says, "I don't need to buy none of your gold chains today, just need my ticket. Cut me some slack! Faggots come to our country, bring some fucking disease." Really emotional. . . . I heard it a couple of years ago and I thought damn it's true. Then, "Radical, don't point your finger at me, I'm just a small town white boy."

This guy is singing about what is really going on trying to make his point that he isn't trying to do anything. But it isn't working. He is just trying to get along.

Vanilla

Vanilla, seventeen, attended the vocational training center studying masonry. He was French and Irish. He was familiar with the fact that Cambodians gave their children English names because, "I hang out with Cambodians all the time." "I thought they were cool." He worked as a stockboy in a Cambodian grocery store and liked Cambodian food, but generalized that, "Asian stores won't let Americans in 'cause Americans won't let them in their stores." He had learned, "a little Khmer, a couple of words."

He was familiar with the "restrictions and revenge" within the Cambodian community. "Sometimes they can't talk American to their parents. Sometimes their mothers don't like them to buy greasy foods." He knew patterns of parent's prejudice in families particularly parents against their children's friends.

In addition to wrestling and gang movies, he liked Cambodian kung fu movies. But he felt:

Krips and Blood are better than any movie. I can understand them. It's like real things happening on the streets and you can understand them. Bat man is not happening in the world. I like what's happening like in a gang. I used to be a gang member. Now I'm a home boy. I got out of the gang because it was too much trouble, running away from home. I wanted to get away because my stepfather is a jerk to me. My father was a lineman. He was electrocuted during the blizzard of 78 when I was three years old.

Vanilla characterized the gangs as multicultural.

"Different people in one gang. Most are Cambodian. Then some White, Vietnamese, all mixed in one gang. In the news, they're always trying to put the Cambodians, Lao, put the Asians down, to get them out of the country."

Timmy

Timmy was twenty although he declared his age to be seventeen to remain in school. He was entering his freshman year in high school in a college preparatory curriculum. He associated college with preparing "to be the boss."

He was born in the Battambang Province of western Cambodia and reached the United States in 1983 after a transit period in a refugee camp on the Thai border. During that period, he lost contact with his father. He was "just gone." He had a younger brother but the others in his family had died. His mother was diabetic and received monthly Social Security Insurance of \$400. He was frustrated with his own earnings in this project, "I don't earn anything, \$4.25 hour." He estimated a reasonable hourly wage would be between \$8 and \$12.

Timmy did not accept my suggestion that his ability to translate for his mother placed him in a position of power over her and saw the situation as part of a reciprocal relationship.

We still have a lot to learn cause like when we get married, they tell us the best time to get married. We kids just jump into things, want to do right away but have to ask parents if it is a good time.

His own losses made him sympathetic to the plight of others when their families fall apart.

When people tell me their parents don't like them and stuff, I cry over that. Movies, abortions, I cry over that, what all those kids could be when they grow up. I just feel bad why they do that.

Timmy lived in the lower section of Shaughnessy, in the area of the project Axle Rose characterized as drug-ridden.

My neighborhood is mixed, mostly Puerto Rican. They pick on us. Pop a tire on the car. . . . When Puerto Ricans swear it doesn't bother me. It's not my problem. Sometimes I hang around with a gang. All they want are tough people and they don't judge white people are that tough. All gangs ain't the same. All they want is to be with their friends. They watch movies and do the same thing and kill each other. I don't like it at all. They ask if I want to be in one and I say, "No." Most of my friends are gang members. I hang around with Puerto Ricans and Asians. I have white friends but they aren't my best friends. Where I live is all Puerto Ricans and Asian. I don't really see white people except at school. When I am with Puerto Ricans, white people think I am Puerto Rican too.

Lisa

Lisa was actually nineteen although she declared her age as sixteen. She was in high school having first applied to the vocational education center following her father's

recommendation. She changed because her mother wanted her to attend high school.

My father works in a hotel as a storing.³ Mom works with BASF as a machine operator. She gets a good salary, \$8.50. She wants me to go to college. In this society, you need a college diploma to look for a job like working in office. . . . I'm going for two years, majoring a secretary.

Like Timmy, Lisa was from Battambang Province. She had arrived in the United States in 1983. However, she first lived in College Park, Georgia, where she had good memories as the only Asian in her class. Later, her family moved to Atlanta and she experienced frustration at her disempowerment in the face of her teacher's impatience over her low English language skills.

My cousin just came from Cambodia and I had to translate and I didn't know too and the teacher yelled at me. . . . There were words I didn't know and I cried because I was small. I got angry and I can't do nothing to them so I cry.

Her family relocated to Chelsea, Massachusetts, and then to St. Louis, Florida, where her father had bought a farm. Lisa found it "was too boring and quiet." She preferred living in the city. Lisa encapsulated her experience in Florida by relating an incident on the school bus where she exchanged feelings of mutual dislike with African-Americans. As she extended these feelings to Puerto Ricans, her prejudices seemed irreconcilable:

³Probably a storeroom worker.

Some of them make friends but most of them in that school walk around us, look up and down, ask us out and we said, "No way! Get out of here." I won't go out with black people. Here, there are more problems with Hispanic than Blacks. Some people are good some bad. Mostly fresh mouth upsets me. Sometimes but not all time. . . . Here they say Chinese are stupid. I am half Chinese because my father is Chinese. Chinese are better than Black.

She was experiencing tensions within her family and had left her mother's household to live with her uncle in the city.

Actually I live with my uncle. . . . It's better with my uncle and aunt. When I live with my mother, she keep me in house for a year. I try to live with my uncle for a few years. Sometimes I fight with my mother. She tries to keep me in house. Tells me I can't walk with boys and things.

Lisa was inconsistent in her resistance. She seemed to accept aspects of a traditional woman's role, however grudgingly, and was apparently reluctant to engage in changing circumstances.

I have to do the cooking. My brother is a boy. Boys don't do the cooking. They stay out of the kitchen. Some boys would throw the dishes. . . . I go home, cook, shower, work, sleep. I don't have Puerto Rican friends, not really. I have American friends. If I get bored, I give them a call. I don't speak Spanish. I don't hang out because I am a girl. Girls stay home, clean house, and that's it. Watch my sister and brother. Boys stay out a lot, not too late, not too far. But they won't listen anymore.

She was critical when she encountered cultural differences. Living at her uncle's house, she had become upset with a Greek lady who put up a fence to keep people off the grass saying, "I don't feel like putting a fence around my house." But taking her place here, becoming an American, seemed unapproachable.

I feel more Cambodian than American. I don't look like American. Going back to Cambodia] would depend if you live in country or city. If we go back, we aren't going to be poor 'cause a dollar there is worth so much. My father would like to go back there.

She expressed dismay at the Cambodian community here:

I was wondering how Asians came here just for peace and here Cambodian kids kill each other. It's like a family. We're here to escape from a war. You want to be tough? Go fight the Khmer Rouge. This is their land. Our land is over there. If peace, I will go.

Eric Lee

Eric Lee indicated he claimed he was seventeen to school authorities but in fact was twenty years old. He attended the vocational training center studying electronics. Eric Lee was the only crewmember who participated in the program twice.

He wanted to use the name Lee because he admired Bruce Lee and liked the martial arts kung fu and karate. Lee was also a name in his mother's family. His mother died in 1979 when he was seven. He still has his father and a younger sister and brother. In Cambodia, his father was a farmer

and had been in the Army. In the camp, his father was a sculptor and made statues for sale in Thailand and taught Khmer.

Eric was willing to adapt to his circumstances, "I don't mind hamburger. It's something to eat. I prefer Cambodian food." Eric was not a gang member but had experienced official discrimination. He was selectively arrested in Lynn for trespassing. "Police held a gun on me 'cause I didn't speak English."

Phon

Phon was studying electronics at the vocational training center. He claimed he was sixteen to maintain access to school but was almost twenty.

Phon was from Paksane in Laos where his father had been a farmer and had also served in the army. Phon described the house his father built in the traditional style on stilts. It was "built high so it's cool in summer, not hot like this, you know." Their house was close to the woods, a half mile from the Paksane River.

The family escaped from Laos by boat down Paksane River to the Mekong when Phon was eight years old. His father became a translator in the refugee camp in Thailand and Phon learned to read and write Lao and Thai a little bit in school in Thailand. But camp experience was rough.

The army and soldiers were mean to us. If we do something wrong they would kick us, make us run ten even twenty times around the house. . . . I was there

six years from 1981 to 1987. You had to stay inside. If you leave, if they saw you, they put you in jail.

But the transition remained problematic. Phon maintained an orientation toward Laos and followed customs, "I don't like to go on dates because in my country they don't go out on date." Although there was a Lao community in the city, Phon seemed cut off from Laos because the family was fragmented: "It is no fun. Only stay in the house, my mother, you know, only family, no cousin, only brother and sister." At the same time, access to this society was blocked by a lack of welcome and unfamiliarity with the language.

When I first came, people say "Why don't you go to your own country?" I didn't know how to do the work, reading, writing, social studies. I could do math, but something to do with English writing is hard. Things get better after two, three year. But when I talk, maybe they don't understand me. I don't talk right. But people try to understand some.

Phon and his family idealized Laos and felt frustrated with the cash economy they found in the States. This would become the basis of an video animation "Three No's" that he would produce with Eric Lee. His father worked at the Wire Belt Company where he continued to translate "from American to Laos" but was unable to earn beyond survival wages.

My parents, they go work, only afford only pay for the house and shoes. No saving money. Get money, you have to pay it, pay it for insulin, 'cause they only work only about six dollar an hour seven dollar an hour. My mother she didn't work. Only my father. She sick all

the time. I don't know why. She go to hospital a lot last month, last two, three month she not eat. Only drink milk. That's all. She don't like to eat. Don't think to eat about food at all. Don't eat about one month.

Owing to their lack of monetary success having left Laos and taken refuge here, Phon and his family were reluctant to return.

My parents would like to go back to Laos if have money build house and stay there. It's more better. They want to make a better house. Some people, a lot of people, go back. They have money. They build a store and a house then they come back here and when they have money they go back there and stay there do that.

Such devices as Lao videos were unavailable to ameliorate the sense of isolation.

They don't have Lao video. Don't make no movie, don't have movie. Movie is only from Thailand, that's what we watch. Chinese, Thai, that's all we watch movie. Don't have because they don't have enough money for that. . . I like sad movie about, just leaving, you know that kind of movie. Sad story, get out of our country, then go back.

Phon did openly extrapolate from his sense of loss to estimate how others might feel.

I like the Puerto Ricans a little bit. I talk with three of the Puerto Ricans in school. But I have Asian friends a lot and I have American friends too. Puerto Rican friends just talk about in school. Never ask about country, just make fun of each other. They might miss Puerto Rico just like us get out of our country.

Bona

Bona, 17, was born in Battambang at the beginning of the Cambodian Holocaust. His father later died in Chelsea from high blood pressure. "I do not know when he died. I get out, he's gone. It's hard." He then moved to the city in 1986 with his sister and brother-in-law. Bona was handicapped and required crutches to move, "Never can walk, here x-rayed, now can't walk, hard to walk. Doctor told me to stretch but I'm lazy."

Sometimes you know its hard for me to understand something. Sometimes I feel good, ask the teacher. Other times just study and ask my friends to help me and sometimes they help me like in cafeteria, help me carry lunch.

Bona was talented artistically. In an exercise for a video sequence imaging symbols of bad luck, he drew a vigorous face with red eyes which he described as a cannibal making associations with the Jeffrey Dalmer horror. He was studying electronics at the vocational training center but also expressed an interest in history, "like who discovered America and about president. That kind of stuff and studying the Constitution and three branch. That's it I like."

Bona agreed to be interviewed at the very end of the project. By that point, he had been introduced to video editing which he found very attractive.

I want to try to make like power something like and invisible people like hear only voice just want to do that and cut some picture in put sound in. Like in Chinese movies. They have power and different kinds of tricks. They can fly. I think they have string too, like little wires. When the person jump, they cut and put another person on.

Vivian

Vivian, 43, a long term resident in the United States from Britain, served as the executive director. She anticipated that the participants, being teenagers, would test social limits and reminded us not to leave them unattended nor allow more than one at a time to use the rest rooms. Vivian expressed the desirability of maintaining order in class.

My sense of . . . giving young people the opportunity to explore and learn about issues of their own ethnicity and what is going on in their lives, racism and whatever, unless you establish some boundaries and empathy between teachers and students and students themselves, that is not going to be there in any truly valuable sense. To get inside the young person and enable them to explore, you have to have some boundaries that they feel are safe and secure.

Edith

Edith, 43, an Irish-American with eighteen years experience teaching art in the high school, had successfully guided high school students in video production. Edith had completed a master's thesis concentrating on art across the

curriculum in high school. She saw the need to exercise authority immediately and establish desirable patterns of behavior. As student gained confidence in their context, she would gradually relax controls with the expectation that the students would perform within the broad parameters she had set forth.

I want to get them to talk and concentrate on various areas. Then about three weeks into the program, the structure will be defined. Then we can hand them the ball and expect them to run. At that point we can leave the video up to them as long as it meets the censors.

She prepared a room management plan stating the expectations of work output and participation in class. She stated the goals and objectives and developed a statement of work outlining the weekly structure within which the students would explore their cultural similarities and differences.

Michael

I am 46 and of mixed origin, primarily Spanish, French, and Scottish. As video consultant, my background combined language teaching and multimedia materials development for language and cultural study. As a researcher interested in participatory methodology, I was anxious to actively involve the students in shaping the direction of the project. Where Edith's experience in high school indicated the need to establish a clear structure, I extrapolated from McLuhan's

(1964) argument in Understanding Media, that video production in itself would provide the structure of the project. I found support for this position from Milton Glaser's report of his experience teaching at Cooper Union:

I see the class as a voyage for students and teacher towards an uncharted goal. The trip is most useful in terms of personal growth. . . . The class deals essentially with the student's personalities and obsessions (and mine). Technical skills emerge almost magically as a result of self-interest and practice (Glaser, 1979).

The out-of-school context served to accommodate Vivian, Edith, and my differing ideas regarding the structure of an educational context. In setting up boundaries of acceptable action, Vivian's and Edith's approaches provided a continuity with school which was familiar to the crew members. Mine encouraged them to take initiative and exercise as much control over their activities as possible, expectations which relied on the motivation, toleration, and maturity of the participants. Each approach contained both weaknesses and strengths that, in combination, contributed to building the trust and confidence necessary to bring the project to completion.

Chronological Overview of the Project

Previous Productions

Although the 1992 project is the focus of the activities reported in this dissertation, the 1990 and 1991 projects established the context for 1992. The title that appeared in 1990 on the original grant application,

"Personal Values and Racism: An Exploration Through Video," provided a benchmark for the project. For the first two years, Phanna Thuon, a Cambodian-American refugee in her early twenties, had served as a cultural consultant and instructor. She completed a bachelor's degree in educational administration with a concentration on cross-cultural counseling in 1992 and received an appointment as a cross-cultural counsellor in a school district in California. Owing to the starting date of her appointment, Phanna was not able continue into the third year of the project.

1990

The first year, the crew interviewed city officials, service providers, people on the street, and themselves trying to obtain a perspective on the reception of the Cambodians in the city. The crew heard officials speak of Cambodians in statistical terms. The participants themselves perceived language and dietary preferences as major obstacles to intimate relationships across cultures. From the first season, I edited the participants' footage keeping in mind the interests and concerns developed during the production phase and expressed during weekly reviews of their footage. In 1990, I edited the footage to form a dialog between the participants voices and members of the community.

1991

The program took a different direction the second year. The participants created a story based on an actual instance between a Cambodian boy and a Puerto Rican girl they knew in the community. In a recorded discussion, the participants considered the difficulties in expressing affection across cultures given the perceived adequacy or inadequacy of a shared second language. The strength of their contributions correspondingly reduced the level of creativity I needed to exert in the role of editor to complete the work.

1992 Project

Pre-production

The first four weeks of the 1992 project formed the introductory phase. Worksheets associated with cross-cultural training were used to motivate discussions and guide experiential exercises that required physical collaboration for success. Videos including feature films, documentaries, poems, public service announcements were viewed, discussed, and analyzed both for content and presumptions.

In response to the discussions and exercises, the participants would develop skits. The skits provided experience in conceptualizing, scripting, storyboarding, and set design. Single camera and multi-camera approaches introduced the crew to the demands of preparing footage for an editor or collaborating to produce a program live in the

studio. The crew began to exercise a critique of the footage both on technical grounds and on the content of the skit.

During the first four weeks, the skits addressed:

1. acceptable attire for Puerto Rican girls
2. the right of girls to join a basketball team
3. arranged marriages
4. suspicion of malevolence based on race or ethnicity
5. segregation in the school cafeteria.

Production

At the beginning of the second four week period, the production and early post-production phase, the participants formed Video International and selected symbols as the organizing theme. Edith and I advised individuals on their interactions and decision-making. During the production phase, the crew members tended to specialize in scripting, graphics and animation, and camera crew according to their preference. All the crew members acted in least one skit.

Post-production

The second half also consisted of reviewing and approving footage, determining whether scenes should be reshot, and performing some rough cuts. By the end of the project, the crew produced raw footage, rough cuts, and an edit list for twelve short pieces consisting of video poems, music videos, animations, enactments of proverbs all

Table 5.3 Chronology of Video Program in 1992

PRE-PRODUCTION: Communicating Across Cultures

Week 1 7/6-7/10

Gender-based stereotypes
M: Intro; personal stories; Passing Balls exer; discuss pre-test
T: Swamp Crossing exer; discuss comm. concerns (drugs, prostitution, and AIDS); sex-roles in Desert Island handout; take pre-test
W: Room Management Plan; View: *Chantal's Choice* discuss duty/limits of arranged marriage
T: Sex-roles in society compared; scripting
F: Tape: "Dress Code" "On the Team"
View: *Anti-drug PSA*

Week 2 7/13-7/17

Cultural Comparisons
M: View: *French skits*
Comp. family relations
T: View: *Walls and Bridges*
Compare celebrations
W: Conceptualize skits around themes of mistrust and abuse in cultural context
T: Actor's workshop: trust, associations, imitation, mime, transformation
Research site approved
F: Rehearse and tape: "Arranged Marriage"

Week 3 7/20-7/24

Discrimination and Racism
M: View: *America Becoming*
T: Tape skits on culture and critique
Interview 1: Eric, Phon, Vanilla
W: Review focus, framing
View: *Blue Collar and Buddha*
Intv 1: Ashley
T: View: *Glory*
F: Script racism skits: "Purse snatcher!" "That's My Seat!" "Oh! Bi-linguals!"

Week 4 7/27-7/31

Values Across Cultures
M: Tape racism skits; compare film vs. studio production
Intv 1: Axle
T: Review skits; visualize final product; complete values handouts
Intv 1: Lisa, Timmy
W: View: *The Long Walk Home*
T: Discuss values with "I Would Be Willing to Die For..." handout
F: Develop graphics and concept for "Symbol"
View: *La Pastorela*

PRODUCTION

Week 5 8/3-8/7

M: Logo competition
T: Tape clothes footage
Intv 2: Phon
Intv 1: Edith
W: Tape: "Miss Birdie" and reshoot for skin color
Tape: "Heart Kiss"
Intv 2: Eric, Vanilla
T: Script: "Symbol"
F: View: *The Gods Must Be Crazy*

Week 6 8/10-8/14

M: Flag exercise "Symbol"
T: Tape: clothes footage
View: *Pull Ourselves Up Or Die Out.*
Intv 2: Axle
W: Tape "Choking"
Cast 1 and 2
Intv 2: Edith
T: Tape: "EXIT," "Peace," "Cambodian Bracelet"
F: Tape: "Street Symbols-a Cambodian's view"

Week 7 8/17-8/21

M: Prep. animations
Intv 2: Lisa, Timmy
T: Tape: "SOS" "Umbrella" "Penny" Intv 3: Edith
W: Tape: "Party" "SYMBOL" "Cymbal" "Dictionary" View: *Roger and Me*
T: Tape: "3-in-Photo" "3 No's" "Street Symbols-a Puerto Rican's view"
F: Review rough cut of cannibal; Intv 3: Axle

POST-PRODUCTION

Week 8 8/24-8/28

M: Men 1 off-line editing
Intv. 3: Phon
Intv. 1: Oeun
T: Men 2 off-line editing
Intv. 3: Eric
W: Cast party; post-test
T: Women off-line editing
F: Final edit list
Intv. 2: Oeun
Intv. 3: Lisa, Timmy
March 17, 1993 Viewed and evaluated *Symbol*

organized around the theme of cross-cultural understanding through symbols. I presented the first cut seven months after the end of the production phase of the project. Fourteen participants viewed the first cut. Seven participants, Ashley, Eric Lee, Lisa, Phon, Margarita, Lupita, and Timmy completed and returned the evaluation forms. Their responses and my return correspondence are included as Appendices I and J beginning on page 232.

In the remainder of this chapter, I draw elements from this overview together to form a basis for my analysis in Chapter 6. The activities resulted in different kinds of communication which can be examined emphasizing interactions suggested by Gardner's (1983) idea of human intelligences.

Kinds of Interaction

Kinesic and Spatial

During the first week, Edith introduced two exercises designed to practice collaborative problem solving which relied on a combination of kinesic and spatial intelligences.

Tennis Ball Toss

This exercise involved the participants in developing strategies for passing a tennis ball efficiently among the members. At first Edith invited us to toss the tennis ball arbitrarily from one member to the next until each person had been included once. In the second phase of the exercise, Edith introduced additional balls for the group to

pass around. In the third stage, the group rearranged itself to be able to pass a single ball in the shortest possible time. This was accomplished by reordering our seating and handing the ball directly to each other.

Swamp Walk

Edith introduced an exercise she called "Swamp Walk." Edith had prepared seven pairs of tiles from pieces of carpet to create "steppingstones" to cross the "swamp." The participants were to form teams of eight which left one team member without a pair of steppingstones. The first team member was to lay out a stone and hold it in place with a foot. If a stone was not held in place, it would be "lost in the swamp" as Edith removed it.

Eight Puerto Rican girls immediately assembled themselves into a team and virtually jumped into the problem without planning any strategy to deal with the limited number of stones. As they lost a stone or two, the laughter increased with the difficulty and resulted in a joyous spill on the floor. Edith observed that, "Females went first! No consultation with the boys! They just figured they would follow. There was no communication between the boys and girls!" Rather than generating a sense of cohesiveness among the membership using this or the tennis ball exercise, the formation of small teams introduced competition between members within the structure of the group.

Social

Verbal social interactions occurred through a continuum extending from unstructured conversations and remarks to the more formal exchanges including discussions guided by worksheets and scripted dialogues. An area that met with much resistance was sharing personal histories. Lisa was one notable exception.

Personal Histories

I anticipated that sharing personal experiences and opinions represented a viable means of identifying and exploring areas that would be of broader interest to the group. I envisaged discussions that would suggest subject matter and generate sufficient enthusiasm to support sustained effort.

The first day with the small group, I modelled this openness by sharing thoughts about my own history and family that might suggest common ground with the crew. I tried to identify areas such as language, migration, and intergenerational influence by relating incidents from my experience and my family. Most of the participants demonstrated an extreme reluctance to sharing personal histories in this way. Lisa was the only participant other than myself who made a contribution. Neither her family story nor mine were expanded in the final project. During the process, the rest of the group remained silent.

LISA:

I was born in Cambodia. I came to Georgia first. I came here four years ago.

I can speak Khmer but not read or write. Write only my name. I took lessons last year.

I have lived in the United States for five years. I also lived in New York. My dad bought a farm. I was used to living in a city and all of a sudden it was so quiet. My dad is half Cambodian, half Chinese. He is still in St. Louis, in Florida, on land in Indian Town.

My sister and me are twins in same grade. But I'm dumb and stayed back but started to fight when they called Chinese, Chinese stupid Chinese, dumb stuff like that.

Then they start to chew gum and threw at my hair. My hair was long. I got so mad I started to say, "All you're black like charcoal!"

The bus driver didn't even care about it. The principal was black too. Doesn't care. Sent the people to another school. The principal was equal but the bus driver, no. It started because I was Chinese and they were black.

The bus driver was a woman but the principal was a man. To my feeling, I have more something to say to the principal. Easier to tell a woman. I'm a girl, right? If I have anything secret I will tell my mother than my father.

At the end of the first day, Edith privately advised me that while she would not prevent me from "moving in that

direction," she "generally avoids dragging out problems in school until they became unavoidable."

The second day, the extreme resistance to sharing personal information brought that area of work to a close. Edith asked people to give their names, where they come from, and where they live. They responded:

I am Paco. I come from Puerto Rico. I live in Hale.

I am Clara. I come from Puerto Rico. I live in Hale.

I am Rosita. I come from Puerto Rico. I live in Hale.

After stopping the routine, I asked everyone to add more specific information. I gave as a reason our need to:

1. contribute concerns as source material for skits
2. get to know our capabilities and talents.

I asked people to consider sharing what they would like to get out of their involvement in a video production project and suggested naming a certain movie or character they liked.

My interruption was met with a long silence broken at last by Axle Rose asking, "What are we doing here?" I apologized for making people uncomfortable and left this line of inquiry for personal interviews. Later, during guided discussions, Lisa did share her feelings about arranged marriages which contrasted significantly with the other opinions expressed in the group. But she discontinued under a sense of pressure by the Puerto Rican girls.

Guided Discussions

During the first four weeks, the group was periodically divided into teams to discuss problems presented by worksheets. The creation of teams introduced competition and therefore the possibility of "losing" in exercises which were designed to stimulate discussion and encourage reflection on cultural differences and social values. The concern with producing less simulating results than the boisterous and vocal group appeared to distract those who were more diffident or reticent and undermine their attempts to develop a discussion.

Initially, Edith asked the group to divide itself into three teams by counting off. She and I moved between the teams monitoring and encouraging the discussion. With succeeding worksheets, two groups formed led by Edith and myself. Winning consisted of answering all the questions and offering an unusual perspective or a novel example.

Survival. The first worksheet motivated a discussion on the relationship between gender and social function. The participants formed three groups. The problem was to select which five from nine choices to include as sufficient resources to establish a human colony on another planet, escaping the destruction of Earth in the year 2000. The frequency of decisions based on worksheets recovered from the exercise is presented in Table 5.4 on page 144.

While the record of participants in each group is incomplete, sufficient worksheets do exist to suggest the inclusion of the cow was by the group which was apparently dominated by Cambodians from Battambang, a rural province. Including the dancing girl is consistent with Axle's humor and the record shows he was part of Group 3.

Table 5.4 Frequency of Choices for Survivors in a Space Ship Worksheet

Choices	Groups		
	1	2	3
The Survivors			
a pregnant woman		■	
a nurse	■	■	
the nurse's husband			
a priest	■		■
a doctor	■	■	■
a dancing girl			■
a woman school teacher	■		■
a male farmer	■	■	■
a cow		■	

The crew discovered they held stereotypes in presuming that the doctor and priest were male, the two categories in the worksheet where the gender was not specified. Examples of women as physicians were cited and accepted as contradicting that stereotype. The priest remained male.

Where the sex was specified (nurse, teacher, and farmer), a discussion ensued which affirmed a woman's ability to farm and a man's ability to nurse and teach. This would be consistent with the Cambodian experience in rice farming as well as fishing on the Tonle Sap (Great

Lake). The familiarity of the Puerto Ricans with the island's farming society was undetermined.

There was also a sense of one role evolving into another as the dancing girl could become pregnant and, as a parent, could become a teacher. Jokes were made about homosexual doctors and male nurses, alerting me to their homophobia. Homophobia did surface later in the personal interviews when Timmy and Lisa, two Cambodians, conveyed their conviction with repugnance, that Siv, another Cambodian crewmember was apparently homosexual or bisexual. Like personal histories, this topic remained taboo as the focus of a video skit. In an evaluation sheet completed six months later after the presentation of the first cut, Timmy and Lisa indicated that they would include Siv as part of a crew.

Sex-Role Stereotypes. A second worksheet asked for four degrees of agreement with stereotypical statements about social roles. The distribution of responses appears in Table 5.5 on page 146.

Using eight or more responses of the thirteen total as a criterion, certain observations were possible. The majority preferred women remaining in traditional nurturing roles rather than the workplace, but also showed a tendency toward equality in social initiative between the sexes, physical ability, and social status. For example, the group's opinion about dating favored the girl taking the

Table 5.5 Frequency of Responses on Sexism and Sex-Role Stereotype Worksheet

	++	+	-	--
1. It's really the woman's job to stay home and raise the kids.	0	9	2	2
2. Girls should be able to ask guys out.	2	6	3	2
3. Boy's athletics are really more important than girl's.	1	1	5	6
4. Men sometimes treat women like playthings.	3	8	2	0
5. Men make good secretaries and nurses.	0	8	4	1
6. Boys should hide their feelings if at all possible.	1	2	6	4
7. If a husband and wife both work, they should both help with the cooking, cleaning, and child care at home.	5	8	0	0
8. Girls have more feeling than boys.	2	4	6	1
9. Men are really more intelligent than women.	0	2	3	8

Below this point, only twelve of the responses were counted as one person filled in multiple answers. In the case of Item 11, an additional person made no response.

10. The husband should have the final say.	1	3	3	5
11. It's just as okay for men to cry as for women.	6	4	1	0
12. Girls should help pay for dates.	2	5	3	2
13. Education is more important for boys than for girls.	0	1	2	9
14. Women make good construction corks and engineers.	2	5	3	2
15. Boys should learn how to cook, sew, clean house, and do laundry.	5	6	1	0

(Source: Search Institute, 1991)

initiative but also agreed that at times men treat women like playthings. On the other hand, there was emphatic disagreement with the idea that boy's sports were more important than girl's. This concern resulted in one of the first week's skits which emphasized women's ability to play next to men on basketball teams.

In terms of the workplace and in household chores, sharing responsibility was strongly preferred. While the responses were nearly equal regarding opinions about men's and women's emotionality, there was strong disagreement that men have superior intelligence to women. We did not explore what kind of intelligence was presumed in answering that question.

Arranged Marriages. We viewed Chantal's Choice (Saltman and Hinckley, 1990), a film was made in Burkina Faso as part of a cultural exchange concept. I introduced it as a possible model for our work. It reveals the collaboration among a filmmaker, a teacher, and her students as they tell the story.

The central character, Chantal, is the only woman from her family or village to be sent to school. She is fond of a classmate, pursued by a businessman, and expected to accept a marriage arranged by her mother. Her choice is left for the viewer with the proverb, "It's a cursed meal. If I eat it, my father dies. If I don't eat it, my mother dies."

Initially, the prospect of an arranged marriage and the family's insistence on it were considered offensive at worst, at best old-fashioned and no longer an issue. The issue of dowry and the varied directions it takes between cultures aroused some curiosity and the desire for explanation. Lisa alone argued for the conservative position and fulfilling family obligations. She justified her position noting, "What if there's a divorce or he dies. What if you have to go back to your family and depend on them. If you disobey they will not help you."

Axle was particularly vocal in rejecting the intrusion of family leading Edith to comment that he may be in love with "a minority" and worried about dowry. This turned out to be an accurate observation. During an interview, Axle indicated he was in a serious relationship with a Brazilian. I asked him if he was learning Portuguese.

AXLE: No.

MIKE: Your girlfriend's from Brazil. I was wondering if you might learn her language.

AXLE: [looks to the camera] Her parents don't, well, her father anyway, I call, and it's like, [mimes telephone] "Yeah, is Doris there?" Click. And I'm like, I call back, and he answers and he'll say "Hello." and I go "Yeah, this is her boyfriend. Hang up on me again and I'm gonna, I'm just keep calling you know and I'm gonna make your life miserable." And he's had his phone number changed twice and this guy, duh, hasn't got the brains to have it unlisted. And well, he

gotta be Brazilian [laughs] I don't know. I met her mom and her mom was really awesome. But her father, oh.

He thinks just because he, uh, got somebody, uh, pregnant at thirteen that she's going to do that. . . . Doris's mom had Doris when, uh, she was about thirteen, fourteen, maybe fifteen, she told me. She doesn't really know. And Doris is going to be eighteen in like two months now. And I'm sixteen, I'm going to be seventeen. And she can't really tell, her father can't really tell her what to do. And, I don't know.

She's going to be a senior [at the] VOC. . . . She's in food tech and cosmetology. And I'm going to be in my freshman year. So [laughs], like, I'm used to struggling [studying?] with people who are fourteen, fifteen, but I've got somebody that's older than me and, you know, I learn from her and she learns from me, this and that. We get along. My parents like her. One of her parents like me. But they don't like it, oh well, that's their prerogative.

Axle and Ashley played the parents in a skit about arranged marriages recorded at the end of the second week. Lisa lost control of the scripting and played the role of resisting daughter despite her actual position that she would follow Cambodian custom and her parents wishes. As a result, Lisa read lines that contradicted her reality.

MOTHER: Lisa, I need to talk to you.

FATHER: We've been thinking about it and we'd like to arrange a marriage for you and he is the person you can marry.

MOTHER: He's a kind boy. He's nice, charming, and he will take care of you. His name is Vanilla Ice.

LISA: I don't think so. I want my education first before I get married because I want to go to college. And maybe later on I'll find somebody I like, ok?

FATHER: We'll discuss it later.

[FATHER and MOTHER confer in whispers]

FATHER: We will wait until you are out of college. We agree.

The rejection of arranged marriages was incorporated into the skit in two ways. First, the choice of husband was Vanilla, a crew member who was distanced socially by the group. Edith commented privately that Vanilla appeared to be "one of those who could end up axing a bunch later on-- makes me nervous, kind of rings bells." Choosing Vanilla emphasized the inability of parents to make a socially acceptable arrangement. In addition, the prospect of a bad choice was reinforced by the girl's rejection of the family's choice in favor of continuing her education, presumed to represent a good choice.

Toward the end of the project, Lisa, who was two years older than Timmy, asked me if I felt that their age differential was unacceptable for them to form a couple. I said from my perspective, I did not believe so. By the time

I was able to show the final cut, they had formed a couple in the high school. Whether their parents exerted any influence was never discussed.

Clustering Patterns

I recorded changes or lack of changes in clustering patterns over the course of the program to find any shifts in the sense of physical boundaries versus inclusion in working groups. In 1990 and 1991, I had noticed that the participants seated themselves according to what appeared to be a triple code of linguistic community, gender, and authority. If individuals were linguistically isolated, they seated themselves according to gender but, if possible, in proximity to others who were similarly isolated. While individuals formed mixed groups to complete assignments, my observation was that they restored the patterns of clustering after the task was completed.

The gender seating code was broken by interpersonal relations in two instances in 1992, both involving Cambodians. The first was mentioned above between Timmy and Lisa. In the second instance, Siv and Lola couple broke both gender and linguistic codes. Siv generally sat next to Lola at the edge of the linguistic cluster of Puerto Rican girls. They were reportedly interested in dating but Siv was refused by Lola's parents.

Siv and Lola were unwilling to be interviewed. While I was not able to firmly determine so, it is possible that Siv

did not have sufficient command of Khmer for inclusion in that linguistic cluster. In the one causal interaction we had, I asked him the meaning of a word in Khmer and he responded, "How should I know? I was born in Long Beach."

Early Patterns of Seating

On the first day, Phon, a Lao, initially sat next to his sister. As the program got underway, he moved to join Bona, a Cambodian, leaving his sister sitting near Lisa, also Cambodian, creating a linguistic and gender balance among the four. By the end of the first week, two teams formed to storyboard the first skits in the pattern shown in Figure 5.1. Temporary positions are marked by parentheses.

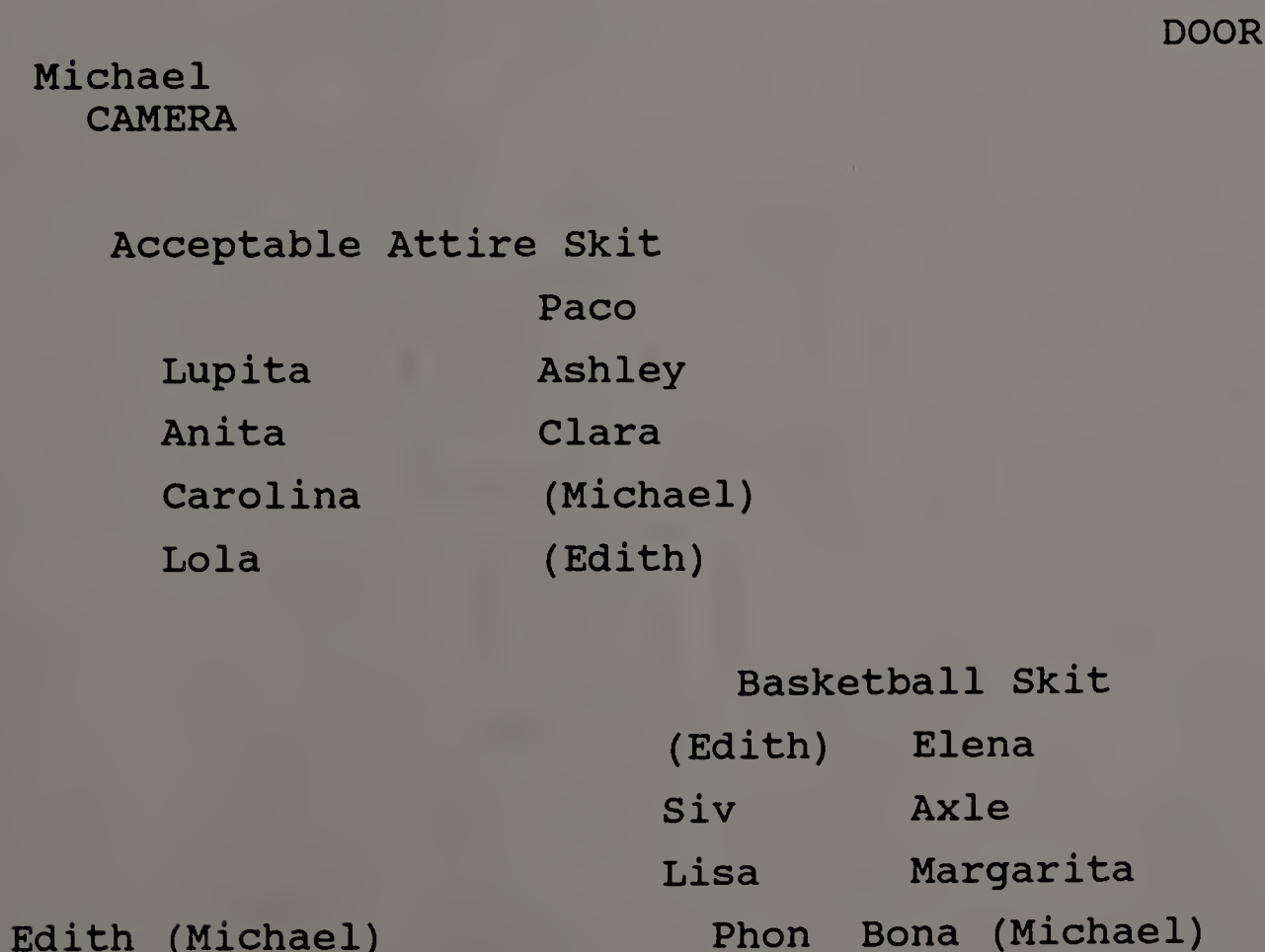


Figure 5.1 Seating for Storyboarding Skits, Week 1

The team developing the Basketball Skit commented on how the laws governing public activities could be used to overcome discrimination by addressing the exclusion of girls from school sports teams. The team developing the Acceptable Attire Skit addressed parental control and patterns of negotiation by focussing on conservative and tolerant opinion regarding a girl's attire.

The cluster working on sexism in sports formed a mixed language group but the majority were Khmer speakers. The other languages were Lao, Spanish, and English. The ratio of boys to girls represented in Basketball cluster was 4:3. The cluster working on acceptable attire for teenage girls consisted of a majority of Spanish speakers and one English speaker. The ratio of boys to girls represented in the Attire cluster was 1:6.

Both teams provided their own director, talent, and set crew in rendering their scripts. Members of the other team were asked to operate the camera. These skits reflected a familiarity, perhaps an expectation of television as a situational drama. The girl rapidly gained access to the basketball team, the daughter won easy acceptance from her mother and instantly overcame her father's resistance.

Actors' Exercises

During the second week, clustering was traceable in a series of actor's exercises introduced by Carmen Sonaris, a theatrical professional. Carmen introduced exercises which

she used to bring actors into a closer relationship. The exercises she chose attempted to break through social barriers, stimulate physical memory of context, encourage trust and interdependence, and heighten concentration by focussing attention on movements abstracted from context.

Names and Associations. The first exercise involved remembering each others' names and associations each coupled with his or her name. This seemed a way around the resistance to revealing personal history. Examples of associations include "Vanilla," "New York," "Toronto," "cloud," "green," "gondura," "y boco," "ice cream," and "Coco."

CARMEN: [R]eally acting is about playing, and it's about pretend. So I like to pretend a lot and I like to play. So a lot of, some of the games that we do today will be about playing. So you have to go back a little bit to when you used to play with your friends and do pretend stuff. And it might be fun.

Passing Ugly Faces. Carmen made the point that actors often select from their experiences and incorporate that information into the craft. Incorporation involves memory and reproduction of experience. She introduced an exercise which involved passing "ugly faces" that each of us made. The discipline was "Don't make judgments. Just do it. You've got to do **their** ugly face. . . . Really concentrate

because it is a disappointment when it comes back different."

As shown in Figure 5.2, the participants again organized themselves according to linguistic and gender criteria . The males were generally shy and would only make brief gestures of participation. The exception was Eric Lee, a Cambodian and the only crew member previously involved in the project. Eric tried to involve Phon but he was too reticent. Bona, who is handicapped, sat and did not participate. Paco, a Puerto Rican, stood at the end of the Southeast Asian cluster, his arms folded. Siv and Timmy kept their hands in their pockets. Phon twisted from side to side keeping his hands at his side. Axle and Vanilla each kept his hands behind his back. Axle and Vanilla stood away from Bona, Timmy, Phon, Eric, Siv, and Paco.

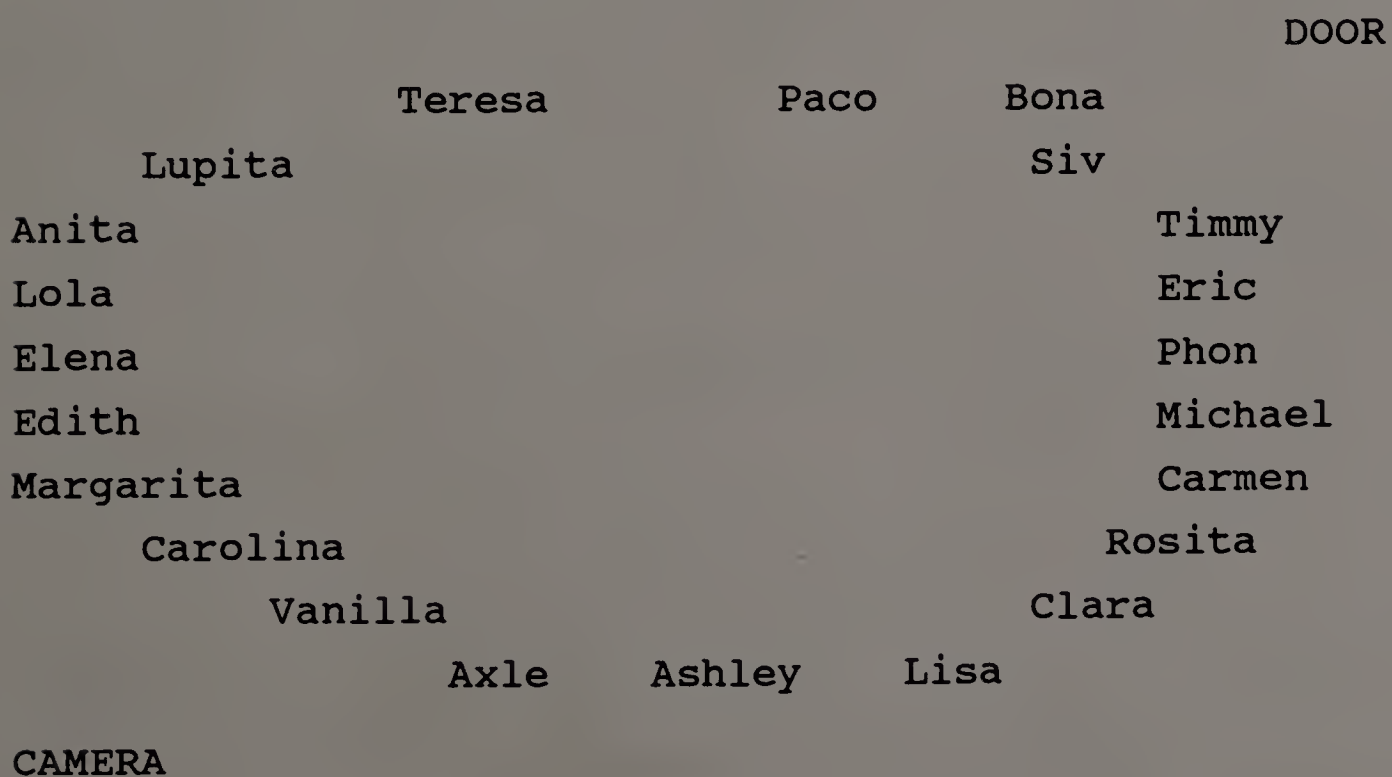


Figure 5.2 Standing Positions for Passing Ugly Faces

Walking Exercise. Carmen presented a two-step process designed to help people become self-aware with the objective of recovering certain postures or physical attitudes later. Speaking to the Southeast Asian boys, Carmen tried to move them into the acting frame of mind.

CARMEN: Walk over just walk over. Now you guys need to think about what you're doing now, right? Because you walk everyday but when you're an actor you've got to think about walking so you that can use it on stage right? So now, think about the way you are walking to the chair. . . . Now exaggerate the way you walk [her emphasis].

Eric rocked back and forth as he walked, keeping one hand loosely in a pocket. They marched up and back in a clowning way, but unable to overcome their self-consciousness, missed the point. Axle commented to me that he thought they would probably have to walk like each other.

CARMEN: You don't have to "act," see. This is like what happens with those, "I'm going to 'act' now." but that's not acting. You've got to act like from what you are and from what you have. . . . You have the power to change the walk but first you have to know how you do it.

The patterns of clustering the participants had established persisted as shown in Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 on pages 157, 158, and 159 respectively. At the end of the exercise, Teresa skipped over to Bona, who was left behind as the group collected at the camera end of the room. She

was expecting to drag him over in the folding chair like a wheelchair. He hopped to another seat releasing the first chair. She said, "Sit, sit, sit. I'll take you over there." Bona declined, assuring her, "It's ok."

DOOR

Bona

CHAIR

CHAIR

CHAIR

Teresa

Lola

Clara

Anita

Ashley

Rosita

Paco

Axle

Siv

Lupita

Vanilla

Lisa

Carolina

Eric

Timmy

Elena

Phon

Edith

Michael

Carmen

Margarita
(off-camera)

CAMERA

Note: Margarita and Bona did not participate in this exercise.

Figure 5.3 Standing Positions for Walking Exercises

Break. During the break, the participants again clustered following the patterns of gender and language grouping they had established, as shown in Figure 5.4. Edith moved between the classroom/studio and the administrative offices during the breaks.

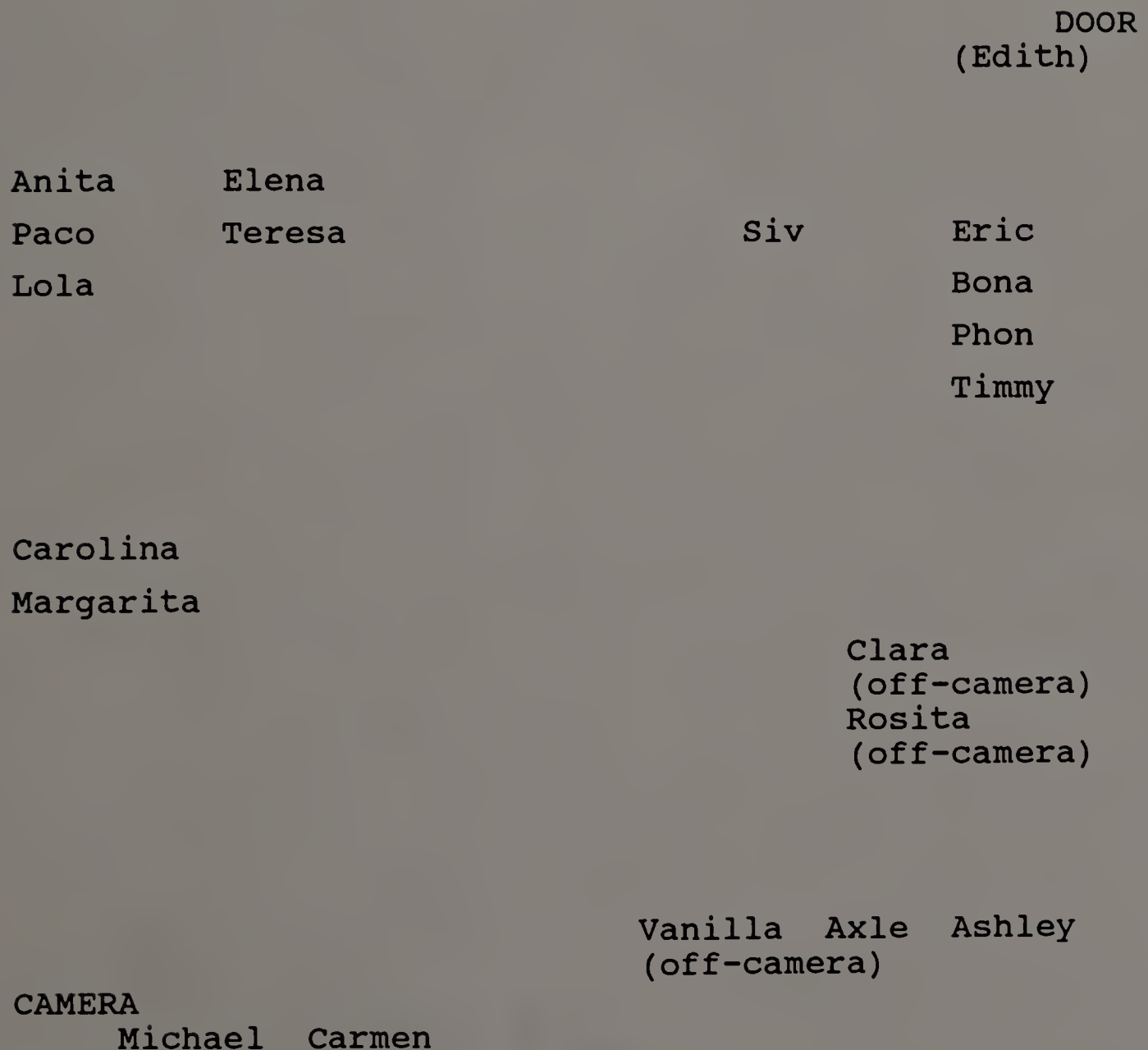


Figure 5.4 Clustering During Break

Gestures. The exercises after the break involved transforming an ordinary object, as keys into a toothbrush, and, subsequently, providing the gesture without the object. Edith noticed that although Carmen mathematically divided the group, the halves were remained "uneven" as shown in Figure 5.5. They reformed the sides evenly but clustered according to linguistic group or gender relationship.

DOOR

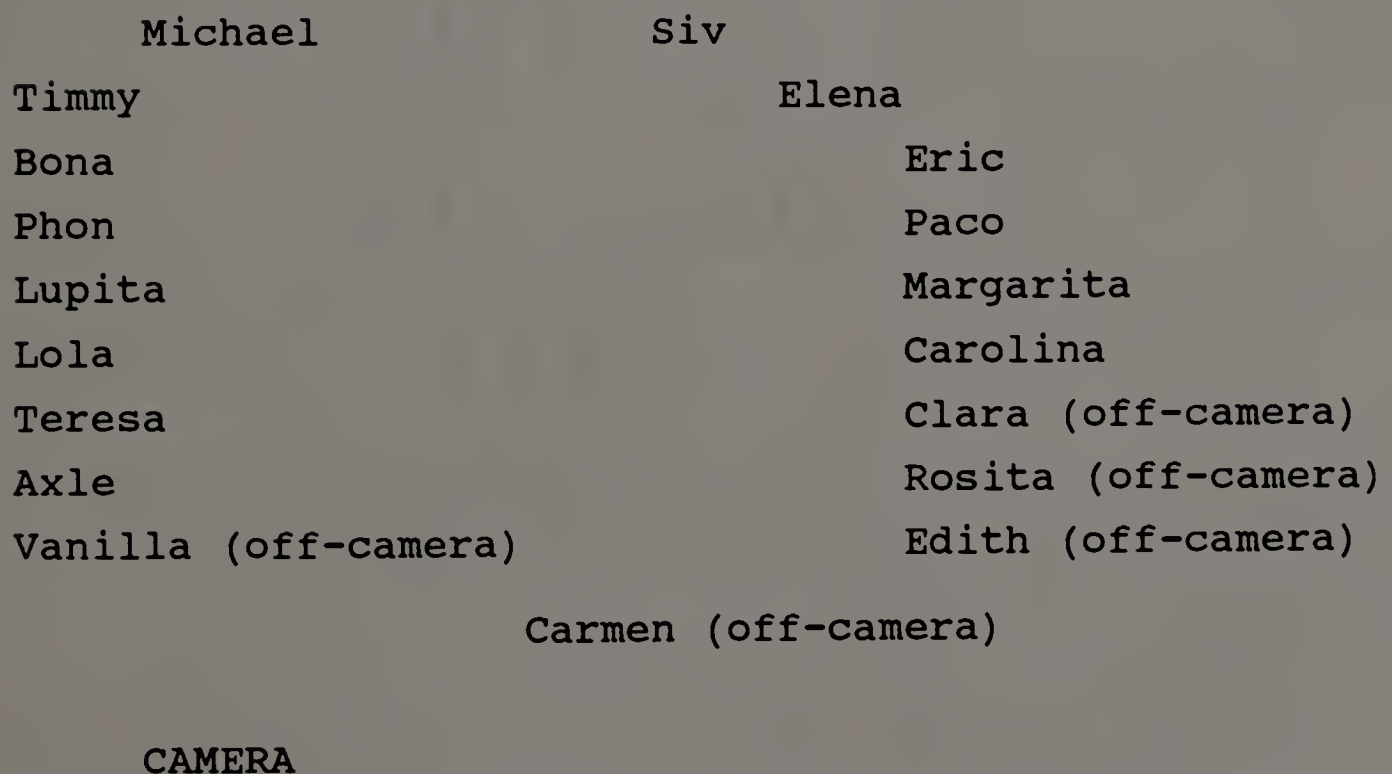


Figure 5.5 Seating for Gesturing Exercises

Carmen resolved the day with a call for observation which seemed to resonate particularly well with the groups who produced documentary footage of their observations in the surrounding streets.

CARMEN: There's a lot of amazingly great energy in this room that I would love to keep working with and using. But one of the things you can do as you keep going on, . . . some of the things that these exercises were geared to do today, are about observation. And its really important that you take a look around. And I used to send my students on these, like, little observation walks. And they would go out and observe people just along on the street. And they would bring them back to class and then we would do some improvisation work around that. And its very funny what you observe and what you see around you in your daily life.

The ugly face and walking exercises also resulted in a willingness to perform that might not otherwise have existed. Their willingness is evident in the music video for Timmy's concept of clothing labels as symbols and signs. At the end of the day, Carmen resolved these two exercises saying:

CARMEN: So if one thing I could just sort of leave with you is to check people out, check yourself out. Because when you walk, you might be presenting yourself in a way that you're not really, you didn't know you were doing, ok? I mean, because you have no awareness of that. But if all of a sudden if

you have awareness about how you present yourself, then you have more control over how you to do it in real life. So when you're in a situation where you need to present yourself in a certain way you go, "Alright I'm in this situation. Now I can present myself like this. Now I'm in this situation. I don't need that, I can do something else."

Ideal Crews

To gain a perspective on my observations about clustering, I asked the interviewees who they would include when forming a crew and what roles they would ask individuals to fulfil.

Vanilla's Ideal Crew. During our interview midway through the project, Vanilla expressed his frustration that he did not know directing. He felt Edith was keeping him from directing. I suggested that it was more a desire to make sure everyone got a chance.

[The others were not being] serious. They giggle and fool around. . . . Fooling around is one thing I don't like. Clowns. Lola gets everybody on this side to fool around. It has to be you and Miss O'Callahan to keep them in line]. It's not my class. [I suggested otherwise.] I'm not the boss. If I tell them what to do they will tell me to go to hell.

But he was able to outline a series of clear steps which he felt would keep people on track and productive. As he talked, his enthusiasm increased and he began solving a directing problem that had come up during the day. What

encouraged me was how much attention he had paid to the routine of camera operation and basic lighting solutions.

The following week, he asked to direct the Restaurant Scene which would animate the "universal sign for choking." At the first instance of difficulty, Edith began telling Vanilla what to do as director and he, perhaps too easily, gave up saying, "See?" in an aside to me.

Vanilla felt he worked well with Ashley and Axle saying, "[W]e hang out all day at school. We get filled up with our parts, talking anywhere. It's hard to understand [how it happens]." But he said he felt isolated linguistically from the Puerto Ricans and Southeast Asian groups. If he were directing, he would feel uncomfortable and suspicious.

They [the Puerto Ricans] come into one big bunch. [They] work well together cause they understand what they are doing. I don't know what they are saying. [I would have to] get a translator, or get a new director, or not do it. I don't like doing things I don't understand.

[When] Cambodians talk in Cambodian [near me], I tell them to get out of my face. This is America. Talk American.

We got all different kinds of people here. I don't care what they say. One day they will slip and I'll find out.

This sense of linguistic differentiation contrasted with his perceptions of the various individual's abilities to fulfill roles as members of the group. He saw himself as

a camera operator and as a director. He placed the Cambodians on the technical side of the camera but would not want to work with two of them whom he criticized as not being serious. He placed Puerto Ricans in front of the lens as talent or unspecified.

There's only few of them that can act. Lola, she acts out all the time. I like doing, directing her . . . cause I picked up like what you taught me one time how to do it and I picked up like that. . . . I think I did excellent yesterday, zoom up on Timmy's shirt, slowly, Lupita when she was speaking, zoom up slowly.

Director was too bossy, Axle. I was trying to focus. He messed it up. If it is the camera person, he like has to like what he sees. He wasn't like trusting me. He knows I know how to do camera.

Timmy, Siv, I don't care, they would make good directors. They get on the spot. They don't fool around.

Lola has the mouth for it to become a director, but she doesn't know how to act it out. She fools around.

Carolina's good.

Elena's a good actor, seriously, the way it is supposed to be.

Gonna try to be director. Telling how to act is hard. Paco fools around too much.

Anita participates in some things cause she likes to be an actor. When we're doing skit, "Can I come in? I'm a bilingual student. Can I get in? So she gets in."

Lupita don't like it. Eric. Phon. Kid with crutches [Bona].

Lisa sort of likes it, doesn't know how to take things one day at a time.

I like working with Axle and Ashley most. Wouldn't want to work with Eric and Phon cause they don't act serious. They giggle and fool around.

Axle's Ideal Crew. Axle, Ashley, and Vanilla formed a physical cluster in Vanilla's perception. Conversely, while Axle expressed approval of Ashley, he expressed intolerance for Vanilla's presence largely because Vanilla was getting out of line in contexts external to the project.

I like Ashley because we interact like, forever. I've known her for a long time. She's awesome, honest, not a sneak trustworthy, won't lie to you. Too honest. Brought up really well.

She hates Vanilla. He's always touching her. Keep an eye open, you'll know what I am talking about. He's well aware that she is going out with my best friend. Should be honest.

I don't like the kid. He used to hang out all the time. Last week he talked bad to my girlfriend. [She said] "Compare you to Axle?" and laughed in his face. Vanilla craves people's attention. She immediately got on the horn to me, "He bugs me, bugs me, bugs me." I went to his house and said, "Stay away from her or I will get off on you!. Don't ever put my girlfriend in a corner." I will never ever have a best friend again. I would trust him with money. He would never start trouble with me. But when he starts on my girlfriend, corner her, no way. He won't be able to sit for a week after he gets his butt kicked and doesn't know why."

He completed his crew as follows:

Lola's an actress. When you direct, Lola is tough. Ashley, editor. Axle, sound, being noisy. Carolina, Margarita, Siv, script. Siv's quiet, keeps things in

his head. Graphics, Eric, Phon, whatever his name is [Bona] knows what he is doing, considering he never been coached. I hang around with Eric.

This social interaction was not evident in the physical clustering within the program. Eric and Phon tended to form one physical cluster while Axle, Ashley, and Vanilla formed another. These two clusters joined with Lisa and Timmy to form a loose group counterbalanced by all the Puerto Ricans with Siv as an emotionally interested satellite.

Lisa's Ideal Crew. Lisa felt friendly with Timmy, Ashley, and "sometimes" with Axle which was solidified in her selections for an ideal crew if she was directing. She was definite in excluding the Puerto Ricans from her crew, "I talk to Ashley, work with Ashley. Not Puerto Rican. I don't like the way they talk. Impolite." By the end of the program, her ideal crew looked like this:

Ashley: script writer
Timmy: talent
Axle: camera operator
Eric: production assistant
Phon: audio technician
Bona: lighting technician

However, Bona, who is handicapped, was an uncertain choice. She felt, "He's ok, but does not want to work with anybody."

I asked her about Siv. She said, "He's way off. I don't like the way he talks I just don't like him. Like today, I trying to get a tape. He say don't touch that. I

don't like the way he jokes." However, when I asked her who she felt "worked best with video," she acknowledged Siv saying, "I think Siv, 'cause every time, videotaping, he's the one."

She was ambivalent about working with Lola but not about Elena, "I don't know. She has kind of bad mouth. Fresh mouth." She felt that Carolina was nice, different from Elena, but did not include her in the crew.

In contrast, she was positive about Ashley, "At first never talked to each other or anything. Then, next day, she asked me where is the bathroom and asked me things and we get to know each other more." She declined that video had anything to do with developing their friendship although they did work together planning sections of the video segment on peace and good/bad luck. "Yes, she has a lot of ideas. Some of her ideas are different from mine some are like mine."

Most importantly, she felt that it was difficult to make videos with the group. While she liked to watch kung fu and ghost movies, recreating one seemed impossible because, "Nobody wanted to participate. . . . Cause they didn't listen." But she also recognized the structure of the program. The early days of the project were "just as happened today. Go sit and talk. That's it."

Timmy's Ideal Crew. Timmy described a social distance between himself and the Puerto Ricans, "Sometimes I talk to them but they don't usually pay attention to me so I don't pay attention to them." During production, he would work with them, "Sometimes, like putting lights and stuff. But not friends and stuff. They don't like me."

As director, he would assemble a crew including:

Ashley: script and talent

Axle: talent

Lisa: script and camera "Cause she doesn't want to be the actor.

Eric: production assistant

Bona: audio

Phon: lights video

He felt Siv and the Puerto Ricans could watch. There was some inconsistency in his position as he included Lola and Elena as talent in the skits on images of peace.

Phon's Ideal Crew. Phon felt videomaking was hard because, "It's hard to get them to think together, you know. People. It's hard because, embarrassing, Asian people, you know, it's hard. They don't get used to it." He seemed to have no sense outside a very immediate sphere. When I asked him about Paco, the only Puerto Rican boy on the crew, he did not know his name or that he was working with the project. Nor did he know Elena by name, although he had videotaped her. However, he may have remembered an individual's role or function rather than a name for he

remembered Carmen as "The lady come that day and we made face, walking, pushing each other. I think I liked it."

When I asked him about the ideal video crew he included Axle, Ashley, Eric, and Bona in unspecified roles but based more on their association with the vocational high school. "Eric and Bona, it's work with them good. We go everywhere every time. We're in the same class to electronic. That class is hard have to know more English. It's hard." Still he felt, "It's fine working with the people here. Learn how to use camera, zoom in out. I would come again."

Editing

When editing is construed as the decisions performed by the editor working in creative collaboration with the director, the editor can be seen as occupying a privileged position and exerting a level of control and influence that contradicts the idea of broad participation in an artistic production company. The process of reviewing footage extends that privilege to include a heightened familiarity with the raw product itself. Combining that privilege with the power of making selections in the isolation of the editing room arguably allows subjective forces of personality and preference of a very few individuals to dominate the work of many.

In commercial models, filmmakers are encouraged to insist on this isolation to maintain artistic control and efficiency. This argument creates a contradiction for while

the editor's isolation presents advantages to the company in terms of the unity of vision comparable to the orchestral conductor and the lone artist and suggests monarchical efficiency, the editor is demonstrably at the mercy of other decisions and is responsible for rendering the vision of at least the director, a vision that itself is formed in collaboration. The only footage available is the result of a process of collective talent and exercise of craft and preference.

The editor's relationship with the company and the raw footage seems more accurately described as dialogical. The excellence of the final product reflects the quality of the collaboration rather than a demonstration of the editor's personal vision. Within that dialog, all the members of the company are recast as facilitators and editors, able to exercise their creativity while they remain in collaboration with the group, its capacity, vision, cohesion, etc. Viewed in this way, editing describes the entire process as an exercise of selection and choice by the crew members as they make decisions and contribute to the group's understanding from a basis of increasing awareness.

Seen in this way, the first editing decisions included the choice of video at all as the primary medium and the decision to use it to produce original work rather than review and comment upon existing work. These decisions were not available to the participants. Neither were the decisions of location nor the allocation of finances and

resources to the project. In the majority of cases, the individuals were assigned to the project and thus passive in shaping the fundamental character of the company.

Initial Topic Identification

These limits to participation were evident in the first decisions made as a group during the second day of the project. Edith asked the participants to form teams and discuss topics they thought their video work might address until they reached a consensus among themselves. Ashley asked if the group was obliged to make a video about something specific. I answered that the video could be about anything although it would probably be grounded in the diversity of the group and would at least reflect diverse viewpoints.

A spokesperson presented each team's ideas which were developed into an initial list. The range of topics suggested is presented in Table 5.6. All but two were suggested by more than one small group. No record was made of the categories offered by each group.

Table 5.6 Initial Areas of Expressed Interest and Frequency of Identification

conservation	■
AIDS	■ ■
sex	■ ■
drugs	■ ■ ■
homelessness	■

Conservation was envisaged as a video showing the before and after images of a community effort at picking up trash and recycling. Homelessness was regarded as an issue between the government and the homeless people. Neither of these issues was explored specifically in any depth.

AIDS, sex, and particularly drugs generated more interest. The topics were intertwined by relating unsafe sex, prostitution, and drug abuse to HIV and AIDS. The discussion identified nine streets where prostitutes were located and/or drugs were sold. Drug use would be shown as stupid, prostitution as degrading and dangerous. The video would be a call for the streets to be "cleaned."

One crew member knew a prostitute who might be available as a subject. Edith was enthusiastic and suggested that the girls should try to interview her. She felt that the subject was powerful enough to compete for an award, as students in her high school class had done. I was reluctant. I felt that guiding the participants toward award competitions would inhibit their process of finding an authentic voice by allowing external considerations to dominate the production. However, at least one participant (Axle) expressed interest in the wider audience their work might reach.

Constraints

Resistance to Going On Location. I felt we needed to work out the mechanics, permissions, and implications of

detaching teams before encouraging the participants to pursue this list on location. I understood the sponsoring organization could not provide the program with transportation. If the group was kept whole, its size exceeded the spaces available in Edith's car and mine.

I was also concerned for liability and vulnerability of the equipment. I only knew the streets minimally and so envisaged that I could not fulfill my obligation to the safety of the participants if street interviews involved prostitutes or involved addicts and people selling drugs illegally.

My position was ambiguous. That I did not feel personally prepared to accept responsibility for the participants safety contradicted the kind of involvement I felt to be fundamental to the project. The participants were asked to arrive at the location on their own from other training sites where they worked in the morning. This meant they may have had to pass through the very areas they identified simply to attend the program.

Ironically, I felt unsafe in the areas where the interviewees lived, the same areas they wanted to clean up physically or socially. They could be expected to know the ground well and be in a position to make sounder judgments about the safety of the group than I could as an outsider. They may have been able to negotiate access to locations at a level consistent with the need for group safety or

recognize a situation should be avoided. However, they were not tested in the context of the program.

In one instance in connection with my research, as I gave Axle a lift home in my car, he asked I if would help him run an errand for his mother. This entailed traveling to a particular shop in the part of town controlled by a rival gang. This time, I did not decline which afforded him the opportunity to give me some sense about the streets from his perspective as a gang member.

Edith had lived in the municipality for forty years. She suggested travelling to locations she felt were more interesting visually such as a city park or a room in a restored historical building with a brick wall where she had worked with her class to produce an anti-drug public service announcement.

Again I resisted, envisaging permissions and time expenditure and suggested we work out ideas that could be produced in the studio inviting people as guest speakers and producing a script from the collective experience. I did approach the representative of the funding agency for guidance. His response was that if we had written permission from the parents and insurance, we could transport the participants in our cars anywhere in town.

Toward the end of the program, Edith encouraged me to agree to allow two field teams to take the equipment outside on their own. One team included Elena, Phon, Eric, Timmy, and Lisa led by Siv. The other consisted of Margarita,

Carolina, and Anita with Lupita directing. Released from the constraints that limited the mobility of the group and kept the camera under close control, these teams produced interesting and useful footage which formed the basis for "You've Gotta Be Decent!" The production is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Multicamera Versus Single Camera. Part of my resistance was my desire to keep the group intact for observation in connection with my research. I had obtained access to a switcher and wanted to introduce the group to live television process as an option. Edith recognized the potential for group development using live switching. But it was a frustratingly reduced version of a studio facility. After a few attempts, the group chose the flexibility of a single camera approach for their final work and so relied on post-production to lend the product a finished sense.

Axle expressed preference for single camera production and edited post-production because it allowed for mistakes to be reshot. Single camera also offered an easier solution when collecting footage outdoors. In addition, Edith was familiar with the production style and did not have access to the additional equipment necessary for live switching those days when I was away.

Post-production also created the chance for individuals to experiment with effects and contribute their ideas to the appearance of the final cut in ways that in my opinion

involved them more intimately with their product. Certain choices more clearly demonstrated their thinking than those available using the switcher in a live context. What was lost, however, was the active team collaboration, the immediacy, and the pressure to perform, which are useful in developing a team sense in a wide number of circumstances.

Restricted Use of Resources

Throughout the first half of the program, the initial list of ideas remained unexpanded. Edith and I agreed that the participants were not developing a sense of ownership about the content of the program. In my opinion, the worksheets provided only a limited mechanism for drawing out personal issues as material for video work.

Limitations on Interviews. During this period, I was interviewing Timmy, Lisa, Phon, Eric, Vanilla, and Ashley. The interviewees were willing to share some opinions and aspects of their lives within the interview. This represented a considerable trust for I was, after all, a comparative stranger and the program offered only a minimal context for establishing trust.

I tried to ensure that they were aware that they could establish any limits they desired and withdraw altogether without harm of any sort (see page 232 in Appendix H). The limits to the research were expressed in the interview agreement and repeated at the beginning of each interview. They were paid \$5.00 for each interview regardless of how

forthcoming they were in answering my questions. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. I offered to pay at the beginning of the interview but the offer was never accepted.

Their anonymity was assured and I did not directly introduce material from the interviews to the group at large. Neither did the interviewees openly do so. Except for the one skit on arranged marriage, the initial video activities were based on published exercise sheets rather than the lives of the participants.

Detachment of Skits from Life. Some implications of the separation of these skits from their actual lives can be seen in this fragment of dialog recorded as Ashley, Axle, Eric, Phon, Timmy, Lisa, and Vanilla rehearsed lines for a skit based on racial discrimination about a struggle for the use of a chair in the school cafeteria.

VANILLA: [reading] Cafeteria: Asian and Anglo fight over a chair. Eric takes the chair.

AXLE: [off] Homo.

ASHLEY: [reading] What are you doing?

LISA: [reading] We need it and I'm the one that's sitting on it.

VANILLA: [reading] Well, that's tough. Get your own.

TIMMY: [reading] Well, you want it?

VANILLA: [reading] Yes, we do.

TIMMY: [Throws the chair towards Axle.]

[reading] You, white honkey, are stupid.

VANILLA: [reading using childhood playground teasing] At least my eyes aren't slanted like yours.

Someone whistles the music for the "so proudly we hailed" section of the United States national anthem. Then the skit preparation continues. Ashley wanted Axle to read rather than Vanilla.

AXLE: Write my name then.

ASHLEY: Oh, oh, oh.

AXLE: Dear, is that a compliment or a...

ASHLEY: I don't suppose I know.

Their attention moves to another person in the room.

ASHLEY: She looks different, doesn't she? Something there is about her.

VANILLA: She uglier now.

AXLE: She has makeup on.

ASHLEY: Does she?

VANILLA: Shaved her moustache.

[to the Eric operating the recorder]

Hey, turn that thing off or I'm gonna hurt you.

ERIC: I'm going to na na.

TIMMY: Why are you recording me's? You're not rec...It's so stupid.

ASHLEY: Then Vanilla stops him and then Timmy says

TIMMY: [like John Wayne] Well, it's tough.

ASHLEY: No, that's not what you say.

TIMMY: What do you want?

ASHLEY: Nothing if you do. And then Timmy says...

VANILLA: Timmy says "You white honkey."

TIMMY: No, I don't say nothin' through the whole thing. Eric should say that.

ASHLEY: Yeah, you should say it.

And Phon should say these are not my...

Timmy should say it.

Timmy does not push the chair

VANILLA: [to Eric] Stop recording my voice or I'm gonna hit you.

The membership in this skit was consistent with the clustering of Anglo-Europeans and Cambodians away from the Puerto Ricans, a pattern of separation which continued throughout the project. While the premise of the dialog being constructed was an "Asian and Anglo fight," suggesting interethnic conflict, the participants in fact grouped together. In an interview at the end of the program, Timmy confirmed this identifying Lisa, Eric, Axle, Ashley, and Phon as the friends he made during the project, adding, "Sometimes I talk to Bona. That's it."

MIKE: What about the Puerto Rican girls?

TIMMY: Sometimes I talk to them but they don't usually pay attention to me so I don't pay attention to them.

MIKE: Do you talk with them when making videotapes?

TIMMY: Sometimes, like putting lights and stuff, but not friends and stuff. They don't like me.

The reference to "slanted" eyes contrasted with the absence of open discrimination between crewmembers based on physical features. However, in one instance, Elena, a Puerto Rican, requested a reshoot because she did not want to look like a "nigger" and was unaccepting of adjustments to the monitor. Banks (1987) is helpful in understanding her self-image and is worth citing at length.

Puerto Ricans . . . recognize and use a number of different racial categories, such as *blanco* (Whites), *prieto* (dark-skinned), *negro* (Blacks), and *trigueño* (tan). . . . When determining an individual's color, Puerto Ricans consider hair color and texture as well

as skin color. Also, an individual's color classification is determined primarily by his or her physical traits rather than by the color of parents or relatives. Within one family there can be individuals who are considered *blanco*, *negro*, and *trigueño*.

The different ways in which color is recognized and treated on the mainland cause problems for the Puerto Rican migrant, especially for those who are intermediate in color. In their community, they are neither Black nor White; but they are often considered Black by outsiders. This causes the intermediate to feel alienated from both the Black and White communities in the United States. (367, italics in original)

Several of the Puerto Ricans fit intermediate categories but I would be hesitant to speculate how they were perceived among themselves although no one appeared to be negro. Lola, who had a particularly light complexion, regretted not being taken for a Puerto Rican immediately. African-Americans were never part of the crew. According to Axle and Timmy, the crew seemed to be sympathetic but distanced from the injustice depicted in Glory. Axle was more dismissive, "It has nothing to do with us. . . . Everybody talked during that movie." Timmy saw it as, "Just a lot of war." He considered it important because it involves war and slaves but was not relevant to the relationships between the crew.

One skit attempted to address race by placing Siv, a Cambodian, as the antagonist in an encounter on the street where a woman moved her purse away from a person exhibiting some difference based on race. The skit dissolved in laughter. Siv and Lola were apparently attracted to each other. Siv generally spoke in a whisper and appeared unaggressive. There was the perception that Siv was gay or

bisexual. These reasons denied motivation for raising the alarm, "Rape, rape!"

LISA: Siv is gay.
MIKE: Sure?
LISA: Siv is gay.
MIKE: [to TIMMY] Do you think so?
TIMMY: Yep. He asked me to go to the bathroom with him today. Do you know that?
MIKE: He did?
LISA: [laughs]
TIMMY: Even she heard it too.
MIKE: I didn't know.
TIMMY: I was pulling him, like, when guys, like this in karate, has him around the waist. So I sort of hugged him. I was teasing, you know. Then he asked her to go to the bathroom. He asked me "You want to go to?" and I said "No."
LISA: He was nearly got mad [laughs].
MIKE: He asked you?
LISA: He asked me for a lot of things.
TIMMY: First he asked me. Then he asked her.
MIKE: You're kidding.
LISA: Yes.
MIKE: You **are** kidding?
LISA: No, I'm not kidding. I really got mad he was joking.
MIKE: Not a good joke.
LISA: No, not a good joke.
TIMMY: It's a stupid joke.

Homosexuality was sufficiently disturbing to prevent the participants from exploring their feelings and elaborating them in video. However, while avoiding explicit

The decision to open the third year of the project to my research rested with the representatives of the sponsoring and funding agencies. The location, site, administrators, crewmembers and my co-facilitator were all guaranteed anonymity and did retain the option to decline participating in interviews. However, certain methods of observation reflected an underlying imbalance in the patterns of benefit, initiative, and authority that persisted until I made appropriate adjustments.

In drawing this dissertation to a conclusion, I reflect on the larger structure as well as selected actions of the participants in production (including my role as facilitator, editor, and researcher). I suggest some directions for further research and comment on the project as an empowering educational context.

A Critique of Control

I recommended a participatory design during the initial discussions in 1990. The idea of involving the crewmembers in determining the objectives and evaluating their progress derived from concerns outlined by Brian Street in a seminar during the spring of 1990. Street reported cautioning British educators and administrators in adult literacy programs against uncritically adopting quantitative methods of educational evaluation frequently used in America or risk threatening literacy training as a site for social practice.

Earlier, Street (1984) had criticized educators for assuming literacy to be a "neutral technology" without accounting for cultural difference. He called for extending this contextual responsiveness to evaluation. In particular, Street criticized methods that did not involve the learner as being detrimental to the endeavor inasmuch as they subordinated the dialogue between the learners and the teacher-as-facilitator to the requirements of the evaluator.

Street described how incorporating participation into a program's structure afforded opportunities to practice strategies which participants could use to affect other environments rather than simply submit to normative pressures. Participation at all levels, including the decision to join and participate, would increase the likelihood that the participants learned to deal with change in other circumstances. In the discussion in 1990, Street noted that opportunities for participation exist in curriculum planning, implementation, and evaluation.

Structural Contradictions

During the conceptualization and planning discussions for the project in 1990, I expressed my enthusiasm for Street's position. I interpreted the phrases "to enable the students to increase self-esteem . . . and seek for strategies to deal with racism in their own lives" contained in the statement of purpose in the 1990 proposal as describing a fluid and searching environment which would

empower participants by building their self-reliance. However, the language that I understood positioned the project within the sphere of empowerment was contradicted by the obligations to the funder established in the evaluative criteria in the 1990 proposal:

At the end of the seven week period 70% of the students will demonstrate a change in their attitudes toward themselves, a stronger commitment towards racial understanding and an improved ability to express their experiences with racial conflict. These changes will be measured through the pre- and post-test and teacher observation. (see Appendix B, emphasis added)

Interpreting Participation

By 1992, the contract no longer stated goals in terms of percentage of change. Nevertheless, the language showed the project remained in alignment with the funder's objectives to increase retention of minorities in school rather than objectives arising in dialog with the participants themselves. The desire to measure change was replaced by call for participation but understood as an obligation. The use of "will" in the statement of purpose from the description of services in 1992 below was not simply contractual language. Coupled with "student," it established a pattern of activity and evaluative authority between participant and facilitator.

The students will participate in an eight week exploration of their own values.

The class will be student centered and participatory with the content focused on the students' own experiences. From this the topic for the video will be developed.

That Vivian, Edith, and I as the executive director of the sponsoring agency, the new co-facilitator, and the video consultant respectively held diverging interpretations of contract fulfillment became evident in the planning meetings in 1992. Beginning with the 1990 proposal, the project sought to respond to an official desire to help minority high-school students overcome the isolation that was felt to contribute to their elevated dropout levels. Stating the problem in terms of the unfulfilled expectations of the authorities reflected the contradiction of expecting children of people who were kept at a distance as minorities to assimilate to a school system shaped according to the dominant society.

Responsibility for Control. From my perspective, the call for retention suggested a need to find ways to increase a sense of relevance and connectedness between youth's public and private lives. Increasing the desire among minority students to remain in school seemed predicated on encouraging institutions as well as individuals to contribute positively to solutions. In a formal context, this entailed developing the students' confidence to contribute their voices while at the same time encouraging school and community representatives to include minority communities as full members of the society rather than curiosities occupying cultural margins to be given positive

attention only during multicultural festivals and "diversity days" in schools.

As a non-formal educational setting, I felt the project was open to involving youth in determining the direction, setting goals, shaping activities, and evaluating process and results as a means of learning self-reliance following Street's recommendations. The only requirements the funder specified were attendance reports for the crew to be paid, summative evaluations by the executive director and instructor, and a video product. I understood this left the project comparatively open to the participants to establish particular criteria. Vivian and Edith agreed that the participants should exercise control in shaping their productions but cautioned against relinquishing necessary control of the project itself.

Vivian argued that expecting youth to participate as adults created a dilemma. The sponsoring agency had an obligation to monitor the youth. In particular, she stressed the need to prevent any illicit or immoral behavior during the project. While such misbehavior had not occurred during the 1990 or 1991 projects, Vivian expressed dissatisfaction with the level of control the previous cofacilitator, Phanna, could provide owing to her youth, undergraduate status, and inexperience. In Vivian's opinion throughout the project, Edith's eighteen years as an art teacher in the high school had provided her with the

experience and strategies necessary to establish a desirable level of control.

I was astonished to learn of Vivian's dissatisfaction with Phanna. I agreed that the 1991 project had been characterized by a loose structure, but insisted that the looseness provided an important creative space that was an advantage of an out-of-school learning context. I felt Vivian's interpretation of Phanna's restraint as demonstrating her inexperience ignored Phanna's commitment to sharing power. In an interview in 1992, Phanna indicated that while it was a "harder group to work with [than in 1990] . . . I could have been stricter but I didn't want to."

Imparting Structure. Edith wanted to establish a curricular structure during the first half of the time available via a "room management plan" (see page 172). After she felt confident the students were oriented and understood their obligations, they could be trusted to perform within the established parameters and assume more control of their productions. She felt a clear structure gave the students confidence of support.

In my view, the technology brought implications of structure. Likewise, a group of individuals would bring concerns from their lives, ideas of order and disorder, and some experience of the technology in other contexts. The ability of video to gather, select, and represent audio and visual information would be coupled with the different

perceptions of video production and appearance. Once participants began to make video, their ideas would become concrete and could be used to shape a crew and improve its practice with reference to a range of models including the video artist working alone through community participation to the hierarchical models of industrial practice.

In 1990 and 1991, my effort as facilitator had been to find or create moments that convinced the participants that the ability to control the video medium creatively was within their grasp.¹ Once the crewmembers were convinced they could do so, they had demonstrated their ability to determine the direction of each project and produced the basis for videos which I subsequently rendered as finished products. During the production process, Phanna had guided them to collaborate across cultural boundaries.

Evaluating Participation. Vivian, Edith, and I diverged in our interpretations of the contract as invitation or obligation to participate. I understood participation as empowering through involvement in shaping the learning context by contributing personal experience. I associated the resulting environment with building self-esteem. Vivian emphasized administrative responsibility to

¹In 1991, I used the images of two participants' collected by separate teams on separate days to create a couple of lovers in a film "reality" that everyone knew was contrary to fact. Demonstrating the ability to exercise control by editing seemed to galvanize the 1991 crew. In 1992, the power to control was again found in editing as a male replaced a female's voice with his, expending considerable effort to maintain synchrony and create some humor.

maintain order and control. Edith wanted to evaluate participation as performance in the project's activities.

The requirements for evaluation appeared to be perceived as giving the funding agency confidence in the competence of the sponsoring organization and the worthiness of the project. In my opinion, directing the evaluative process away from the crewmembers reduced their ability to shape their learning environment. The absence of required formative participation and summative evaluations by the crewmembers structurally subordinated their influence on the process. Marginalizing their initiative allowed authoritative conditions to develop which guided the crew to assimilate acceptable behavior rather than establish how they would solve problems.

The persistence of a school-like relationship throughout the project was present in the instructor's summative report prepared by Edith:

The first four weeks of the summer program were concerned with orienting the students to the social issues of culture, gender stereotyping, and racism. Students were given classroom presentations and required to respond to the assignments with skit writing. These skits were acted and videotaped by the students. All individuals were required to participate in the productions. In the fifth week, students were asked to commit to one social theme for their final video production. . . . Students were allowed to write, act and videotape short skits that demonstrate the use of symbols in our society. (see Appendix K, emphasis added)

By way of contrast, the Executive Director's Final Report prepared by Vivian maintains the relationship but

includes a general review of student evaluation. Vivian's report is presented in its entirety as Appendix L.

Research Participation: Invitation or Obligation?

My request for access to the project as a research site was directed to the executive director of the sponsoring agency and the representative of the funding agency. Their approval was given on three conditions in addition to a complete guarantee of anonymity to all participants and agencies. First, research was structurally separate from the project. Second, my research instruments could not negate the contract between the sponsor and funder. Third, my research activities could not constitute the work for which I was being paid.

Accordingly, I abandoned my initial idea of participatory development of an organizing tool to clarify the interests of the group as a replacement of the pre- and post-test specified in the contract. Instead, I gathered any materials from exercises including the pre- and post-tests and drawings the participants agreed to let me keep. I also received a copy of the contract between the sponsoring and funding agencies.

While I could report my observations during the project, the process could not interfere with my duties as video consultant. Using my camera to record the group process represented an acceptable middle ground although this proved problematic with the participants. I asked the

group for permission to set up the camera. While they did not refuse, the mechanical gaze created embarrassment and resistance and perhaps suspicion. The awkwardness seemed reduced if I was recording a particular event. The most successful approach was to invite individuals to practice operating the camera and view their footage later. This added the benefits of reducing tension and providing better sound to understand particular interactions.

Resistance as Participation. A significant area where the crewmembers were able to exercise control was in their decision to participate in the individual interviews I wanted to conduct for my research. The individual interviews I desired would occur outside the project hours. I would pay the subjects five dollars per interview. Crewmembers could decline my invitation to personal interviews without penalty. All the Spanish speakers and one Cambodian-American resisted by actively exercising their option not to participate in the interviews whether individually or in small groups.

Overall, the approval pattern contradicted the collaboration I recommended between us as co-facilitators and crewmembers. Using the camera to record group activities placed it out of the crew's reach and emphasized my research agenda and control of access to equipment. This action made the camera into a suspicious and intrusive instrument. When the crew controlled the camera,

collaboration was reestablished. The option to accept or decline coincidentally provided an area where individual crewmembers could exercise control.

Procedural Control

Four areas which demonstrate the participant disenfranchisement at a procedural level are the pre- and post-tests, the room management plan, the hierarchy of voice which the facilitators used to maintain authority over the crew, and the control of equipment.

Pre- and Post-Test

The pre- and post-test (see Appendix F) emerged as a significant issue at the beginning of the 1992 project when I proposed an alternative to the existing form in my research design. The pre- and post-test was included in the contracts throughout the project, but the form had changed from its initial conception. The enrollees in 1990 were included in developing the initial evaluative instrument under the guidance of the counselor. The counselor introduced the instrument as a means by which the enrollees could explore their concerns and survey certain attitudes they held about discrimination. Their involvement provided them practice in developing questions they would later ask in interviews with officials and people on the streets as discussed above. The participants challenged themselves simply to locate their feelings along a scale rather than wrestle with articulating their ideas.

In 1991, the original test was included as an appendix to the contract. By specifying the text itself rather than requiring the participants to engage in a cycle of formation and reflection, the collaborative attribute was lost. In 1992, the original instrument was again specified in the contract and used more as an attitudinal survey than a means of empowerment. Being fixed, the test could no longer reflect the specific individual concerns or points-of-view. A vehicle for participation was lost to a weak evaluative instrument.

Edith observed that as an evaluative instrument, the test did not conform to recognized standards. Being specified in the contract, she expressed frustration at her inability to alter the test. Edith administered the test to fulfil contractual requirements and asked the participants to cite examples of discrimination from their experience in an effort to elaborate on individual questions. Some participants offered examples.

Edith then tried to initiate a critical discussion of the test asking, "Are these good questions to ask at your age? Do they make you think about things? How could we make these questions more important to kids your age?" The participants were apparently reluctant to engage in a discussion about the structure of the test in such a public sphere and remained silent. Edith abandoned this effort although it became clear during the private interviews that

the individuals indeed had concerns which they would articulate under acceptable circumstances.

Room Management Plan

Similarly, Edith established the curriculum at the start of the project through a room management plan (see Appendix G). As the instructor, she claimed accountability for the curriculum and interpreted the statements regarding participation as one area where performance evaluation was indicated.

While Edith accepted the desirability of inviting input from the participants in planning and involving the students in shaping the conditions under which they would work, the dominating obligations were to the sponsoring organization and the funding agency. Edith apparently felt the need to meet contractual obligations to position the project for funding in the future and the kind of student participation I advocated were contradictory. I knew of no feedback suggesting that the funder was dissatisfied with the activities and results in 1990 and 1991. The project had continued to attract funding. Her reluctance limited the involvement of the crew in the process of forming the guidelines for work to simply accepting the plan and considering how they could implement it. As with the pre-test, the participants were placed in a passive role.

Beyond specifying the desirable kinds of interaction between the participants, the room management plan addressed

the curriculum by specifying the focus for each of the first four weeks. Edith built a curriculum around cross-cultural training exercises presented as situational games and attitudinal surveys supported by handouts.² These were followed by a call for the crew to develop related skits based on their experiences. Edith argued that her plan allowed for student participation by involving them in developing skits each week in response to an area of human interaction that was addressed in the activities she introduced.

Edith's plan demanded participation and threatened negative evaluation if the crew did not contribute in an acceptable fashion. Her ability to control the circumstances of the activities at a structural level extended the formal school model into an out-of-school setting. In doing so, it denied the producers the space to shape and set their goals, losing educational value for the sake of order, apparent speed, and predictability.

Hierarchies of Voice

The influence of the contract was reflected in Edith's voice and my actions. As facilitators, we established forms of address which established patterns of authority.

²The opportunity to criticize the materials did not occur to anyone. The handouts would have been useful as a basis for considering bias in materials the participants experienced as students in school.

Forms of Address. Retention of authority was accomplished by the maintenance of hierarchical terms of address. Edith asked the crewmembers to use "Ms. O'Callahan" because of the likelihood that she would encounter the same individuals as students in school and did not want them to be in the habit of referring to her on familiar terms. Conversely, I asked the crew to call me "Mike" with the intention of positioning myself as a facilitative co-participant. We both used the crewmembers' first names.

Tone of Voice. A significant area of authoritative language emerged when Edith transformed the need to provide a sufficient signal ahead of the desired video material to allow for clean editing into an embarrassingly strident and labored countdown "One, one thousand; two, two thousand; three, three thousand; four, four thousand; five, five thousand." The demand that the crewmembers use her solution denied them the social space to develop an appropriate pattern of use.

English as a Second Language. On the first day, Edith introduced the "tennis ball toss" exercise designed to practice collaborative problem solving. The objective was for the participants to develop strategies for passing a tennis ball efficiently between the members. There were only four crewmembers assembled in addition to Edith and myself. These were Lisa and Phon, who were both nominally

seventeen although actually twenty as discussed in the previous chapter, and Phon's sister and Bona who I understand were fourteen and seventeen.

During the exercise, Edith was the primary speaker. She asked us to arrange ourselves into a circle and began the exercise as though speaking to children. Her stress was so pronounced at the beginning, I felt compelled to underline the words she emphasized in my transcription.

EDITH: Now, I have one tennis ball. Now, what I'm going to do is I'm going to take this tennis ball, and I'm going to throw it to someone in circle. And when you get that tennis ball you throw it to someone else. And then that person will throw it to someone else who has not received the tennis ball yet. So in order to do that, when I throw the tennis ball to someone, after you've caught it, throw it to someone else. Put your hand up [she models this] so we know you've already received it. Alright, let's see if we can do this.

Later, Edith changed the game and asked us to consider how we could pass the ball around faster. As Lisa pulled the chair in closer, Edith drew attention to her action.

EDITH: Now you just did something else. What did you do?

LISA: I sat.

EDITH: [looks to Phon] Now what did she do? She did what to her chair?

LISA: I just moved like this. [laughs]

EDITH: [looks to Chanti] Now, what about that?

CHANTI It will help.
EDITH: Do you think it would? Do you want to try
 that too?
LISA: Move our chairs.
MIKE: [back to group, writing solutions on
 newsprint] What?
EDITH: [to Mike] We'll move our chairs in closer.
MIKE: [writing] Move in closer
EDITH: Do you want to try that? [everyone moves in]
 Here we go.

The group continued until we were placing the tennis ball directly in each other's hands. Then Edith looked from Lisa to Phon to Chanti asking, "Now what did we do to get there? What was the process?" She ended looking at Chanti. At this point, I interrupted saying to Phon, "No, you tell us," attempting to pull him into the discussion.

PHON: We passed it faster and faster.
MIKE: How?
PHON: You see. Around. You pass it to him.

Phon was probably searching for my motivation. As our actions had been obvious, their retelling was unnecessary.

PHON: We made small circle and then pass it to
 person and make it faster.
MIKE: [to Bona] Can you add to what he said?
BONA: Give the ball faster.
PHON: Get close to each other.

After we passed the ball around again, I asked Phon to resolve it in one sentence. Phon said, "We have to stay close to each other."

EDITH: What if I said, "If you pass the ball in under three seconds you'll get a million dollars." But what if I sat way over there? So what did everyone have to do?

PHON: Stay together.

EDITH: We have to be part of the ...

CHANTI: team.

EDITH: In the next eight weeks that's going to be very very important as we go through this process.

MIKE: We all learned how useful it is to be close to each other to get the job done. Isn't that true?

While attempting to guide the participants through an action and a reflection on their action, both Edith and I marginalized the participants linguistically. Edith used stress and cadence appropriate to a communication with small children. I recast a successful solution to communication comprising gesture and position in terms deriving from language learning exercises. In effect, I moved the emphasis away from our shared ability to communicate. My actions associated accent and non-standard English with a deficit rather than a comparatively strong ability and a willingness to overcome communicative obstacles.

Access to Equipment

Imposing Control. As video consultant, I exercised control and established limits on the manner in which the equipment was to be used in order to protect it from damage or theft as the economic circumstances made any loss or

damage irrecoverable within the limits of the project. My actions ranged from requiring the camera be used on a tripod to cautioning against taking the equipment on locations other than those very near the work site.

Imposing such control without involving the participants in determining patterns of sensible care for the equipment or considerations when taking equipment on location undermined the sense of collaboration, access, and trust I hoped to generate by a web of relations including first names. It also limited the opportunity to build awareness by activating the participants sense of personal safety and care of belongings which they exercised as part of their everyday existence.

Releasing Control. The most significant break from this protective pattern of equipment control was initiated by Edith toward the end of the project. Edith established four areas of social concern to be addressed in the plan of work for the first half of the project: sex roles, cultural differences, racism, and values.³ The crew received basic video training during this period which was intended to prepare them to take the initiative in the second half. During this period, Edith developed a sense of trust which was needed to encourage me to agree to release control of video to an unsupervised crew.

³The crew was asked to identify areas they would be interested in exploring. They indicated the conservation, AIDS, sex, drugs, and homelessness. These interests were not addressed directly in any production.

Edith was sufficiently familiar with the location and had developed confidence in the members that she recommended that the crews take a second camera out unsupervised. Whereas I was reluctant to put the equipment at any risk, her trust created the conditions under which it was possible for the crews to record the kind of footage in which a personal discourse could be discovered.

Given the overall pattern of control, it was unsurprising that prior to releasing control of the equipment, Edith and I could agree that the participants had not taken ownership of the project. They had been structurally discouraged from doing so. Axle accurately summed up the cumulative effect of our actions as facilitators in the first half of the project commenting, "It's just like school."

Changing Patterns of Control

As the pre-production activities came to an end, the participants began to assert their voices. The production efforts were initially tentative and quiet. The underlying concept behind the majority of their productions was that cultures have much in common. In their productions, the participants explored areas such as affection, celebration, humor, and a desire for harmony and safety. While not necessarily controversial, the emphasis on shared themes suggested other cultures could be understood with examples drawn from the culture of those who prepared the exercises.

Finding A Critical Voice

"The Three No's," a video animation, represented a departure from the other efforts by offering a clear expression of dissatisfaction on the part of Southeast Asian refugees from agrarian areas with their experience of living in an urban area. The immediate complaint targeted the petty controls which ordered the immediate actions in their lives. But the underlying frustration was with the cash economy which impoverished the refugees.

During production, problems in accomplishing the animation dominated, leaving the criticism of the society undiscussed. Rather it was during a personal interview that Phon expressed his frustration, demonstrating the disadvantage of keeping the research aspect separate from the project. He noted that the economy where they found refuge also prevented them from achieving fundamental life goals, such as home ownership and self-sufficiency which their parents had realized in their homelands. While Phon may have assimilated an idealized picture of the past from his parents, he knew they wanted to return. In the process, he found a basis for initiating a critical research project of refugee experience of depending on an economy from which they were largely excluded.

Toward the end of the production phase, the crew began to comment on the relationships developed in the project relying on parody and humor. The shrill industrial-style countdown Edith insisted on as part of training became an

object of ridicule in one of the skits as the crew recorded, "One, one thousand; two, two thousand; etc." in unison as Edith watched. But it was during the editing sessions that the crewmembers claimed control.

We had access to an editing suite across town. The equipment was located in a very small room and there were only four spaces in either car. One of the girls could not be persuaded to be seen travelling in a car with males other than family as she would risk offending her boyfriend. As a result, the sessions were divided by gender.

During the second session, the Paco teased Lupita by dubbing his voice over hers. But in addition, he affected a highly exaggerated Spanish accent in English. He repeated the effort tirelessly until he achieved accurate lip synchrony. When Paco replayed it for Lupita, rather than being offended, she seemed pleased with the double maliciousness.

It was also during the second session that "What You Wear," a music video, provided another area to exercise the power to resist. In production, Timmy, the director, acknowledged the reluctance many felt at being featured on camera by emphasizing the labels of clothing people wore for identity and only allowing glimpses of the people themselves. In the editing room, the boys (who were Khmer, European, and Latino) decided that using Cambodian popular music brought the movement, labels, and different ethnic identities together. Their choice seemed to intrigue the

group. Their movements fit seamlessly with the Cambodian music offering an unaccustomed opportunity to see aspects of their cultures meshing.

Eleven segments were brought to near completion by the producers during the introduction to editing in the initial post-production period. Two separate crews formed by Latinas, primarily Puerto Rican, and the Southeast Asian boys, Cambodian and Lao, recorded in the surrounding neighborhood. My editing instructions were simply to combine the footage from these two sources to create a twelfth segment as an opening sequence. Of the eleven segments, "The Three No's" and "What You Wear" most directly informed my editing decisions.

"You've Gotta Be Decent!"

Reading the Footage

Editing the opening segment represented my most intensive involvement with the participants' footage. I began work on "You've Gotta Be Decent!" four months after the end of production. The majority of "You've Gotta Be Decent!" was constructed using footage recorded by two crews working independently. One crew consisted of Latinas and the other, the Southeast Asian males. The footage had been collected as short sequences of images or symbols that interested the crew. Rather than telling stories, both crews were treating the visual material as isolated snapshots and ignoring the sound they were recording. The

females showed pleasure dancing, shouting, and daring each other to take social risks. They related directly to the camera. The males concentrated on framing objects and avoided eye contact with the camera.

Consistent with the emphasis that emerged in the project on common ground as a basis for collaboration between groups, I reviewed the footage looking for shapes, colors, and content which occurred in the footage produced by each crew. The unifying visual pattern was an "X" present in a wide range of contexts. It appeared as a design on clothing to advertise Spike Lee's film Malcolm X which Lupita wore to dance on camera. I was not able to determine if she was making a conscious association with the "X" which "symbolized the true African name that [Malcolm] never could know" (Haley 1965:199). The "X" was also present in the pattern created by chainlink fences in the foreground of several scenes, the flag of the Confederacy on a license plate, and the markings on an ambulance.

At the same time, I drew on my understanding of "The Three No's" as the Eric Lee's and Phon's response to the frustration of living in a society bound by regulations and requiring money. I began to discern a comment on controls youth experience, the contradictions they are expected to accept, and strategies they use to assert themselves in the images collected for "You've Gotta Be Decent!"

Editing Process

The editing process involved four phases of translation from the actual experience.

Gather Footage. First, the sequences the crews produced narrowed the range allowing patterns to be found. The images they shared an interest in collecting were chainlink fences, dogs as guards and pets, public communication technologies (traffic signals and telephones), and graffiti. When asking a respondent what symbols he felt were important, Anita cautioned him saying, "You've gotta be decent!" adding, "Don't think of nothin' nasty." His answer, "Try the cross." recycled a symbol present in both crews' footage.

Juxtapose Images and Sounds. Next, I brought images recorded at the same time into closer proximity to emphasize interrelationships. For example, the raw footage of a crosswalk signal was contradicted by images of the crew walking down the middle of the street, one wearing a shirt with a huge "X" emblazoned on the front.

In the majority of instances, I created relationships by juxtaposing images that had not been recorded in proximity. The control on communication exercised by the telephone service was contested by highly individual graffiti scrawled on walls. Young women were admonished to stay off the rear saddles of motorcycles and out of bars, but an older married man could visit the Playboy Club and

care for a statue of the Virgin Mary on his lawn without particular awareness of the contradictions implied. The reality of barking guard dogs was contradicted by advertised images of the affectionate pet, fond words spoken to a guard dog, and ridicule of owners who allow their pets to soil public areas.

Alter Images and Sounds. The availability of a special effects generator (SEG) allowed me to manipulate the images themselves to emphasize the desire to break constraints that I was reading into their sequences. Using the SEG, I was able to change a red stop sign to green and to make the word "Entrance" blink enticingly to reinforce the Latinas' playfulness in daring each other to approach a forbidden bar. Given the absence of a discussion with the producers or their presence during the editing of this segment, my decisions were necessarily speculative.

During this phase, I created a music chant from their voices by looping a vocal rhythm to create a beat under a chant made by rerecording "You've gotta be decent! Don't thing of nothin' nasty!" At the end of the video, I used a shout, "You shut up, you little dork!" to contradict the admonition to obey.

Participant Review. Finally, I showed the crew the first cut. This was prefaced by a discussion of the process and the motivation for my decisions to try to suggest to the producers that an understanding of their concerns was

possible which was not apparent outside the context of the video. The video footage provided the environment in which I discovered patterns. I intervened to organize the patterns in imitation of their decisions. In the end, my decisions had to be returned to them for validation with the possibility of their requesting or making corrections.

Sharing Power

In my opinion, the interaction that resulted in "You've Gotta Be Decent!" most closely fulfilled the opportunities for collaboration using video production. The independent use of the camera gave the crews control in acquiring their footage. The different editing phases created intricate patterns of influence. Most importantly, the first cut was returned for their evaluation as producers. Their knowledge of the production circumstances and their position in the evaluation process validated them as critics and blurred the patterns of authority.

Using their work to form a video product seemed particularly powerful in engaging their interest by maintaining the authority of their experience. Combining the roles of researcher and facilitator and entering the production as an editor allowed me to enter a dialog with the producers through their work. Their authority kept my understanding from dominating and established a balance consistent with facilitation as a reconceptualization of the traditional teacher-student relationship.

Fundamental to this project was idea that a video product is a construct built from experience and resulting from a cycle of action and reflection which informs subsequent action. When the video was presented for review by the crew seven months after production ended, I discussed the pattern of resistance I perceived that motivated my choices in "You've Gotta Be Decent!" No one explicitly agreed or disagreed with the details of my choices. Rather, Edith noted that they seemed surprised to be taken so seriously.

Forming a Community

The project was concerned with the development of a sense of community among participants. Operating from the premise that ethnic minorities were disempowered in terms of the mainstream society and using high dropout rates from school among minorities as evidence of social disenfranchisement, this project was funded in order to raise self-esteem by encouraging assimilative behavior that would gain acceptance by the mainstream society.

The primary question guiding this research asked how a community of people described by their diversity and levels of expertise could use video to better understand their context. This question presumed that a collaboration structured around the use of a communicative technology would encourage a microcommunity to form with implications beyond the production circumstances. The pattern of

participant clustering of according to common language or gender suggested that participation as crewmembers on individual video productions does not motivate people to abandon forces that engender a sense of social identity. However, the participants' willingness to engage with and act on the each other's video footage raised the possibility that the mediated environment of the video material itself offers an arena where interaction across cultures within a community of producers may be envisaged.

"You've Gotta Be Decent!" suggested the possibility that the different groups shared a criticism of their context and could use video to construct messages their own from experience. The video became a vehicle for discussing whether a particular interpretation resonated well with their self-understanding, transferring the emphasis from the differences which distinguished the crews to the direction of their attention.

But the producers' privileged knowledge made their viewing a complex experience. As insiders, the video simultaneously reminded them of the production circumstances, recalling differences, while asking them to consider how their footage articulated with footage from the other crew, suggesting a shared basis for social criticism. The differences would remain obscure to an audience unfamiliar with the production circumstances. Knowledge of production circumstances differentiated the experience of insiders and outsiders. Insiders would view the product as

resulting from the production process. Outsiders would associate the same product with their own experiences.

I asked the participants to rate the segments as something they wanted to show to someone outside the production group, re-edit, or hide. The animations were initially attractive as a safe ground during production where individuals could avoid being on camera. Viewing the first cut, the animations were generally regarded as uninteresting compared with "What You Wear!" and "You've Gotta Be Decent!" The production looked good and had humor, relieving the tension of being on display. Edith was encouraged to enter it in a festival of student productions. This action may have been premature for the crewmembers.

The first cut marked the end of the project and delivered a product that was connected to that process. Viewing the first cut brought a context in which people maintain their distinct identity together with a context that emphasized their unity. The apparent collaboration occurred in the video itself capitalizing on the producers' experience as viewers willing to extend the unity of lived experience to the apparent continuity of the edited footage, however separated or fragmented the production circumstances.

The crew envisaged showing it to their family and friends, a pattern of distribution that kept the product under their control. They would be present to interpret with authority. Distributed in this way, the product served

as a bridge as the participants began to take the next step and prepare to reach out to an audience.

Recommendations for Further Research

Patterns of Interaction

The participants' willingness to engage with and act on each other's footage opened the mediated environment of the video material itself as an arena where interaction across cultures within a community of producers may be envisaged. The susceptibility of meaning-making to a particular sequence of images suggests the decisions arising from varying patterns of editorial relationships offers a lively area for studying collaboration.

Exploring the Circle of Producers

In this study, I entered the post-production phase as an editor, positioning myself as a participant in the process. I decided to use only the footage produced by the crewmembers and limit my authorship to reconstructing the participants' solutions and bringing their work to a level of completion that would motivate further participation.

The participants saw their footage (resulting from separate walks through the surrounding neighborhood) unified within the context of the video screen. They also saw the content of their footage being used to suggest a shared criticism of the broader context they have in common. Such a discourse among the participants was not apparent during production.

The role moved the concept of facilitator away from the mentor, guide, or coach descriptions toward a co-authorship with the participants taking into account the mutual reliance of experience and expertise. Editing became a game in which I found a theme, youthful rebellion, suggested by my reading of their video material and personal interviews and created the program in post-production essentially to pose the question, "Did I get it?"

The study only afforded limited information regarding the actions the participants might take working with each other's footage or image. The participants' enthusiasm for altering each other's images suggested an interest in exploring identity formation. Different approaches to the same material could be compared. Different versions could be formed using one individual's raw footage or engaging the collected footage of the group. Likewise, editing sessions could involve individuals working together in teams or alone, cycling their work for editorial comment.

While the actions were humorous, the potential for hurt brought an awareness for the need to exercise care. I felt it necessary both to advise caution in selecting segments for display and to prepare the other participants before showing them footage of themselves that had been altered, for example, by adding a different voice. This need for caution arose in part by the absence of immediate editing facilities that would allow for a returned gesture.

Reaching Outside the Circle

The need to exercise care pointed to the responsibility producers have toward their peers and brought the crew to the threshold of preparing a product for an external audience. In the instance of the project, process of community formation was emphasized over the video product. Accordingly the relationships rather than the reception and acceptability of the product formed the relevant basis for evaluating the project. For example, the Puerto Ricans' reluctance to participating in the interview process connected with my research indicated that the project did accommodate their choice rather than suppress them into a behavior they found undesirable. Since they contributed footage and expressed interest in continued involvement, their actions, including their resistance, were consistent with objective of empowerment, and must be interpreted as positive.

Keeping the emphasis on the formation of a product opened the process as a comparatively accessible environment for people to contribute while maintaining separate identity. The product was not intended for distribution outside the circle of producers. Whether audiences outside the circle found the video unaccessible or stimulating diminished so long as the process remained valuable to the participants.

However, as the producers arrive at a point where they want to reach outside the circle, a sense of audience

develops bringing the product to the foreground and raising the prospect of a multicultural group of storytellers documenting their communities in a way that is accessible and compelling to their audience. Will the circle of producers continue the editorial direction of "You've Gotta Be Decent!" and try to form a single product containing many voices? Or will the circle break into isolated production units offering a plurality of separate products reflecting the diverse voices within a larger community?

The larger questions concern how a multicultural community of producers can exercise their developing skills to comment on their society. Immediately, privacy, censorship, distribution, and copyright emerge as issues, creating further research opportunities. What criteria of product acceptability will motivate the decisions? Who will establish the criteria? Where will the product be introduced for distribution? How can the need to acknowledge and reward ownership be balanced with the impulse, ease, and advantages electronic media afford to altering, incorporating, and redistributing work?

Conclusion

I have tried to show that an educational use of media involves giving the qualities of expert and novice an impermanence in order for individuals develop the confidence to affect change. The ability to alter work in the tentative environment of electronic media such as video and

word processing allows multiple spheres of authority to be actively included in subsequent versions of a work. The ability to exercise judgment by altering a work and presenting a new version is seen in this dissertation as contributing to a community's understanding of itself by considering the ideas its works provoke.

Structurally, the easy mutability that electronic media offers creates conditions in which those who have traditionally been receivers or consumers can enter the production process, contributing fresh material or bringing others' works into informative juxtaposition. However, the action of copying and changing environments brings issues of ownership into play. A major current question underlying the interaction described in this dissertation involves determining how the advantages of copying and distributing products in an electronic environment can be balanced with the need to acknowledge and reward originality and ownership.

Collaboration can represent an opportunity to alter the oppositional relationships that separate, in various contexts, teacher from student, facilitator from participant, employer from employee, actor from audience, producer from consumer, and native from immigrant. Copyright is one mechanism which reinforces such differentials. Collaboration recalls the master and apprentice relationship, the expert and novice working together toward a common goal. If the capacity that

electronic media offers the consumer to act on a product is to be useful educationally, an equilibrium will have to be found which does not deprive the originator or distributor the means of thriving within the society or maintain the anonymity accepted by the apprentice or novice.

This dissertation has suggested that the concept of authorship can be reinterpreted as a community process and has shown that a product can offer a mutable locus upon which a community can act to reach an understanding of itself. The particular process offered a community a seemingly reflexive view of itself as it might be, a kind of feed-forward that was not available without the ability to manipulate the footage.

I have argued that the factors which distinguish an educational use of a medium of communication from an instructional one lie in the ability to control a medium and use it to explore one's surrounding world, including others' works that contribute to the environment. The process I have described occurred within a closed circle and with differentially authoritative relationships at least partially intact. A further step is to explore the patterns and toleration for interactivity with products in electronic environments which enable layers of audiences beyond the initial circle to become producers who can structure their encounter of a work and alter it in a process of coming to an understanding of their environment.

APPENDIX A

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF THE 1990 PROPOSAL

Summer Youth Program

- Personal Values and Racism
- An Exploration through Video

Executive Summary

MAA proposes to enroll 18 youth into the enrichment program. The youth will be recruited from all ethnic groups, . The program will continue for 7 weeks for 12 hours a week, Monday through Thursday from 9 AM 'till noon.

The purpose of the program is to enable the students to increase their self-esteem, to develop a broader understanding of racism and seek for strategies to deal with racism in their own lives. It is designed for students of both the dominant and the minority cultures. The cultural diversity of the class will be used as a spring board for discussion.

Students will produce a video that documents the program experience.

Students will be tested for attitudinal changes.

The program will be taught by an instructor. A technical consultant will supervise the development of the video. The program will be supervised by the MAA Project Director.

APPENDIX B

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES FROM THE 1990 PROPOSAL

ENRICHMENT PROGRAM : PERSONAL VALUES AND RACISM - AN EXPLORATION THROUGH VIDEO

Program objectives:

At the end of the seven week period 70 % of the students will demonstrate a change in their attitudes towards themselves, a stronger commitment towards racial understanding and an improved ability to express their experiences with racial conflict. These changes will be measured through the pre and post test and teacher observation.

Program goals:

The students will produce a video that addresses the issue of attitudes towards oneself and others as expressed in racism. The video will be produced in three or four time manageable segments that can be used as the basis of discussion in a classroom.

Program methods:

Each day students will do some reading and writing related to the project . Work will be kept in student folders. Students will be involved in activity for 3 hours a day for 4 days a week. As much as possible the presentations for the video will be student generated. Students will be involved in the planning of filming, locations etc.

The course of study will center on discussion of differences between peoples and the acknowledgement of different values.

The students will then move inwards to study themselves, their own values and their ethnicity.

Students will then examine interactions and the causes and consequences of racism. Finally they will look at racism as it affects them in their daily lives and discuss effective ways to combat racism.

At each stage the students will document their findings on video. The video will be edited and will be available for presentation either as a whole or in segments in the schools.

APPENDIX C

STATEMENT OF NEED FROM THE 1990 PROPOSAL

STATEMENT OF NEED

The youth in our City are exposed to the many pressures of adolescence. Staying in school can be difficult when those around you are standing on street corners and dropping out. Self motivation that will encourage a return to school in the Fall is an important goal of the program. The skills training component of the program, with its emphasis on self expression and language skills, has important academic consequences.

In a multi-racial environment , the pressures of adolescence can be modified by positive interaction amongst different racial groups. The alternative is all too often conflict and self-destructive behaviour. The purpose of the interactive video project is to enable youths to see clearly the similarities in the issues that they have to face in their lives.

APPENDIX D

FIRST PAGE OF CONTRACT 1992

CONTRACT #.

AGREEMENT FOR A
SUMMER YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING
ENRICHMENT PROGRAM
BETWEEN THE
MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATION
AND THE
CITY MANAGER'S
OFFICE OF EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING
CITY OF

This Agreement entered into the first day of July 1992, by and between the City Manager's Office of Employment and Training (hereinafter called the "Agency") and the Mutual Assistance Association (hereinafter called the "Contractor")

WITNESSETH THAT:

WHEREAS, the Agency has entered into an Agreement with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Employment and Training to act as a recipient for a grant for the purpose of providing employment and training services to economically disadvantaged and handicapped youth and adults,

WHEREAS, funds for these activities shall be provided under the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982 (hereinafter called the "Act"),

WHEREAS, the cooperation of the Agency and the Contractor are essential for carrying out of the Program, and

WHEREAS, the Agency desires to engage the Contractor to render certain services, the parties hereto mutually agree:

I. PROGRAMMATIC PERFORMANCE STANDARDS

Under the terms of this Agreement, the Contractor will operate a program under JTPA Title IIB and provide services to economically disadvantaged youth. Such goals which have been established for the Contractor by the Office of Employment and Training and the Employment Board.

II. SCOPE OF SERVICES

The Contractor shall in a manner satisfactory to the Agency operate a Title IIB Enrichment Program for eighteen (18) JTPA eligible youth ages 14 - 21.

This shall be accomplished in the following manner:

- A. The Contractor shall implement this program in accordance with its Fiscal Year 1993 Vocational Work Exploratory Proposal and the Statement of Work (Exhibit D) as approved by the Employment Board.
- B. The Program will operate from Monday, July 6, 1992 through Friday, August 28, 1992. Hours of operation will be from 1:00 P.M. to 2:30 P.M., two hours per day for a total of ten hours per week. The program will operate concurrent with the STEP Program.

APPENDIX E

NARRATIVE OF SCOPE OF SERVICES 1992

PART I: SCOPE OF SERVICES

NOTE: The Narrative of this Section MUST be answered for each category on the pages provided in this proposal. Please be brief but thorough. The score received in this Part will determine who will be funded to operate JTPA IIB Programs.

Section A: Program Abstract and Curriculum (50 Points)

1. Indicate the length of the program:

Start Date: July 6 1992 End Date: August 31, 1992
Hours of Training per Day: _____ A.M. 2 P.M.
Days per Week Program will Operate: 5
Indicate the Total # of Youth to be Served: 18
Project the # of Positive Outcomes:
(Defined in Part V) 13
Define Student/Teacher Ratio: 1-9

2. Provide a brief narrative description of your program. Include the purpose, type of

The purpose of the enrichment program is to enhance interpersonal and thinking skills of program participants and strengthen their personal qualities of self-esteem, individual responsibility, teamwork, sociability, decision making, tolerance and integrity.

The students will participate in an eight week exploration of their own values through a study of differences, racism and tolerance. This will be done in the context of the production of a video.

Through the opportunity to explore the impact of racism and stereotypes within their own lives they will have the opportunity to discuss their future goals in the context of equality and combatting prejudice.

The program is designed for students of both the dominant and minority cultures. The cultural diversity of the class will be used as a springboard for discussion. A focus of the class for the students will be the production of a video that documents the program experience and the students interpretation of a theme related to decision making, values, responsibility and tolerance.

The class will be student centered and participatory with the content focused on the students' own experiences. From this the topic for the video will be developed.

Students will have the opportunity to meet with community leaders and positive role models from the minority communities.

Movies concentrating on racism and diversity will be integrated into the curriculum: these will include but not be limited to : Mississippi Burning, Glory, The Gods Must be Crazy, Cry Freedom, A World Apart.

The students will benefit from the opportunity to explore some of the issues within their own lives that affect their self-esteem and their vision of the future. They will have the opportunity to express ideas and form opinions based on experiential exercises, the movies that they see, guest speakers and the decision making surrounding the implementation of the video.

Both the program staff and MAA youth staff will be available to provide support and counseling and referral as needed. MAA has experience with this aspect of the program and these services will be available at all times.

APPENDIX F

PRE- AND POST-TEST 1992

Summer Youth Program Video Project

Pre and post test

	Always	Sometimes	Never
I like to talk to people who are different from me	_____	_____	_____
I like to spend time with people who are different from me	_____	_____	_____
I feel good about myself	_____	_____	_____
I think about my future	_____	_____	_____
In the school cafeteria I sit with people who are different for me	_____	_____	_____
I feel proud of the way I look	_____	_____	_____

	True	False
There are students who are racist in our school	_____	_____
If I study hard I can go to college	_____	_____
I cannot afford to go to college	_____	_____
The key to future happiness is a good job	_____	_____
I can make a difference to the world	_____	_____

In the future I see myself (complete this paragraph)

APPENDIX G

ROOM MANAGEMENT PLAN DEVELOPED BY INSTRUCTOR

ROOM MANAGEMENT PLAN

MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATION

VIDEO PROJECT/ OET

Performance Standards required of Students:

Attendance and punctuality is expected.

Proper use and maintenance of video equipment is required.

Classroom participation will be reviewed by instructor with individuals.

Respect for all opinions and feeling expressed by members of the group is required.

Classroom must be left neat and orderly.

THE GOAL OF THIS EIGHT WEEK PROGRAM IS TO EXPLORE OUR MULTI-CULTURAL COMMUNITY AND PRODUCE A VIDEO THAT REFLECTS OUR INVESTIGATIONS.

Ms. O'Callahan will be in the MAA office until 4pm.

APPENDIX H

INDIVIDUAL CONSENT FORM

"When Societies Mingle: The Role of Participatory Video
in Enriching Intercultural Understanding
in a Multicultural Community" [Original Title]

I am Michael Johnston, a filmmaker interested in cross-cultural understanding. I am completing a doctoral degree in Educational Media at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

As a members of this project, you are all learning the basics of video production. During the production, we will pull our experiences and abilities together and learn how to work together. To help you do this, I need to learn how the production can be steered to help you more as your questions, concerns, and interests become clear. In order to do so, I record what you do, say, and write during the project.

In addition to this, I am interested in finding out how working together on a video project can help people from different cultural backgrounds understand more about each other and their community. This is separate from the project and I need your permission to use what I record to do it. Here is how it works:

Production Materials

Ms. O'Callahan and I ask you to answer questions and fill out papers in writing. We also take notes on things you say and write them on newsprint or on the blackboard. I would like to keep copies of the things you write and say and include some of them in my report on the project. I need your permission before I can do that and tell others about what you have written.

Process Observation

While we are working together on the project, I sometimes record what we do using a video camera or an audio tape recorder. After the project is done for the day, I use the recordings to look back on what was accomplished. While I review the tape, I make notes of what I see and hear you say. While the information is used during the project, I need your permission before I can tell others about our work.

Individual Interviews

In addition to looking at what we do, it helps if I can know how some of you feel about the way we are working

together. That kind of information should give me a better idea of what I need to do during important stages of the production. To do this I will ask some of you to agree to be interviewed individually about three times after the hours of your work with the project.

If you agree, we will sit in the office area of the MAA and talk. I will ask about your experiences, expectations, and feeling before, during, and at the end of this project as well as your hopes for the future as a result of working in a video production.

I will record the interviews and copy the words in writing for later study, but no one will know who told me what. All the names will be kept private. I will need your permission to tell others what we have talked about, but I will not tell anyone who you are. In addition, I will pay you \$5.00 per interview, each lasting about one hour. I will also give you a ride home with someone else in the car so you feel safe.

Use and Confidentiality

If I have permission to do this work, I will look over the questions, concerns, and interests of the group to find ways to improve this project from our work together.

With your permission, I will also use the information I collect during the project for presentation in my dissertation on how video production can bring about change among participants. I may use the information in reports to MAA, the OET, journal articles, workshops for teachers, and possibly a book.

I will not under any circumstances use your name or the name of any other participant in the project in discussing this project. Rather, I will use operational names such as "director" or "camera operator" or the stage name(s) of your character(s), or use a name you suggest. I will not refer to the organization by name or mention the location of the project other than as "in a town in New England" or by a false name.

No Obligation

I hope you will agree to take part in this study because it should provide you with a useful experience in addition to participating in the project. However, if you do not want to, you do not have to do so. This is in addition to and separate from your regular work. You will be able to participate in the project anyway and will not lose out if you do not take part. In addition, you may change you mind and take back your agreement at any time even if you agree now.

Thank you for considering being part of my research. I look forward to the possibility of working with you on this special project.

Permission

In order to take part in the study, you must sign this consent form below. If you are under age eighteen, you must also have the consent of your parent or legal guardian. In signing below, you are agreeing to take part in the study under the conditions set forth above. You are also assuring me that you will make no financial claim on me now or in the future for your participation other than the \$5.00 per individual interview, if you are selected.

____ I agree to let you use copies of written materials I produce and notes, videotapes, and audio recordings that include information about my work in the project as set forth above.

____ I agree to be interviewed individually three times at the MAA after the project hours for a fee of \$5.00 per interview, understanding the you will bring me home safely, as set forth above.

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Guardian's Name: _____

Guardian's Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX I

PARTICIPANT EVALUATION FORMS COMPLETED AFTER FIRST CUT

Ashley

POST-PRODUCTION
VIEWING GUIDE

Name: Ashley March 17, 1993

Think about the scenes you would like to:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
show someone	*											
keep with 1 or 2 changes												
get rid of												

Who do you think would probably like to watch this video?

*I'd show my friends and family
I'm sure they'd enjoy watching
this tape.*

Looking at our video and thinking back, what is the biggest problem you now feel is part of working with video -- on each side of the camera?

The hardest part of working with the camra was how you had to bevery careful with wires and the Buttons how I thought if I hit the wrong button the tape would be wruendd. But I found out other wise.

PRODUCTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: Ashley March 17, 1993

PRE-PRODUCTION (planning)
Making the "No!" sign for the sequence about smoking, swimming, and fishing.

PRODUCTION (taping)
Lupita focussing the camera on Timmy's hands braiding a bracelet.

POST-PRODUCTION (editing)
Deciding how we like the first cut showing Bona's drawing.

Now tell about yourself:

	Plan	Tape	Edit
1. Which area would you like to work in again?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What job specifically? *Recorder*

2. Which area gave you the best experience working with someone else.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-------------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

What were you doing? *Planing the scenes*

3. Who in the group would you like to work with again?

Really every one was great.

FIRST CUT REVIEW
DISCUSSION GUIDE

Looking back over the whole thing, last summer and the video:

- What part of videomaking interest you the most?
Group-ing's and If I were to make a movie I Would be Some thing Small Children would like.
- What kinds of things would you like to videotape?
A children show of some Sort where I could caught the eye of a young Teacher.
- Who would you make videos for?
young children to see whate their interested in

What about the crew?

- What would you say you learned about working with other people in this process? Did we work together or alone?
At times we worked alone. each other did their own part. But we did Work to Gether alot.
- What did you find that you shared with people from other cultures while making the video?
I found that the other Cultures are just as interesting as my own in not more.
- How could we have worked together better if we had the chance?
We Could have if, every one Would have wanted to Pay more attention

Where could we go from here?

- Would you as OET to assign you to work on another video project this year at MAA?
Yes Cause I enjoyed working with you and Mrs O'Callahan.
- If you do not want to continue with a video project, what turned you off about it?
The boat part didnt really have much meaning

Eric Lee

POST-PRODUCTION
VIEWING GUIDE

Name: Eric Lee

March 17, 1993

Think about the scenes you would like to:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
show someone	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
keep with 1 or 2 changes												
get rid of												

Who do you think would probably like to watch this video?

the second part of the video

Looking at our video and thinking back, what is the biggest problem you now feel is part of working with video -- on each side of the camera?

none of him

PRODUCTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: Eric Lee

March 17, 1993

PRE-PRODUCTION (planning)

Making the "No!" sign for the sequence about smoking, swimming, and fishing.

PRODUCTION (taping)

Lupita focussing the camera on Timmy's hands braiding a bracelet.

POST-PRODUCTION (editing)

Deciding how we like the first cut showing Bona's drawing.

Now tell about yourself:

- | | Plan | Tape | Edit |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Which area would you like to work in again? | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

What job specifically? *drawing a "No" sign*

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 2. Which area gave you the best experience working with someone else. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|

What were you doing? *holding camera at people*

3. Who in the group would you like to work with again?

phon and bona, timmy and me

Eric Lee

[home address]

FIRST CUT REVIEW
DISCUSSION GUIDE

Looking back over the whole thing, last summer and the video:

- What part of videomaking interest you the most?
the second part of the video.
because all the people look happily and the song sound good.
- What kinds of things would you like to videotape?
I like to video tape with different culture.
- Who would you make videos for? *my friends and Relative, girlfriends.*

What about the crew? *it o.k*

- What would you say you learned about working with other people in this process? Did we work together or alone?
We work together.
- What did you find that you shared with people from other cultures while making the video? *I find that it was interesting about learning about peoples culture like pouregen*
- How could we have worked together better if we had the chance?
talk it out with each other, first make a plan of what to do first.

Where could we go from here?

- Would you as OET to assign you to work on another video project this year at MAA?
yes
- If you do not want to continue with a video project, what turned you off about it? *none. I just want to continue*

Lisa

POST-PRODUCTION
VIEWING GUIDE

Name: Lisa

March 17, 1993

Think about the scenes you would like to:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
show someone		x										
keep with 1 or 2 changes	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
get rid of			x									

Who do you think would probably like to watch this video?

*My friend myself and
maybe other people.*

Looking at our video and thinking back, what is the biggest problem you now feel is part of working with video -- on each side of the camera?

*I think it a big experience
for me to learn about the Video
and camera.*

PRODUCTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: Lisa March 17, 1993

PRE-PRODUCTION (planning)
Making the "No!" sign for the sequence about smoking, swimming, and fishing.

PRODUCTION (taping)
Lupita focussing the camera on Timmy's hands braiding a bracelet.

POST-PRODUCTION (editing)
Deciding how we like the first cut showing Bona's drawing.

Now tell about yourself:

	Plan	Tape	Edit
1. Which area would you like to work in again?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What job specifically? *Giving idea*

2. Which area gave you the best experience working with someone else.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-------------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

What were you doing? *helping people with some idea*

3. Who in the group would you like to work with again?

Timmy, Siv, Ashley, Eric Lee, and Bona

Lisa
[home address]

FIRST CUT REVIEW
DISCUSSION GUIDE

Looking back over the whole thing, last summer and the video:

- What part of videomaking interest you the most?
Getting into group, and discussing about what we going to do. Bring up idea.
- What kinds of things would you like to videotape?
Symbols. Oh and the style of cloths people wears.
- Who would you make videos for?
probably someone I know

What about the crew?

- What would you say you learned about working with other people in this process? Did we work together or alone?
I got to know alot of peopl, specialy Timmy. Some peopl have all most the same common.
- What did you find that you shared with people from other cultures while making the video?
To make friend. I know that they can be very good friend.
- How could we have worked together better if we had the chance?
I think it would be more better and we probaby get more thing done.

Where could we go from here?

- Would you as OET to assign you to work on another video project this year at MAA?
Yes, I think that would be great. It an experience for me to work with people dilling with Videotape
- If you do not want to continue with a video project, what turned you off about it?
Nothing really

Lupita

POST-PRODUCTION
VIEWING GUIDE

Name: Lupita

March 17, 1993

Think about the scenes you would like to:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
show someone	x	x					x	x	x	x		x
keep with 1 or 2 changes				x	x							
get rid of			x			x						

Who do you think would probably like to watch this video?

My family and friends

Looking at our video and thinking back, what is the biggest problem you now feel is part of working with video -- on each side of the camera?

I feel its easier working behind the camera if you know how to work with it. I enjoyed seeing myself but I don't know. Maybe its good to work both I have no problem

PRODUCTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: Lupita March 17, 1993

PRE-PRODUCTION (planning)

Making the "No!" sign for the sequence about smoking, swimming, and fishing.

PRODUCTION (taping)

Lupita focussing the camera on Timmy's hands braiding a bracelet.

POST-PRODUCTION (editing)

Deciding how we like the first cut showing Bona's drawing.

Now tell about yourself:

- | | Plan | Tape | Edit |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Which area would you like to work in again? | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

What job specifically?

I liked the idea of symbols.

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 2. Which area gave you the best experience working with someone else. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|

What were you doing?

taping Timmy's hand braiding a bracelet

3. Who in the group would you like to work with again?

Margarita

Lupita

FIRST CUT REVIEW
DISCUSSION GUIDE

Looking back over the whole thing, last summer and the video:

- What part of videomaking interest you the most?
The most I was interested in was planning.
- What kinds of things would you like to videotape?
Anything really. Maybe the people of today.
- Who would you make videos for?
My peers

What about the crew?

- What would you say you learned about working with other people in this process? Did we work together or alone?
*We learned more about them.
We worked together.*
- What did you find that you shared with people from other cultures while making the video?
Well we all worked out a great idea for the video
- How could we have worked together better if we had the chance?
[no response]

Where could we go from here?

- Would you as OET to assign you to work on another video project this year at MAA?
yes!!!
- If you do not want to continue with a video project, what turned you off about it?
[no response]

Margarita

POST-PRODUCTION
VIEWING GUIDE

Name: Margarita March 17, 1993

Think about the scenes you would like to:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
show someone												
keep with 1 or 2 changes												
get rid of												

[no response]

Who do you think would probably like to watch this video?

friends, & family

Looking at our video and thinking back, what is the biggest problem you now feel is part of working with video -- on each side of the camera?

[no response]

PRODUCTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: Margarita March 17, 1993

PRE-PRODUCTION (planning)

Making the "No!" sign for the sequence about smoking, swimming, and fishing.

PRODUCTION (taping)

Lupita focussing the camera on Timmy's hands braiding a bracelet.

POST-PRODUCTION (editing)

Deciding how we like the first cut showing Bona's drawing.

Now tell about yourself:

	Plan	Tape	Edit
1. Which area would you like to work in again?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What job specifically? [no response]

2. Which area gave you the best experience working with someone else.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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What were you doing? *I was outside videotaping*

3. Who in the group would you like to work with again?

It was fun working with all of them.

Margarita
[home address]

FIRST CUT REVIEW
DISCUSSION GUIDE

Looking back over the whole thing, last summer and the video:

- What part of videomaking interest you the most?
going outside to videotape
- What kinds of things would you like to videotape?
[no response]
- Who would you make videos for?
for everyone, and anyone who wants to see the videos.

What about the crew?

- What would you say you learned about working with other people in this process? Did we work together or alone?
Its fun working together. You learn alot about others.
- What did you find that you shared with people from other cultures while making the video?
things about my culture, & about me.
- How could we have worked together better if we had the chance?
we could come up with more and Better Ideas.

Where could we go from here?

- Would you as OET to assign you to work on another video project this year at MAA?
yes
- If you do not want to continue with a video project, what turned you off about it?
[no response]

Phon

POST-PRODUCTION
VIEWING GUIDE

Name: Phon

March 17, 1993

Think about the scenes you would like to:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
show someone	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
keep with 1 or 2 changes					x	x						
get rid of												

Who do you think would probably like to watch this video?

my friend and my family

Looking at our video and thinking back, what is the biggest problem you now feel is part of working with video -- on each side of the camera?

if okay, it not problem, working with creama. I like to work with creama but I don't like to act.

PRODUCTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: Phon March 17, 1993

PRE-PRODUCTION (planning)

Making the "No!" sign for the sequence about smoking, swimming, and fishing.

PRODUCTION (taping)

Lupita focussing the camera on Timmy's hands braiding a bracelet.

POST-PRODUCTION (editing)

Deciding how we like the first cut showing Bona's drawing.

Now tell about yourself:

	Plan	Tape	Edit
1. Which area would you like to work in again?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What job specifically? [no response]

2. Which area gave you the best experience working with someone else.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------	-------------------------------------	--------------------------

What were you doing? at the downtown

3. Who in the group would you like to work with again?

bona

Phon

[home address]

FIRST CUT REVIEW
DISCUSSION GUIDE

Looking back over the whole thing, last summer and the video:

- What part of videomaking interest you the most?
I like the first lhree part.
- What kinds of things would you like to videotape?
*music actor, and fashien show.
China movie, my coulture movie.*
- Who would you make videos for?
*for my friend, my family,
and my teacher, and for you.*

What about the crew?

- What would you say you learned about working with other people in this process? Did we work together or alone?
*we work together it better.
then work atone.*
- What did you find that you shared with people from other cultures while making the video? *I know a lot.
about there coulture, and I get
to make friend with them.*
- How could we have worked together better if we had the chance?
*get together next summer
and work together again.*

Where could we go from here?

- Would you as OET to assign you to work on another video project this year at MAA? *Yes, If I can't find another job. I would like to work there again.*
- If you do not want to continue with a video project, what turned you off about it? *it not enough money.*

Timmy

POST-PRODUCTION
VIEWING GUIDE

Name: Timmy

March 17, 1993

Think about the scenes you would like to:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
show someone		x										
keep with 1 or 2 changes	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
get rid of			x	x								

Who do you think would probably like to watch this video?

I would like to remember all the people who work with me during that time

Looking at our video and thinking back, what is the biggest problem you now feel is part of working with video -- on each side of the camera?

I think all the video, that you make are very good. I think all the Editing that was made was great. I sure would like to work with you again.

PRODUCTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: Timmy

March 17, 1993

PRE-PRODUCTION (planning)

Making the "No!" sign for the sequence about smoking, swimming, and fishing.

PRODUCTION (taping)

Lupita focussing the camera on Timmy's hands braiding a bracelet.

POST-PRODUCTION (editing)

Deciding how we like the first cut showing Bona's drawing.

Now tell about yourself:

	Plan	Tape	Edit
1. Which area would you like to work in again?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What job specifically? *Director*

2. Which area gave you the best experience working with someone else.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------	-------------------------------------	--------------------------

What were you doing? *Helping People Tape*

3. Who in the group would you like to work with again?

Lisa, Ashley, Siv

FIRST CUT REVIEW
DISCUSSION GUIDE

Looking back over the whole thing, last summer and the video:

- What part of videomaking interest you the most?
I think Oriental Boy was very good.
- What kinds of things would you like to videotape?
a bit of more symbols properly work out anothr things
- Who would you make videos for?
Proberly my Friend, or people I know.

What about the crew?

- What would you say you learned about working with other people in this process? Did we work together or alone?
*I like it very much. I got to get to know people who are new to me, and they were very good to work with.
All of the thing we did we work togethr*
- What did you find that you shared with people from other cultures while making the video?
I learned some of the other culthur are very different from mine, and some are similar.
- How could we have worked together better if we had the chance?
If we all have more time to work together I would think it would be better we would proberly done more things than we did

Where could we go from here?

- Would you as OET to assign you to work on another video project this year at MAA?
If I have time and the chance, I would proberly would work again with OET, Or MAA.
- If you do not want to continue with a video project, what turned you off about it?
Nothing really wolld make me feel not continue working with a video project-

APPENDIX J

CORRESPONDENCE WITH PARTICIPANTS¹

Eric Lee

April 2, 1993

Dear Eric,

I thought your work this year was some of the most interesting we have to show. When I was trying to figure out what I should do with the footage Siv and Lola and Lupita/Margarita/Carolina/Anita collected, I have to look to your work to get an idea. I must tell you that your's was clean and easy to work with. I hope you like the results.

What I did with your footage was to make it more controlled with the sound. I took the best shots where the "stop" sign fell into place. Then I got the music to stop a that spot and made a second edit for the sound. The edit was "picture driven."

Your idea of 'can't smoke, can't swim, can't fish' was very important. What does life in America have to be like that? Can't do this can't do that--that's no way to live!! Your video says that. And then when the fish hook pulls the stop sign away, you get the power to say 'Yes I can!' And the music can go on - - - -

The color movement was done by 'keying' in a background color on the 'special effects generator.' It is not hard to do it but makes the picture move. The same when the fish becomes squares. That was a 'mosaic' effect. The movement was done by sliding the 'key effect' in and out.

I am very glad you came back for a second year. You are now the most senior crewmember. What do you think should happen next? The first year there was a small group and they made a documentary by interviewing people. That was hard to do in 1991 and 1992 because there were so many people. How could we manage better and what should we do? Should we interview people from the community? Or make a play again? I know you like 'Walls and Bridges' video about the girls in school. Maybe we could see Hale through your eyes.

You would do well if you (and maybe Phon together) talked with [the man at the MAA mentioned in the letter to Eric Lee]. He has worked with [the local TV station]. You might be able to work out ideas with him. Or maybe we could get together in some way.

¹Ashley did not provide an address.

Please write to me anytime or call me (collect) on weekends to talk about possibilities, if you want. I liked your work a lot.

Best regards,

(signed) Mike

topic. Students then had to write, act and videotape short skits that demonstrate the use of symbols in our society.

At the same time some students produced drawings that were used in the video production to illustrate the symbols theme.

While working on the video they saw a film each week that was related to the overall theme. The films were extremely successful and generated a lot of discussion.

The students worked diligently on the video production and shared the responsibility of the work. They took instruction from each other and worked well as a team.

Weekly participant reports: the attitude, attendance and participation of the students was excellent. MAA believes that this was a time of growth for the participants where they had the opportunity to explore some of the important issues that they have to confront in their daily lives regarding who they are and how they think. I believe that the program this year was extremely successful.. The video, a working product of the eight weeks of activity, will be available for OET shortly.

APPENDIX M

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM WATPHNOM PRODUCTIONS

70 Eames Avenue
Amherst MA 01002
(413) 549-7671
February 7, 1993

Thang Tran
Watphnom Productions
9582 Hamilton Avenue #285
Huntington Beach CA 92646

Dear Mr. Tran:

Please confirm our telephone conversation of January 20, 1993 regarding permission to use the first English and Khmer verses of the song Oriental Boy for free on a non-commercial basis as the soundtrack in a student video production produced at the Mutual Assistance Association of . The permission I ask is the right to make copies on behalf of the sponsoring organizations and individuals connected with the project for them to show their work. These are:

- Mutual Assistance Association of
- Office of Employment and Training of the City of
- Michael Johnston, video consultant
- Student videomakers enrolled in the project in 1992

The expected places and audiences where the video will be shown include:

- Meetings of people interested in learning about arts projects involving Cambodians in America.
- Public access cable television viewers in communities where the producers reside
- Video festivals open to student productions. (If a cash prize is awarded, 10% of the prize will be forwarded to Watphnom Productions.)

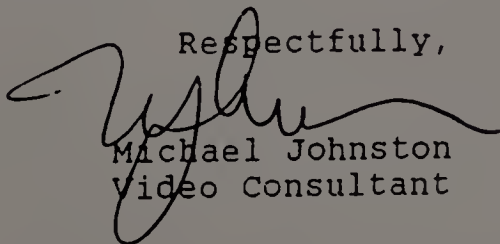
Please sign to show you give permission to the distribution and display of Oriental Boy as described above.

.....*Thang Tran*.....Date: *Feb. 15, 93*.....

Thang Tran
Watphnom Productions

Please return three signed copies to me and keep one copy of this letter for your records.

Respectfully,


Michael Johnston
Video Consultant

cc: MAA
OET

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