

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

VIDEO AS IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT:
A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF REALITY CONSTRUCTION

by

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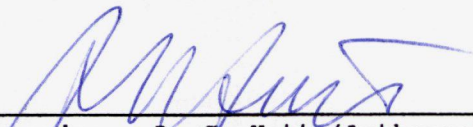
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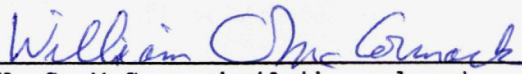
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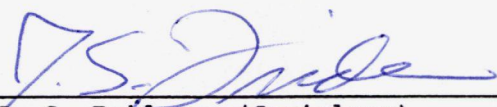
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Video as Impression Management: A Cross-Cultural Study of Reality Construction" submitted by Judith Anne McGrath in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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ABSTRACT

That **video is impression management** may be seen as the central premise of this thesis. Video is, as a medium, inherently manipulable. It is also, by its very nature, capable of creating the impression of experiencing reality from afar. The manipulability of the medium and its 'reality property' work together to produce a persuasive tool with which to construct reality. Recognition of these two facets of the medium suggests its potential use in tackling certain conceptual problems in social theory. Specifically, video is used to investigate the problem of accessing categories of thought of which the social actors are largely unaware.

To explore the possibilities of the medium's use in social research, an anthropological experiment was set up. Students from each of two ethnic groups (Africans and Anglo-Saxon Calgarians) were asked to produce videotapes of "Life in Calgary," ostensibly addressed to their parents. By stipulating the subject matter and the audience to be addressed, the basis for comparisons is strengthened. Analysis focuses on the way reality was structured in the videotapes. It is argued that the structuring of the videotapes would mirror the way the individuals' apprehended reality.

The first chapter sets out the theoretical assumptions on which this thesis rests. Drawing on an eclectic mix of theoretical works a model is proposed which outlines the relationship of the individual to society and the process by which individuals come to be social. This is followed by a review of the relevant literature in visual anthropology. Special attention is given to those studies in which informant-

made visual materials are utilized. The third chapter addresses the methodological concerns of the thesis more directly. It details the manner of subject selection and the underlying assumptions which led to the project's structure. The fourth chapter provides a detailed description and analysis of the videotapes dealt with individually. This section is meant to provide the reader with a clear conception of the content of the videotapes. The fifth and final chapter provides the comparative analysis and focuses particularly on how the structures of the tapes differed across ethnic groups.

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It is at this stage in the thesis that recognition of the contributions of others is given some acknowledgement. I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. D. G. Hatt for his support throughout the many stages of this research and more generally in my academic career. I have learned from him, perhaps more than he realizes. I would also like to thank Dr. J. Frideres for his encouragement and insights at various points in the research project.

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PREFACE

Video is impression management. This is the basic premise of this thesis. Put somewhat less dramatically, I have used the unique attributes of video to examine how individuals from different cultures structure reality. The assumptions behind this position may not be obvious, so I shall briefly review them here. First, subjects may use video to structure reality in accordance with their view of the world. Second, the way one perceives reality is shaped by one's background with culture playing a significant role in the socialization process. Third, the imputation of a given perspective or worldview to a particular social group has always been troublesome for the social scientist. Any method which makes this process easier warrants further investigation. These three presuppositions have far reaching implications for this study and will be investigated in some detail below.

The assumption a video produced by an unsophisticated video producer will provide insights into how they view the world is based on several considerations. These include: the nature of video, our perceptions of it, and work done by other anthropologists in the area of informant-made visual materials. Video as a medium is inherently manipulable and this manipulability leaves a measurable record of the producer's methods vis-a-vis the management of impressions. Through the selective use of a camera, a view of reality is created which is in accord with the video producer's perception of the world. Merely by

choosing what is noteworthy, and by the manner in which given visual images are integrated into a textual whole, reveals something about the way the producer apprehends or structures reality. The videocamera, via its recording of electronic messages, provides us with a trace of this cognitive ordering of the world, allowing us to access the individual's categories of thought.

Feature films generally hide visual medium's ability to reveal these conceptual categories as they are written, portrayed, shot, and subsequently edited by a number of individuals who have all had a hand in its final 'look'. Weakland has suggested that even under these conditions, however, such films may be seen as cultural documents which reflect the general ethos of a group at a particular period in time (see Weakland's, "Feature Films as Cultural Documents", 1975). Some filmmakers, such as Charlie Chaplin and Woody Allen, produce films which even to the unsophisticated eye exhibit a reflective quality. Such film producers have far more input into their films, since they write, direct, and star in them. There is a certain outlook on the world which may be said to be characteristic of these films as they are made by consummate filmmakers.

We are aided in the construction of reality by our conception of film and video particularly with respect to the documentary genre. The very premise of the documentary genre is that it provides an 'objective' view of reality. Through news coverage and film documentaries we have been led to believe that we can experience 'reality' from afar. This, in turn, is based on a naive view of cameras which assumes that they simply record reality, forgetting that in actuality it is people,

not cameras, who take pictures. This is so even when we are aware of the constructed nature of documentaries. Their form tends to lull us into acceptance of their generic assumptions. From this we can see the persuasive power of the genre.

There have been four important studies which have provided informants with cameras and the basic instruction needed to operate them. Their express purpose was to see how subjects would show us their world through film or video. Worth and Adair in the mid-sixties produced the seminal work Through Navajo Eyes. Using socio-linguistic theory based largely on the work of Dell Hymes, they investigated how the Navajo structured reality through the visual medium of film. In one of its chapters comparisons were made with films produced by teenagers in Philadelphia, a study on which Richard Chalfen was working. The pioneering nature of the work of Adair and Worth meant that it inevitably raised more questions than it answered. Chalfen continued to work along similar lines, focusing instead on the creation of sociodocumentaries with various groups within his own, Western, society. His theoretical stance shifted slightly from that of Adair and Worth, in that he concentrated on the way individuals organized themselves in the creation of a group-made film. There were two other books published in the early seventies which looked at informant-made visual material. The work of Beryl Bellman and Benetta Jules-Rosette in A Paradigm for Looking outlined a new role for informant-made films and videotapes. They suggested that visual media could be used as a means to gain insights into another culture if one focused one's attention on the interaction of the cameraman with the event recorded

by the video or film camera. Further, they asserted that much information could be gained by reviewing the visual materials with the producer and others to elicit information on ambiguous areas. Finally, there was a study by Edmund Carpenter entitled, Oh, What a Blow That Phantom Gave Me!, in which he advanced the thesis that visual media 'overwhelm' culture. This view was based on his work both with the Eskimos in Northern Canada and the natives of New Guinea. Unfortunately, Carpenter did not provide us with any hard data in support of this view.

In none of these works was there any attempt to use visual media to systematically address theoretical issues. Without an explicitly stated theory which outlines the relationship between informant-made visual artifacts and social theory, the insights which the use of visual media might provide would remain unexplored. In part, the preliminary nature of much of this work explains the dearth of theory in this field. As a result these studies remain marginal, relegated to an obscure area known as visual communication (or visual anthropology or sociology depending on one's orientation). One can no longer simply put cameras into 'natives' hands and "see what will happen". The way has been cleared for a more measured approach to the use of this method.

My own research project, while inspired by such work, is based on a somewhat different theoretical model and attempts to use the medium of video to explore other areas. Borrowing insights from various social theorists, I have outlined a model which sets out the relationship of the individual to society and the acquisition by the individual

of a world-view. While it is based largely on symbolic interactionist theory, it attempts to go beyond such a perspective by noting man's transformational relationship with society (by which I mean that society is the result of social practices which can be reflexively altered to transform the social structure itself). This model acknowledges the insights gained through the micro analyses of ethnomethodology and Goffman's dramaturgical model. By placing such perspectives within a larger framework, I have tried to circumvent charges of triviality often laid against such essentially phenomenological approaches (amply expressed by the dreaded epithet 'so what!'). This theoretical position provides some indication of how individuals are socialized into apprehending the world in a certain way, and points out why this way of seeing seems so natural to individuals that they remain largely unaware of its influence.

Previously, I alluded to the fact that the imputation of a world-view may be a rather problematic area for ethnographers. Clifford Geertz has spilt much ink writing about their ability to interpret other cultures and addresses this point in his article, 'From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding" (1983). He argues that one cannot actually perceive the reality of the "native" rather, "What he [the ethnographer] perceives, and that uncertainly enough, is what they perceive 'with' --or 'by means of,' or 'through' . . . or whatever the word should be", (Ibid:58). He concludes that the ability to interpret other 'peoples' subjectivities' . . . comes from the ability to construe their modes of expression, what I would call their symbol systems" (Ibid:70). What I

am suggesting is that peoples' ways of viewing the world remain largely unarticulated as these viewpoints seem, subjectively, to be 'natural' and are thus taken for granted. It is only through the reflexive awareness that is garnered by the introduction of alternative views that any sense of divergent perspectives or 'ways of seeing' is manifested. Consequently, when the unsophisticated or, as I have characterized them, 'naive' video producers create a videotape, they bring with them all the assumptions inherent in their view of the world. In this sense, of course, they bring their perspectives to bear on all their social practices. What makes video more desirable than, say, getting them to write a story, rests on their lack of theoretical knowledge of it. Their unsophisticated approach to the video production process allows 'errors' to be made and these, in turn, may provide us with insights into the assumptions which underlie the reality the tape is supposed to express. If they were asked to write a story, their knowledge of how to achieve textual coherence and be persuasive within the medium might successfully hide many insights from us. Further, video allows us greater access to the way social actors perceive the world by providing us with a visual trace of their activities in the creation of such a view. As Bellman and Jules-Rosette have suggested, one can cross-check areas of ambiguity with the video producer by viewing and directing specific questions to the subject in order to ensure one's interpretation of the finished product is satisfactory. Of course, the resultant tape itself stands as a piece of evidence which can always be rechecked by others.

In the previous paragraphs, I have sketched out some of the assumptions which led me to conclude that video might be a useful medium with which to investigate the areas of cultural perception and world-view. What remained was to develop a clear methodology with which to test these ideas. The final research design was influenced by a number of factors which I will briefly describe.

(1) This research project was designed to try to show that video could, in fact, be used in the way I have just outlined. To this end some attempt was made to control various factors such as the socio-cultural backgrounds of the video producers taking part in the study. Students were selected to be the potential subjects as they had the advantage of being relatively easy to contact and, further, it would allow cross-cultural analysis to proceed on the basis of at least one factor of common background. (2) To enable comparisons to be most meaningful, the topic of the videotapes was set in advance. All the tapes, then, were, at least ostensibly, about "Life in Calgary". All videotapes or films must be created with some audience in mind (whether based on very vague demographics, as is the case with most feature films, or on an intimate knowledge of those who would see these films, as is the case with home movies). (3) Accordingly, to make the comparisons meaningful, I stipulated that the audience to which the videotapes were to be addressed would be the video producer's parent(s). The two groups which were selected to participate in the study allowed for the greatest differentiation in terms of their relationship to the city: African students studying here for a short time and Anglo-Saxon Calgarians whose parents also live in Calgary.

Subjects also had to meet certain selection criteria on which the 'ethnic' categories were based. (4) Again, this meant that the backgrounds of individuals within a given group would be comparable. Preliminary testing suggested that video producers must be provided with the opportunity to plan the form the videotape would take in advance. This would enable them to construct a more convincing "argument". The editing and voice over stages were added to allow the opportunity for increased coherence, as they could correct any mistaken impressions found in the original version. Inappropriate segments could be edited out or direct narration could be used to over-ride the visual images. (5) Naive subjects were selected for the study as it seemed unlikely that I could obtain sufficient numbers of students with previous video or film production experience and, more importantly, it was felt that their "unsophisticated" approach would allow mistakes to be made which would have to be corrected in the editing or voice over stages, and which would be revealing of the procedures they used to construct their argument.

The visual data were supplemented with the use of more traditional research methods. Ethnographic notes were taken and a questionnaire was developed to augment the information acquired through the videotapes. While video has some unique features which suggested that it would be useful to any systematic investigation of world-view, I would argue that it must be used in association with traditional methods if its value is to be fully appreciated. Moreover, such information provided a check on the visual analysis.

In the chapters which follow, the theoretical basis of the thesis will be outlined. The concepts of socialization and world-view form a central part of this segment. Then, the literature involving informant-made visual media will be reviewed along with other relevant material from visual anthropology. The specific design of the research project is examined in detail in the methodology chapter. The main focus of this thesis is found in the analytical section which provides a detailed description and analysis of each of the videotapes. Attention will be focused on the possibility of shared perspectives being reflected in the videotapes. The final chapter will involve a discussion of the results of the study. In the appendix some suggestions for future research are provided.

CHAPTER 1

SOCIAL REALITY, SOCIALIZATION AND WORLD-VIEWS

All research is based in theory. Whether we are consciously aware of it or not, our preconceptions influence what we perceive and, in so doing, determine the nature of our research. As John Beattie states: "Anthropologists are no less aware than other scientists . . . that 'facts' are not 'given' but constructed, with the inevitable help of concepts" (Beattie, 1984:2). He continues:

. . . [the] implications [of this] are often overlooked by social scientists, including social anthropologists, who constantly project their mental constructs or 'models' into 'reality', without always recognizing that they are doing so (Ibid.:2).

If all observation is necessarily theory-laden (that is, it involves interpretation), then, minimally, the researcher should attempt to explicate the model or theory being used and the assumptions which underlie it. This allows the reader the opportunity to critically evaluate the assumptions which are reflected in the research project as a whole. The aim of this chapter is to make explicit the basic assumptions on which this thesis rests. More specifically, the notion that themes within the videotapes will reflect perspectives which the video producers hold is central to this thesis. This idea is, in turn, based on a number of assumptions about the nature of social reality and the individual's relationship to it. This chapter will outline the theoretical framework for this view of social reality.

This chapter may be roughly divided into three parts. First, there is a discussion of the nature of social reality; what is its

ontological status, what is the individual's relationship to it and how is it reproduced or transformed? Such questions will form the basis of the discussion. Secondly, the process of socialization will be outlined. Socialization will be depicted here as a continuous, never ending process of learning. Accordingly, the discussion will focus not only on the importance of language, the emergence of the self and the adoption of the generalized other, but also on the induction of social agents (or actors) into new social worlds through the internalization of new perspectives and the management of impressions. A third part of the discussion will involve an examination of the concept of world-view as a collective phenomenon. I shall argue that it is reflected at the level of the individual in 'social maps'. This will be based on the assumptions about social reality and socialization outlined in the earlier sections as well as on the literature concerning world-view and social maps. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a summary of the basic assumptions of this thesis.

PART I: THE SOCIAL WORLD

The ontological status of the social world has proven somewhat more problematical for the social scientist than could surely have been expected. Does man create social reality, or is the social world *sui generis* "real" (apart from human action)? Roy Bhaskar describes this dilemma in the social sciences in terms of a division between two divergent theoretical camps;

. . . one represented above all by Weber, in which social objects are seen as the results of (or as constituted by) intentional or meaningful human behavior; and the other, represented by Durkheim, in which they are seen as possessing

a life of their own, external to and coercing the individual (Bhaskar, 1979:117).

All of the major theoretical schools of thought may, with only minor adjustments, be placed in either of these two camps; e.g., ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, structuralism, and Marxism. Intuitively, we can see that society constrains the individual. For example, governments enact legislation which restricts the behaviour of individuals. At the same time, we can see society is also a product of human action. Without human beings society would cease to exist. Society, then, can be seen as a human construct. This suggests that each of the two views of society outlined above has some merit; each serves to emphasize certain aspects of society while ignoring others. To begin the discussion of the ontological status of the social world I will look at Karl Popper's theory of the three worlds.

Karl Popper first outlined his conception of the three worlds in "Epistemology Without a Knowing Subject" (1967) and "On the Theory of the Objective Mind" (1970). Successive works by Popper and his followers (in particular Ian Jarvie) have clarified and explored the implications of his conception of the social world. Popper briefly outlined his view as follows:

. . . the world consists of at least three ontological categories; or, as I shall say, there are three worlds: the first is the physical world or the world of physical states; the second is the mental world or the world of mental states; and the third is the world of intelligibles, or of "ideas in the objective sense"; it is the world of possible objects of thought" (Popper in Jarvie, 1972:151).

Popper then goes on to point out that the first two worlds can interact and the last two worlds can interact but the first and third

worlds can interact only through the mediation of the second world (i.e., through the involvement of the individual social agent).

Jarvie takes Popper's conception of the three worlds and explores some of its implications. He asks the question "Is it, for example, enough for an idea to be thought up for it to be in the third world?" (Jarvie, 1972:152). No, he says, for if this were the case the second and third worlds would collapse into each other, becoming one category. Jarvie suggests that the distinction between the second and third world lies in the communication of an idea or mental state. A given thought or idea becomes objectified only when it is placed in the public domain. Only when it is shared does it become a part of the third world (Ibid.:152).

In essence, then, the third world is the social world or, at any rate, the socially constructed world. This point is argued quite persuasively by David Bloor (see his "A Sociological Theory of Objectivity", 1984). Furthermore, Popper's own words seem to verify this reading:

I suggest 'that it is possible to accept the reality or (as it may be called) the autonomy of the third world, and at the same time to admit that the third world originates as a product of human activity' (Popper, 1972:159).

Given the above, I propose to call the second world the subjective world and the third world the social world. This change in nomenclature is not whimsical. Rather, it underlines the distinction between the two worlds elucidated by Jarvie without drastically changing the substance of either. Moreover, it avoids the confusion of using terms already used extensively in development theory. To reiterate, the

first, second and third worlds as delineated by Popper will correspond to the physical, subjective and social worlds respectively.

Popper has formulated a few noteworthy theses concerning the subjective act of understanding. First, every act of subjective understanding is 'anchored in the third world'. This implies that subjective understanding is socially derived (i.e., as responses to meanings and events which are social in nature). Secondly, such an act of understanding consists of operating with third-world objects (for example, shared ideas) and we use these objects almost as if they were physical objects (Popper, 1972:163). This seems to indicate that shared ideas form an integral part of subjective understanding, and that the individual apprehends the social world as 'real' in the same sense as the physical world is viewed as real.

David Bloor takes the notion of the social basis of theories or ideas 'in the objective sense' one step further. Using a rule as an example he states:

In a word, what makes the rule objective is a 'convention'. What counts as obeying a rule, being in accord with it and the intention behind it, is a matter of convention. That is: its objectivity has a social nature (Bloor, 1984:236).

While Popper would likely disagree with this as it applies to the objectivity of theoretical knowledge, he might admit its usefulness when applied to common sense knowledge of a social nature. Since it is the latter which is of significance here, Bloor's conception (i.e., that the objectivity of common sense knowledge is socially derived) may well prove useful.

The nature of the social world, then, is such that 1) it is perceived as real by individuals within it; 2) it is often not differ-

entiated from the physical world (in the sense that society is often perceived as natural); 3) it affects both the physical and subjective worlds (through the individual); and 4) it is created through human action. The remainder of this section will inquire into how the social world results from human action and the individual's relationship to it.

REFLEXIVITY AND SOCIAL REALITIES

What Popper has called the third world and I have called the social world corresponds to an ontological category. The stuff of the social world (that is, ideas in their objective sense), may be seen as social realities. The plural form is used here, because it is assumed that social realities differ between different social groups. While this theme will be expanded upon throughout this chapter, an illustration may clarify my meaning. Science is an excellent example, as it is not only the subject matter and methodology of several disciplines but is a concept shared by the "man in the street" (i.e., it forms a part of common sense knowledge). The everyday reality of science to the physicist is of a radically different nature than such a reality would be to the vast majority in our society. For example, physicists are usually ready to concede the tentative nature of their findings (that is, that it is subject to the consensual approval of their peers). The man in the street, however, has little notion of the tentative nature of the objective reality of scientific inquiry. The findings of science may well be viewed not only as objective but law-like, holding for all time. Clearly, these are two separate social realities, as each group (that is, physicists and laymen) has a shared

conception of science. Moreover, each group reaffirms its belief in the 'reality' of science through the reflexive use of shared knowledge.

In the following pages the concept of reflexivity will be examined and its function in 're-affirming' reality will be clarified.

Wittgenstein has said: "no course of action could be determined by a rule because every course of action can be made to accord with the rule" (Wittgenstein in Bloor, 1984:236). While this passage may be interpreted as referring to the idea that behavior is, at its lowest level, nonrational, his statement also indicates the reflexivity of accounts. That is, that any behavior or action can be justified or made accountable by reference to a rule. It is this aspect of accounts that will be examined in this section. In order to grasp this concept, the nature of reflexivity will first be explained with reference to accounts. Then, through the use of examples, its applicability to social realities will be examined.

All forms of social interaction have a systematic and organized character, which is produced by the social actors working in interaction, and is based on the ways in which they ". . . address themselves to an action, describe it, summarize it, present it, or explain it" (Keat and Urry, 1975:138-9). Social actors make use of reflexivity to accomplish these ends. As Harold Garfinkel writes:

Members' accounts are reflexively tied for their rational features to the socially organized occasions of their use for they are "features" of the socially organized occasions of their use (Garfinkel, 1967:4).

Thus, accounts are descriptions of a situation in which the communicator highlights those aspects which are strategically important in conveying his/her perceptions of the setting. The reflexivity of

accounts is manifested in two ways. First, accounts have influence within the situation in which they are **contained**. Second, accounts derive meaning from the situation in which they are **rooted**. Moreover, the situation is itself elaborated through its association with the account. There is a feedback process in which each element gains meaning from the others. The following excerpt from Garfinkel's Studies in Ethnomethodology should help to illustrate this idea. In one particular study, students were asked to record everyday conversation and provide a clarification of its meaning. The following is a brief excerpt from Garfinkel's text:

<p>"Husband: Dana succeeded in putting a penny in a parking meter today without being picked up.</p>	<p>This afternoon as I was bringing Dana, our four-year-old son, home from the nursery school, he succeeded in reaching high enough to put a penny in a parking meter when we parked in a meter zone, whereas before he had always to be picked up to reach that high.</p>
<p>Wife: Did you take him to the record store?</p>	<p>Since he put a penny in a meter that means that you stopped while he was with you. I know that you stopped at the record store either on the way to get him or on the way back. Was it on the way back, so that he was with you or did you stop there on the way to get him and somewhere else on the way back?</p>
<p>Husband: No, to the shoe repair shop.</p>	<p>No, I stopped at the record store on the way to get him and stopped at the shoe repair shop on the way home when he was with me." (Garfinkel, 1967:26).</p>

The information provided on the left-hand side of the page indicates the actual conversation and the information on the right-hand side provides the reader with the information necessary to contextual-

ize the account. In other words, the right side provides the 'rules' by which to interpret and give meaning to the account. The words on the left gain meaning through the information provided on the right (i.e., the setting). This setting is, in turn, modified by the information on the left (e.g., Dana can now put money in the meter by himself). Thus, the setting is elaborated or modified by the conversation despite the fact that the conversation gains its meaning from this setting. Hence, reflexivity is exhibited.

Reflexivity is manifested in social realities in two ways: 1) through the existence of 'incorrigible propositions' and the use of secondary elaborations; and 2) in the situationally-dependent nature of realities. Both these manifestations of reflexivity will be examined in turn using Evans-Pritchard's work on the Azande as a source of illustrative material.

'Incorrigible propositions' are assumptions about reality which are never questioned within the context of everyday life. Such basic assumptions are at the root of all realities. The integrity of incorrigible propositions is never in doubt, because individuals make use of what Evans-Pritchard has called 'secondary elaborations' to reaffirm the initial belief.

For the Azande, the prophetic character of the poison oracle is an incorrigible proposition. Briefly, the poison oracle is a device used by the Azande to gain knowledge of the future. A ritually prepared poisonous substance called **benge** is administered to chickens. The **benge** is then asked questions about the future phrased in a manner which stipulates that the chicken should either die or live to indicate

either an affirmative or negative response (i.e., if the answer is yes the chicken will live, if the answer is no the chicken will die). This procedure is later repeated for corroboration except that in the second instance, the instructions to kill the chicken are reversed (that is, if the answer is yes the chicken will die, if the answer is no the chicken will live). Evans-Pritchard notes the oracle often contradicts itself, and he asks himself that under such adverse conditions, how could the belief in the infallibility of the oracle be sustained? Since its efficacy is never doubted, other explanations would have to be provided. This seeming dilemma is averted by the social actor involved relatively easily. As Evans-Pritchard writes:

His culture provides him with a number of ready-made explanations of the oracle's self-contradictions and he chooses the one that seems to fit the circumstances best. . . . The secondary elaborations of belief that explain the failure of the oracle attribute its failure to (1) the wrong variety of poison having been gathered, (2) breach of taboo, (3) witchcraft, (4) anger of the owners of the forest where the creeper grows, (5) age of the poison, (6) anger of the ghosts, (7) sorcery, (8) use (Evans-Pritchard, 1937:330).

Moreover, each instance of the oracle's self-contradiction reaffirms the belief in the infallibility of the oracle. The incorrigible proposition is protected through recourse to a body of social knowledge whose only claim to truth is its ability to explain such failures-- and hence, reflexivity is exhibited:

They [Azande] are not surprised at contradictions; they expect them. Paradox though it be, the errors as well as the valid judgements of the oracle prove to them its infallibility. The fact that the oracle is wrong when it is interfered with by some mystical power shows how accurate are its judgements when these powers are excluded (Ibid.:330).

Evans-Pritchard saw the use of secondary elaborations in Azande oracle belief as the protection of a fallacious assumption under

adverse conditions. By contrast, ethnomethodologists argue that reflexivity manifested in this way is an inherent part of all social realities.

Reflexivity is also manifested through the situationally-dependent nature of realities. A particular act or utterance depends upon its context for meaning. However, as we saw above, the act or utterance also in part constitutes or forms the reality of the situation. Mehan and Wood provide a good example which may help clarify this kind of reflexivity: "An utterance not only delivers some particular information, it also creates a world in which information itself can appear" (Mehan and Wood, 1975:12). Azande oracle belief is also reflexive in this manner, in that each instance of oracle divination reconstitutes the reality which states that in this world, oracle prophecy is possible.

Ethnomethodologists also argue that realities make use of 'bodies of social knowledge'. While such knowledge is 'known' to all members of the society in question, they are typically unable to characterize it verbally. This body of social knowledge emerges as a whole only 'upon analysis'. Mehan and Wood use the analogy of the linguist who 'discovers' grammatical rules of which native speakers are not consciously aware. Evans-Pritchard seems to have recognized this in his own study of the Azande:

I have collected every fact I could discover about the poison oracle over many months of observation and inquiry and have built all these jottings into a chapter on Zande oracles. The contradictions in Zande thought are readily seen. But in real life these bits of knowledge do not form part of an indivisible concept, so that when a man thinks of **benge** he must think of all the details I have recorded here. They are functions of different situations and are uncoor-

minated. Hence the contradictions so apparent to us do not strike a Zande. If he is conscious of a contradiction it is a particular one which he can easily explain in terms of his own beliefs (Evans-Pritchard, 1937:319).

Ethnomethodologists see the ceaseless interaction of social knowledge as necessary for the construction and maintenance of reality. Realities must be constantly reaffirmed (through the reflexive use of bodies of social knowledge) if they are to be maintained. Thus, when the poison oracle contradicts itself, the Azande only doubt the validity of a specific case of oracle divination and not oracles in general. Perhaps a better illustration of the 'ceaseless interaction' proposition is provided by Pollner's description of how the reality of a table is maintained.

Social meanings are continuously created and recreated through the situated praxis which presupposes, preserves and uses those meanings. Thus "table" is a gloss for the cognitive, practical and interactional work through which table is enacted. Such activities include placing plates and silverware on top of the "table", telling children to keep toys off of it, worrying about its stability and strength: these and other activities comprise the continuously applied repertoire of actions which carve out and enact a "table". On the behavioral level, the probability that such activities will continue... is what a table comes to. From this point of view, the table is created and sustained by what is done to, with or about it (Pollner in Psathas, 1979:249).

Accordingly, social realities are continually re-affirmed because of their reflexive nature. Their social setting aids in this process because, through interaction, the reality is recognized and affirmed by others; it is an intersubjective reality.

THE TRANSFORMATIONAL MODEL

Roy Bhaskar's 'transformational model' is based on a critique and re-interpretation of Berger and Luckmann's dialectical conception of

society. Berger and Luckmann in their intellectual treatise The Social Construction of Reality (1967) argued that society forms or shapes the individuals who create society. Despite the fact that society is a product of human activity, they assert that it is experienced as 'real'. Its true ontological status (that it is a social construct), therefore is generally not perceived. The dialectical nature of this relationship can be seen in the interaction of the individual and society. People produce society through their conscious actions and society, in turn, acts back upon its producers to alter the conditions of their future actions. Berger and Luckmann identify three "moments" in this process: "Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:79). The dialectical nature of this process can be seen in its entirety only after a new generation is socialized into society.

Roy Bhaskar has found fault with this model. He argues that society and individuals are not related dialectically, in that the objective reality of the social world is not produced by a dialectical process. Rather, it is from its existence prior to the individual that its externality is derived. Society always pre-exists the individual; the individual is born into a group with language, religious beliefs, characteristic social structure and so on. It is from this pre-existence that the coercive power of social structure is ultimately derived. Individuals do not create their own society, for it always pre-exists them. Rather they reproduce or transform it. As Bhaskar puts it:

That is to say, if society is already made, then any concrete human praxis or if you like, act of objectivation can only modify it; and the totality of such acts sustain or change it. It is not the product of their activity (any more

than their actions are completely determined by it). Society stands to the individual, then, as something that they never make, but exists only in virtue of their activity (Bhaskar, 1979:120).

In sum, for Bhaskar, individuals reproduce or transform society and society socializes the individual. This model sees society as both a) having a constraining influence on the individual and b) capable of transformation by directed human action. The transformational model is particularly relevant to this thesis as it maintains a constraining role for the social structure while emphasizing the creative role of social agents in sustaining (reproducing) or transforming society. Thus, it is also capable of dealing with social change (an area which has been somewhat problematic for many social theorists).

PART II: LANGUAGE, SOCIALIZATION AND IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT

We now turn to a discussion of the processes through which society influences the social agent; that is, socialization. This term may be initially defined as the process by which individuals learn the values and attitudes of society. As used here, it is seen as a continuous process of learning, involving not only the adoption of societal values and attitudes but also induction into new social realities through the internalization of new perspectives. Since language is of central importance to the process of socialization I will begin my discussion of socialization with an examination of some of its key attributes. This will be followed by a look at the processes of socialization through an examination of the insights of various authors. The role of impression management will be outlined, with special emphasis placed on its role in managing meaning in social contexts. Finally, a summary

will be provided which will outline the terminology that will form the basis for this thesis.

Language plays a central role in the process of socialization, and must therefore be mentioned prior to discussion of other aspects of the subject. Language provides the individual with categories of thought and is thus linked to all subsequent aspects of the socialization process. In the study of classificatory kinship terminology, the importance of language as an agent of categorization is particularly apparent. When an individual uses the term for mother's brother to designate a relationship, he/she has set him apart from all others with whom he/she does not have this relationship. Moreover, such a category indicates a fixed relationship, which entails a specific set of rights and obligations. While kinship provides an illuminating example of the function of language as a kind of cognitive framework, one could argue that language, in general, provides at least a minimal cognitive framework. More recently, ethnomethodologists have succeeded in convincing at least some social scientists that the use of a specific word reifies the existence of the object/idea to which the word refers.

At the same time, the use of language is a creative process. Merely to know how a word has been used in the past is not sufficient to explain its use in the present. Within the framework provided by language new ideas and words may emerge and the choice of one word over another is a creative act. Thus, language provides both a cognitive framework and a means through which creativity may be expressed. This point is quite important to this thesis, as the social agent is not here assumed to be a passive receptor of concepts and ideas, but rather

a creative agent. With this notion of the social agent as capable of creativity, we will now turn to an examination of the socialization process.

PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE SELF

Socialization is generally defined as the process by which individuals learn the values and attitudes of a society. Mead's characterization of the development of the self within the individual as a social process provides insights into how socialization occurs. A child is born into a society which has an existing language, norms, and religious beliefs. He/she encounters the social world as 'objective', fixed prior to his/her own existence. Significant others (for example, mother, father, siblings, etc.) provide a view of reality which appears to the child as objective and factual; beyond his/her own control. The child identifies with these significant others, taking on their roles and internalizing them. This taking on of the 'role of others' allows the child to see him/herself through their eyes. Such a process provides the child with a self-identity, which is reflective of the attitudes of significant others vis-a-vis the child. Berger and Luckmann describe this process as follows:

The child takes on the significant others' roles and attitudes, that is, internalizes them and makes them his own. And by this identifying himself, of acquiring a subjectively coherent and plausible identity. In other words, the self is a reflected entity, reflecting the attitudes first taken by significant others towards it; the individual becomes what he is addressed by significant others. . . .Primary socialization creates in the child's consciousness a progressive abstraction from the roles and attitude of specific others to roles and attitudes **in general** (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:151-2).

When the child comes to realize that the attitudes and roles of significant others are more widely shared, he/she begins to take on the role of the 'generalized other'. David Miller defines the generalized other as "the organized set of attitudes and their corresponding responses which are common to the group" (Miller, 1973:149). When the child takes on the role of generalized other, he/she is provided with a self-identity in general without reference to specific individuals. At this point, the child has internalized the norms and values of society. Berger and Luckmann have called this primary socialization (that is, the process by which the individual becomes a member of society). Both Mead and Berger and Luckmann see primary socialization (with its association with the emergence of self) as the most important part of the socialization process. Its link to the formation of one's self-identity implies that it asserts a strong influence over the individual.

Mead provides an explanation of socialization which acknowledges both the constraining influence of social structure and the creative element of the individual (an important point, as the previous discussion of Bhaskar's transformational model indicated). His model's accommodation of both these elements is perhaps best seen in his discussion of the two aspects of the self: the 'Me' and the 'I'. The 'Me' encompasses the history of the individual, and includes memories of past experiences as well as the internalized self-identity. The 'Me' is 'conventional', as it reflects the internalized values and attitudes of society.

The 'I' is the other necessary aspect of the self. The 'I' performs, as it were, always in the present. It relies on the 'Me' for guidance but is not totally constrained by it. In situations in which conventional wisdom seems adequate, the 'Me' and the 'I' may seem indistinguishable as the 'I' relies heavily on the 'Me' for guidance. The creative nature of the 'I' is best seen in the impulsive behavior of the individual, the originality of the inventor and the creativity of the artist. Thus the behavior of the 'I' in any given situation is not entirely predictable. Miller has described the distinction between the 'I' and the 'Me' as follows:

The I is the agent, the active component of the self as it organizes the attitudes of others, selects objects on which the individual will act, and chooses or commits itself to respond in a certain way. . . . The Me is there as one's past, and it conditions one's choice but does not fully determine it, since the future phase of the act is indefinite and requires commitment the like of which has not been experienced in the past. An awareness or consciousness of the possible results of the act makes the functioning of the I possible. . . (Miller, 1973:60).

Forces promoting both stability and change are thus at work within society. Mead recognized this and provided a conceptualization of these processes in terms of the structure of the self (the I and the Me) and its emergence within a social environment. In contrast, Berger and Luckmann tend to over-emphasize the constraining influence of society on the individual. The primacy which they give to the ordering function of socialization leads them to neglect the creative aspects of the individual. The question of the role of competing realities raised by Berger and Luckmann shall be addressed in the next section.

SECONDARY SOCIALIZATION, THE GENERALIZED OTHER, AND PERSPECTIVES

In the previous section, discussion centered on two points; primary socialization and the emergence of the self as these have been articulated by Berger and Luckmann and G. H. Mead. This section will continue the discussion of the process of socialization but emphasizing its continuity later in life. Each of the three authors to be reviewed provides some insight into the processes involved in socialization. Despite differences in terminology, I suggest, these writer's theoretical frameworks complement each other.

The model of socialization I use in this thesis is a pastiche of the works of several theorists. Berger and Luckmann's analysis of secondary socialization emphasizes the processes involved in identifying with a new role, the importance of maintaining consistency between old and new realities, and the relative anonymity often associated with secondary as opposed to primary socialization. Mead's discussion of the "generalized other" as a problem-solving vehicle provides the mechanism by which individual perspectives can change the character of the generalized other. This fills a gap in Berger and Luckmann's analysis, allowing us to take account of human creativity. Finally, Tomatsu Shibutani provides a definition of the term 'perspective' and introduces the concept of reference group - which emphasizes the affective tie the actor may have with a specific group of people. The analytic concept 'reference group' is functionally analogous to the concept of 'significant other' in primary socialization, as they provide an identity for the actor. Its use enables us to expand Berger and Luckmann's somewhat narrow conception of 'identification' by

providing the possibility of an affective tie. A brief summary of each of these authors' views on secondary socialization will now be provided, following which I shall conclude with an attempt to put these several models together into a single model useful for the purposes of this thesis.

SECONDARY SOCIALIZATION

Secondary socialization is necessary in any society in which there is any marked role specialization or division of labour. It encompasses all learning subsequent to primary socialization ". . . which inducts the individual into a new sector of life. . . [it involves] the internalization of particular institutional processes" (Abercrombie, 1980:158-9). Berger and Luckmann see its extent and character as being determined by the division of labour in society and the corresponding social distribution of knowledge. Such 'special knowledge' is provided by 'carriers' who are institutionally defined. Thus, secondary socialization is associated with role-specific behavior and role-specific vocabularies which are internalized by the individual. This provides the individual with the means to structure routine interpretations and behavior in the institutionalized area. At the same time, the inductee acquires 'tacit understandings', evaluations, and affective colourations of these semantic fields. This process is seen as leading to the actor's subjective identification with the role and its norms.

Secondary socialization presupposes primary socialization. The self is already formed and a view of social reality is already internalized. This may present a problem, as the already-internalized

reality tends to persist and there may be significant contradictions between the two. The contents of the new reality to be internalized must be superimposed over the extant reality. The problem of consistency therefore arises. In order to establish and maintain consistency, secondary socialization presupposes conceptual procedures to coordinate and integrate disparate bodies of knowledge. Thus, techniques are used to make the new reality more subjectively plausible. That is, the more continuity between the original and new reality, the more easily it is accepted.

Berger and Luckmann argue that secondary socialization generally takes place without the emotionally charged identification with significant others characteristic of primary socialization. Identification is necessary only to the degree that it must occur between human beings to communicate. Accordingly, the roles of secondary socialization carry a high degree of anonymity - that is, they are readily detached from their individual performers. Berger and Luckmann readily acknowledge that there are some roles in which intense emotional identification with the role is necessary (musicians' and revolutionaries' roles are cited by them as examples). Secondary socialization becomes affectively charged when a high degree of immersion and commitment are institutionally defined as necessary. Berger and Luckmann suggest that one circumstance which would create such a necessity would be when there is intense competition between alternative realities. Thus, the revolutionary must internalize a counter-definition of reality, a reality which is contrary to the definitions offered by officials legitimating society. The degree of commitment to

the institutional reality required of the individual may be seen to vary within different categories of personnel in many institutions. For example, the commitment required of the armed forces draftee is quite different from that required of the career officer. Finally, in highly complex societies it may be necessary to have full time personnel engaged in teaching secondary socialization. The educational institutions in our own society provide an excellent example of this process.

Berger and Luckmann seem to focus almost exclusively on formalized institutions in their discussion of secondary socialization, but this is surely not the whole story. Their definition of institution is somewhat broader than that which is commonly used by social scientists: "Institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors. Put differently, any such typification is an institution" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:72). Accordingly, any actions which are repeated frequently enough may produce a pattern, which if recognized as such by the actors, can then be referenced in certain appropriate situations. This is what they mean by habitualization. Accordingly, "institution" in this sense refers to any patterned behavior (as defined above) used by the social actor and learned through socialization. Once these somewhat idiosyncratic definitions are understood, Berger and Luckmann's interpretation of secondary socialization may be seen to bear a close resemblance to the adoption of perspectives as articulated by symbolic interactionists.

THE GENERALIZED OTHER

Mead's view of the generalized other can only be understood if his conception of the individual and society is kept in mind. The individual self is developed, as noted earlier, only through a social process. It is the ability to don the role of generalized other, to "get outside oneself" as it were, that allows abstract thinking to take place. By this process the individual becomes aware of 'universals' and shared ways of viewing the world. This allows an awareness of the consequences of acting in any given manner to be fostered. In turn, the ability to anticipate consequences aids in the adjustment to the environment (be it social or physical). Thinking is rooted in action. Through thinking the individual may create new perspectives or plans of action. Thinking allows the transition from the old system (in which the problem arose) to the new system (in which the problem is solved and the world is perceived differently) without breaking the continuity of the act. Individual perspectives arise from within the community perspective (the generalized other) and may, if shared, be incorporated into the latter. Perspective, in the sense used here, refers to a shared view of the world which arises through taking the role of other. To share a perspective is to respond as the other does to the same gesture. It implies recognition of a universal.

The previous pages have indicated the importance Mead gave to the generalized other. It encompasses all that is shared or social. It is the ability to take the role of another which, for Mead, is what separates man from other animals. Accordingly, shared perspectives and the generalized other are central to his analysis of society. As noted

earlier, taking the role of the generalized other involves the internalization of the attitudes and values of society. When such an internalization has taken place, the self may be seen as having reached its full development. The individual becomes a reflection of the ". . . general systematic pattern of social or group behavior" (Mead, 1932:158) in which he/she and others are involved. These internalized attitudes and values are used to evaluate his/her own behavior as well as others in the social group. The individual, working within this framework, is cognizant of the effects on others of his/her own behavior. The consequences of acting in any given manner can be anticipated, and thus the individual can consciously choose that behavior which will have the desired result (Miller, 1973:59). As a pragmatist, Mead saw the importance of the generalized other in the role of solving problems in everyday life. The generalized other is therefore not a static phenomenon; it must change to meet the challenge of new problems:

The generalized other is flexible and may grow historically and for any particular community and for any individual member of a community. This depends on the character of the problems at hand, upon developments in science and technology, and upon institutional structural changes (Ibid.:55).

The impetus for change in the character of the generalized other emerges when new problems which are incapable of solution using traditional techniques are encountered by individuals. In such instances, it is the individual who initiates change by providing a new perspective which allows the problem to be solved:

The problem is to universalize the newly created perspective of the individual so that it may become a perspective shared by the group. Its method requires that the individual must be able to recognize, without a feeling of guilt, that

certain of his experiences cannot be understood from the presently accepted perspective of the group; and the individual must have the courage to formulate interpretations that are in opposition to customary ways of thinking and doing in order to permit impeded conduct to continue (Miller, 1973:168).

Further, the individual must couch this new perspective in terms which the group will understand and accept. The perspective must be shared if it is to be incorporated into the generalized other.

The revolutionary, the reformer, and the traditionalist all find justifications for their views in the generalized other; in inalienable rights which have been taken away or values 'central to our heritage' which have been ignored. Such justifications are, in fact, a reinterpretation of the past to make it conform to the present (Miller, 1973:58), thus providing the adjustment to the new reality.

PERSPECTIVES AND REFERENCE GROUPS

Shibutani's conception of reference groups and perspectives may be seen as an expansion of Mead's generalized other. It is through taking the role of others that perspectives are created:

A perspective is an ordered view of one's world - what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events, and human nature. It is an order of things remembered as well as things actually perceived, an organized conception of what is plausible and what is possible; it constitutes the matrix through which one perceives his environment (Shibutani, 1955:564).

Individuals perceive and organize reality through perspectives shared with others. The group to which a perspective is attributable is called a reference group and is defined as: ". . . that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference for the actor" (Ibid.: 563).

In a modern complex society, each actor comes in contact with and

internalizes a wide variety of perspectives. Accordingly, the individual may be simultaneously associated with many different reference groups. Each perspective is not only associated with a reference group but also with what Shibutani has called 'social worlds', or what I have termed social realities. Shibutani also points out that the individual may or may not be a recognized member of the social group whose standards have been internalized.

IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT

Given that individuals may claim membership in various different social worlds (or realities), how is the integrity of a given impression sustained? Erving Goffman, in his The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), sets out the dramaturgical model which he uses to examine how meaning is managed by social actors in various situations. This model uses the analogy of the theatre to explain the behavior of social actors interacting in everyday life. It is based on the premise that, when individuals interact with each other, each seeks to "manage" the impression the other receives of him or her.

Given the fragility and the required expressive coherence of the reality that is dramatized by a performance, there are usually facts which, if attention is drawn to them during the performance, would discredit, disrupt, or make useless the impression that the performance fosters. These facts may be said to provide 'destructive information' (Goffman, 1959:141).

Ego attempts to portray an image of him/herself by selectively showing only certain aspects of his/her personality and is constantly 'reading' alter's reaction to particular performances, adjusting subsequent performances to 'fine tune' this impression. In this way a consistent impression is fostered and maintained through interaction.

SUMMARY

Socialization may best be conceived of as a two stage process. The first stage involves the emergence of the self within a social environment by taking the role of the other. This process provides the actor with a self-identity and leads to the internalization of group values and attitudes (especially as articulated by significant others). The second stage is comprised of all subsequent learning, and would include both the internalization of new roles (with their concomitant values) and new perspectives which seem to provide the actor with better explanations of reality. That is, they provide solutions to problems with which traditional perspectives could not deal.

PART III: WORLD-VIEWS AND SOCIAL MAPS

In this section I will draw on the literature concerning world-view or *Weltanschauung*. It will be argued that while world-view is a group level phenomenon, elements of it may be discerned at the level of the individual. The individuated world-view in the mind of a particular social actor may be called 'social maps' which involve the conceptual schema of the individual created through his/her association with 1) a cultural group and 2) various reference groups which correspond to different social worlds. Both these concepts will be defined and distinguished from other related concepts; stipulative definitions based on conventional usage in the literature will be provided. This section will conclude with a summary of the basic assumptions underlying this research.

World-view is defined by Abercrombie et al as referring to ". . .

the set of beliefs constituting an outlook on the world characteristic of a particular social group, be it social class, generation, or religious sect . . . " Through an examination of the use of the term in the literature, this definition will be augmented by providing the characteristic features of a world-view.

The term world-view could most appropriately be traced to nineteenth century German thinkers. At that time **Weltanschauung** constituted one of the dominant guiding metaphors in German social thought (Hall, 1979:13). Dilthey, perhaps the best known proponent of the notion of **Weltanschauung**, tied his conception of the term to a theory of history. Following Hegel, he saw 'Mind' 'objectivizing' itself through history. Thus, he viewed culture as a process of creative reification in which ideas, through action, became social realities. He felt that ideas could be studied as a series of forms arranged in stages through time. Each stage in this process was characterized by a specific 'style of thought'. The many different ideas of a period could be studied as a whole because together they reflected a particular outlook on the world, a world-vision, a **Weltanschauung**. Distinctive **Weltanschauungen** would be discovered for each society. Accordingly, each nation or people was seen to have its own distinctive **Weltanschauung** (Ibid.:13).

Karl Mannheim, the acknowledged founder of the sociology of knowledge, uses the concept of **Weltanschauung** as the basis for this sub-discipline. In his view, knowledge is socially based, that is, there is an association between forms of knowledge and social structure. Accordingly, membership in certain social groups conditions

belief. To Mannheim, a *Weltanschauung* is the global outlook of an epoch. Every cultural product has a documentary meaning which reflects this *Weltanschauung*. His conception of the term is not tied to any specific type of social group. Rather, there is a plethora of social groups each with their own *Weltanschauung*:

By these groups we mean not merely classes, as a dogmatic type of Marxism would have it, but also generations, status groups, sects, occupational groups, schools, etc. Unless careful attention is paid to highly differentiated social groupings of this sort and to the corresponding differentiations in concepts, categories, and thought-models . . . it would be impossible to demonstrate that corresponding to the wealth of types of knowledge and perspectives which have appeared in the course of history there are similar differentiations in the substructure of society (Mannheim, 1936:347-8).

Accordingly, Mannheim acknowledges the diversity of knowledge available in any specific time period and sees *Weltanschauung* as a group level phenomenon. Moreover, he makes it clear that *Weltanschauung* is an analytical construct saying that there need not necessarily be any single individual within the group who conforms to it in its entirety.

Husserl's conception of the 'life-world', while phenomenological in orientation, can be seen as a related variant of the concept of world-view. Also called the 'attitude of original natural life', the life-world is the foundation of all socially constructed knowledge. It is only through phenomenological reduction that truth can be attained. All knowledge, including science, is necessarily distorted and viewed through the life-world (Bauman, 1978:111-2). As Husserl said:

. . . [n]atural life can be characterized as a life naively straightforwardly directed at the world, the world being always in a certain sense consciously present. . . . Waking life is always a directedness toward this or that, being

directed toward it as an end or as a means, as relevant or irrelevant, toward the interesting or the indifferent, toward the private or public, toward what is daily required or intrusively new (Husserl in Danford, 1978:6).

Contrary to Mannheim, who saw the answer to the distortion of knowledge in its contextualization, Husserl saw the removal of all the attributes of the life-world through *epoche* (suspension or bracketing) as the only way to reach true knowledge. Thus, while he presents his readers with some of the characteristics of world-views, he dismisses the life-world in his quest for knowledge.

The characteristic features of world-view may be briefly summarized as follows:

- 1) World-view is a supra-individual phenomenon although elements of it can be discerned within the individual.
- 2) It takes place within a specific time frame.
- 3) It is associated with a particular social group (e.g., a class, generation, ethnic group or religious sect).
- 4) The viewpoint provided seems 'correct' to the adoptee and he/she has a naively straightforward acceptance of it.
- 5) It provides its adherents with a cognitive framework or system of thought through which they perceive the world.
- 6) Social actors acquire a world-view through the process of socialization (as outlined earlier).

By contrasting world-view with social maps this definition will be elaborated and the place of the individual relative to a world-view will be outlined.

It seems clear that the process by which the individual is initiated into a world-view necessarily involves learning or, as characterized here, socialization. Individuals usually have simultaneous membership in many social groups each with its own corresponding

world-view. Social maps may be seen as conceptual frameworks at the level of the individual. Ian Jarvie has characterized social maps as follows:

People living in society . . . construct in their minds a conceptual map of the society and its features, of their own location among them, of the possible paths which lead them to their goals, and of the hazards along each path. . . .
(Jarvie, 1972:161).

Following Shibutani, the individual may be said to have several reference groups at the same time. Each of these social groups has a world-view associated with it which, when appropriated by the social actor, may be called a perspective. Thus the conceptual framework or social map of the individual may be characterized as a selective synthesis of such world-views. As Mary Douglas notes: ". . .it seems that whatever we perceive is organized into patterns for which we, the perceivers, are largely responsible" (Douglas, 1966:36).

In her book, Purity and Danger, Douglas makes a distinction between culture (in the sense of 'public, standardized values of a community') and the social actor's conceptual schema. Her conception of "culture" and "schema" resemble, respectively, my own conceptions of world-view and social maps (though a distinction between culture and world-view will be outlined later), and her ideas are relevant to the present discussion. Culture, she states, provides basic categories into which ideas and values may be ordered. She argues that its public character makes its categories necessarily more rigid than those of the individual. Since it is shared, it is difficult to revise the pattern of assumptions which constitute the culture (or world-view). Whereas an individual may or may not be conservative (i.e., not wanting

to change his/her conceptual schema to accord with discordant values or ideas) a culture or world-view is inherently conservative. Parenthetically, this seems to agree with G. H. Mead's idea that the character of the generalized other may change only through the persuasive action of an individual.

Since the social actor continually comes in contact with new social groups, the character of his/her social map may be constantly questioned and revised. As Jarvie notes:

As we attempt to come to terms with social realities outside the nuclear family... our perspective on the social world constantly shifts. We are always having to redraw our social maps as we go along (Jarvie, 1972:162).

At this point it will be useful if we sharpen our analytical distinctions between world-view, social maps, and other related concepts. Here stipulative definitions will be provided for the terms culture, belief system, and perspective so as increase our conceptual clarity in dealing with these notoriously vague terms. Kroeber and Kluckholm in their book Culture (1952) look at definitions of the term both historically and contemporarily from a wide variety of sources. While some of these definitions coincided closely with my conception of world-view, their final characterization of the term may be seen to encompass far more than world-view as conceptualized in the preceding discussion. It is in this sense that the term culture will be used in this thesis.

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements

of further action (Kroeber and Kluckholm, 1952:357).

Thus a culture embodies not only a 'design for life' but also the material products of any given social group and the processes of its perpetuation. However, one might well ask what is the nature of the relationship between a culture and a world-view? If we find a group which has a shared world-view, have we in fact found a culture? As both the definitions of world-view (derived from a number of sources) and culture (as characterized by Kroeber and Kluckholm) illustrate, a shared world-view is a necessary but not sufficient condition of a culture.

Is there any reason to distinguish between world-view and belief system? A belief system, according to Borhek and Curtis, is also a supra-individual phenomenon. "[It] is a set of related ideas (learned and shared), which has some permanence, and to which individuals and or groups exhibit some commitment" (Borhek and Curtis, 1975:5). Clearly this bears a good deal of resemblance to my definition of world-view. However, a belief system is usually a more coherent and conscious subset of a world-view; social actors are generally unaware of having a world-view, but are generally cognizant of their own distinctive beliefs.

Perspective is a term which is often used as a synonym for world-view. Shibutani's conception of the term states that it ". . . constitutes the matrix through which one perceives his environment" (Shibutani, 1955:564). Again, this bears a close resemblance to my characterization of world-view. The distinction between the two terms lies at the level of attribution. Thus, world-view is attributed

to the group and perspective to the individual. A perspective, then, is an individual's interpretation of a world-view. The total configuration of such perspectives by a given social actor may be called a social map. Like world-views, social maps provide cognitive frameworks which seem 'natural' to the social actor. Indeed, it is only when the social actor is confronted with a perspective which contradicts his or her own that it becomes problematic.

This chapter has examined the relationship between the individual and social realities through a variety of different approaches, without direct reference to my research. Here, a link between theory and practice will be made.

In summary, this thesis is based on the following assumptions. The social actor perceives social reality as real and natural. The objectiveness of social reality derives from its existence prior to the individual and through the process of socialization (especially primary socialization). This is despite the fact that social reality would not exist without human action. Social actors help to sustain (or transform) social reality by making reflexive use of shared knowledge when they interact. Thus, society or social reality may be said to constrain the social actor inasmuch as it seems 'objective', and therefore beyond the bounds of human control.

At the same time, the individual is not merely a passive receptor of the values and attitudes of society. Thus, language, for example, provides both categories of thought for the social actor as well as a means for creative self-expression. Moreover, it is through the persuasive action of the individual (via perspectives) that the

character of the generalized other or world-view may be changed. Indeed, the objectiveness of social reality may be questioned by the social actor when he/she is exposed to world-views or perspectives which differ from or which actually contradict, his/her own. The social actor realizes to some extent that impressions may be managed so that social realities (especially conflicting ones) may be, at least partially, compartmentalized. With this awareness may come the knowledge of how to manipulate social reality to gain certain ends (though the latter realization is probably less common).

While the process of socialization is central to the formation of the social actor's values and attitudes, the continuous nature of this process and the plethora of social realities available to the individual in a complex society make the attribution of a single world-view to an individual somewhat unrealistic. The social environment to which the social actor is exposed comes to be of importance, and the total configuration of the perspectives gained through such exposure may be called social maps. Despite the somewhat idiosyncratic nature of social maps, social actors from common ethnic backgrounds may be expected to share perspectives because of the importance of primary socialization to the social actor through its tie to self-identity.

I would now like to relate this more specifically to my research. When an individual is asked to make a videotape of life in Calgary, he/she is, in essence, being asked to construct a social reality. That is, the video producer is being asked to give an account of life in Calgary. This is a reflexive process. Since the individual's social map seems natural to him/her, the process of selection of that which is

worth noting will necessarily reflect the perspectives the social actor holds. Thus, the attitudes and values of the individual, the conceptual schema will be revealed. Since the social actor's perspectives are provided through the process of socialization, background information concerning his/her exposure to different social realities must be obtained. The importance of primary socialization noted by both Mead and Berger and Luckmann would seem to indicate that elements of the world-view of the ethnic should be discernable for both groups. At the same time, participation in various social realities may cross-cut ethnic boundaries providing similarities across ethnic groups.

CHAPTER 2

VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

In this chapter I shall briefly review the literature on visual anthropology since it has supplied many of the concepts and ideas which are used in this thesis. I shall begin by looking at those authors whose work involves the use of visual media by 'naive' producers. Edmund Carpenter's work is especially interesting in that, alone among such studies, it denies any significant cultural input onto visual media by naive producers. His view that media, for the most part, **determine** the form of the message will provide the basis for the discussion in the next section. This will lead into an examination of the analytical framework of this study focusing specifically on 'style' and the attributes of the documentary genre. Finally, I shall discuss the implications of using the 'naive' as opposed to the professional producer and the differences between various visual media (i.e., video and film).

In 1965 Sol Worth and John Adair began work on the seminal study in visual anthropology, the Navajo film project. They asked a simple yet fascinating question: ". . . what would happen if someone from a culture that makes and uses motion pictures taught people who had never made or used motion pictures to do so for the first time" (Worth and Adair, 1972:3). They were particularly interested in how the individual as a member of a cultural group would structure his or her world in the visual medium of film. This research was in turn based on a certain perspective of the nature of film:

. . . it becomes extremely important for us to realize that we do structure reality through film, and that the structuring process embodies our notions of appropriateness, our notions of what is important, right, and good (Worth and Adair, 1972:253).

During the Navajo film project seven informant-made films or bio-documentaries were produced. The films were produced by Navajos on topics which they selected. Each producer was instructed according to a standardized process how to use the film equipment and how to edit the film once it was developed. Every attempt was made by the anthropological team to avoid introducing their own ideas of what was 'good' or 'right' in terms of filming. This turned out to be fairly difficult to achieve; as the following passage illustrates:

We had planned for Worth, when he began actual instruction, to stick as closely as possible to the technical and to avoid any conceptualizing of what a film is or how one edits. Even asking students what they were planning to do would place heavy values on certain attitudes to film. It would imply first, that a film had an idea or was about something, and second, that one could think about it or plan it. We tried to avoid imparting such values by carefully wording the first question that Worth asked: 'What I would like is if you would tell me how you understand what we are going to do'. We did not want to ask, 'What is your idea for a film?' or even 'What is your film about?' Upon reflection we realize that even accepting their free answers to the opening question and showing an interest in the plans and the stories they started to tell us about, we were encouraging them to plan and to make films 'about' (Ibid.:81).

Analysis of the Navajo films showed that there were similarities in the themes, approaches and style of the filmmakers. Worth and Adair's project was exploratory in nature and consequently their hypotheses were equally broad. Their work involved the search for a ". . . specific pattern, code, and rules for visual communication within a cultural context" (Ibid.:28). Further, they felt that the images, subjects and themes selected by the Navajo would reveal a great

deal about their mythic and value systems. One theme which was particularly revealing, found in almost all the films, consisted of the portrayal of people walking during an inordinate amount of these films. One example of this was seen in Johnny Nelson's film in which two thirds of the fifteen minute film focused on the silversmith walking around gathering silver. Further, this proportion seemed to be typical of the Navajo films. Worth and Adair pointed out that the narrator of Navajo myths and stories spent a great deal of time describing ". . . the walking, the landscape, and the places he passes, telling only briefly what to 'us' are plot lines" (Worth and Adair, 1972:147). To Worth and Adair it seemed fairly certain that this attention directed at walking in both film and myth was not accidental but reflected a definite cultural concern of the Navajo people. Thus, the project seemed to provide some confirmation of Worth and Adair's original hypothesis in that the films reflected elements present in traditional narrative culture.

Worth and Adair's work was extremely experimental in nature. Further work in this area was obviously necessary, and was forthcoming from a graduate student, Richard Chalfen, who had worked on the Navajo film project team. He began work on naive filmmaking with groups of youths in Philadelphia. This work formed a chapter in Through Navajo Eyes as well as providing material for his dissertation. While his work was similar to Worth and Adair's, it did reflect a shift in emphasis. That is, he was not so much concerned with filmmaking as a way of 'structuring reality' as he was interested in filmmaking activity as the study of ". . . how social context interacts and

determines the use of symbolic forms in communication" (Worth and Adair, 1972:231).

Chalfen's work suggests that genres of film may be distinguished along two dimensions: 1) the type and amount of emphasis placed on different activities (i.e., shooting, acting, editing, etc.) and 2) comparative use of contextual items (i.e., topics, settings, participants, themes, etc.) (Worth and Adair: 231). Thus, he assumes that by separating and differentiating the patterns of events and activities involved in the finished product, different genres of film can be discerned. While at no time does he actually define the term genre, I would suggest that he uses the word rather loosely to distinguish "types" or "categories" of film (this basically is in accord with Virginia Oakley's (1983:81) definition of the genre as "a motion-picture category . . ." although she goes on to mention traditional categories such as Western, mystery, sci-fi, and so on). Unlike Worth and Adair who were interested in bio-documentaries, Chalfen focused on the production of socio-documentaries or group-made films.

Chalfen worked with groups of white and black youths from different class backgrounds (i.e., lower, middle and upper) in Philadelphia. Each filmmaking team of teenagers was asked to produce a film on a topic of their choice within a one year time period in return for film instruction and a copy of the final version of the film. Analysis of the films was made along the dimensions outlined above (for example, emphasis on editing, filming *et cetera*), comparisons could then be made between the different filming crews. The results of this study suggested that social class was an important variable in structuring

filmic genre. That is, similar genre were discerned within class categories and, conversely, such genre differed between different socio-economic classes.

The work of both Worth and Adair and Chalfen was based on certain assumptions about filmmaking; 1) filmmaking is viewed as a culturally structured activity; and 2) its framework will emerge once an analysis is undertaken of both the similarities and differences of its content as well as the behavior surrounding its production. As Adair, Worth, and Chalfen write: "It may be true that a person with a camera can take a picture of anyone or anything, at any time, in any place - but it is clear that he doesn't" (Worth and Adair, 1972:238).

Beryl Bellman and Bennetta Jules-Rosette each independently used informant-made visual media in their African research. Their book, A Paradigm for Looking, outlines the results of their research. The material from these two studies yielded two kinds of data: 1) informants accounts are mediated by the technical constraints of film or video and 2) they are recorded documents of face-to-face interactions (Bellman and Jules-Rosette, 1972:2). Both Bellman and Jules-Rosette were interested in the interaction of the cameraperson and the event recorded. The films or videotapes were produced without the help of any outside editing. Thus, there is no time distortion (that is, things shot earlier in the film or video actually occurred earlier). All editing was in-camera and can be detected by cademic markers (technical manipulations which denote the end of a shot). As well, informants were restricted by both the amount of film or tape available to them and by the shortage of charged batteries. Such limitations

meant that planning was of prime importance. The informant-made films or videos were necessarily dependent on the producer's prior knowledge (in an idealized sense) of the events or rituals which they chose to film. The selection of shots was based on the knowledge of 'how-these-things-usually-go', and reflected the socialization of the individual.

For example, on one tape a Poro priest was videotaping a Sande (women's secret society) ritual. As any competent member of that society knew, the medicines used during the event have the effect of causing elephantiasis of the scrotum if one gets too close to them (Bellman and Jules-Rossette, 1972:22). As a result, there was a marked use of zoom shots (where space is collapsed by means of lenses) rather than dolly shots (where the cameraperson must move in close). The Poro priest called on shared knowledge and maintained his distance because he knew better. When things did not go quite as expected it was revealed in abrupt transitions in the videotape, or else in the use of direct narration. To Bellman and Jules-Rosette the video process was seen as the interaction of the video producer and the event, and they focused on cademic markers as a means of indicating this relationship.

Edmund Carpenter's work is of importance in a number of ways. First, he had the unique opportunity of introducing various media into a cultural group that had no previous experience of them. As Carpenter puts it: "I wanted to observe, for example, what happens when a person -- for the first time -- sees himself in a mirror, in a photograph, on films; hears his voice; sees his name" (Carpenter, 1972:113). Second, Carpenter has placed film cameras in the hands of natives over a period of several years. From these experiences he has become

convinced that media overwhelm culture and that it is only by focusing rather strictly one's attention on the content of the visual media which allows us to detect in these films or videotapes a different cultural viewpoint.

In 1969-70 Carpenter was hired as a communications consultant by the government of the Territories of Papua New Guinea. They hoped to be able to use media to reach isolated areas. He accepted the job partly because it provided the opportunity to observe the effects of introducing media into a population which had never had any experience of them. He describes in some detail the reactions of the New Guineans to the new media. In one town, his team provided each person with a Polaroid snapshot of him/herself. His descriptions of the subjects' recognition is vivid:

Recognition gradually came into the subject's face. And fear. Suddenly he covered his mouth, ducked his head & turned his body away. After this first startled response, often repeated several times, he either stood transfixed, staring at his image, only his stomach muscles betraying tension, or he retreated from the group, pressing his photograph against his chest, showing it to no one, slipping away to study it in solitude. . . . We recorded this over & over on film, including men retreating to private places, sitting apart, without moving, sometimes for up to twenty minutes, their eyes rarely leaving their portraits (Carpenter, 1972:132).

Carpenter also showed them films of themselves. They recognized themselves much more quickly in the moving images.

There was absolute silence as they watched themselves, a silence broken only by whispered identification of faces on the screen . . . We recorded these reactions, using infrared light and film. In particular, we recorded the terror of self-awareness in uncontrolled stomach trembling (Ibid.:133).

Despite these initial trepidations, within a very short time the Papuans were making movies themselves, taking Polaroid shots of each

other and playing with the tape recorder. They were no longer afraid of their portraits and men wore them openly on their foreheads.

Carpenter and his team returned to Sio several months later and could barely recognize the place.

Several houses had been rebuilt in a new style. Men wore European clothing. They carried themselves differently. They acted differently. Some had disappeared down river toward a government settlement, 'wandering between two worlds/One dead, the other powerless to be born.' In one brutal movement they had been torn out of a tribal existence & transformed into detached individuals, lonely, frustrated, no longer at home-- anywhere. I fear our visit precipitated this crisis. Not our presence, but the presence of new media. . . . The effect was instant alienation. Their wits & sensibilities, released from tribal restraints, created a new identity: the private individual. For the first time, each man saw himself & his environment clearly and he saw them as separable (Carpenter, 1972:133-34).

Carpenter's work may be seen as a call for a greater understanding of media and media effects. Moreover, his view that media destroy cultures leads him to argue that terms such as 'native autobiographies' should be used with caution. As he would put it, preliterate people do not write books or make films. If we train them to do so we must ask ourselves: at which point are they still members of their own culture or have they, at least in this respect, become members of our own?

Carpenter states his case quite succinctly as follows:

I've recorded life histories extracted from informants. I've encouraged those who were literate to write their own. Since around 1960, I've put cameras in a variety of hands. The results generally tell more about the medium employed than about the cultural background of the author or cameraman. In each case I had hoped the informant would present his own culture in a new way. I was wrong. What I saw was literacy & film. These media swallow culture. The old culture was there all right, but no more than residue at the bottom of a barrel. I think it requires enormous sophistication--media sophistication-- before anyone can use print or film to preserve & present one's cultural heritage, even one's cultural present. The extraordinary sensitive autobiograph-

ies & films now coming out of Africa, come from men of the utmost media sophistication, men unhoused in any single culture or medium (Ibid.:186).

In New Guinea, Carpenter obtained about seventy films made by natives. As to the content of these films, among isolated villagers the research team was the main focus of the films. Once they departed the cameras left behind were generally ignored. In Port Moresby, the most favoured subjects for filming were friends and cars. While zoom and pan were used for scenery, cars were parked and friends were immobile in these films. "In other words, movie cameras were used like still cameras" (Carpenter, 1972:188). Four of the natives became enthusiastic and competent filmmakers. They copied the actions of the research team and made similar types of films. In only one case did Carpenter see anything even remotely resembling a non-Western approach (a film of a sailing ship that struck him as being 'exceptionally tactile').

Surely the significant point is that media permit little experimentation & only a person of enormous power & sophistication is capable of escaping their binding power. A very naive person may stumble across some interesting technique, though I think such stories are told more frequently than documented. The trend is otherwise (Ibid.:188).

Carpenter's conclusions are drawn from his somewhat unique vantage point and are therefore worth quoting at some length:

I think media are so powerful they swallow cultures. I think of them as invisible environments which surround & destroy old environments. Sensitivity to problems of culture conflict & conquest becomes meaningless here, for media play no favorites: they conquer all cultures. One may pretend that media preserve & present the old by recording it on film & tape, but that is mere distraction, a sleight-of-hand possible when people keep their eyes focused on content. . . . What was everywhere needed was the sort of media sophistication which comes only with detachment, dislocation,

study. Such sophistication is not easily achieved (Ibid.:195).

Carpenter seems to imply that only individuals well versed in media would be able to convey their world view through visual media. Media overwhelm content when not employed by 'media sophisticates'. While it is unclear exactly what Carpenter means by this, we can presume that he is referring to individuals highly trained in the art of filmmaking. In part, then, his somewhat deterministic view of media is explained by his experience of introducing media to people totally innocent of any association with them.

Walter Ong has worked extensively on the effect of various media, especially chirography (see his Orality and Literacy, 1982), on human consciousness. He argues that media transform consciousness. This is what Carpenter experienced so dramatically in New Guinea; a human group suddenly became self-conscious. New media provided these people with the opportunity to reflect upon themselves; a situation which was impossible before. Ong's work on literacy illustrates the ways in which consciousness is transformed. He discusses Havelock's analysis of Plato's writing to indicate the effects of writing on consciousness.

Plato's entire epistemology was unwittingly a programmed rejection of the old oral, mobile, warm, personally interactive lifeworld of oral culture (represented by the poets, whom he would not allow in his Republic).... Platonic form was form conceived of by analogy with visual form. Platonic ideas [forms] are voice less, immobile, devoid of all warmth, not interactive but isolated, not part of the human lifeworld at all but utterly above and beyond it (Ong, 1982:80).

Plato was not conscious of the forces at work on his psyche which helped to produce this overreaction to lingering orality. Ong argues

that this reveals the essential paradox of intelligence (which is in turn based on human consciousness) as it can be seen as relentlessly reflexive. That is, the tools used to communicate its work (which in this case is chirography) become internalized, affecting consciousness, and thus become part of its own reflexive process (Ong, 1982:81). As Ong states: "Each of the various media -- oral, chirographic, typographic, electronic -- determines differently the constitution of the thought it communicates" (Ibid.:118). Ong's work thus provides some support for Carpenter's view. Since some of the New Guineans had had no previous experience of visual media the effects of their introduction were quite dramatic if one accepts Carpenter's characterization. Consequently, our quarrel with Carpenter is one of degree rather than kind. While we can accept that media affect the way ideas are shaped and can be conveyed, we feel Carpenter overstates the extent of such determination.

Carpenter recognized differences in media use among his New Guinean film producers, but he dismissed them as insignificant. For example, the people in Port Moresby used the film camera as a still camera (a visual medium with which they were likely more familiar) whereas the villagers who had no experience of modern visual media whatsoever tended to emulate the Carpenter team. Given this, his work may be re-interpreted to suggest that film or video use may be influenced by the individual's familiarity with other media. This idea is supported by much of Ong's work. In one article Ong traces the influence of primary orality in the Talking Drums of Africa. He sees similarities in the structure of drum language as it makes extensive

use of formulae and repetition which are also characteristic of oral cultures. As he puts it:

. . . the structures given to expression and to knowledge itself by the verbalization patterns of oral cultures are strikingly characteristic of drum language as such. The drums are oral or oral-aural not merely in their sensory field of operation but even more basically to their idiom. Talking drums belong to the lifeworld of primary oral cultures, though not all primary oral cultures used them (Ong, 1977:102).

Just as drum language is structured by analogy with oral practices so films or videotapes may be informed by the producer's knowledge of various media. How does this idea relate to the work on naive film/video production cited above? Worth and Adair found with their project that the films were structured in a manner which emulated the Navajo oral tradition. In the work of Bellman and Jules-Rossette, it was prior knowledge of the event or ritual being taped or filmed which was seen as being most significant in providing the structure of the finished product. Visual media were used in an interactive process of producer and event. The nature of the filming/taping activity was quite different and previous knowledge of media seemed to have played a peripheral role (though they cite one instance in which prior knowledge of *meni* [or the order of speaking] was significant and this could conceivably be seen as being associated with a knowledge of orality as a medium). Chalfen's work with youths from Philadelphia deals with individuals with considerable experience of electronic media (the other two studies involved people with very limited experience of electronic media). Since he did not consider experience of media important it was not measured and cannot be examined here. Finally, there is Carpenter's work. In the previous pages I have suggested that we might

reinterpret his work in light of what we know about media effects. Previous knowledge of media could possibly play some role and this was partially supported by the Port Moresby filmmakers. But, given this thesis, how are we to account for the behaviour of the villagers who had had no previous experience of visual media? My answer to this is fairly simple; they emulated those who knew how to use the equipment. Learning a new technology may be frightening as one is apt to fail to use it skillfully. Copying the research team's behaviour allowed the individual to minimize such risks. If, on the other hand, we acknowledge that Carpenter might well be correct in his assessment of the medium's influence over the content in these cases, we still need not embrace an overly deterministic role to the medium. This is so because one would expect that media would be of primary influence under situations where the individuals had no previous media experience. Unfortunately, Carpenter gives us very few details on which to test these ideas further.

There is some evidence, then, to support the idea that individuals will be influenced by their previous experience of media (and that this could be reflected in the way their videotape is structured); although the evidence is somewhat mixed. Chalfen, as alluded to above, has a different view. He suggests that:

Behaviors surrounding filmmaking are understood as promoted, limited, or restricted primarily by social norms rather than as limitations imposed by psychological or technical variables. . . . Film communication can thus be studied as the creation, manipulation, and interpretation of symbolic events that occur in, and as, a series of social 'performances' (Chalfen, 1975:87).

Chalfen assumes that social context is of greater importance than the medium to the content and structure of the films. At the same time previous experience of media may also be an influential factor. It is clear that the individuals who participated in my study were relatively sophisticated (in that they were all university students who have had some experience with visual media) as compared with those who participated in Carpenter's study. Further, video equipment has been simplified considerably in the last decade. However, I would expect that Carpenter would still argue that a higher degree of media sophistication than these people had would be needed to be able to convey the essence of one's cultural present. My hope is that the present research project will be able to shed some light on this problem.

If video as a medium overwhelms content as Carpenter has argued, then we would expect to see little difference between the two test groups in either structure or style. In such a case the information obtained regarding media sophistication would prove more important in assessing such differences. That is, those who were not media sophisticated would produce videotapes which were similar in both structure and style (though the converse would not necessarily be true). This is because we would expect "media sophisticates" to be able to convey their desired message with relative ease. On the other hand, if Chalfen's thesis is correct, we would expect differences in both structure and style to be related more to the socialized world-view of the individual. Thus, similarities in the videotapes would be found within cultural groups. It seems most likely that both will be of

influence and so the question becomes under what conditions do media overwhelm content?

Carpenter, Chalfen, Bellman and Jules-Rossette, Worth and Adair all had research projects which focused on the production of visual materials by 'naive' producers. The present research differs from these projects as the general topic of the videotape has been selected for the video producer by the researcher. Furthermore, the project may be seen as the production of a documentary or non-fiction video.

My research project rests on the assumption that even naive video producers can construct a view of reality through this visual medium. To create a videotape the producer must draw on previous experience of visual media and adapt it to his/her needs. I use the term 'adapt' deliberately, as watching a film or video is very different from producing it even though the viewing and production of visual media may be seen as interdependent. The producer must keep some audience in mind (however nebulously) when producing a film or video in order to ensure that he/she conveys the desired message. Similarly, the audience must use his/her knowledge of current film conventions to understand the producer's message (for example, a shot of sheets being blown off a calendar was at one time quite popular as a means to signal the passage of time). Further, with fiction film the viewer must suspend his/her disbelief to enable the film or video to 'work'.

Research by Paul Messaris concerning viewer awareness of the film production process suggests that individuals will view film as 'a slice of reality' even when the editing has been done in an anti-naturalistic style (for example, the jump cut - defined by Whitaker as "the

cut which does not match action in spatial flow, time sequence, or location" (Whitaker, 1970:115). During, one sequence of Messaris' test film the star of the film entered a store and in the next frame was seen leaving a church). Furthermore, he found that it was prior film production experience (and not just the sophistication which came with doing film criticism) which enabled individuals to recognize the influence of a producer on the film. Although Messaris' study was of a small sample (forty-five college students) and may have had a methodological weakness (in that each subject was asked after viewing the film for a scene by scene account of his/her impressions), it nonetheless seems to indicate the strength with which we tend to suspend our disbelief when viewing films.

Documentary film, on the other hand, is, as a genre, often perceived as "real" (i.e., among people who explicitly have a category of filmic "fiction"). It makes claims to objectivity and implies a this-is-how-it-is view of the events portrayed in the film/video. Traditionally, it has been an authoritative conveyor of 'truth'. As Jeanne Allen (1977:37) has pointed out: "Documentary justifies itself as a category of film on the grounds of its ability to replicate reality not primarily for the purposes of entertainment but for evidence and argument". Verisimilitude constitutes the documentary's reason for being. Allen sees the claim of documentary film to such truth as being based on the following three attributes:

- 1) The ability of film (or video) to record and provide a trace of the events which occurred in front of the camera; that is, its technological capacity or the photographic component of the medium.

2) ". . . minimizing the impact of the filming process to motivate or direct events . . ." (Allen: 37). To put this more simply, in a documentary the events being recorded would have occurred anyway even if the camera had not been present. Although the presence of the camera may (one might say, undoubtedly does) have some effect on the behaviour of the individuals in front of the camera, documentaries generally do not consciously attempt to directly influence behaviour as is the case in an explicitly fiction film. Accordingly, this is what usually distinguishes the documentary from fiction.

3) Finally, it is the adoption of a filmic style which is associated with minimal manipulation of the filmed event by the camera and the editing process which characterizes the documentary genre (although some fiction films also display such a style). This third attribute will be examined in more detail in the following pages.

In his article "Filmic Objectivity and Visual Style" (1982:139-146) Warren Bass has suggested that visual style might profitably be viewed in terms of "the filmmaker in relation to the world-in-front-of-the-camera" (Ibid.:139). To a viewer such style reveals itself in the appearance of an attitude (though we may not be aware of the filmmaker's actual attitude, indeed the producer him/herself may not be aware of it). Although we must trust only to appearances, as Bass says:

[I]n terms of style appearances are everything... By chance, design, or default some kind of relationship between the filmmaker and the world-in-front-of-the-camera is represented on celluloid (Ibid.:139).

Bass uses the term **filmic objectivity** to describe the type of style Allen refers to as being characteristic of the documentary. It

may be defined as "the least biased representation of the object or event in front of the camera that the medium will allow" (Bass, 1982:141). This approach would see the producer minimizing the expression of self so that full attention is directed at the object of the film. The distorting capabilities of the medium are kept to a minimum and the producer focuses on trying to make an honest representation of the event or object being recorded. Accordingly, the camera is seen as a passive recording tool rather than an active, formative or interpretive one.

Bass contrasts filmic objectivity with three other styles, which he has labelled 'interpretive', 'subjective', and 'reflexive'. He does not discuss whether these approaches are primarily associated with fiction or non-fiction film, although it could be argued that such styles could be found in either. I shall examine each of these styles in turn, in the light of Bass' definition and indicating how such a style might manifest itself in a non-fiction or documentary film. Following this, I shall discuss the implications of style as it relates to the naive video/film producer.

1) Bass defines an **interpretive style** as an approach which "uses the aesthetic variables of the medium to establish a privileged view of the object-or-event-in-front-of-the-camera" (Ibid.:142). "The Path" is a good example of the interpretive style in an ethnographic film. This approach was accomplished by focusing on images and sequences of a Japanese tea ceremony that were 'psychologically real' to participants who come from the host culture (Bellman and Jules-Rossette, 1972:11). The idea was to convey (insofar as was possible) an emic perspective of

the event. Bass contrasts objective and interpretive styles as follows:

Through editing and selection the interpretive style punctuates the filmed event and thereby structures our impression of it. In contrast, an objective style may let the event punctuate itself in its own scale and its own tempo, allowing viewers to come to their own conclusions, within the limits of the medium (Bass, 1982:143).

2) A **subjective style** indicates self-expression. The impression of reality fostered in this way seems to be private, seen by a particular observer. He argues that the point-of-view shot often used in Hollywood films provides the illusion of subjectivity and that actual subjectivity would manifest itself in the merging of the feelings of the producer with the object under scrutiny. The resultant film would provide us with a personal view of the object being portrayed. Woody Allen's early films might well be placed in this category. In contrasting the interpretive and subjective styles Bass uses the analogy of a musician. An interpretive style is epitomized by the classical musician and his adherence to the musical text whereas the subjective style may fruitfully be likened to the improvisations of the jazz musician. Clearly such a style would be inappropriate in a documentary or non-fiction film as the personal view produced in this way would undermine any claims the film may have to portraying some inter-subjective reality.

3) Finally, there is the **reflexive style**. This approach attempts a demystification of the medium by allowing the audience to be aware of the medium itself. "Reflexivity reveals the filming process and admits that the medium is a medium" (Ibid.:144). With such an approach the viewer is for the most part aware of the filmmaker's presence. Two

examples of this would be Jean Rouch's Chronicle of a Summer which is done in a cinema verite style, and Timothy Asch and Napoleon Chagnon's The Ax Fight in which the action in the film is analyzed in a variety of ways.

These styles are manifested by manipulating different aspects of the filmic process. For example, an objective style may be characterized by its neutral camera stance (neither aggrandizing nor diminishing the image it portrays) and in its adherence to a policy of nonexclusion of essential information (Bass, 1982:141). Moreover, there is little time/space distortion. An objective style tends, then, towards long takes of 'real time' as the shot tends to be governed by the event itself. Further, we can have different styles being manifested simultaneously within the same film. The Ax Fight aptly displays this, as our perceptions of the event change when edited, narrated, and slowed down.

Bass' conception of style would seem to be of particular use when one is dealing with the naive video producer inasmuch as in his typology the producer need not be aware of the style which has been created for such a style to appear. However, he discusses the concept of style with the professional filmmaker in mind. For us, this raises an important question: what are the implications of such an approach when dealing with naive video producers? In order to answer this question two further points need to be investigated: 1) what are the essential differences between the naive and professional film producer and 2) what are the differences between film and video? Both these questions will be addressed in the following pages.

When a film evokes in us a response which seems to be in accord with the general tone of the film (i.e., we laugh at a comedy) **we assume the producer intended it.** The film producer has been trained in cinematography and works with a team of experts to produce a film. It is the film producer's ability to understand how the images will come across to this audience which allows the film to 'work'. To put it simply, the producer is trying to convey a message which must be received and understood if the film is to be effective. The only way this can be done is by imagining some audience, putting him/herself in their place thereby "understanding" how the images would be interpreted. Now, the producer does not actually know the audience just as the audience does not really know the producer. Each has at best an imperfect understanding of the other. Nonetheless, such imperfection does not mar the dialectic of implication and inference. For the most part this system of understanding, albeit flawed, seems to work.

This contrast rather sharply with the naive video producer as the situation is somewhat different. The naive producer has had minimal technical training, works alone and is intimately acquainted with the audience which will see the video/film. This producer must rely on previous experience of other media when producing a videotape. One would expect the naive producer to copy ideas from television or use skills transferred from still photography.

While video is, as a medium, relatively easy to learn, it is not very easy to master. As a result, naive videotapes often look crude to the regular television viewer. It seems unlikely that an audience viewing the tapes would assume technical sophistication of the

producer. Interpretation by the audience, then, would likely involve different criteria. Since the audience knows the producer, this shared knowledge could be used to interpret various scenes. At the same time, the producer is aware of this and may use this as one means of controlling the information flow. The special relationship the producer has with the target audience has provided an alternative type of style which should be considered. This style, which I have called 'personalistic', draws on the intimate knowledge shared between the producer and audience. Under such circumstances such knowledge can be used to convey/interpret the meaning of any particular shot or sequence. For example, a shot of a high school may be seen as 'just another school' by most viewers but those 'in the know' might recognize the producer's *alma mater* and interpret the scene accordingly (that is, as the producer saying 'here's my old school'). Other viewers, (including the researcher), may be unaware of the sequence's significance and it is only when it is pointed out by the producer that such a style may be correctly interpreted. Accordingly, participant-observation may play an important role in detecting certain elements of style.

Dorothy Smith (1978:23-53) has suggested that authorization of an account as the one which should be listened to as valid and accurate is always problematic. As she puts it:

An important problem then must always be how a given version is authorized as that version which can be treated by others as what has happened. A correspondingly important set of procedures must therefore be concerned with who is allocated the privilege of definition and how other possible or sources of possible information are ruled out (D. Smith, 1978:33).

The naive video producer must also deal with this questioning of authority and, since he/she is not highly skilled in the technical

areas, such authorization must come from either the approach or the content of the videotape. That is, a video producer could gain credibility by showing that he/she has extensive, hard earned knowledge of the subject that the audience lacks (this would be particularly relevant for the African students as their parents likely have not been to Calgary). Another possibility would be to use a personalistic or interpretive approach. This makes the video difficult to question as it presents one of a myriad of possible points of view; it makes no claims to universality. Two other possibilities could be cited: first, the video could be used to record a single event; showing just one aspect of life in Calgary in some detail. Alternatively, the producer could attempt to be objective, showing many different aspects of life in Calgary, trying to make a documentary. This is by far the most difficult approach for the naive video producer to authorize as he/she has not studied the 'art of being objective', at least not with visual media. As the previous discussion of style indicated objectivity is just another approach which must be learned.

Up to this point I have been discussing film and video as if they were interchangeable. The obvious broad similarities between the two media made such an equivalence reasonable particularly as television is the medium through which motion pictures are often displayed. However, differences between these two medium do exist and lead to different user strategies. In the following paragraphs I will look at some of these differences and discuss some of the possible implications. This section owes much to Eric Michaels' discussion of the subject (see his "Looking at the Yanomami", especially pp. 137-145).

Video is best used to record intimate to social distances (that is, close-ups to medium shots). This is because it is an inherently low-resolution medium; its electronic impulses simply cannot translate detail as successfully as film. However, it is quite portable and easy to use. In contrast 16mm film is bulky, often requiring two people to operate the equipment. As a result, it doesn't tend to do well in intimate surroundings. It is a high resolution medium which means that it can effectively shoot from a distance (that is, the long or telephoto shots), whereas video collapses distances, film provides spacial context.

Video is cheap to make and tapes can be easily erased and used again. Film, on the other hand, is extremely expensive. The relative differences in economies translates into different production strategies. For example, it is very rare to run a movie film continuously whereas in video such a strategy is quite common.

Finally, there are differences between the two media in terms of editing procedures. Film is a photochemical process which impresses on the film stock a series of graphic images. Editing involves the mechanical juxtaposing of images into a lineal series. Videotape, on the other hand, consists of electronic coding of information retrieved by the camera. Accordingly, video editing involves manipulating such images electronically. This property allows for a much greater range of manipulations than film.

The main differences between the two media may be summed up as follows: video is easier to use, more portable, best used in intimate surroundings (because it is a low resolution medium) and easier to edit

than film. Film's outstanding advantage comes from its high resolution capability which enables it to view things from afar and collapse space by means of the telephoto lense. As noted above, video is cheap whereas film is **very** costly. This may possibly provide film with a built-in cachet value with which video cannot compete.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In planning the research two categories of students were identified according to certain selection criteria, and these comprise the research groups which I have labelled 'African' and 'Anglo-Saxon Calgarian'. Each of the subjects from these two groups produced a videotape entitled Life in Calgary, which was ostensibly addressed to the subject's parents. The incentive for participating in the video production process was the receipt of a copy of the final version of the videotape. However, unanticipated technical differences in the television systems of North America and Africa meant that the videotapes produced by the African students could not, in fact, be viewed by their parents, at least not as produced. Accordingly, this may have influenced the production process and undoubtedly had some bearing on the difficulty I had in obtaining African subjects for the study. Indeed, the selection criteria for the African group had to be relaxed so that the few people who showed initial interest in the project could take part.

All the videotapes were created according to a set pattern which I stipulated. A routine for processing and instructing subjects was established as follows: 1) Introducing of the subject to video as a visual medium, 2) Planning the videotape, 3) The shooting of the videotape, 4) Editing of the videotape and finally, 5) Voice over. Each of these elements will be discussed below.

Preliminary information was obtained concerning various aspects of the subjects' background. Of particular concern here was the individual's familiarity with visual media. It was expected that individuals would vary with respect to their experience with film, video, and still photography. This information was intended to ascertain the subject's degree of sophistication with respect to such media. All potential subjects who had prior film or video production experience were preemptorily excluded from the study. Beyond this, the subject's degree of familiarity with visual media was included as a variable. This information would be used during the analytical phase of the study as a cross-check on the kind of style which was attributed to any given videotape. For example, if I felt that a segment of the tape manifested a particularly sophisticated approach to the video process, the subject's experience with visual media could be recalled to help support or discourage such a conclusion. Other information about the subject's background was obtained in areas which it was felt might be significant in influencing the production of the videotape. For example, data were collected concerning residence patterns as it was felt that exposure to different world-views might influence the outlook of the research subject and in turn, this might be reflected in the videotape. Basically then, such information would be used to explain anomalies or idiosyncrasies which were manifested in the videotapes during the analytical phase of the study.

At the first meeting potential subjects were informed of the basic intent of the study and what would be required of them should they agree to produce a videotape. They were told that, in return for

their cooperation, a copy of the edited version of the videotape would be given to them when it was finished. The participants were then asked to sign a consent form allowing me to use the videotapes for the research project, with the understanding that my copies of the tapes would be erased upon completion of the study. Generally, this discussion was followed by a structured interview in which I administered the questionnaire orally, providing clarification of any of the questions as necessary. The questionnaire was intended to provide systematic and comparable background information to augment the data collected via the videotape.

VIDEO AS A VISUAL MEDIUM

A standardized "short course" was used to teach the subjects the rudiments of videotaping. This instruction was **very** rudimentary, involving an introduction to the different technical manipulations: turning the camera on and off, focusing, white balancing (which allows the adjustment of the colours) and maneuvering the camera with a pan, zoom, or tilt motion. The subjects or video producers were then provided with the opportunity to "play" with the camera, and to view the results on a video screen. This allowed them to familiarize themselves with the technology prior to the actual shooting of the videotape. Because the purpose of this stage was to allow the producers to be comfortable with the equipment, the amount of time spent "playing" was left up to the producers themselves. Subjects varied a good deal as to their interest in the technology. The longer the subjects "played" with the equipment, the more competent they became in terms of their ability to focus the camera. However, not all

subjects started with the same degree of sophistication, or became equally confident in camera use. When the subjects indicated that they were comfortable with their knowledge of the equipment the introduction to the medium was completed.

PLANNING THE VIDEOTAPE

The video producers were asked to plan the videotape at least to the point where they could provide me with a list of the locations which would be used. While I had originally intended to limit the time allotted to this planning phase, this proved impractical. This planning stage was included primarily for two reasons: 1) regardless of the final sequential ordering of the shots, those locations in close proximity would be shot one after the other (this also underlined the importance of the editing process for the producers). 2) It provided the opportunity (and perhaps a slight encouragement) for the producer to consciously plan the form the videotape would take, allowing him/her to make it more convincing and coherent.

SHOOTING THE VIDEOTAPE

I was present for most of the videotaping sessions. While it would have been preferable to be present at all taping sessions, this was not always possible, and on a few occasions scenes were shot without my actually being there. When this occurred the producers were asked to give me a detailed explanation of what occurred usually while we viewed the videotape together. Of course, the tape itself provided some record of these experiences. The reasons that I felt it was desirable to be on hand when shooting a scene are numerous. First, it allowed me to know from first-hand experience the degree to which any

given scene had been "manipulated". It also provided me with the opportunity to talk informally with the producer, and observe his/her lifestyle and interests firsthand. Ethnographic notes were taken systematically at this stage of the production process, which provided information that later aided my analysis of the tapes.

EDITING

Each video producer was asked to edit the videotape after an initial screening of the tape had been made. The actual editing of the videotape was done by the researcher, in accordance with the subject's editing instructions. The subjects were present during this stage to ensure the editing was done as they had instructed. The amount of editing which was done was left to the subjects themselves and thus became another variable for analysis. **If they insisted**, this stage could have been omitted altogether. In all cases, however, there were at least some shots which the producer wanted to omit if only because of poor focus.

VOICE OVER OR SOUND TRACK

Finally, the subjects were asked to "voice over" the videotapes. When I set up this research project I anticipated that this would involve narration by the video producers. It was expected that the narration would reinforce and clarify the main argument of the videotape, making it more convincing. As it turned out, however, the subjects provided little cooperation at this phase. In only one case was narration used. In all the other tapes which used any kind of non-synchronous sound, **music** provided the material for the voice over. While there are numerous possible explanations the ones the video

producers most often offered were: 1) "I can't stand the sound of my own voice" and 2) "doing narration is too much work". I am inclined to think that the recent popularity of rock videos may have had some influence in this regard.

SUBJECT SELECTION

There were eight research subjects who completed their videotapes from each of the two student groups: three Africans and five Anglo-Saxon Calgarians. None these individuals had any prior experience with either video or film. Both research groups were originally meant to be composed of students but in fact only the three Africans were actually students **at the time of the study**. Three of the Calgarians were recent university graduates, one Calgarian had withdrawn temporarily from the university, and one Calgarian had dropped out of school a few years previously. Originally, I reasoned that selecting students as participants would allow me easy access to an identifiable group; students everywhere share certain characteristics and thus comparisons between groups could be stated with more certainty. In fact, however, students proved rather difficult to get hold of for the length of time this project entailed. Accommodations had to be made and the research specifications were loosened up slightly in a few cases. The final make up of the research groups, however, was such that all participants could be said to be "students" in a broad sense. (The exception is the musician who nonetheless socializes in student circles). None of the participants was married or had children and all were between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-two.

Each subject also had to meet certain 'ethnic' criteria (I use the term 'ethnic' loosely to sum up an amalgam of racial, national, and cultural factors). The "Africans" were all born in Africa of 'native' parents and were at least two generations African. At least one parent had to be residing in Africa, and the videotape was to be addressed to this parent.

The "Calgarian" group was composed of individuals whose parents live in Calgary, who have lived in Calgary for at least five years and who were at least two generations North American. These individuals were 'Anglo-Saxon' in that they were part of Canadian Anglo-Saxon culture (broadly defined) and were of northern European ancestry.

THE ANALYSIS

Each videotape was subjected to a number of different types of analysis at various stages in its production. While attention was paid to changes made to the master copy, it was the **edited version** which provided the main focus for the content analysis. This involved the labelling of each shot for future identification, measurement of its length in seconds or minutes, noting both the technical manipulations used and the focus of the shot. The content of the shot was categorized further as being either indoor or outdoor and being of either people or things. These categories were in turn subdivided as follows: 'people' were portrayed as either individuals or as abstractions (in the sense that it was their role rather than the individual *per se* that seemed to be of importance), and 'things' were categorized as either objects or environmental assemblages. The focusing of each shot was also rated on a three point scale; one being fair focus or

better, two being slightly out of focus, and three being quite badly out of focus.

After this initial rough content inventory was completed, a number of gross statistical measures were taken. The average length of shot was determined for each videotape (the ratio of time in seconds over the number of shots). A count of the number of shots and the length of time spent focusing on each of the content categories was then ascertained. The amount of editing done by the producers was gauged via two measures: the "shooting ratio" and the "intercutting measure". An assessment of the "styles" of these sequences were also ascertained in accordance with the principles outlined in the previous chapter. Attention was focused on the message the subject was trying to convey and the assumptions which the audience must share to fully grasp the meaning of each segment of the tape. This was followed by an analysis of the sound focusing on how it influenced the message manifested in the videotape.

The individual analyses then provided the basis for comparisons. It was this stage which was particularly important as it was only through the emergence of common patterns that a shared world-view could be detected. All the remaining tapes were compared for similarities and differences as noted above. Data such as the average length of shot and the amount of editing were compared across the ethnic categories.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANALYSIS

The stipulation of an audience to whom the videotapes were to be addressed (which was built into the research design) provided the conceptual basis for the following analysis. Since we have at least some idea of the target audience, we can look at the videotapes as types of **texts**; specifically as arguments. To interpret any ambiguous messages conveyed in the videotapes the audience may be expected to draw upon shared bodies of knowledge. Moreover, as I have argued earlier, the producer may use this shared knowledge to structure meanings in the videotape. One major focus of the analysis, then, will involve my spelling out the assumptions which underlie sequences in the videotapes. In other words, I will attempt to detect what the audience must know if it is to correctly interpret latent meanings contained in the tapes.

The reader may rightly wonder about my own access to such hidden meanings. It should be recalled that these videotapes were not created in a vacuum. My ethnographic notes contain background knowledge of how the tapes were made, what the subjects said both during and upon completion of the videotapes. All of this provides me with a contextual framework with which to interpret the videotapes.

Since I cannot show the videotapes to the reader, in the following pages I will provide a description of each videotape. I will literally bracket [using square brackets] the information which I feel could (and should) be used to interpret the videotapes. (The reader may choose to

read the descriptions skipping over the interpretive segments to obtain a reading unaffected by my analysis). I have tried to provide a description of the tapes as if they were being described by a person with no knowledge of their origins but with some knowledge of the city of Calgary. This is because it is easier to name a landmark, for example, than to try to describe it as if seeing it for the first time. This latter course would be tedious, time consuming and largely irrelevant to the analysis. Any explanatory information regarding locations will also be bracketed.

Although I provide situationally relevant information within this section the actual analysis of the videotapes as text follows the descriptions. Each of the videotapes was divided into analytical categories. These categories were based primarily on the locale of any given sequence. In some cases, it was the people in the sequence which seemed to be of primary importance and so the categories used reflected this. The subject matter of the videotapes (that is, life in Calgary) lent itself quite readily to the subject's focusing on various locations throughout the city of Calgary. My categories reflect this but at the same time note that exceptions to this regularity did occur.

The ostensible subject of the shot was indicated by the camera framing the object or person in a relatively static manner. Panning, generally, indicated that the cameraman was trying to show the environment. For example, if the camera panned around the room, then settled on a person seated there, then showed other people and rooms of a house, (as in Harry's videotape), I would categorize the sequence via its location, ('my house'). Alternatively, if the camera tended to

focus on people while showing us something of the environment, (as was the case in Carol's portrayal of different occupations), then it was people and their relationship to the cameraman which was used as the unit of categorization. However, if there was no apparent relationship (for example, focusing on strangers), then it would be the activity which would provide the category, (this occurred in both Albert and Harry's portrayal of shopping in Calgary). Categories were chosen, then, by the locale primarily as most of the shots were about environments. When the focus was on people, the categorization was made as noted above, based on relationships and activities. One other method of categorization was used. Wherever possible I would use the themes suggested by the video producer as analytical units. Unfortunately video producers rarely told me of their thematic intentions and so this method of categorization was used infrequently.

Subsequent analysis involved comparisons of the tapes to discern any similarities or differences. Analysis focused specifically on the examination of the stylistic and structural elements of the videotapes.

ALBERT'S VIDEOTAPE

[Albert's videotape is the only one which includes narration. All the other videotapes used either wild sound exclusively or music. It became apparent at later stages in the production process that Albert thought he would be able to show the videotape to his parents at home.

Prior to the shooting of the videotape Albert explained to me that he did not know Calgary very well. Accordingly, he needed me to help him show the diversity of life in Calgary. After a difficult

exchange in which I tried to find out which aspects of life in Calgary he intended to show, he communicated his desire to shoot various neighbourhoods in which people from different socio-economic classes resided. The locations for the first few sequences, then, were selected by me in accordance with his expressed wishes. The narration for each segment is single spaced and follows the corresponding visuals].

The videotape begins with a shot of Mount Royal [a wealthy residential area] in the dead of winter. It is an extremely cold January day and there is no one in sight. In the next few shots the camera pans around the neighbourhood. There are no cars or people walking down the streets. The neighbourhood is extremely quiet except for the sounds of birds chirping in the background. The houses are large, well-built edifices made primarily of brick and stone. The camera pans to show the close proximity of these houses, each to the other. The numbers on each of the buildings are shown. Then we see the downtown core as seen from a nearby hill. It becomes clear that this neighbourhood is not that far from the city's center. Then we see again a brick house with its surroundings.

And this is the impression I got about how people live in Calgary. It was winter time. Out there it looked like all human activities were checked down and everybody was confined into their own houses. Here you can see a house and its as if there is no sign of any movements and yet, there could be people in, doing nothing other than sitting round a table possibly conversing or something like that. Cars are kept out there for only occasions when people want to go out. This neighbourhood is one of the places where the elite of the city live and it looks like there are various types of houses, that's one, that's another type of house... Built in various designs. And you can see very few cars move around this place and hardly not human being walking along. The fact that there are no human activities at this place does

not mean that it's very far from the city as you can see the place is about half a kilometer from the city center. And that is the Calgary city center which, as far as I'm concerned, is a small city. And yet people cannot go out there to do any activities because of the weather conditions and I find it quite fascinating to find that nobody is very interested to go out there with the weather. That's a very nice house as you can see. And the owners might be inside but you can hardly know. The neighbourhood from house to house is not quite a big distance. Actually, they are very close together. And but hardly can you find people moving from one house to the next one. I went out there looking for a house and one thing, one impression I got is the numbering of the houses is so systematic that you, you can hardly miss a place of interest where you want to go.

The next sequence takes place in Victoria Park [another residential area] behind the Saddledome [the local hockey arena]. The camera focuses on a boy carrying a heavy box across the street then pans to include a closer inspection of the area in which we find ourselves. The houses are different from those seen above. They are made of wood and are generally older and shabbier. We see a store sporting a sign that reads "Portuguese Food Store". The camera explores the houses yet again and some indication of the neighbourhood is provided. We hear the sounds of traffic in the background, though again there are few people on the streets. Then the scene shifts to the Saddledome. The camera zooms in on this concrete building. The narration explains the scene.

This place is another residence and that child lives there. It is a place where the lowest class of people stay in Calgary and here the kind of houses are a little bit different, a little bit more congested and here you can hear there are quite a lot of activities from the sound of the vehicles around but still not so much because the winter is cannot allow people to be out there. Their shopping places are very close as you can see here there is an open shopping grocery place and this gave me an impression that in Canada still people honour their foods and they need to be, to tell you them and you can see from the congestion... buildings are made of various materials concrete, wood, and they all

withstand the winter conditions. That is the Sss- SHADDLE-DOME, dome The Shaddledome where most of the winter activities take place. Because out in the fields it is not possible to have any peaceful activities so this particular place is mainly for indoor activities including hockey - ice hockey. But the impression I got here is that people are more active also in the winter time a little bit because many of them cannot afford to have cars and therefore they have to keep moving up and down to meet their daily needs.

We again see the houses in Victoria Park then we move down Ninth Ave. S.E. We stop at Fort MacLeod to shoot the park then its back to Ninth Ave. [Albert again asks to stop the car because the shops which line the street, particularly the Coca Cola sign, remind him of Kenya]. He pans around the business area to provide some indication of the environment.

Next we arrive at a middle class neighbourhood in Northeast Calgary. The camera explores differences in the construction and the general locale of the buildings in both Marborough and Whitehorn. First we see some townhouses with cedar faces, quite well-built and made of concrete. We can hear street sounds in the background but again there are few people around. Then we move on to Whitehorn to see fairly new houses, one or two with FOR SALE signs on the lawn. Implicitly there is a comparison with the neighbourhoods shown previously.

Here as you can see is another residential area of people in Calgary and this is where the middle class people stay. And their houses are a little bit different from the lower class peoples'. Many of them are made of concrete as you can see. And I found also here that hardly can you see any human activities out there during winter time. And the impression I started getting was that winter seems to be one of the seasons that human activities are very played down and within the city and people would tend to stay in their own houses and do indoor activities mainly and to me it looked like for sure life is really boring, I mean if people have to be confined in their own houses and not to be out there to meet

others. But the impression I am getting is that the social life around is, is very minimized to a very good extent especially it looks like people stay in one of these houses and yet the neighbour next door does not necessarily know you or your roommates. This one shows one the impressions I got about the housing sale, for sale and I was wondering why for sale and the impression I got is that people tend to move from city to city depending on where they can get a job and whether they can meet their mortgage payments so if they can't meet the two activities they have to move to some other place.

The following sequence involves a close look at the University of Calgary's library. It begins with a shot of the second floor where we see students studying in an open area. We then see people using computers to help them in their search for books. The camera zooms in on a woman in her mid-fifties who seems to be searching for a book and then it pans around the room to show us the layout of the library. Albert takes the camera to the science library and provides a good view of both the students and books located there. Attention is then focused on the book check out system. The camera zooms in on the librarian as she uses the computerized library system to check out a book. Next we see people as they leave the building.

What you are going to see is the University of Calgary and in January 1985 I was... the university opened, I was in class and I started getting the impression of what the university here looks like. And my impression is that everybody works hard because the jobs out there are very minimal and you have to really work hard to get a job. And everybody is very busy trying to make his work or her work better for a better job and this came as a sort of like and as you can see there is an old lady there she could be still in school. And I got the impression that virtually everybody is capable of going to school and challenge his or her capability of the academic work. And the facilities are available, computers to get books and catalogues and everybody seems to respect the system and get what you want from any place that it is indicated to be found.

Then he sets up the camera in the foyer of the Social Science building to catch the noon hour rush. People can be seen moving purposefully about, dodging and changing tactics to get through the massing crowds. He shows the crowds as they move through the hallway into Science A. One can see people packed in like sardines, trying to maneuver their way through the throng. Next we see birds in a display case, then we see people lining up for lunch at Rick's [a cafeteria].

Among the things of the university is the lunch hour rush. As you can see here everybody is rushing for lunch or going to their next class and during that time movements are really very very slow because of the size of the university and I was surprised that actually the university accommodates up to about twenty thousand students in this place. It looks like at such a time you have to be very careful with your movements or else you can easily collide with other people. Students who have some time to have a break, like these ones are relaxing, have some small sunshine, not so much because it is still winter time. But everybody is in a rush - for lunch, for class, or for whatever, and it looked like there was no time to waste. You have to be at that place at that particular time for a particular activity or else you are LATE.

[The following segment reflects Albert's keen interest in chemistry. We see a fellow African student's laboratory]. The camera dwells on the chemical preparations and the technical equipment which form the basis of any laboratory. This sequence comprises approximately four minutes of the videotape. In a related segment we see Albert focusing on a friend, Harry, at his lab class. [He was interested in focusing in on one individual and got permission to shoot Harry and the rest of the class at their lab. He likes lab work and admitted to me that if he had his own choice he would do a degree in chemistry. However, the Kenyan government wants him to be a teacher and so he's taking an education degree concentrating on science]. The sequence is over eight

minutes long and tries to provide a very good indication of what is involved in doing lab work. All the equipment and instruments are highlighted.

Because I was more involved in chemistry some of the work was to be in the lab and as you can see here is a lab with chemicals, apparatus of all sorts and ... various experiments are going on here like say some of the apparatus used in previous experiments, ... chemicals, ...and here are some of the experiments that are going on and to be such a one you are always at work. I hardly had time to think about anything else rather than working.

The next sequence shows students at play. It begins with a shot of the video arcade. The camera pans across the scene which is extremely dark; showing us people using the machines. Then attention is shifted to the cafeteria in MacEwan Hall [the student's union building. Upon questioning, Albert told me that in Kenya, while they do have eating establishments on campus, they are in one central location with less variety in the kinds of foods available. "Everybody eats together"]. The camera then moves outside the building to show people moving off to their classes.

The few times students have for themselves, they go to places of amusement like this place. This is a video machine area and they can have plenty of time to amuse themselves with the machines but there is not so much time for quiz.

The segment which follows involves a closer look at the Stephens Ave. Mall [a downtown street which has been closed off to traffic and subsequently converted into a mall]. Attention is focused on the people walking around the mall. The relative activity of this street is in stark contrast to the quiet ones seen earlier in the tape. This idea is reinforced by the narration which he provides.

Here we are now at the city center and these are some of the activities that I could find in the city. Though this was

taken during winter time, this looks like the only street that you can meet as many people walking as that and otherwise not very many places would have people walking as many as this particular place.

Next we see the activity which occurs in other parts of the downtown. A row of taxis wait patiently for patrons. Then we see downtown traffic seemingly coming straight for the camera. As the cars rush past the camera tilts up, way up, to show how tall the buildings here actually are. [In Kenya, I was told, they don't have buildings as tall]. The enclosed catwalks also captured Albert's attention as Kenya has none. The camera dwells on one, watching people cross over the street inside the building. Next we see some girls ice skating on the rink just in front of Esso Plaza [a building complex downtown]. The camera pans to show the environment in which such activity takes place. It moves on to show us a bunch of children waiting for the light to change so they can cross the street. He then shows us once again the catwalk to ensure that we see people crossing the street in this way. Next we see a typically Calgarian mode of transportation in the C-train [a modern trolley car].

In the following sequence we are provided with an in depth look at The Bay [a department store] downtown. The camera focuses on both the people and the merchandise found in such a place. He begins with a shot of the shoe department where we see a family shopping, then its on to handbags and the people who are milling about. Next we see people coming down the escalator. [Apparently escalators are very rare in Kenya]. We see the men's wear department and then the fake Christmas tree department. We see furniture, frames, vases and carpets in series of shots. Albert focuses on the Refund Centre sign and the line

up to return Christmas merchandise. [He told me that in Kenya there was no such thing as a "refund" or "exchange", "even if its broken. If you bought it, its yours." As a result he thought the folks at home would be interested in a place with a refund center]. He shows us a little bit of the Toronto Dominion Square mall and then we see the C-train again from the elevated vantage of a catwalk.

The final sequence consists of the view from atop the Bay Parkade. We see the running track located on the top of the building across the street, a building crane in the distance, the surrounding buildings and the street far below. With that the videotape ends.

Though this film was taken during winter time from all the activities that I have shown the general impression I got is that either you have some job to do or if you have no job you ought to be in school and if you can't be in school then you better find a job elsewhere. And this was as far as my interpretation was concerned through the number of students that are involved at the university, which means there are very few jobs out there so everybody has to be at school for a change and from the number of sales that I saw of the houses it showed clearly that if you don't have a job, if you're not going to school then look for a job elsewhere. And it is somewhat unfortunate that I had no opportunity to take some of the activities that goes on during the summer time. Slightly different but all in all is "Have a job, if you don't have one, get to school, if you are not going to school then look for a job elsewhere". And to me it looked like everybody is busy looking for a way of a living. Thanks.

Albert's videotape may be divided for the purpose of analysis into four major analytical categories as follows: neighbourhoods, the university, the downtown and shopping in Calgary. Each of these will be discussed in turn below.

1) When Albert focuses on neighbourhoods he does so as an African resident in Canada. In this segment he was, as he told me, trying to

provide the people at home of his impressions of Calgary when he first arrived. He shows us life here as cold, isolated and lonely. There is no one on the streets and little social interaction. Neighbours may not even know each other! The narration nicely supports the visual images and directs our viewing of them by articulating some of the many aspects of Calgary which differ from home. This segment may be characterized as having an objective African style. It is objective because the camera is used primarily as a recording tool and African as knowledge of Africa is necessary to help to distinguish all the inherent meanings. It encompasses almost twenty-two percent of the videotape (21.6).

2) The next content area is about university life. Schooling is the reason that Albert is in Canada and the importance of it to his life here is reflected in the amount of time allotted to this category. Forty-four percent (twenty-three minutes) of the videotape deals with the university. He is concerned to show us that students here work very hard, and he reiterates this by stating it in the narration. By implication he is saying that he is working hard. In a sense, then, he is justifying both his position as a student overseas and the expense he has cost his government by showing us how hard science students must work. He is also making implicit comparisons with Kenyan universities. For example, he focuses on a woman in her fifties who is likely attending university here and in the narration he states that anyone can go to university here. His basic goal in this segment is, however, to convey to people who have not been there what it is like to attend university in Calgary. He assumes both some knowledge of Kenya

(indicated by his implicit comparisons of universities here and at home) and of himself (that is, his position as a foreign student). Accordingly, it is personalistic and African in style.

3) In his depiction of the downtown he is constantly making comparisons with cities at home. He tries to show the height of the buildings by tilting the camera slowly upwards and told me that Nairobi does not have such tall buildings. He focused on the taxis, the transit system and the catwalks because they were also quite different from those at home. In the narration he pointed out that this was the busiest part of town in terms of pedestrian traffic. Again, this seems to indicate that people don't walk in the streets here like they do in Nairobi. Knowledge of Kenya is assumed in his portrayal of the downtown. This might be best described as an objective African style and encompasses eighteen percent of the tape.

4) Finally, Albert shows us shopping in a Canadian department store in 16.4% of the videotape. The differences between shops here and at home is the essential point of this segment. As Albert told me, there are few department stores, escalators are very rare, and refund centers are non-existent in Kenya. Again implicit comparisons are made with shopping at home. This segment might be best described as being of an objective African style.

THE NARRATION

The narration in Albert's videotape serves primarily to support the ideas which he attempts to convey in the visual images. He has something to say and the narration helps him to express it. Ambiguous meanings or 'mistakes' are typical of the novice video producer and the

narration helps to alleviate these difficulties by making the meaning clear. While I have discussed aspects of this phenomena above, I would like to choose one passage and analyze its relationship to the visual image. In this way I hope to illustrate in a more specific and detailed manner how the narration influences the message being conveyed. I have chosen the Mount Royal sequence that begins the tape for this analysis.

As you recall the camera shows us a wealthy residential area on a cold day. The narration helps to focus our attention on various points which the video producer/narrator finds interesting. There are a number of ideas expressed which help to shape the audience's opinion of what Calgary must be like. While he might well have dwelled on the magnificence of the houses in this area, he does not. His selection is guided by his knowledge of the audience and what they would find fascinating. Again, we must keep the target audience, Albert's parents residing in Kenya, in mind.

First, he draws our attention to the lack of people and cars on Calgary's streets by stating: "It was winter time. Out there it looked like all human activities were checked down and everybody was confined into their own houses" and "Cars are kept out there for only occasions when people want to go out". By noting the weather conditions just before he implies that the notion of 'winter', foreign to most Africans, may have some effect on people's activities. Indeed this point is reiterated quite often in the narration of the videotape and again in this first segment: "And yet people cannot go out there to do any activities because of the weather conditions and I find it quite

fascinating to find that nobody is very interested to go out there with the weather". Clearly, Albert is trying to convey how life is different here than at home. He uses the narration to focus in more closely on those elements which may not be apparent to the viewer as the important differences between Calgary and Kenyan cities like Mombassa or Nairobi.

Albert mentions that this neighbourhood is "where the elite of the city live". Then he notes that the buildings are made of "various designs". Perhaps by indication the socio-economic status of residents was to convey the message that this is not how the bulk of Calgarians live. Later in this sequence he makes two interrelated points about the area which he reiterates throughout the videotape.

"The neighbourhood from house to house is not quite a big distance. Actually, they are very close together. And but hardly can you find people moving from one house to the next one. I went out there looking for a house and one thing, one impression I got is the numbering of the houses is so systematic that you, you can hardly miss a place of interest where you want to go".

In this segment he is pointing out that despite their close proximity neighbours don't necessarily associate. This is an idea which he developed later on in the videotape when he pointed out that the people here may not even know their neighbours. This is a major and important difference from back home. The second point seems relatively minor (at least to us) as he notes that the numbering of houses is systematic. This contrasts with Kenya where one must have a much greater knowledge of an area if one is to successfully navigate around it. While this whole sequence tends to indicate the cold and unfriendly nature of Calgary life, it is tempered with an understanding

of this culture (indicated by his acknowledgement that neighbours don't associate with one another and his explanation of the lack of activity on the streets) and an appreciation of the systematic street numbering system which lets one get around in a foreign environment. In his narration Albert is sincerely trying to point out those areas which might prove to be 'pitfalls' for visitors from home. As such he provides us with much insight into the world-view of Africans.

CARL'S VIDEOTAPE

At the beginning of Carl's videotape we see the lens cap slowly being removed to reveal the downtown as viewed from Paskapoo, located at the city limits. Next, the camera zooms in to capture its majesty from closer range. Then we see the downtown from across the river at the Alberta College of Art [which is, incidentally, Carl's **alma mater**]. The camera pans left and right to give us a good look at the downtown. Next we go even closer and are treated to a view of the downtown from the hill overlooking the river. The camera slowly pans across the scene. We are provided with a birdseye view of Memorial Dr. [a road which follows the course of the river] from above, followed by yet another view of the buildings downtown.

In this next sequence the mirrored faces of modern buildings is used as a vehicle to show us life downtown. [Parenthetically, Carl pointed out that he has lots of still photographs which also examine the world from this vantage]. He begins with two shots in which the camera tilts slowly up to reveal the mirrored reflection of the Calgary Tower [a characteristic Calgary landmark]. Then we see an old building in a new one, followed by a shot of a building whose face is black and

white (an effect caused by capturing the reflection of a reflection). The downtown crowds are observed bustling around and suddenly, a parking lot and cars garner his attention. The three shots which follow show us buildings being reflected in other buildings, which leads to a shift of our attention to both the traffic and the people as seen in this way. We see cars stopping at lights. Their shape is distorted in the mirrored panes as they move across the road. Then, its another building in a building which is the focus of attention. Finally, this sequence ends with a reflected shot of the C-train [the city's rapid transit system which is basically a modern street car system] as it passes by.

This is followed by a number of shots of people and locations downtown. It begins with two shots of people walking on the Stephens' Ave. Mall [a downtown shopping area] as viewed from a catwalk which crosses it. We are then treated to the full circuit of a pedestrian traffic light. Again, we see people walking on the mall from the catwalk in two related shots. A glimpse of the seedier side of the downtown is provided by a close look at a downtown hotel -- The Empress. This is followed by a segment that I have called "The Mall at Arms Length". [It was originally one continuous shot of people in the downtown as viewed through a camera held by the cameraman's side at arm's length. The shot was subsequently divided into a number of shots in the editing process]. The camera angle provides, in this first segment, a slightly eerie feeling as the camera rounds the corner and a leather clad man smoking a cigarette comes into view. Then there is another shot of the Empress hotel but this time its the alley and fire

escape which are of interest. Then we see the "Mall at Arm's Length" once again. This is a particularly interesting segment as the cameraman follows a number of pedestrians walking on the Mall and is met by a dog who is somewhat curious of the camera.

The shots which follow depict buildings of which the cameraman was fond. It begins with a shot of a billboard which read "Operation Lifesaver". [In fact he was looking for a building which he failed to locate and instead shot this sign]. Next we see yet another shot of a crowd of people crossing a downtown street, which is again viewed from a higher vantage point. The four shots which follow are of a favourite old building on 14th St. It is boarded up and bears a sign which reads "Commercial Space for Rent". The building is seen from the left, then its rear entrance is examined. The stairs are given a detailed look and the balcony is viewed from underneath (another shot from an interesting angle).

Shots of people walking downtown are interspersed between sequences. At this point we are again provided with a view at arm's length. This is in stark contrast to the quiet **cul-de-sac** which follows. Then we are back to crowds as viewed from the catwalk.

The succeeding sequence shows a number of shots of a burned out old building. [Carl had no idea the building had burned down and had expected to shoot one of his favourite old buildings in Calgary]. For about a minute the camera dwells on the charred remains of a brown stone building.

Next we see another shot of people walking on the Mall-- this time from street level. This is followed by a view of the Elbow River from

a suspension bridge and an examination of the bridge itself. The camera focuses on the river banks, bridge the planks as well as the bridge's structure.

Again we see people downtown as viewed from a stairway which allowed the camera to overlook the road. Then we see a "Mansion", [which, incidently, took three quarters of an hour to locate. Most houses which would have qualified had high fences or hedges, and thus did not afford a very good view from the street]. It is a large, older, brick building set atop a hill and surrounded by a garden. The final shot in this sequence shows the leaves swirling on the road in front of the building.

Then we see a main artery running north/south in Calgary, MacLeod Trail. It begins with a shot of the road from above on the crosswalk. The camera pans to show a number of car dealerships, then focuses attention on the Chinook Shopping Centre parking lot. Next we see another view of traffic from the crosswalk with the camera zooming in to provide a closer look at some cracks in the street. Then we see the Chinook Centre sign and the camera pans to provide some indication of the size of the shopping centre [which is Calgary's largest].

Next we see the mall at arm's length. Then attention is focused on a railway bridge in Fish Creek Park [a provincial park in south Calgary]. First the bridge is seen from underneath, then the girders of the bridge and the railway ties are shown. This sequence ends with a shot which shows the girders then the bridge itself, the railway ties and the bridge's general location.

In the final sequence Carl takes us home. We see his house from the street. Next we see the swimming pool which has been shut down for the season and is full of leaves. The camera focuses on a solitary beer can floating peacefully in the corner of the pool. Then we see a flutterboard abandoned in its midst. The videotape ends with a panoramic view of the golf course adjacent to the house.

Carl's videotape may be generally characterized as interpretive in approach with personalistic overtones. He constantly chose odd camera angles and I must assume that this reflects his artistic background. His tape is extremely sophisticated and the bizarre soundtrack, which involves percussion and distorted vocals (sounds which he and a friend created), adds to the mood which the videotape evokes. The Downtown at Arm's Length sequence (8%) is just one example of his use of 'strange' camera angles. One sequence shows the Calgary tower as reflected in the mirrored surfaces of buildings. The tower may be seen as an 'objective' symbol of Calgary but it is viewed in a new way. The Mirrored sequence takes up twenty-one percent of the videotape and his Favourite Places, twenty-five percent. The remaining sequences (The Downtown From Afar (9%), The Downtown (14%), The River and Bridge (3%), The Mansion (2%), MacLeod Trail (10%), The House (5%), and The Crowds (5%)), may be seen as being basically interpretive in style.

Looking at the sequences in the videotapes we find the following main content areas:

1) This first category may be characterized as 'Calgary is its downtown' and encompasses fifty-four percent of the tape. He begins by focusing on it from afar then slowly moving in to obtain a closer view. When we view the downtown from close-up, however, it is from the peculiar vantage of the mirrored surfaces of its buildings. This is quite certainly not objective in style, although in terms of content he seems to cover all the elements of the downtown-- its building, transit system, traffic, and people. When he shows us people walking on the mall it is from above (the catwalk), below (at arm's length), and from street level. Clearly he is not trying to depict this view of the city as the only view. He is not trying to be objective. Rather he was constantly aware of alternative ways of proceeding and provides the viewer with a visually stimulating perspective of Calgary.

2) The second major content area is Calgary as Carl's favourite places and is involved in twenty-eight percent of the videotape. This content area is approached in a personalistic style as knowledge of Carl is required to grasp the full meaning behind these segments. What connects these places is Carl's fondness for each of them. Some knowledge of the city is also required otherwise the viewer might be led to believe that Calgary is full of such places.

3) The inclusion of the 'Mansion' seems to suggest the idea of Calgary as a place with old money. When shooting the videotape Carl showed he really knew the city and the sites he selected very well. However, as I pointed out above, it took forty-five minutes to find an appropriate building. Carl told me that he wanted 'a big old house'. He shot this segment in a more or less straight forward or objective

style, although the house sits atop a hill with the camera shooting from below. This segment assumes that rich people live in big houses and the camera angle increases the grandeur of the building. While knowledge of Calgary culture might help, it is not essential. This sequence takes up slightly less than three percent of the videotape.

4) The next content area shows Calgary as a place with shopping centres and traffic. Knowledge of Canadian or Western cities would help to identify this segment as depicting Calgary as an urban centre. This assumes that cities are characterized by heavy traffic, paved roads, car dealerships and shopping centres. One could see this as objective in style but, at the same time, including hidden meanings. Carl travelled this road each day as he drove to school and so it is of some personal significance. This content category is manifested in ten percent of the videotape.

5) The final analytical category, encompassing five percent of his tape, may be seen as 'this is my house'. One could not discern the significance of this sequence unless one knew that he lived there. He does not focus on any people, although his brother was there, and does not indicate in any way that this is his house. He assumes his audience is aware of this.

SOUND

As I noted briefly, Carl's soundtrack is a mixture of percussion and distorted vocals which is similar to minimalist or ambient music. It changes the mood of the visual images as its monotonous tones begin to irritate producing a kind of angst in the viewer. In conjunction with the recurring crowd scenes, this seems to give the impression of

Calgary as an 'ordinary' urban centre. It produces an alienation in the population and has little to distinguish it from any city.

CANDY'S VIDEOTAPE

[Candy's approach to the video process was somewhat different from the others, in that she focused almost exclusively on people. She said she wanted to show the diversity of Calgary life as reflected in the different occupations that people had, while at the same time showing how people from such different backgrounds would come together at social gatherings. Her videotape intersperses shots of various occupations between shots of family and friends at social gatherings].

The video opens with a shot of her family at mealtime. The camera pans round the room to show everyone at the table eating dinner. Next there is a close-up of a friend [Mary, who is from New Zealand], playing cards. The scene then shifts to a dark haired woman who is spotting or watching a child jumping on the trampoline. The camera follows the movement of the child on the trampoline and then pans around the gym showing children involved in various activities (e.g. doing flips off spring boards and climbing ladders and ropes). Then we see the gym teacher as she shouts encouragement to one of her students. The scene shifts to the kitchen again and the New Zealand girl playing cards.

As the camera moves round the table attention is shifted to Jeff, [Candy's boyfriend], who is also playing cards. Next we see him at work busily writing memos and answering the telephone. Then he meets his friend and we see them leave together. [Both these shots were acted out under the direction of the cameraman. She even got

Jeff's boss to telephone him.] The scene switches again and we are back in the kitchen watching Jeff play cards. The camera pans around the room and focuses on Bob having a drink. He raises his glass in salute to the camera, then a new scene slowly fades into view. The camera is focused on a sign which commands "NO SMOKING, DRINKING, OR EATING". As the camera tilts down we see a man sitting at a computer terminal, typing. After some scrutiny of the data entry process, its back to the kitchen where the camera leaves Bob and focuses on Candy's sister, Joan.

The camera catches her yawning, much to Joan's dismay. The scene moves to a beauty salon, here it focuses on a huge photograph (about four foot square) of a model's head and hair. The camera pans to show [Candy's friend Laura] the hairdresser, at work cutting a young man's hair. Next we see a little girl about five years old who is having her hair braided, then a woman sweeping hair off the floor. In the shot which follows Laura is shampooing a woman's hair. We look at the price list, then its back to the kitchen again.

The camera focuses first on her mother, and then moves round the room to show a close-up of her father playing cards. The scene changes at this point and we see a heavy equipment operator at work in his machine. A city crew is paving the road and the camera shows us the asphalt dropping to the ground, some of the raking process and the roller. The scene ends with another shot of the equipment operator.

Back to the kitchen the camera focuses on Candy's father playing cards and then shifts to focus on Hilary [who is also visiting from New Zealand]. Next we see an aerobics class being led by a blonde.

The camera pans around the room and we are treated to a room full of women jumping in unison to the beat of the music. The camera shows us the instructor, who seems to be enjoying her moment in the limelight, as well as the class members who are struggling to keep up. At one point the camera closes in on one woman's rear. The camera is reflected in the mirrored wall and so we see the cameraman quite clearly. Next we see the Spa Lady sign which promises a lifetime membership to anyone who can successfully convince two other women to join the health club.

Once again it is back to the kitchen and there is a fleeting glimpse of Hilary. The shot of Candy's mother is repeated, followed closely by a shot of a laboratory [at the University]. This scene begins with the camera panning around the room to show the lab and its equipment. It then zooms in on another of Candy's friends who is a lab technician [incidentally, she is wearing a borrowed lab coat in order to "look" the part; art aids reality once again]. The camera pans around the room to show the laboratory's environment, and zooms in on the lab technician labelling test tubes. It pans the room once more before this sequence ends.

The next sequence is shot at Marty's, [a local club]. The lighting is low, and so the picture is slightly grainy. The low light conditions make it particularly difficult to focus and this also affects the picture quality. The camera shows us beer bottles sitting on the table, tilts up to reveal people drinking beer, seated round a row of tables, then tilts down to show a pair of glasses also laying on the table. The scene opens again but this time the camera focuses

on the people at the tables. The camera dollies down the line of tables, showing us people chatting and having an enjoyable drink. Candy pauses momentarily when she reaches her sister and once again when she reaches Jeff. She zooms in at this point and Jeff, suddenly aware of the attention, sticks out his tongue at the camera. She continues her journey down the table and focuses in on a woman seated at the end of the table.

The scene shifts once more to that of a printmaker's studio and we see a woman working. The camera zooms in on the plate on which she has just been working and then our attention shifts to a pile of rags and gloves which the artist has recently used. The camera pans around the room to show us the studio surroundings and then fades out. In the next shot we see the artist at work again. We see the tools she uses; the metal engraving plate, the roller, the ink and the ink spreader. With this the scene fades out and suddenly we are transported back to Marty's with a close up of the woman shown earlier. With a final parting shot of people at the table the videotape ends.

There were two main content categories which were manifested in her videotape. 1) The first shows Calgary as a place where friends and family live. The primacy of such relationships was shown in the portrayal of three social occasions: at dinner, playing cards and at a nightclub. This idea underlies thirty-nine percent of the videotape. One noticeable difference between the night club and home may be seen in the relationships she has with these people. At home she is with close friends and family whereas at the night club she is accompanied

by friends and acquaintances. This may reflect something of Calgarian culture. It seems to indicate that home life is shared with people who are close but that a 'night out' is shared primarily with people who are of an age and that an intimate relationship is unnecessary.

Knowing the audience to which the tape is addressed allowed Candy to assume that they share her sociability and the importance she places on relationships. The view advanced in this segment is an interpretation of what life in Calgary is like, one which may be shared by other people from the same cultural background. Accordingly, it is stylistically both interpretive and Calgarian in approach.

2) The second analytical category may be seen as the portrayal of Calgary as a place where people work. We are shown an office worker, a hairdresser, a gym teacher, a construction crew, a computer operator, an artist, a lab technician and an aerobics instructor. This depiction of individuals working at various occupations accounts for sixty-one percent of the videotape. This involves an assumption that people must work to live and that the nature of such work varies enormously. It assumes a work ethic and again reflects something of Calgarian culture. Stylistically the content was also presented in a interpretive manner as Candy is presenting a shared, though not 'objective' view of reality.

This was quite a short tape being only fourteen minutes and forty seconds long with the average shot being twenty-seven seconds in length. The videotape may be characterized as interpretive in style. We are given a rather personal view of what is involved in life in Calgary but one which reflects some of the priorities of Calgarian

culture. Candy lives on a farm just outside of town. Traditionally, farmers in Alberta (and perhaps farmers everywhere) have needed to cooperate with friends and family to survive. The importance she places on such relationships reflects this rural upbringing. Not surprisingly, the questionnaire reveals that Candy has many friends and that her social life is of considerable importance to her.

The focus on work also reflects her socialization and the reality of her life in Calgary. The work ethic may be said to be characteristic of Anglo-Saxon culture generally but also reflects the nature of present day Calgarian culture. Whether living in the city or the country, the need to work is a priority. The devastating feelings of inadequacy which many unemployed workers in Calgary have had to face is testimony to this shared work ethic.

Sound

In her videotape Candy uses popular rock music as the soundtrack to her videotape. She tried to match the music to the visuals and informed me that she chose it especially for the words. The music she selected was: This Must Be the Place by Talking Heads, While My Heart is Still Beating by Roxy Music, Cities by Talking Heads, and Let the Good Times Roll by Phoebe Snow.

DEAN'S VIDEOTAPE

[Dean's videotape consists of a series of relatively brief shots from throughout the city. The tape runs 20 minutes and 35 seconds and is comprised of 76 shots. During the shooting and planning of the videotapes Dean suggested that he was trying to portray certain themes in the videotape. This proved to be useful when I was dividing the

tape into analytical categories. Wherever possible, then, his own thematic categories were used as a means by which I could cluster shots together].

The tape begins with a time-lapse sunrise focused on the downtown core. It is night time and the downtown city lights are beaming. slowly it begins to get brighter. Many of the lights begin to be shut off. The sun begins to move above the horizon, unfortunately just slightly to the right of the camera frame. After the appropriate adjustment we see the sunrise to full glory somewhat above the horizon. Next, we see a shot of the downtown core through the morning haze. Then it is off to the airport, where an airplane taxis up to the terminal. This is followed by a shot of Calgary's main North/South highway, the Deerfoot Trail.

The next sequence consists of a series of shots of neighbourhoods beginning with a shot of the Saddledome, [Calgary's hockey arena] then panning to show the houses beside it. This is followed by two shots of a building [which is a personal favourite of his]-- the Bates Motel. Such a label derives from its superficial resemblance to the building in the film Psycho. BATES MOTEL has been spray painted on the side of the building, as well as the inscription NORMAN LIVES. [Incidentally, Dean took three shots of this building so that he could select the best for his videotape]. We are then transported to the relative wealth of Eagle Ridge. We see big houses in a suburban setting with green manicured lawns. Next we see another shot of the Deerfoot Trail and then we tour the Inglewood area. This is an apparently older lower

class area in south east Calgary. The houses are smaller and shabbier than those in the previous shot.

Next comes a "neat shot" taken because something catches the cameraman's attention and which was kept because he just couldn't leave it out. This is of a full moon shot during the day.

After this momentary lapse we return to our tour of neighbourhoods. We see a quick shot of expensive houses with their freshly mown lawns in Elbow Park and then a shot of a modest well kept house situated only a few feet from the railway tracks and an industrial complex (the camera pans to show us the proximity of the railway tracks). An industrial area is shown through a barbed wire fence with a clear view of the downtown core in the background. Again we see the modest house and the smoke left behind by a passing train. The camera frames the street signs at 9th Ave and 7th St S.E. As it pans the street we see a shabbily dressed man with a suitcase and the rather run down state of the neighbourhood. Next, we see two quick shots of renovated buildings put to new use. One is a revamped apartment building and the other serves as the clubhouse for a tennis club.

This is followed by a series of brief shots of four golf courses, four churches, and four hospitals. The next sequence is of the downtown. Dean begins by focusing on the Saddledome [Calgary's hockey arena] and then the houses behind it. Then we catch a glimpse of the rush hour traffic on 5th Ave. We see the Calgary Tower [a famous city landmark] and City Hall. This is followed by shots of the C-Train [Calgary's transit system] and The Family of Man [a sculpture which is also a downtown landmark].

The camera focuses on the Stephens Avenue Mall [this is a downtown shopping centre where the street has been closed to traffic and converted for pedestrian use only] in the next series of shots. We see people walking about, shopping or just whiling away their lunch hour. There are two youths playing guitar for the spare change people give them. This is followed by another neat shot gone awry [- he tried to catch a balloon but it got away on him].

Dean then shows us parks and playgrounds in Calgary. First there is an extremely brief shot of a swimming pool, and then, two playgrounds in rapid succession. The pace slows somewhat when we are provided with a view of kids playing soccer. He pans left and right to show us a grey stone building (apparently used as a school) in its entirety. This is followed by shots of Central Park [a park in Calgary's downtown].

Next we see a series of shots of various tourist attractions in Calgary. We are shown tranquil shots of sailboats and fishermen at Glenmore Lake [this is the city's reservoir]. Then we see the gates of Heritage Park and follow two women as they leave it. Next we see the posters promoting the displays at the Glenmore Museum. This followed by an 'arty' shot of the Bow river. The camera zooms in to show us the swirling river close up; the water is transformed into a patterned reflection. It pans up the bank of the river to show us houses and then the downtown. Slowly but surely it pans back to the river again. Next we see an extreme closeup of a fountain at the Devonian Gardens, [an indoor garden which is situated atop a downtown

shopping centre]. The camera dwells on the various pools and plants which the garden affords.

Finally the tape ends as it began with time lapse photography. We see the sunset on the downtown core. It is daylight when the shot begins. Slowly dusk approaches; the light is fading. At the same time houses in the distance begin to turn on their lights. The camera maintains its interest until darkness has enveloped the area and the downtown core is once again lit by artificial lights.

In his videotape Dean was concerned to show an 'objective' view of Calgary. He wanted to show us what Calgary is really like but he did not seem to feel that he should withhold his own views to obtain this end. Accordingly, he covered the material which he felt had to be included in any objective portrayal of Calgary but he did so in his own idiosyncratic manner. His choice of themes reflects these contradictory aims. He shows us Entry Ways to the City (6%), Neighbourhoods (17%), City Facilities (12%), The Downtown (19%), and Tourist Areas (10%) as well as Playgrounds (5%) to which he has some attachment. Moreover, his depiction of neighbourhoods juxtaposes the rich with the poor. Clearly, then, there are some hidden meanings and personal opinions presented here which indicate a interpretive and personalistic style.

1) The videotape begins with a sunrise and ends with a sunset. This suggests that the videotape should be read as 'A Day in the Life of Calgary'. A sunrise is a conventional way of indicating a beginning and a sunset similarly indicates an ending. It is typical of the

documentary genre and would seem to indicate an attempt to manifest an objective style. Videocameras are not ideally suited to time-lapse photography and so these sequences involved a great expenditure of time and effort by Dean. He waited for hours to get the shot, turning the camera on and off once each minute. Moreover, he shot the sunset twice to 'get it right'. The amount of trouble these shots caused underlines their importance to the videotape.

2) In this segment Dean told me he was trying to show us the entrances to Calgary and then downtown from afar. Its placement next to the sunrise seem to suggest that this is what a traveller would see entering Calgary and again seems to indicate an attempt at an objective style.

3) Next we see Calgary neighbourhoods. Dean juxtaposes rich ones with poor ones, industrial with residential. His portrayal of neighbourhoods seems to suggest that is Calgary a class-based society. Moreover, its placement next to two sequences which are objective in style helps to provide this sequence with more authority than the visual images would by themselves. In one segment the expensive Saddledome is seen in its setting in a rather impoverished and neglected area. Dean uses his extensive knowledge of Calgary to show us parts of Calgary which are not readily available to the tourist. This theme provides us with his opinion of what this city is about. I must point out at this juncture that I am not questioning the veracity of Dean's visual statement by noting that some of its authority derives from its placement next to segments which are objective in style. I am simply noting that he is structuring what is arguably an opinion in such a way

as to convey a sense of its objectivity and hence its reality. Since the videotape is addressed to an audience which shares his knowledge of Calgary, neighbourhood scenes need not be lengthy or of a searching nature. Dean is calling on this shared knowledge to help to get his message across. The knowledge and recognition of areas as rich or poor means that he need not explore in a detailed manner the state of the houses as the audience is expected to recognize areas and note their socio-economic status. I would argue that this sequence is interpretive rather than objective in style. The shots of neighbourhoods are extremely brief, and do not thoroughly examine the area in question as one might expect if the camera was used as a recording tool. At the same time it calls on shared knowledge of the city to assert its claim to reality, thereby making it stylistically interpretive rather than subjective.

4) The next theme involves the depiction of Calgary as a city with amenities. Dean told me that his portrayal of golf courses, churches, and hospitals was meant to show that "Calgary is a city much like other cities". Implicit in this is the assumption that cities are characterized by having such amenities. While it may be true that most cities have churches, golf courses, and hospitals, it is quite a different matter to use these as characteristics which **define** a city. Dean expects his audience to recognize this. The ease of access to and recognition of these areas likely influenced his choice of these particular characteristics. Again, we are provided with a view of what a city is, which requires the viewer to draw on their shared knowledge

of cities and interpret the message correctly. Accordingly, an interpretive style was manifested in this segment.

5) In the next sequence we are shown Calgary's downtown. Here Dean focuses on some of Calgary's downtown landmarks. He shows us houses and traffic, then moves on to show us the Calgary Tower, City Hall, The Family of Man (a statue), and The Stephens Ave. Mall which may all be characterized as 'objective' symbols of Calgary. Objective in the sense that if asked, these landmarks would be recognized as distinctive emblems of Calgary by its residents. Dean told me that he wanted to focus on what makes Calgary different from other cities. This sequence as well as the tourist sequence discussed below depicts those elements of Calgary which make it distinctive.

6) This sequence shows us playgrounds, a school and a park. All of these are amenities which characterize a city and so might be included in number four above. I discuss this separately as the school and park are of special significance to him. While he could have chosen any school, he chose his **alma mater**. He told me that he also used to play soccer, just like the children in the tape, when he attended school there. He then shows us Central Park; which is one of his favourites. As a child, his parents' had forbidden him from playing there. He told me that the fact that it was forbidden aroused his curiosity. He used to ride his bike down the park's paths and it became one of his favourite places. This segment provides us with Dean's personal symbols of Calgary. Knowledge of Dean would help to catch these hidden meanings.

7) The tourist sites might also be included in theme number five. Here Dean takes us to many of the prime tourist areas of Calgary. We are again, however, treated to a personalistic view as his favourite places are included. He told me that he enjoyed visiting Glenmore Lake and the Devonian Gardens.

8) The river sequence shows Dean's artistic nature. His science background has meant that his more artistic whims had to be curtailed. In this scene he allows the expression of self free reign and produces a highly subjective view of one of Calgary's characteristic features; the Bow River.

9) Finally, there are the two 'neat shots' as I have called them. These show the cameraman trying to capture the moment and keeping them in because he could not bear to part with them.

Sound

Dean chose to set his videotape to one of his favourite pieces of classical music, Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, the first and third movements. The first movement begins the tape and fits well with the sunrise. The third movement was selected for the next segment as it fitted most closely in terms of time. In this way neither movement had to be cut short. The music changes the images in such a way as to make it seem that we are being shown a celebration of Calgary. In choosing music as the sound portion of the videotape, Dean seemed to finally reconcile himself to a videotape which was interpretive in style. The viewer is allowed to judge the merits of his argument on their own terms. That is, as just one of any number of possible interpretations of life in Calgary.

DOUG'S VIDEOTAPE

[Doug's approach to the video process was quite different from the other video producers. He decided to take the camera out and shoot the video primarily from the vantage of a car. He also wanted to shoot lots of footage, then edit it down to about an hour. His master tape was two and a half hours long with the edited version an hour and twenty minutes. Almost half the edited tape features a jam session in which his band was involved. The jam segment had to be reshot as in the original production he had hooked up an alternate microphone (PMX) to try to improve the sound quality on the tape. Unfortunately no sound was recorded so he organized another jam session, this time with different people and a microphone which was designed specifically for videocameras].

The tape begins with a tour of an area of Calgary southeast of the downtown core. The camera seeks out anything of interest occurring on the streets. We get a good view of a recently burnt out building with workmen busying themselves at the site under the watchful eye of a security guard. Then the traffic light changes and we move on.

Next we see the sites with particular attention to the National Hotel. The camera, again, seeks out anything of interest focusing on a woman who looks tired having just got off work. Then we see the Brewery, looking more like a prison with its wrought iron fence than a place which produces alcohol for the masses.

Suddenly, we are treated to a "typical" Calgary scene. Passing by a Junior High School we see a teacher's car stuck on the ice. With the sounds of Gene Autry singing "Winter Wonderland" in the background, a

group of three youths go to help push the car free. A number of other people stand by ready to shout encouragement at the appropriate moment. With three "heave-hoes" the car is freed and the camera follows two of the youths as they join the group of bystanders. As one fellow approaches he is suddenly shoved by a girl waiting at the side. A playful fight ensues and then we move on.

The next series of shots are of the Sam Livingston Fish Hatchery in the dead of winter. [Curiosity was the reason this sequence was shot; neither Doug nor I had ever been to a fish hatchery. Its inclusion in the edited version may have been influenced by the music as a new rendition by an unknown (at least to us) artist of "Let it Be" began this sequence]. While this may be quite an interesting place in the summer, in the winter we merely see slabs of concrete blanketed in snow and surrounded by an eight foot chain link fence. What appears to be a shallow pool is covered by a black tarp. After panning across the scene a few times and checking out the adjacent park the camera moves on.

At this point we went west on Ninth Ave. S.E. heading towards the downtown. We see a pedestrian (one of the few out on this rather chilly day), the Greek Orthodox Church, and then the C-Train [the city's rapid transit system] moving across the street.

It's rush hour downtown and we see a Sikh who is carrying a number of parcels, drop an object (presumably a letter) in the mail box. The camera moves to show people walking down the sidewalk. We follow one businessman as he crosses the street.

Next we enter the trendy Tenth Street area. The camera shows us the expensive boutiques then focuses on the people walking around the neighbourhood.

As we continue up Tenth Street the camera focuses on two men conversing at an Esso station, and then moves on to show people waiting for the bus. The scene quickly switches to a shot of a mask set in the wall surrounding a rather posh Mount Royal home. It is a rather long shot; in the foreground we see a Mount Royal garbage trolley go by [the houses in this area are set rather far back from the street and there are no alley ways. The trollies take garbage from the house to the street so the rich residents need not carry it to the curb]. The shot of the mask is subsequently repeated at closer range. [Presumably the trolley had some influence on the original shot's inclusion. In any case, this particular mask is a personal favourite of Doug; black and evil looking it reminded him of the cover of a book he once read. This shot was important enough to be shot yet again and so occurs three times in the edited version of the video].

In the shot which follows we see the sun set over the mountains. Then, we see students at an elementary school playing during recess. This is followed by a sequence in which the cameraman returns to his old neighbourhood. We see students at a Junior high School and then check out the area. A house with stained glass and a jacuzzi catches his attention and then we get a 360 degree panoramic view from a nearby cliff which overlooks a ravine. Then its off to see the house in which he grew up. In the next scene, however, we are back at the shopping mall located across from his old high school. He then shows us the

school and searches out the house of his childhood friend. In this last segment Doug provides on camera narration which explain what he is looking for.

He visits the University next and captures students at their lockers, on the main floor and even takes it into the elevator. He dismounts at the eighth floor stating on camera that "this is where it all began". He takes the camera down the hall and eventually ends up at my office where he slowly pans around the room. Next he provides a unique view of a wooden sculpture which adorns the wall of one of the walk ways. Then he checks out the "Fossil Fauna" display in the Earth Sciences building [a throwback to his geology days] The sequence ends with a view of the Math Sciences building from the outside.

The following sequence involves a closer look at the Mount Royal area but begins with a trip southbound on Crowchild Trail. [Doug lives outside the city and must travel down this road each time he comes into town]. We move down the road from the University eventually passing by the guard at the army base. This shot primarily focuses on the road and traffic but once off the main artery the camera once again focuses on people in the streets. We see an old lady slowly crossing the street in front of the car and a city crew working on the street. Next we enter Mount Royal proper and the camera lingers on the houses of the rich, focusing especially on the privacy afforded by the stone walls. Again he focuses on the same mask which is set into such a wall. We spy a squirrel which moves off into the bushes and is then lost to sight. Then we tour the neighbourhood. [At this point Doug decided he wanted to shoot the US consul's residence. To approach it from

the east we have to detour around the corner and subsequently end up at 17th Ave. and 14th St. S.W]. The camera focuses on three women waiting at the corner for the light to change. As we round the corner we see people walking down the road and others waiting for buses. The camera moves down the sidewalk focusing on whatever is happening there. Finally we approach the US consul's residence. A shot of the building reveals an immense amount of property with a mansion set at least a quarter of a mile from the street. As we pass quickly down the road the camera focuses in on the guard house and we see a fleeting glimpse of a disconcerted guard in a booth made of bullet proof glass.

This is followed by two shots each approximately twenty minutes in duration in which a band jams to a jazz beat. The camera records the musical session from two angles selected by Doug who plays the drums in the shot. [When Doug subsequently viewed the sequence he was struck by it and when asked what he thought of it could only say repeatedly "I've never seen myself play before -- It's very strange"].

Doug tried to emulate his favourite director and often spoke of Fellini's Roma. He called his approach "Video in Motion" and used the vantage of an automobile to record life on Calgary's streets. The aural nature of his work and generally his life is reflected in the videotape. Forty-eight percent of the videotape consisted of the two jam sessions. Generally, I would say his videotape was subjective in style, showing his own perspective of life in Calgary. It was also personalistic in orientation as approximately fifteen percent of the

videotape (63%, if we include the jams session), reflected areas which were personally significant.

Doug's videotape may be divided into three analytical categories. They are as follows:

1) Calgary as life on its streets. Doug took the camera out and deliberately sought out people and places of interest in the city. Undoubtedly he was influenced by Fellini as noted above but I also think that the simplicity and ease of access afforded from this vantage may have led him to adopt such an approach. Doug told me that to shoot the tape that he would have liked would have required considerable time and effort. This approach was adequate and expedient. Stylistically, this content area is subjective as we are guided by Doug's preferences on our tour of the city.

2) The second analytical category may be seen as 'Calgary as the place where I live'. The videotape is fraught with personal symbols such as the mask, his old high school, the university and so on. Some knowledge of Doug is needed to make sense of the meanings hidden in the disparate segments. This segment was personalistic in style.

3) Finally, there is 'Calgary as a place to make music'. The importance of music in Doug's life is underlined in this segment which encompasses almost half the edited tape. Knowledge of Doug and his musical nature would help one to understand the significance of this segment. Again, it is personalistic in style.

SOUND

All the sound in the edited videotape was recorded during the taping sessions. Doug brought a radio which he used to provide

background music. If he didn't like the song, he changed stations and so was constantly on a random search for music which appealed to him at that moment. Accordingly, his musical orientation was reflected throughout the videotape as his tour of the city was enhanced by this type of musical backdrop. Indeed, during the editing process some shots which he himself thought were rather poor or boring were included because he said he liked the background music.

FRANK'S VIDEOTAPE

[Frank's approach to the video process was completely different from any of the other participants. He likened the videotape to a letter one would send home to one's parents in which one discusses recent events. His videotape shows an event - the Ghanaian Cultural Evening. This occasion was sponsored by the Ghanaian/Canadian Club. It promoted Ghanaian culture through a buffet of traditional foods as well as a display of the dances, songs and art of various Ghanaian cultural groups. Frank videotaped the event using very long shots (he averaged two minutes forty-four seconds per shot). Editing was **extremely** minimal, being limited to the exclusion of one segment in which the camera had been left on accidentally. Many of the shots were badly out of focus, but Frank said that he felt maintaining the integrity of the event was more important than purely cosmetic changes].

Frank's tape begins with a sequence which shows people prior to the start of the dance display mingling and talking among themselves. Next he focuses on people eating and others lined up at the buffet.

This pre-dance segment lasts eight and a half minutes. Although this segment does focus to some extent on his friends, it is fairly balanced focusing on other people not known to Frank. It seems to indicate that he was trying to show everyone that attended the event.

Then we see the drummers pounding on their drums, calling our attention toward the stage. Next we see the moderator who introduces Mr. Gringas, the representative of the department of Multiculturalism. [The department helped to sponsor the event by providing the building in which the event was held]. This was followed by an introduction of the President of the Ghanaian association who, in association with others, recited prayers and drank a toast. Then, the moderator introduced himself and began to tell us something of Ghanaian independence. While the moderator spoke, Frank panned round the audience and realized that the low light conditions made it impossible to show the audience's reactions to the dancers. [In fact, Frank spoke to me of this difficulty at the time and he seemed disappointed that this was the case.]

Although he did cut off one story segment [because, as he told me, it was impossible to hear the story teller], and he broke off one segment in the middle of two dance sequences momentarily [because, as he told me, someone got between the camera and the dancers], the in-camera editing basically omitted the waiting periods between the dancing sequence. After all the dancing had finished, Frank panned around the room to the audience but the lighting was still low so it was difficult to see anything. Next the dancers and singers assembled on stage to sing a Ghanaian patriotic song and then Oh Canada. With

that the lights were turned on and Frank showed us a parting shot of the audience and a brief glimpse of the art display.

Frank does not provide us with a tightly argued view of life in Calgary. Little planning and minimal editing are the primary characteristics of this videotape. An analysis of the assumptions which underlie the tape is extremely difficult as Frank does not continually think of his audience and provide them (and me) with explanatory clues. The dance display was shot exclusively from two camera angles. The event had its own time frame and this was respected. The camera was not, however, just turned on and left on. The videotape is comprised of twenty-six separate shots with the entire tape running just over an hour (1:03).

The drumming sequence which began the videotape proved to be revealing. Frank caught the drummers in action but the shot was badly out of focus. During the editing process, I asked him if he wanted to edit some or all of this segment out. His response was that he wanted to include the drummers as this was the way the event **must** begin. What Frank seemed to be saying was that the event would be incomplete without the drummers and **the audience would know it**. He assumed that his audience would know the proper sequence for the event and so he should show it "the way it was". Such an assumption is based on knowledge of both his audience and Ghanaian culture. Similarly, he noted the importance of the prayer which, as he told me, signals the beginning of the event and is traditionally made by the head of the household.

"This was how it was", is the phrase which best characterizes his approach to the taping process. He allows the event itself to structure the videotape and so editing was minimal. The ease of such an approach, in terms of time and effort expended, likely influenced his selection of it. At the same time he justified his position using arguments which suggest that he was producing an 'objective' and shared view of the event which he was videotaping. The tape would seem to be objective as the camera is used as a recording tool and African, as shared cultural knowledge is called upon as a justification of technical inadequacies.

SOUND

No sound was added to the videotape as Frank felt that the moderator of the event provided an adequate explanation for the viewer. The audio portion, however, was difficult to hear as the microphone picked up background noises which occurred closer to the camera.

HARRY'S VIDEOTAPE

Harry's video begins with a rather thorough tour of the university. We take a look at the university map, then quickly move on to see a view of the Earth Sciences building, and then focus on the Engineering sign located on the appropriate building. [He told me that he wanted to include this shot as many of his classes are held there]. Next we see, through the mist of the sprinklers, the green space located in front of the library and the Registrar's office. We are given a brief introduction to registration Canadian style, [which is considerably different from Ghanaian style. In Ghana there are no

computers involved in the registration process and so registering for classes is extremely time consuming]. The action moves inside as the camera focuses on the registrar's sign, and then pans to a line up of students waiting patiently to be served. Going inside, a closer view of the students and registration is provided. Students are seated at desks scattered about the room while clerks busily type things into computer terminals. The shot ends with yet another look at the students waiting in line. Then we see the reserve reading room to catch a glimpse of a few students diligently studying. The camera pans around the room to show all of the study area. Shots from other angles provide a view of people studying in another section and the librarian at work behind the counter. Next, we see the university at lunchtime. [This also proves to be different from Ghana, as they have no facilities to buy lunch at the University of Accra so you "must bring it with you"]. The camera focuses on the people lined up to buy food at the cafeteria, and then proceeds to show people having their lunch at the adjacent tables. This segment concludes with shots of the Physical Education Building, its treed setting and the skating oval, which is just under construction.

The next sequence is at Market Mall [a shopping centre close to the university]. It begins with the camera panning left then right to show how large the Woodward's store is. Inside we're provided with a panoramic view of merchandise, customers and sales clerks. Virtually anything you could want is out there asking to be purchased. Harry then shows us the Famous Food Floor sign. Then we tour the mall stopping at Ben Moss and the fountain. The latter seemed to be

particularly intriguing, as it is surrounded by trees and is indoors. This observation is punctuated by the circular motion of the camera which allows us to see the ceiling. Further down the Mall a lighting store attracts his attention, and then its off to the Bay. Here we see a huge variety of merchandise: from furniture to china, and from lingerie to wigs. With the camera focusing on the Slick Wigs sign the mall segment comes to an end.

[Harry was most concerned to show the transit system in Calgary because "the buses are very different at home"]. This segment shows buses and people coming and going outside Market Mall.

The next series of shots are of Centennial Park but first we are treated to a view of Tenth St. with cars busily passing by. Harry focuses on the flowers, the park sign on the other side of the street, the monument and then the street itself. The park grounds are fairly quiet: a dog is sniffing around, a woman walks slowly into view and so on. Some children [who wanted rather badly to be in the video] ride by on their bicycles when the camera is pointed in their direction. A few adults (also riding bikes) are seen, and then the camera's attention is directed at the ducks in the pond. We then see more bicyclists, some buildings [a home for the elderly], then more flowers, trees, the bridge, and the pond. All in all this is an extremely tranquil segment. [Harry said this juxtaposition of the street scene with the relative calm of the park was meant to show the people at home that the two can coexist in close proximity. His declared purpose in showing a park (I must point out that he did not know of any and asked me to choose one) was that when he originally came to Canada he was struck by

all the free time people here had, and so he wanted to show Canadians at leisure].

Next Harry shows us his home. He begins with a view of the house and the surrounding neighbourhood. Inside we see his father sitting uncomfortably on the couch, painfully aware of the camera but trying at the same time to pretend that it doesn't exist. The camera moves around the room then focuses on his step-mother playing the organ. The camera moves into the dining room then its back to Mom at the organ, who has since been joined by his Dad (who looks much more comfortable by now), followed by a peek at the television which is on and being ignored. Next we see his parents sitting down at the dinner table talking about the day's events [actually it is a somewhat contrived scene as the chicken is not quite cooked, but they pick at it and eat the vegetables. Harry explained his inclusion of this scene by noting that in Ghana the husband eats before and not with his wife. He felt the Canadian practice was an improvement on the traditional Ghanaian way]. He then shows us around the kitchen focusing on the microwave the stove and the refrigerator. [As he put it "only really wealthy people in Ghana can afford such luxuries"]. The camera moves on to look at Mom then another look at the dining room. The final shot shows us again the traffic on tenth street and, with that, the videotape ends.

In his videotape Harry is constantly making implicit comparisons between life in Calgary and that at home in Accra. Although his father lives in Canada and he has become, during our acquaintance, a landed

immigrant, Harry still intends to return to Ghana once his education is completed (he hopes to obtain a Ph.D.). The tape is approximately twenty-three minutes long (23:07) with the average length of shot being approximately forty-one seconds. It can be analytically reduced to five basic content areas. First, he focuses on university life and this comprises twenty-eight (28.1) percent of the tape. Next, we see a Canadian shopping centre for another twenty-two (21.7) percent of the tape. Third, involves the depiction of the rapid transit system and comprises seven percent of the tape. Fourth, is the park segment which comprises almost twenty-five percent of the tape (24.9). Finally, he shows us his family at home and this takes up eighteen percent of the tape (18.3). The videotape is basically objective in style though it includes implicit meanings which the audience and Harry share.

The editing process involved the exclusion of some "bad" focus, a mistake (where the camera was left on accidentally), and shortening of some of the longer scenes. (If we exclude the "mistake" and figure out the average length of shot in the unedited version it is sixty-three seconds).

The five content areas in the videotape provide the backdrop through which the videotape may be analyzed. Harry told me of his intentions at each stage of the video process.

1) As I noted in the description above, his depiction of 'University Life' was largely preoccupied with portraying those aspects of it which were different from Ghanaian universities. This explains his interest in the registrar's office, and the cafeteria. He also shows the Engineering building because he often had classes there and

tours the campus to provide some indication of its layout. This segment, then, is primarily African and personalistic in style as knowledge of both Harry and Ghana is needed to decipher the meanings inherent in the visual images.

2) During the Market Mall sequence knowledge of Ghanaian shops was assumed. The selection of this particular mall was made by me because, although he wanted to shoot at a shopping centre, he did not know of any. Harry explained his interest by saying "Africans are fascinated by shops". He also pointed out that at home all the shops close over the lunch hour which can at times prove quite irritating. However, there was nothing in the segment which indicated that this was lunch time so it seems unlikely that this idea would be conveyed to his audience. Canadian shopping malls differ greatly from the individual shops which characterize much of Africa. Department stores occur infrequently and goods are often stored behind a counter rather than displayed freely as in Canadian shops. By showing the stores in a 'typical' Calgarian mall he is implicitly making comparisons with shops at home and calling upon the shared knowledge to interpret this segment. I am not entirely certain what message he intended, but would speculate that it could be interpreted as an indicator of the consumer basis of our society.

3) In this sequence Harry provides a view of Calgary's rapid transit system. He told me that the buses at home were quite a bit different. Buses here are newer and less crowded than those in Africa. Knowledge of the condition of buses in Ghana is necessary if

the full meaning inherent here is to be received and interpreted correctly.

4) During the park segment, Harry told me that he wanted to show one of his first impressions of Calgary: that Canadians have a lot of leisure time. Unfortunately, on the day in question there were relatively few adults playing in the park. Harry changed his approach when he saw what he had shot and shifted the message of this segment, as he said, to show that peaceful places and busy streets coexist in Canada.

5) Finally, he shows us his home. Here we see Canadian life which is quite different from life in Ghana. As I indicated in the description Harry constantly draws on the knowledge he shares with his audience to structure meaning into the videotape. Such knowledge is essential if all the meanings are to be understood.

Perhaps the best description of such an approach would be to describe it as an objective African style. Objective because it uses the camera primarily as a recording tool, with minimal editing and some attempt to try to show what was in front of the camera 'as it was'. At the same time, I have described it as African (or perhaps more correctly Ghanaian) because it assumes a shared cultural background and shared experiences which help the audience to understand any ambiguities in a segment. For example, without knowledge of Ghanaian universities and their system of registration, Harry's fascination with the registration process is somewhat inexplicable. Once we share the knowledge that in Ghana registration is extremely time consuming as no

computers are involved in the process, Harry's attention to it seems more worthwhile.

SOUND

Harry used some of his favourite music for the soundtrack. He told me that he chose music because it was the easiest, "easier than talking". The music provides a personalistic touch to the videotape. Harry uses a mixture of musical styles with two jazz songs by Earl Klugh, a song by Santana and Don't Cry for me Argentina from the Broadway show "Evita". Originally, I believe Harry intended to provide narration for the videotape but the amount of time and trouble it entailed undoubtedly helped to dissuade him. He did not match the music with the visual images. Accordingly, little more may be learnt from further analysis of them.

KAREN'S VIDEOTAPE

[Karen's edited videotape used less than half the material she had originally shot. When I pointed this out to her she said, "As an artist you get used to throwing things out when they don't work and starting again. That's how I spend many of my afternoons". Technical difficulties meant that some of the material she had originally shot was lost. She had to start again from the beginning. Only two sequences from her original tape appear in the final edited version, however, they involve just over fifteen percent of the tape].

The edited video begins with a tilt shot of the sun reflecting off one of the oil towers in downtown Calgary. The camera zooms in on a building in the distance and the letters upon its face read "Standard Life". We are then quickly taken to the MacLean's auction market

[which on Saturdays is the site of a farmer's market and an auction]. We see two old farmers talking to each other on the street with hay bales stacked up behind them. The shot is over a minute and a half long; it seems an eternity with the wailing sounds of a country singer providing a backdrop. Next the camera explores the market itself, showing customers and vendors going about their business. She even manages to capture a Hutterite waiting patiently at his stand for a customer. Next she focuses on a dog which she zooms in on and then we see another dog who rounds the corner and spots the first one. There is a momentary pause, then they quickly approach each other, noses at the ready. After this initial greeting the camera tires of the subject and instead, focuses on the people at the market. In the next shot we see an Indian talking presumably to the cameraman. Then we approach the army surplus store [located across the street from the auction house]. A brown netting used as camouflage covers the army equipment. As the camera approaches, artillery comes into view. In the foreground is a tank and behind it we see various supplies. The camera focuses yet again on the artillery before moving on.

The scene flashes back to the "Standard Life" building. Then we see the camera moving slowly along Seventeenth Ave. approaching Bagels and Buns [a local restaurant]. As we enter the music changes and we are treated to some jazz music. Inside the camera picks out Trudy, [Karen's friend who works there]. The camera follows Trudy and shows her at work - making cappuccino and shown from its vantage while sitting on the counter, spreading cream cheese on a bagel.

In the next scene, we see a panoramic view from atop a hill in the area West of the city. Attention is focused on a familiar feature of the Calgary skyline, a chinook arch is spread across the horizon.

[Chinooks are common occurrences in Calgary. They are defined by Webster's Dictionary as "a warm dry wind that descends the eastern slopes of the Rocky mountains" (1984:234)]. The camera pans slowly to the right and zooms in on a sunny spot on the horizon. This provides a clear view of the Rocky mountains at a distance.

[The next series of shots show us Karen's old house which she shared with a number of friends from school]. We see a fairly modest house, with a huge yard full of interesting stuff which the camera examines in some detail. Attention is first directed to the window which is protected with iron bars ["We put those in ourselves", Karen explained]. Next we see two sculptured heads and a kitchen sink on the ground leaning against the house. Then we approach a rabbit cage which is clearly no longer in use. The camera zooms in, and suddenly we are transported to another time where we see the camera enter an enclosed area. The camera focuses in on some branches and in a couple of seconds we are able to discern the moving form of a rabbit. The rabbit, curious of the camera, approaches and sniffs it. Then, we are once again at the yard peering at a disused cage. The camera moves around the yard focusing on the huge sculpture, the cutout placards of people, and the stairs which lead nowhere.

Crossing the street we approach the U-Haul station. The camera moves inside to reveal the inside of a trailer. Here we meet the man that runs the place [also a friend of Karen]. The camera is placed on

the table and is left on by "accident". [Originally, this was an extremely long and boring segment (about fifteen minutes in length) which basically showed Karen and I sitting with our backs to the camera talking to the man that ran the place. During the editing process Karen suggested speeding it up by recording it at twice the normal speed]. This segment moves from normal speed to fast and back again twice and has been cut down to one minute and fourteen seconds. Then, we again see the oil tower and the "Standard Life" buildings.

Next we see a series of shots of a fence which surrounds a house in Victoria Park. Each picket of the fence is painted to resemble a human being. The figures on the posts are clad in slacks, a shirt and a tie. Their heads, however, are pointed. The sequence lasts a minute and a half and attention is given individually to each picket. Finally, we again see the panoramic view of the house on the hill and, with that, the video ends.

Karen's videotape reflects her unique view of Calgary and so can be said to be basically subjective in style. Her dislike of the city, indicated in the questionnaire, shows through in the videotape in the content areas she highlights. She focuses on areas which are particularly meaningful to her so the sequences are personalistic at the same time. For example, she goes to a house where she once lived (22%) and includes shots of her friends (30%). The MacLean's Auction Market takes up another twenty-one percent of the tape. The Chinook arch is seen in seven percent of the tape and the recurring Oil Tower/Standard Life segment accounts for five percent of the tape.

Finally, The Painted Fence takes up fifteen percent of the videotape. Her fascination with the fence and her general approach to the project is undoubtedly influenced by her background as an artist.

The opening scene shows us an oil tower and then the Standard Life sign. The message Karen is trying to convey would seem to be that 'Calgary is a prosperous city which gives a standard life'. The repetition of this sequence in the videotape underscores its importance as a message.

The next scene, which takes place at the auction market, begins with a shot of two farmers conversing seems extremely long (1:37). It has country music as its backdrop. When I asked Karen about this sequence and her choice of music she replied, "Well, this is Cowtown". This suggests the analytical category with which characterizes this sequence: 'Calgary as Cowtown'. However, the auction market is one of her favourite places. She shot at this location in her original tape and reshot it as technical difficulties arose which marred part of the original segment. She told me that she likes shopping here and watching what goes on. This is also reflected in the videotape as she focuses in on the people and activities at the market. This content area, then, is both subjective and personalistic in style.

Another analytical category in this videotape is Calgary as my favourite places. Karen showed us the House, the view from the hill and the Fence which were all places of personal importance or interest to her. Her trip to Bagels and Buns, and the U-Haul focused on people of whom she was fond. The analytical category would be Calgary as a place for friends. She showed those aspects of Calgary which, for her,

made it a worthwhile place to live. The message of the tape is a personal one which requires both some knowledge of Karen and of Calgary if it is to be fully appreciated.

SOUND

Karen used two different styles of music in the videotape. The first is the country music of Jim Reeves and Patsy Cline. It provides the soundtrack for the MacLean's Auction Market sequence. The second part of the tape may be said to begin when she enters Bagels and Buns. At this stage the music changes to jazz and this style of music completes the videotape. The remainder of the tape involves those aspects of Calgary of which she is fond. Accordingly, her choice of music at this juncture reflects her own tastes more accurately.

CHAPTER 5

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

I described and analyzed the individual videotapes in some detail in the previous chapter. Here I shall take them together and attempt to pick out patterns in the way in which the various video producers managed their creations of reality. If I had a larger sample it might be possible to show some more significant relationships; as it is, I shall only be able to suggest relationships in the most tentative fashion. Comparisons of the videotapes have been made in terms of number of different elements. Here I shall review those areas which seem to have yielded the most fruitful information. Specifically, I would like to address the use of style and structure in the videotapes.

Each of the content categories identified in the previous chapter was attributed a "style" which characterized (using my own classification) the producer's approach to the portrayal of that sequence of the videotape. In Table I the four styles are summarized as they relate to the ethnicity of the producer (as ethnicity was defined in chapter three).

While I have discussed the concept of style in chapter two, further explanation of it seems warranted here. Warren Bass' conception of style is based on the assumption of a fairly sophisticated film producer. The present study deliberately chose to focus on naive producers because it was felt that their 'mistakes' could help to reveal how they perceive the world and construct thoughts and images.

This very naivete made the attribution of stylistic categories such as Bass' difficult without some modification. To this end, the notion of a 'personalistic' style was added. In the discussion of objectivity outlined above, I tried to show how difficult it would be for the unsophisticated producer to manifest an 'objective' style in Bass' sense. Accordingly, I have found it necessary to characterize objectivity slightly differently so as to include 'naive objectivity'. This style is manifested when the producers assume that they are being objective simply because they are recording the events in front of the camera. This is its naive nature. Ultimately, the characteristics which make it objective are the long takes of real time and the minimized editing which usually accompany cinematographic objectivity.

STYLE	AFRICAN NUMBER	N=3 PERCENT	CALGARIAN NUMBER	N=5 PERCENT
OBJECTIVE	7	70%	5	18.5%
INTERPRETIVE	1	10%	8	29.6%
PERSONALISTIC	2	20%	9	33.3%
SUBJECTIVE	0	0%	5	18.5%

TABLE I: STYLES IN WHICH CONTENT CATEGORIES WERE PORTRAYED IN THE VIDEOTAPES, BY ETHNIC GROUP

Table I shows us that the content categories (see pp. 80-1) of the African-produced tapes tended to reflect an 'objective' style to a far greater degree than did the Calgarians. One possible explanation of the differing approaches of the two groups lies in possible differences in the attribution of authority to the video producer. Calgarians, it is suggested, have a much harder time being objective about

their hometown; they know far too much about it and have personal associations with many aspects of it. Thus, any videotape that they might create could show only a part of what they know of the city. Further, they are addressing the tapes to people who also have an intimate knowledge of the city. All of this leads them to approach the subject in a manner which does not claim to be 'objective'; indeed, the reverse is true. Thus, their authority is not easily threatened because the view is depicted as just one of a myriad of possible interpretations of life in Calgary. Moreover, this is itself clearly 'signalled' by the producers through their style. The Africans, on the other hand, have the following advantages over their audience: a) they live here, b) their audience lacks any knowledge of the city (except, perhaps, through the subjects themselves) and c) they know something about the city but not too much. This latter point allows them to focus on those aspects of Calgarian life which they now understand but which at first puzzled them (both Albert and Harry seem to do this in their videotapes).

I am not arguing that there is anything inherently "Calgarian" or "African" in this choice; rather I think it may best be explained by the way in which the video producer anticipates his authority being received by the parental videotape viewer. Had tapes been made by Anglo-Saxon Canadians whose parents did not live in Calgary, or by Africans in their own home-town, I speculate the pattern might be reversed.

The most striking difference between the African and Calgarian tapes (taken as groups) may be seen in the structuring of the video-

tapes. The African tapes tended to be composed of long shots with a limited amount of editing being done. Material was shot in 'chunks' and left largely intact. This was in stark contrast to the Calgarians who tended to use the editing room as a means to manipulate their videotapes. Their shots were shorter with more of a tendency to "play" with the reality depicted.

A number of measures have been devised to illustrate the nature of these differences. Three indicators were used to measure differences in the structure of the tapes: the average length of shot, the shooting ratio, and the intercutting measure. Each of these measures will be discussed in detail below.

TIME IN SECONDS			TIME IN SECONDS		
Frank	(a)	147	CALGARIAN	31	23*
Doug	(c)	63			
Albert	(a)	45			
Harry	(a)	35	AFRICAN	76	40*
Karen	(c)	28			
Candy	(c)	27			
Carl	(c)	22			
Dean	(c)	16			

TABLE III: THE AVERAGE LENGTH

TABLE II: AVERAGE LENGTH OF SHOT
a=African c=Calgarian

SHOT BY ETHNIC GROUP

* indicates highest value in each group was omitted.

Table III shows us the average length of shot for each of the ethnic categories. This was determined by finding the average length of shot for each individual tape as shown in Table II (ratio of time in seconds over the number of shots) and then finding the numerical average of all those in each group (the (c) or (a) corresponds to the ethnic affiliation of each of the individuals). The first column of Table III includes all of the producers in each group. (To find the

average length of shot in Doug's tape, the jam sessions were excluded as it was felt their inclusion would be misleading. If he were to include himself in the videotape, the only way it could be done given the guidelines I had set out was by using one continuous shot; vis-a-vis that only he could use the camera). In the second column I have made an adjustment to the averages of each of these groups. Specifically, an anomalous case was omitted from each of the ethnic groups. This second measure allows a more accurate reflection of length of shot since the dispersion in each group is considerably lessened. The African videotapes averaged forty seconds per shot and the Calgarian tapes twenty-three seconds per shot.

Table IV shows the shooting ratio for each of the video producers. This measure was obtained by dividing the length of the master copy by that of the edited copy. This measure provides us with some indication of the amount of material cut out of the videotapes. If an individual left out nothing from the original tape then the ratio would be 1:1. The second number is related to the first one such that, the closer it is to one, the smaller is the proportion of material which had been edited out. The first and second columns provide the length of the master and edited versions of the videotapes in minutes and seconds. The third column gives the shooting ratio of edited to master. Some of the ratios in this column might be slightly misleading as these measures include the 'mistake' segments where the camera was accidentally left on. These segments were omitted or subsequently shortened during the editing process. However, the inclusion of these segments in the shooting ratios tends to place undue importance on the

editing out of these segments. This is particularly the case for Frank's videotape where the omission of this segment accounts for almost all of the editing which he did.

NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	(1) LENGTH OF MASTER	(2) LENGTH OF EDITED	(3) SHOOTING RATIO	(4) SHOOTING RATIO II	(5) POINTS
FRANK	(a)	1:33:45	1:03:35	1:1.47*	1:1.01	1
ALBERT	(a)	58:58	54:26	1:1.08	1:1.08	2
CANDY	(c)	16:03	14:40	1:1.09	1:1.09	3
HARRY	(a)	36:51	23:07	1:1.59*	1:1.48	4
DEAN	(c)	33:02	20:35	1:1.60	1:1.60	5
CARL	(c)	37:48	22:05	1:1.71	1:1.71	6
DOUG	(c)	2:27:30	1:20:00	1:1.84	1:1.84	7
KAREN	(c)	51:08	15:35	1:3.28*	1:2.42	8

TABLE IV: THE SHOOTING RATIO FOR EACH VIDEOTAPE
SHOOTING RATIO II INDICATES THE RATIO WITH MISTAKE SEGMENTS OMITTED.
(a = Africans, c = Calgarians).

In the fourth column the 'mistake' segments were omitted from the three videotapes and the new length of the master copy was used to derive the shooting ratio. Generally, the Africans tended to use most of the material they shot and this differed from the Calgarians who edited out segments. However, one Calgarian, Candy, also had a very low shooting ratio. She shot comparatively little material for her master copy (only sixteen minutes) and so, I would suggest, could not cut very much out without limiting the nature of the videotape severely. In the fifth column producers were rank-ordered with respect to their shooting ratios. The person with the lowest shooting ratio

(Frank) was given one point and the person with the highest ratio (Karen) was given eight points. These figures will be used to provide an (admittedly crude) overall editing measure.

An indication of the amount of manipulation of the tape is provided by the intercutting measure. Virginia Oakey (1983:95) defines intercutting as "the insertion of shots into a series of shots". I have expanded this definition to include the insertion of a shot or shots between sequences. Oakey's definition would apply to the insertion of a shot into a sequence, as was frequently done in Candy's videotape when she shifted from the house to places of work and back. The expanded definition would included the insertion of crowd scenes between sequences as in Carl's videotape. Since the primary reason for using the intercutting measure is to derive a measure of the amount of manipulation of the images, this broader definition seems to be justifiable. Each insertion of a shot or shots into a sequence will be called one intercut. Table V shows the results of this analysis.

NAME		NUMBER OF INTERCUTS	INTERCUT POINTS
CANDY	(c)	8	4
CARL	(c)	6	3
KAREN	(c)	3	2
DEAN	(c)	1	1
DOUG	(c)	0	0
HARRY	(a)	0	0
ALBERT	(a)	0	0
FRANK	(a)	0	0

TABLE V: MEASURE OF INTERCUTTING

Points were awarded to each video producer according to his/her rank-order. Four points were given to the individual with the greatest

amount of intercuts, three to the next highest and so on. No points were awarded to those individuals who had no intercuts. This measure, taken together along with the shooting ratio should provide a composite measure of the amount of editing done by the video producer.

NAME	INTERCUT POINTS	SHOOTING RATIO	EDITING POINTS	GROUP
KAREN	2	8	10	CALGARIAN
CARL	3	6	9	CALGARIAN
CANDY	4	3	7	CALGARIAN
DOUG	0	7	7	CALGARIAN
DEAN	1	5	6	CALGARIAN
HARRY	0	4	4	AFRICAN
ALBERT	0	2	2	AFRICAN
FRANK	0	1	1	AFRICAN

TABLE VI: EDITING MEASURE BASED ON THE INTERCUTTING AND SHOOTING RATIO POINT SCORES BY ETHNIC GROUP

Table VI summarizes the points awarded for editing based on the two previous measures and indicates to which of the two groups the individual belongs. The Calgarian editing scores ranged from 7-10 with the mean being 7.8, whereas the African scores ranged from 1-4 with the mean being only 2.3. This supports my observation that the editing process was used more by Calgarians to help them structure reality.

Differences between the two groups were manifested in terms of average length of shot, style, and amount of editing. The Calgarians tended to use shorter shots (average 23 seconds), an interpretive or personalistic style (63% of the time) and placed a high emphasis on

the editing process (average 7.8 points). The Africans used longer shots (average 40 seconds), an objective style (70% of the time) and used editing rather sparingly (average 2.3 points). Each of these differences seems to suggest that the approach varied widely between the two groups. Differences in style were partially explained by alluding to the difficulty that Calgarian video producers would have in authorizing their view of the city as **the objective one**.

Style, as it has been characterized here, is one of the more conscious structural elements of a videotape. Certainly, video producers realize that they can influence the way the material is presented. For example, Frank chose not to edit out those shots in the videotape which were blurred in favour of presenting events 'as they happened'. He realized the shots were out of focus, but still decided upon their inclusion rather than present a partial view of an event.

The structuring of the videotapes involved drew upon deeply held notions of time and space. While everyone has some conception of what it means to be 'objective' or 'subjective', and could likely articulate some characteristics of each if given the opportunity, the notion of how many seconds a shot should be works at more subtle level. Similarly, the degree to which we should manipulate visual images via the editing process indicates ideas about reality which are not generally spoken of as such. These elements of the tapes were not consciously built-in and thus I argue reflect more fundamentally the video producers' most basic conceptions of reality.

CONCLUSIONS

Walter Ong has discussed the effects of media on human thought in a number of works. His premise is that they affect the way we think in profound ways. The impact of electronic media such as television and video has yet to be fully assessed. Extensive work has been done on the effect of literacy on human consciousness. I will briefly review Ong's work in this area.

Chirography (or writing) has had enormous impact on the thinking of oral cultures. Writing allows a distancing from the lifeworld which was not possible in human history prior to the invention of writing. It enables thought to become reflexive and more analytical. Time, in oral cultures, is perceived not in accordance with an abstract clock but as an experiential "lived" or "felt" duration (Ong, 1977:18). The spoken word is dynamically bound to the ongoing world of human existence. It is an event. As Ong puts it: "Oral utterance thus encourages a sense of continuity with life, a sense of participation because it is itself participatory" (Ibid.:21). In contrast the printed word is static, relatively permanent and visual in its manifestations. As a mark on a surface, it is separated from the real world. The printed word is, in a sense, ". . . unreal, a code which must be reconstructed as externalized sound or in auditory imagination" (Ong, 1977:21).

With the advent of literacy a number of aspects of the thought processes of oral cultures changed. First, there was a separation between the individual and the world of which he or she was a part. It became possible to be reflective, to re-evaluate thoughts separately from their contexts. Second, there was the shift from a primacy of sound to a primacy of sight. This shift was completed with the

introduction of print. Third, time became abstract; measured in accord with some parameter rather than as a lived duration. These changes not did not occur immediately, but evolved over time with greater experience of literacy by the masses.

Television initiated what Ong calls 'secondary orality' which is both remarkably like and unlike 'primary orality' ("the orality of cultures untouched by literacy" Ong, 1982:5). Its similarities lie in the ". . . fostering of a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment and even its use of formulas" (Ibid.:136). It is at the same time, deliberately self-conscious and based on the use of print. The audiences which television draws are large and less *real* than those of oral cultures. As I noted earlier, television, by its very nature, produces another sense of reality:

Both visually and aurally (sound is of the essence of television), the instrument takes a real presence from the place where it is real and present and represents it in other localities where it is neither real nor truly present. This representation is not a report. The football game you view on television is going on, its outcome unrealized as yet, and thus unknown. Reports are essentially *ex post facto*. Not all television presentations are simultaneous with reality, but, in a way, all television presentations seems to be; the fact that the instrument is capable of such presentations defines its impact (Ong, 1977:315-6).

Television and its partner, video, seem *real*. They seem "spontaneous" despite a high degree of planning, and they distort time without seeming to do so. Moreover, they are detached from the context in which they were created and dispersed to various contexts in various homes. Through the editing process an endless variety of manipulations of visual images is possible, so that distortions of the footage actually shot may be maximized.

I think that the Calgarians in this study may have grasped the nature of video as a medium to a greater degree than did the Africans, and that further, this reflects their experience of the media. The Calgarians have 'internalized' (to use Ong's term) the electronic media which are a part of their everyday environment. This 'internalization' has shaped the way the Calgarians think. I have argued throughout this thesis that the videotapes would mirror how the individual apprehends reality and in this chapter, that the structuring of the videotapes is particularly enlightening to this end. With this in mind, I shall now re-examine the structuring of the videotapes.

In the African tapes, the fact that distortions of time are kept to a minimum, editing is curtailed, and the shots are long, suggests that reality is perceived as external and that it must be experienced in its entirety if it is to be fully appreciated. This contrasts sharply with the Calgarian tapes in which distortions are maximized, apparently deliberately so. The editing process appears to have been used to manipulate the visual images to produce a sort of **coherence**. This **coherence** is not indicative of 'reality', rather, it is an interpretation of it which is manifested. This suggests that the Calgarians view of reality embraces many perspectives simultaneously.

It seems clear that the two groups of participants in this study interacted with the medium of video differently and that this co-varied with categories. Again, this seemed to reflect differential experience of electronic media. It has been suggested that the Calgarian group has been influenced by media to such an extent as to

shape the way they apprehend and structure reality. The Africans, on the other hand, showed a marked disinterest in the medium as such and the use of editing as a creative process. The extremely small sample size makes the results of this study difficult to generalize. They are, however, suggestive and may provide the impetus for further research.

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APPENDIX

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

During the course of this research a great deal of practical information was gained which may well prove useful to someone contemplating research in this area. For any researchers interested in doing work in this area I shall outline a number of points which should be investigated prior to initiation of the project.

1) The creation of a videotape is a time consuming exercise. Rewards for participating in such a project should be in accord with the difficulty of such participation. In this study, I had a great deal of difficulty in attracting participants. While the amount of a video producer's time allocated to this project varied considerably, fourteen hours for shooting, editing, and voice-over may be seen as a minimal figure (this does not include planning). In return for this, participants were provided with a copy of their final edited version of the videotape. The time requirements far outweighed the rewards. Further, there are three separate video systems (PAL, NTSC, and SECAM) used in the world which are totally incompatible. This meant that the videotapes given to the African students made under the NTSC system could not be played in Africa where the PAL television system dominates. Any future study should consider these difficulties and make allowances for them in advance.

2) In this study, my understanding of what the video producers thought they were doing relied largely on whether they wanted to tell me or not. Usually, participants told me what they intended to do, as means of gauging its **correctness**. However, a more systematized

examination both of the participants' views in this area and the themes that they were articulating would be of enormous value in the analytical stages. This could be done by asking the video producers to view the tapes again and briefly recording their thoughts about each meaningful segment on a tape recorder. This would provide at least a personal perspective of the videotapes.

3) A streamlining of the production process might alleviate some of the difficulties outlined in (1) above. If the editing process were omitted, the amount of work required of participants would be cut down considerably. However, it is the editing process which provided the ability to structure reality through the medium. Should editing be limited to in-camera work the shooting process would be lengthened, allowing individuals to shoot in sequence. This might prove quite revealing but such a research project would, of necessity, focus on different aspects of the production process than did this one. The voice-over stage of the production process proved to be relatively unimportant in the analysis and so could be easily omitted. However, it might be more useful to require participants to do narration (rather than a voice-over or soundtrack). This would increase the amount of information available and thus, increase the importance of this stage of the project.

4) Two elements of this project which seemed to be of particular importance were the provision of both a topic and an audience for the video producers to address. Both these stipulations may have contributed to my difficulties in obtaining subjects for the study. While these two factors allowed me to compare the tapes cross-cultural-

ly, future studies need not limit themselves in this way if it is the structuring of the tapes (and not their content) which is the focus of analysis. Topics and audiences could be chosen by the subjects themselves as long as the researcher was aware of the topic and the audience to be addressed. This would likely make the project more pleasurable and therefore more attractive to would-be participants.