GRACIOUSLY WE RECEIVE

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*Graciously We Receive* is an ethnographic documentary film about Hearts for Homes, a volunteer Christian outreach organization that does no-cost home repairs for low income elderly homeowners. *Graciously We Receive* examines the symbiotic relationships between volunteers and the homeowners, addressing the need to be needed by meeting the needs of others.

Using qualitative research methods derived from the social sciences, *Graciously We Receive* represents an advancement in media-based research methods. With the introduction of quick cine-ethnography, which combines quick ethnography methods and grounded theory for data acquisition and analysis, *Graciously We Receive* applies anthropological research methods to documentary film production.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In my initial conversation with Susan Frank, Executive Director of Hearts for Homes, we agreed that although I am an anthropologist and Hearts for Homes is a Christian organization, we wanted to make a film that was not necessarily anthropological nor Christian, but a film using anthropological methods about volunteers doing home repairs for low-income elders. The discipline of anthropology gave me the tools to organize data acquisition and analysis, which freed me to tell a good story. My objective in producing Graciously We Receive is to give an honest reading of the culture of altruistic giving I've been honored to share.

Early in the film, Susan Frank, the central character, makes what is essentially the thesis statement: "...we're strong Christians and believe this all came about as a result of something from God and we see what we are doing as, we can actually be the hands and feet of Christ." Susan's statement clearly contextualizes the relationship between belief and perception in the Hearts for Homes community. The Hearts for Homes volunteers in the film are well versed in their traditions, articulate in their expression and are diligent in acting on their convictions.

Graciously We Receive is an exploratory work in the mechanics of how we live within the sphere of our beliefs. My approach is to combine a compassionate vision with understanding gained through the discipline of anthropology to recognize and articulate the symbiotic relationships of altruistic giving.

Production Objectives

Graciously We Receive is a multi-faceted film that serves several purposes. This
production is the confluence of anthropological field methods with documentary film production. *Graciously We Receive* is qualitative research in ethno-metaphysics: the relationship between belief systems and perception. The fundamental premise of qualitative research is that experience is data, from data come facts and from facts a narrative is built. *Mediated* experience in ethnographic and documentary film is the same in principle. The ability to find a story is facilitated by problematizing data, or questioning experience. "Stories are to human development what facts are to scientists" (Barks 2004): building blocks of our understanding using the metaphorical capacity that our species has evolved to transmit knowledge, values and meaning.

Admittedly, *Graciously We Receive* is only a glimpse into the Hearts for Homes community and the experience of Christian outreach work. My objective is to create a film that will cross over audiences to show common values between people with different beliefs.

**Stylistic Considerations**

The first still photos from pre-production showed the Hearts for Homes project site to be a polychromatic cacophonous mess. Converting the images to black and white produced a visceral sense of relief. Of course, color depicts an aspect of the "reality" of the project but detracts from the story I want to tell. The stories that comprise *Graciously We Receive* require imagery that is not merely looked at, but *seen into*, using external manifestations to represent the internal journey. Since much of the footage is of construction sites, black and white imagery somewhat mitigates the assault on the senses that these scenes can produce and focuses on the visual poetry of the
volunteers in motion. Black and white images are a way of making ordinary sights strange, which from strangeness, become distinct.

In pre-production I kept my options open about whether or not to use an original score or find existing music that would fit the visuals. I also considered using no music in the film to privilege the diegetic sound, but as I wrapped production and studied my rushes, the audio seemed too stark. At that time I met a young musician and composer named Zuriel Merek at a street fair in Fort Worth, Texas. Zuriel was improvising on an electric violin, accompanied by an electronic multi-track recording of a bass and chord progression. The sound was at once haunting, invigorating and devotional, invoking the polyphonic layers of meaning found at a Hearts for Homes construction site. I felt like this was music that could accompany the sounds of circular saws and nail guns without being dominated by them, music that could enhance the visuals and underscore the ceremonial nature of Christian outreach. Zuriel's contribution to the semiotic cohesion of the film is significant and enhances the viewer's immersion into the film experience.

**Intended Audiences**

*Graciously We Receive* is well suited for regional public television, Documentary Channel™ broadcasts and film festivals in the short documentary category. Several film festivals that emphasize family oriented topics, spirituality and social activism are targeted. As an inspirational story about people being kind to each other, *Graciously We Receive* will appeal to a broad audience and the foundation in anthropological theory enhances its value as educational media. *Graciously We Receive* works in religious and secular settings because of the film's emphasis on the experience of selfless service while stories from the lives of volunteers and homeowners connect them in a cycle of
mutual fulfillment. Educational applications include liberal arts, social sciences, philosophy and service learning in all disciplines.
Anthropologists love the exotic other, no matter what they may say. The journal *American Anthropologist* frequently contains reviews of films about the religious practices of people from faraway places with strange sounding names; yet searching the scholarly literature for anthropological studies of Christian outreach yields next to nothing. The literature from within the Christian outreach community assumes that the reader already knows the terms and is immersed in the belief system behind the culture. Who are these exotic people who live in my zip code that practice selfless service? Christian outreach is a part of the Texas passion for religion that ranges from the Atheist Fellowship to Zoroastrianism.

My purpose in making this film is an attempt to re-draw the boundaries of social distinctions between people who may have different beliefs, but compatible values. This project’s defining binary of altruism and gratitude has roots in the distant time of our species and continues today as an undercurrent in a world gone mad with globalization and consumerism, violence and alienation. It is my hope that people with diverse belief systems will recognize themselves in the values, actions and emotions depicted in *Graciously We Receive*.

In his 1922 book, *The Gift*, Marcel Mauss sought to explain the role of gift exchange in the social structure of "archaic societies" and to apply that understanding to contemporary societies. Reciprocal exchange serves to redistribute wealth within a society and obligates those who receive to give, bringing cohesion to the community. Some of these ritual exchanges, such as the potlatch practiced by several cultures of
the Pacific Northwest of North America were also tremendous displays of power, establishing social prominence for the wealthiest players by distributing all their accumulated possessions.

Similarly, the *kula*, an elaborate system of exchange in the South Pacific which focuses on the exchange of ritual objects among participants (Malinowski 1922), created a closed loop, a means of "keeping it in the family," a comparable practice found in communities as diverse as Jews and Vietnamese, Mormans, Italians and American Indians here in the United States. It is said that when an object enters the *kula*, it stays in the *kula* and grows in significance over time and many exchanges. Money spent within the community serves much the same purpose.

These practices serve economic as well as social functions with their elaborate mechanisms. Christian outreach does not conveniently fit within this framework, although these may be some of the collateral benefits of participation. Hearts for Homes has a more altruistic motivation: reciprocity is not an issue. Emil Durkheim, in defining "social facts," found that things that enhance social cohesion are considered to be sacred and things that reduce social cohesion are considered profane (1947:99). This concept of sacredness is descriptive of Christian outreach.

Charles Darwin puzzled over the origin of altruistic behavior and the survival function of this adaptation. As early as 1872, Darwin looked for answers to this enigma in his exploration of the natural world. Survival in some of the harsh environments where Darwin studied required remarkable biocultural adaptations. Perhaps, even in the extremes of Tierra del Fuego, loss of productivity with age was compensated for by the value of accumulated knowledge, encouraging the indigenous people of this extreme environment to care for their infirm. In *Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals*,
Darwin’s research suggests that empathy, compassion and altruism evolved with our species and we have a biological capability that can be developed to enhance survivability (1998).

Neuroscience indicates that altruistic behavior is a hardwired response to the suffering of others. James Riling and Gregory Berns of Emory University monitored the neural functions of study participants who were given the opportunity to help someone in need and found that it triggered activity in the caudate nuculeus and anterior cingulate. These are portions of the brain that are associated with pleasure and rewards. Helping others gives the same pleasure as personal gratification (Keltner 2010:10). This pleasure may be related to the release of oxytocin, a hormone associated with social bonding. Keltner's research shows that behaviors associated with nurturing behaviors and compassion stimulate the release of oxytocin in the brain and that compassion may be a self-perpetuating behavior (2010:11). When I asked Susan Frank why she does volunteer work when she could be making money, her reply was quick and succinct: "it feels good." Perhaps oxytocin is, as Susan might say, "a God thing."

The cultural implication for the neuroscience of altruistic behavior lies in recent research in mirror neurons (Levitin 2006: 266). Mirror neurons fire when performing a function as well as when observing a function performed. The purpose of mirror neurons, presumably, is to learn to replicate new functions through a form of mimesis. Levitin speculates that mirror neurons may play a crucial role in cultural evolution (2006: 267). As cultural creatives, Hearts for Homes volunteers lead by example, using Isaiah 58:12 as their guiding principle: "you will be called Repairer of Broken Walls, Restorer of Streets with Dwellings (New International Version Bible 1978).
Sociologists Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson helped redefine some of the arbitrary boundaries between subcultures in their research published in 2000 as *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People are Changing the World*, and revised in 2008. Although divisive voices attempt to drive ideological wedges into artificial value differences through politicized religious media, they do so for their own benefit. Cultural creatives, who can be as different as west coast secular liberals and heartland Christians, can also be remarkably similar when perceived through a different frame of reference. Idealism and activism, holistic thinking and stewardship of resources, compassion and a desire to make the world a better place are the values that unite us. Reframing our ideas of cultural inclusion increases our capabilities.

Charles Frake acknowledges the anthropologist's passion for the exotic while accepting the challenge of working close to home, making the familiar "interesting for the ways their lives inform what it is to be human in this world we all live in" (Frake 1996: 230). The clarity of purpose of the Hearts for Homes community provides access into a highly nuanced and dynamic culture.

**People and Places**

Susan Frank, executive director of Hearts for Homes, is the central character, supported by her husband, Larry Frank and her mentor, Bettye Meyers. Essential to the organization and to the film is a group of five key volunteers, the project managers (Jerry Morgan, Hal Reed, Larry Felts, Harley Downey and Alan Quam), who lead the work parties and express their convictions through selfless service. Lindsey Angell and Sophia Bang are students at Texas Woman's University and Hearts for Homes volunteers who describe their thoughts and feelings about volunteer activities.
A group of homeowners who have worked with Hearts for Homes in the past or have projects currently in progress express their life experiences and share their thoughts about the changes brought about by home repair. These homes are the primary locations for *Graciously We Receive*. Other locations include the Hearts for Homes office and warehouse.

Miss Amen's home shows a major rehab project in full swing. Repeated visits with her establish a constellation of her life story in the family home. Maria Bozas tells of the improvement in her quality of life after Hearts for Homes modified her home to be wheelchair accessible. Mrs. Parker's home project begins in a meeting with Susan and the project managers and serves as a theater of change for the owner and the volunteers. There is a clear connection between the people and their homes in *Graciously We Receive* as the debris and dysfunction of time are cleared away enabling the homeowners to live independently in their own homes.

**Budget Summary**

Grand total, $111,050, mostly in-kind as unpaid assistance and equipment provided by the RTVF department and covered by tuition and fees. The remaining amount required, $9250, is for study guide development, promotion, duplication of DVDs for festival submission and Errors and Omissions insurance, which is essential for broadcast licensing. For a detailed budget, please see the appendix.

**Funding**

This production is self-funded. Finishing funds of $6750 to prepare the film for distribution are currently being sought.
Production Schedule

Pre-Production
January 24 2011

Production
February 12 2011

Post- Production (concurrent with additional sampling)
May 5 2011

Rough Cut
July 5

Fine Cut
September 27, 2011

Final Cut
October 21, 2011

Audio Mix
October 31, 2011

Distribution Possibilities

Broadcast opportunities include *The Territory*, from HoustonPBS.org and regional programs from other public broadcasters. Regional PBS broadcast seems more likely than the big national programs like Independent Lens, which has very high requirements for errors and omissions insurance and very high competition for few broadcast slots. The Documentary Channel is another broadcast opportunity. The Spiritual Cinema Circle is an excellent option for home distribution. Their licensing agreement and distribution model often leads to wider distribution for producers of films on spiritual and inspirational topics. Spiritual Cinema Circle discussion groups are widely spread and would put the film into a community setting, helping to develop grassroots support. My strategy is to begin with development of the study guide for educational
distribution, networking through social media, building a following at festivals and promoting DVD sales.

**Goals of the Production**

*Graciously We Receive* is, among other things, a gesture of community activism to encourage forward thinkers of different belief systems to recognize their commonalities. To that end, *Graciously We Receive* is intended to reach some of the estimated 50 million cultural creatives in the United States (Ray and Anderson 2000) who will value this film about grassroots activism. Cultural creatives are a wide spectrum of spiritually oriented and socially conscious people who form a dynamic global subculture. Cultural creatives are altruistic individuals who often do volunteer work. They emerge from diverse social backgrounds and philosophies but value relationships, social justice and sustainable stewardship of resources. *Graciously We Receive* shows the power of cultural creatives pursuing a shared vision.

**Ethical Considerations**

As human beings we all maintain ownership of our personhood and likeness. Representation of our personhood and likeness should be consensual and collaborative. For people to willingly participate in a documentary film is an extraordinary act of trust. Production of *Graciously We Receive* was facilitated by the trust the volunteers and homeowners have in Susan Frank and by reference, in me. I took the time to develop relationships with project participants and my involvement in the community over several months, making a genuine commitment to perceiving events clearly and expressing them eloquently.
The homeowners participating in *Graciously We Receive* are recommended by Susan Frank as being representative of Hearts for Homes projects and as being competent to decide on such issues as home repair and the presence of a film crew. The Hearts for Homes work agreement with clients includes permission to produce photographs and videos, so there is already a legal mechanism in place. Hearts for Homes has an attorney on the board of directors who navigates the legal issues of working with Hearts for Homes clients.

The project vetting process balances the degree of urgency with the stewardship of resources and the ability of the homeowner to understand the situation and maintain the investment of time and resources made by Hearts for Homes. The organization does not proceed unless the homeowner and project meet their criteria, which pre-qualifies the homeowner for working with the documentary. The participating homeowners in this film are lively individuals. I met other homeowners whom I chose not to include in my project because of ill health, difficulty understanding their speech or the potential for stereotyping.

Ethically, the low-income elderly homeowners who approach Hearts for Homes for assistance are twice disenfranchised by our culture of youth and materialism. They are bewildered by the technological challenges of tasks as common as laundry. Recognizing these issues is essential to understanding the mission of the organization and the needs of their clients. I created a release form that clearly and simply addresses the particular issues of Hearts for Homes and their clients and carefully select competent, representative and willing participants for the production of *Graciously We Receive*.

The Canadian National Film Board discovered that even with the best of
intentions a documentary film can bring hardship to participants. In 1966, the production of *The Things I Cannot Change*, which depicted life in an impoverished area of Montreal brought scorn and ridicule from the community to the woman whose family was depicted in the film (Gwyn 1972:5). In the aftermath of this public relations disaster, the Film Board experimented with participatory production methods on the island of Fogo, in which participants had control over how they were represented in film. The result was greater empowerment and community cohesion among the Fogo Islanders (Gwyn 1972:12, 20). Although the Fogo project had a much different purpose and methodology than *Graciously We Receive*, both projects have as their foundation the intention of representing social conditions of marginalized populations.

Another issue that Susan and I discussed is the privacy of volunteers, some of who are active participants in the Hearts for Homes community, but are completing court appointed community service hours. The point made by Susan is that when volunteers come together with the common purpose of serving the low-income elderly, it doesn't matter who has a DWI. The Hearts for Homes community intersects a broad range of humanity and it is left up to the film's participants to express themselves.

The Center for Social Media recently published ethical guidelines broad enough to cover the ever-changing circumstances of non-fiction film but descriptive of the documentary film producer's mandate: Do no harm, protect the vulnerable and honor the viewer's trust (Aufderheide, Jaszi and Chandra 2009). The Center for Social Media Guidelines are specific to the needs of documentary producers who operate in a business environment that exerts economic pressures on content and format.

The American Anthropological Association (AAA) code of ethics addresses the research cycle and the ethical issues of each stage of the process and envisions many
of the dilemmas researchers encounter in the field and in publication. Center for Social Media ethical guidelines overlap in many cases with the AAA code of ethics, which covers a wide range of contingencies that researchers find themselves in.

The American Anthropological Association code of ethics recognizes a primary ethical obligation to the people who participate in their research to avoid harm, with a mandate to work toward conservation of knowledge and cultural resources in a working relationship that can be beneficial to all parties involved. Other items within the AAA code of ethics that apply to this project and to documentary producers in general is recognition of the filmmaker's debt to the communities in which they work. The American Anthropological Association emphasizes the expectation that anthropologists disseminate their findings to the academic community and make the results of their research appropriately available to "sponsors, students, decision makers, and other nonanthropologists." An important item within the American Anthropological Association code of ethics that applies to this project and to documentary producers in general is recognition of the filmmaker's debt to the communities in which they work. I have offered my material to Hearts for Homes for use in on their website as my way of honoring the generous access to their community.

Ethnographic media is in essence, the representation of people who see fit to express themselves in a certain manner, to understand the beliefs and experiences of others to better understand ourselves as a part of a "complex whole" (Tylor 1871). Describing the essence of the events at a place and a time is a need that has been met by our species through the evolution of abstract thinking and expressive technologies. Ethnographic documentary films create a ceremonial grotto in which visions of belief are projected.
My films are a depiction of relationships between a filmmaker and participants in a film, produced in good faith and coming to a good end. *Graciously We Receive* represents my experience, which I have faithfully and accurately expressed using the conventions of filmmaking to tell my story. By developing good relationships and having transparency in my working methods I try to keep unintended consequences to a minimum.

As a filmmaker I record events in the order they unfold but edit in the way I understand: the ability to build a non-sequential, metaphorical assemblage is inherent in the medium. If experience is data then documentary film is a data sculpture of sorts, which takes the form of the filmmaker’s understanding. I do not try to be objective, but to create a substantive and creative representation of my experience that others may share from different viewpoints and on many levels.

"Will making movies do the sheep any harm?" Sam Yazzie asked Sol Worth. Worth and John Adair were inquiring with Mr. Yazzie about the possibility of doing a film project on the Navajo Nation (Worth and Adair: 1966). The filmmakers felt that it would not hurt the sheep. They wanted to know if Navajo filmmakers made films in the visual language of the Navajo. Mr. Yazzie asked, "Will making movies do the sheep good?" They could imagine no benefit to the sheep. Mr. Yazzie asked: "Then why make movies?"

Worth alludes to an underlying assumption by anthropologists and documentary filmmakers that it is appropriate for people to learn about other people and that greater understanding is universally understood as a good thing. Mr. Yazzie’s value system did not extol the virtues of being understood by outsiders.

As Worth continued in his work with the Navajo, including Sam Yazzie, he
realized that Mr. Yazzie, at the time, maintained no herds of his own. His referrence to the possession of sheep was symbolic of a larger ownership of identity and cultural capitol (1966:6). What Yazzie was asking Worth was "how would making films support their values and their way of life?" That is the question that all non-fiction filmmakers must be prepared to answer. In the case of Graciously We Receive, Susan Frank places a high value on having her work be understood in context, recognizing the importance of accurate and honest representation.
CHAPTER 3
THE INTEGRATION OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

Theories and Rationales

*Graciously We Receive* is a documentary film produced using ethnographic research and field methods. Base-level data to develop *Graciously We Receive* emerged through the use of quick ethnography, a rapid assessment field method that breaks down the essentials of any ethnographic study to a few simple questions (Handwerker: 2001). Essential quick ethnography questions selected as the basis of inquiry for *Graciously We Receive* include:

- **What kinds of people, social relations, events and processes comprise the social/environmental phenomenon?**

Essentially, there are volunteers and client homeowners. The types of volunteers include associates of Susan Frank through Lifegate Church and Liberty Christian School, student service groups, adult church groups, individuals doing court appointed community service and people who find out about the organization and become involved out of personal motivation. Some tasks, such as operating heavy equipment, mainline plumbing and other major construction projects are donated or substantially reduced in price by the contractors. Not as visible, but of great importance, are donors whose financial contributions help fund Hearts for Homes operations.

All the client homeowners are low-income elders in need of home maintenance. They come from diverse backgrounds, but comprise the theater of operations for Hearts for Homes. The homeowners represented in the film are elderly women living alone, either widowed or never married, often disenfranchised from contemporary life and
technologies. They are Depression era folks who experienced hardships and never imagined asking for help.

- How do people experience specific social relations, events, and processes?

This is a crucial question because of the emphasis on the relationship between belief systems and perception. Susan Frank had a vision twenty years ago about creating Hearts for Homes and has been tireless in pursuit of that vision. She feels called by God to do this work. It is her ministry.

Some of the court appointed participants put in their hours and leave, while others have found a place where they feel like they are accomplishing something useful and have developed valuable relationships.

Volunteering with Hearts for Homes brings together people who might not normally mix socially: professionals, retired people, people in recovery, blue-collar workers and the unemployed. Helping others has an equalizing effect. College-age volunteers expressed to me that they work with Hearts for Homes as a component of their education, welcoming the opportunity to experience diversity of thought for themselves. High school age volunteers were less articulate about their motivations but showed great interest in the large bins of snacks and sandwich makings that are always present on project sites.

- Who agrees with whom about what and to what degree?

This question may seem of lesser significance, but the convergence of individuals represents diversity of thought as well as a clearly defined belief system that appears on the website of Lifegate Church, where Susan Frank is a member. Having this information readily available helps in understanding foundation of Hearts for Homes and the social relationships within the organization. The agreement is to participate in
the cycle of giving and receiving. The client homeowners are not screened for belief systems but rather for feasibility of their projects, the urgency of their needs and their place on the waiting list.

Divergence of religious and political thought is broad, but is not fully explored in this project. One Hearts for Homes volunteer espoused Old Testament economics, in which all social services were provided by the community to the exclusion of government programs. This is a strict, highly political, contemporary movement that is in sharp contrast to the idea of cultivating a culture of personally motivated service. More common was a sense of alienation from the doctrine and ritual of churches, but with a strong sense of sacredness in volunteer work. As Allan, a project leader said in a pre-production meeting, "I don't care much about religion, but I like doing the work of God." What is evident to even the casual observer is the agreement to participate vigorously. Hearts for Homes volunteers work very hard.

Perhaps the best answer that the film can provide is Susan's anecdote that volunteers may not agree on doctrine but do agree that volunteering is something "we should all be doing". Or, as Bettye Meyers, Susan's mentor and Hearts for Homes board member eloquently states: "We need to be needed."

- What life experiences explain who agrees with whom about what and to what degree?

The life experiences of the volunteers and clients are really what constitute the stories woven together in *Graciously We Receive*. The homeowners have age, income and home-ownership in common and some specific life experiences come to light in their stories. Their life histories are materially represented by their homes and
suggested visually in *Graciously We Receive*. Mrs. Parker looks at her home and the work underway and says, "...the story of my life."

The backgrounds of volunteers almost defy categorization, which in itself invites inquiry. To expand this project into the realm of truly ethnographic media would require a deeper inquiry into life experiences and motivation to volunteer. This would open up a richer understanding of the belief systems at work because in a group like Hearts for Homes, people can do the same thing for different reasons.

Answering the basic questions of quick ethnography provides the researcher/producer with a working taxonomy of interconnected actors and events that can be quickly incorporated into the research/production cycle. I adapted quick ethnography to my own purposes in the form of quick ciné-ethnography, which was developed using principles from grounded theory and provides some terms for describing the process of transforming media-based research into a documentary film.

The purpose of grounded theory is discovering the essential components of social conditions through fieldwork. Grounded theory helps global thinkers get organized and linear thinkers to perceive new relationships within their data, by providing an open structure for coding and synthesis.

Grounded theory, long a staple in the social sciences, offers much to the media producer. The many books written about Grounded theory, its derivatives and applications can be daunting to researchers unfamiliar with the process, but understanding the basics can be a tremendous benefit to filmmakers. Newcomers to grounded theory should go directly to *Grounded Theory: A Thumbnail Sketch*, by Bob Dick before trying to read anything by the originators of grounded theory, Anselm
Strauss and Barney Glasser. Professor Dick’s *Thumbail Sketch* introduces the terms and capabilities of grounded theory with simplicity and clarity.

The core skill of grounded theory is the constant comparison method: comparing interview to interview, session to session, and film clip to film clip, while the process of data acquisition and analysis continues. Grounded theory is an emergent methodology, and the relationships of data to data define themes contained in the research (Dick 2005). Once the themes are clearly seen, theory, or narrative structure for the filmmaker, emerges. It is like watching the image of a photographic print emerging in the developer. From thematic analysis comes categories, which themselves have relationships with other categories.

Since the process is continuous, themes consolidate and narrative dead-ends can be identified and removed—even prized shots and scenes that are difficult to part with, but do not support the narrative. The essential features of grounded theory are that the narrative fits the data and that it works, making sense to the research participants and in the case of documentary film, the viewers. Grounded theory can be laborious, but in a large-scale research project or documentary film, a working knowledge of this skill is an overlooked asset for film non-fiction producers.

Several important concepts borrowed from grounded theory apply seamlessly to production practices and analysis in post-production. Developed by sociologists Barney Glasser and Anselm Strauss, grounded theory is a tool for conducting qualitative research to develop theory founded in data, rather than to test a hypothesis. Digital workflows provide a rapid feedback loop with rushes available on-set, if necessary, emulating the constant comparison concept of grounded theory, that is the comparison of data to data, looking for gaps in the coverage. This capability is built-in to quick ciné-
ethnography, as production and post can now be nearly concurrent. However, without a dedicated anthropologist/data wrangler, viewing clips in the field for much more than confirming the shot takes multi-tasking to the extreme.

Logging clips in a non-linear editing program is grounded theory's equivalent of open coding. Non-Linear editing systems have places to notate clips as they are entered and to modify the notation as more information is gleaned from the constant comparison method. I prefer note cards because I can swap them around, or change my descriptions in an analogue medium. Sometimes using a piece of paper and a pencil with an eraser is more conducive to coaxing out developing ideas.

Inductive coding isolates associations within the sample and clarifies the exemplars, which express the trends (Glasser 1967). Exemplars, representative people and places, are then revisited until enough data—or footage—is collected to illustrate the themes in action. Translated into post-production terms, pulling a string-out after viewing the dailies helps develop the significant juxtapositions of an evolving narrative and revise the shot list, while the final assembly is based on an evolved edit script or outline. Perhaps the most complicated aspect of grounded theory is a new set of jargon. The cognitive functions are quite ordinary, but the system externalizes the process giving the researcher/producer critical distance after immersion in the research.

My theoretical foundation does not differ greatly from the documentary production theory of Michael Rabiger, who describes a similar process in different terms (2009:339). However, Rabiger begins with a working hypothesis and grounded theory is a method of developing hypotheses from data. Beryl Bellman and Bennetta Jules-Rosette delve into coding of research footage, but get bogged down by the presence of the anthropologist in the process, a common theme in the discipline during the 1970s
and 1980s (1977:19). Karl Heider claims that ethnographic film must be based on ethnographic understanding (2006:57), accepting the ethnographer's bias as part of the process. Ethnographic film theory spans a wide spectrum and I, like my predecessors, have adapted theory as needed. My purpose with quick ciné-ethnography is to systematize the acquisition and editing of media-based research from a social sciences foundation, to enhance the documentary filmmaker's ability to see relationships in context.

While the theoretical component of *Graciously We Receive* may not be readily apparent in the completed film, it organizes my thoughts and shapes my data for the purpose of making an ethnographic documentary film. Quick ciné-ethnography is intended to effectively distinguish essential information from the bewildering sensorium of non-fiction filmmaking. Quick ciné-ethnography clears a pathway through experience-as-data by collaborating with participants, a process that builds awareness of the relationships between belief systems and perception. The purpose of this theoretical mind map is to create an elegant cinematic narrative from lived experience, culturally appropriate and rich in significance. Quick ciné-ethnography is not a shortcut, but it is more efficient than searching for story and structure on the timeline.

Having a stable theoretical foundation allows me to absorb my influences without getting distracted, the most important of which are discussed here. Robert Gardner was an ethnographic auteur. As a result, films like *Forest of Bliss* are experiential sites where viewers can conduct their own research (1986). Gardner's commentary about this film reveals as much about the man as the movie. In his shot by shot analysis in the DVD of *Forest of Bliss*, Gardner makes poetic associations that are inaccessible to the
causal viewer. As a sensory exploration of the crematory practices of Benares, India, Forest of Bliss remains a controversial masterpiece after 25 years.

Jay Ruby, perhaps the most vociferous critic of Forest of Bliss, authored the punctiliously ethnographic Oak Park Stories (2006). While it may bear all the benchmarks of media ethnography, it is very challenging as ethnographic media. Ruby claims that there are two approaches to film and anthropology: making films and theorizing. Although he contributed the ethnographic film A Country Auction (Aibel et al), he made the choice to "critique the efforts of others" in his writings (Ruby 2000: xi). I contend that producers must theorize to advance non-fiction film beyond the belief systems of ancestral filmmakers.

Taking the middle path is Timothy Asch, a gifted educator, intent on carefully reinforcing the semiotics of films for their purpose of classroom instruction. Asch's work remains among the best of the genre, beautifully filmed and edited to be fully absorbed in combination with a written component and classroom discussion. Timothy Asch would screen edited films to students, and according to John Duvall, a former teaching assistant of Asch's, used their comments to revise his approach until his films were finally understood as he intended (Duvall 2010: personal communication).

At the most fundamental level of the power of images, media activism and personal commitment, I look to W. Eugene Smith, whose black and white photo essays influenced me in my formative years as a photo-journalist and later as a photographic illustrator. His exacting compositional sense and powerful printing methods produced photographs that are strangely cinematic on the printed page. Through Smith's photography, writings and their relationship to his passion for music, I became aware of the imperative of semiotic cohesion, which I have applied to digital media.
W. Eugene Smith, during a significant portion of his career, worked in his darkroom with speakers wired to adjoining studios where musicians such as Thelonius Monk improvised and composed. I cannot hear the music in a Smith print, but I can feel it. I know it is there. It has the feeling of sacred music, such as I witnessed in the transubstantiation of noisy, dirty labor into blessings. As media activism, Smith's monumental book, *Minamata*, stands as an example of how injustice can be brought to light through independent media, and by inference, how social change begins with one person.

Integration of Theory in Practice

I was surprised by how suddenly my production plan changed to accommodate conditions on the ground and how well the core of my theoretical approach held in the face of change. In fact, ritual reversals are an essential component of the transformation cycle, which is the structure of my approach to research as ceremony. As Arnold van Gennep and later, Victor Turner, found among transformation cycles from cultures around the world, separation, liminality and re-integration form the tripartite diachronicity of ritual change. It is appropriate that immediately upon beginning production, my approach was stood on its head and I was separated from the familiar. An initiation, the time of liminality, was under way. Participants in the Hearts for Homes process, volunteers and homeowners alike go through the process together, from destruction and cleansing, the ambiguity and confusion of work in progress to completion and revitalization.

I expected that a form of ciné-trance would embrace us, as in the work of Jean Rouch a half-century ago, but I never experienced people so unaffected by the
presence of a film crew. Cameras and microphones were not a catalyst for anything. Project participants have told me that I make the camera disappear, but at times I had a crew of five on site while I watched from the sidelines with my arm in a sling. This was something different. This was a ceremonial act that enveloped the participants in their own shared consciousness, a service trance of sorts, in which my crew and I were included as volunteers doing their assigned tasks.

Perhaps fifty-six years of mediated experience since Rouch’s production of *The Mad Masters* has neutralized our impact on a research site. While our presence was acknowledged, what was happening would continue whether we were there or not. My experiment in media ethnography, testing the impact of the presence of cameras in my field site was a non-event.

Another reversal was with my intention to begin with interviews and meticulously glean information to create my production plan. Early in the process I did a photo-elicitation interview with Susan Frank to get oriented with the Hearts for Homes community but the camera operator forgot to hit the record button and I got no footage from that session. From there I was propelled into a series of projects that were representative of Hearts for Homes and would become the backbone of my film.

It was not until the project took on its own unique shape that I was able to begin interviewing. Rather than observational coverage informed by interviews, I did interviews informed by observational coverage. This worked to my advantage by developing relationships over time and having sufficient experience with the community to perceive emerging themes and ask qualified questions. At this point the principle of experience-as-data, from which narrative emerges, was re-established. The recurring
themes of transformation, and gratitude in both giving and receiving, form the abstract core of the film's narrative.

In pre-production I envisioned coverage of large, complex work parties of up to sixty people at a time on work sites, knocking out projects in a short period of time and allowing for several sites to represented. Meanwhile, Susan and the crew leaders changed their approach to small groups, concentrating on working in phases, ranked by order of urgency. I was faced with the choice of running all over Denton County, working with small projects or concentrating on one project at a time to watch the project develop through the completion of phases.

I chose to adapt my production plan to concentrate on representative homeowners rather than on several projects. This gave me the opportunity to become more familiar with project trajectory and develop relationships with the homeowner and crew as the project spanned late winter into spring. Coverage continued in a session with another homeowner I met at Hearts for Homes' annual banquet. Her home had been dramatically rebuilt and although I had seen the before photographs, I did not recognize it as the same place. As the themes of transformation and gratitude remained consistent, I felt I had sufficient coverage of volunteers and homeowners, who told similar stories from many different angles. This characteristic of my data lent itself to braiding the narrative tributaries into a cohesive unit in post-production.

At this point I revisited the selected quick cine-ethnography questions to determine their validity in the process as it actually occurred and felt comfortable that they are excellent guidelines. I asked my data these questions:

1. What kinds of people, social relations, social relations, events and processes comprise the social/environmental phenomenon?
2. How do people experience specific social relations, events and processes?
3. Who agrees with whom about what and to what degree?
4. What life experiences explain who agrees with whom about what and to what degree?

Approaching post-production by taking an overview of the context, the participants, the range of experiences and the agreements under which the community functions, shifts the attention from details to structure. The strong suit of quick cine-ethnography is to give the media-based researcher an organized point of departure, not to fit the data into a template. I found the QCE questions most effective in pre-production to get oriented and again approaching post, to make sure I got the coverage I needed. Revisiting the quick ethnography basic questions in the final cut helped me recognize inconsistencies in my narrative and to see bad edits that I had been ignoring for weeks.

Using the principles of grounded theory, such as the constant comparison method while logging footage helped me determine which topics required more coverage and to get specific about what new data was required to develop the narrative structure. A clip of footage on its own has a different meaning than when between two other clips. Which meaning is the one I really experienced? Which meaning did I miss because I was busy operating a camera? For example, thematic analysis of the raw footage revealed the significance of the project leaders to Hearts for Homes. This group of five men helps determine both strategy and tactics for projects that most people would consider hopeless. The relationships of the project leaders among themselves and with the other volunteers define the tone and tempo of projects as the organization expands outward from Susan. Other themes that emerged through
questioning my data are the tragic loss of loved ones and the shrinking worlds of infirmity among the homeowners. Hearts for Homes deals with basic needs in a cycle of destruction and cleansing, rebuilding and reestablishing functionality. The theme of transformation permeates the film, emerging through project sequences and participant commentaries.

What is not representative in the project is the ethnic mix of homeowners, which extends through multi-cultural North Texas. Hearts for Homes works with Asian, Hispanic and African American homeowners who were not part of this research because of project scheduling in one woman's case and the death of another woman's son during the project. If this project were to continue beyond the current version, it would be to expand the pool of homeowner stories.

As I assimilated my anthropological influences and conducted media-based ethnography, I came to perceive transformation within the fieldwork process itself. The concept of fieldwork as ceremony was articulated by Shawn Wilson, in his book *Research is Ceremony* (2008). The central tenet of research as ceremony is that if "it doesn't change you, you aren't doing it right." It is not enough to simply observe other people's transformation. People can sense when the camera is a conduit for communication rather than a probe, used to study them. Having a production philosophy compatible with the Hearts for Homes process facilitated smooth fieldwork, as did the development of rewarding relationships over time. *Graciously We Receive* is a shared experience that will be broadly accessible due to the sympathetic resonance between the filmmaker and the participants. These relationships were enhanced by the participation of my family on several production sessions.
My wife, anthropologist Lisa Spicer, was associate producer and conducted several of the interviews with women. Having her on set created a comfort zone that was conducive to them freely expressing themselves. Her ability to ask meaningful questions brought the film valuable insight into the experiences of the homeowners and volunteers. In addition, my daughter, Fiona Dent, worked as my production assistant during several sessions. Although she was only nine years old at the time, her proficiency with the gear and her focus on the task impressed the volunteers and homeowners alike. The effect of working with my family on this project was very positive and was an irreplaceable component of relationship building. Our participation in the lives of the Hearts for Homes community built an atmosphere of trust in our intentions and respect for our methods. Volunteers repeatedly expressed their appreciation for our commitment and our ability to work together as a family unit. The time and effort that Lisa and Fiona put into this film resonated with the collaborative spirit of Hearts for Homes and made for a more rewarding experience for us all.
CHAPTER 4
PRODUCTION: METHODOLOGY, PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT

*Graciously We Receive* was produced with an interesting set of resources and limitations. The Hearts for Homes project central to this film was well underway during pre-production and my early coverage was with still photographs. I was suffering from a terribly damaged right shoulder from years of carrying cameras and equipment cases and could barely raise the camera up to my eye. Modern, professional still and motion picture cameras are designed for right-handed use.

Realizing that I could not even hold a video camera, I was lucky enough to recruit a crew of first year MFA students who happened to have gaps in their production schedule. Joe Brown, Aaron Martin and Bobby Lewis made important contributions early in production and Hanny Lee created some beautiful video and stills with her Canon 5D MkII during the project. Hanny studied my compositional style and often emulated the lighting and strong angles that are characteristic of my work. Her contribution to the project provided valuable continuity.

With a couple of quick sessions to brief the crew on my project, I underwent surgery on my shoulder and left them on their own to cover a major clean-up event at the project site. The following week I arrived on location to direct a second session with this crew. There was an element of comedy to the proceedings. While one of my crew members was scurrying around filming people’s backsides, another filmed a critical sequence with the lens stopped down too far, obliterating the sharpness of the lens by diffraction. Another delivered inexplicably weird framing of an essential interview. Of course, during the course of production I meticulously botched critical shots, recorded over-modulated audio during important sequences and tripped on my bootlaces while
attempting to pan. These mistakes had to be accommodated and presented some editorial challenges.

The value of my process was most clearly found in post-production. I was able to isolate binaries and weave complimentary stories together. My familiarity with the material allowed me to lay out the clips for each day's assembly and proceed with post-production confidently. Through all the variables, quick ciné-ethnography helped me perceive events in both cultural and cinematic context and facilitated the pieces coming together in a unified whole. Problematizing my data—looking for patterns and anomalies within the field—brought clarity to the process. Shooting everything and hoping for something is an unnecessary and exasperating way to make a film.

Lapses in direction during production inevitably cause work-arounds in post, a situation I found myself in at times, but significantly less than in any previous films I have produced. To have a versatile set of field methods and adaptable theory going into a project helps accommodate the inevitable changes that occur in ethnographic research and documentary film projects.

The early production sessions provided me with observational coverage the project that was very useful. However, the crew members' production schedules overcame them and I was again working alone. I quickly realized that I needed to enhance my ability to work unassisted in complex situations. After I lost my crew I conducted two-camera sessions, ran audio and shot stills with my right arm in a sling. There was something transcendent in the physical agony I was experiencing and the raw beauty of the footage of volunteers installing kitchen fixtures, cleaning the refrigerator or building the front porch. The light, the dynamic forms of their bodies and the serenity of their activity were exquisite. I worked with a Panasonic HVX200a and a
Canon 5d MkII, using Canon, Zeiss and Leica Lenses. The Panasonic gave me zoom lens and audio capability and I eventually learned to operate the camera handheld using my left hand.

After a lifetime of using still cameras from 8x10 to 35mm, I have a still shooter's sensibility and the small chips of video cameras have always broken my heart for the way they depict objects in space. With the Canon I was able to focus and compose on a five-inch monitor the size of a 4x5 inch view camera's focusing screen, only right side up, and have a sense of depth that felt real. Canon cameras do not make images more real than Panasonics, but 35mm film is the optical interpretation of reality that we have grown accustomed to through a century of cinema. Larger sensors more closely approximate cinematic rendering. That rendition of the moving image reconnected me with an aspect of my work that had been put aside while learning video technologies. I was shooting video that looked like stills, with the same depth and dynamic composition. With a tripod mounted Canon I could establish my frame and allow action to enter and exit the plane of focus, providing a sense of stability amid constant change.

In addition to the HVX200 and the Canon 5d Mk II, I used a tripod-mounted Panasonic HPX500 as my shoulder recovered its strength. The 2/3 inch chip in the HPX500 produces a very high resolution image with better low light performance than the smaller HVX200, but is huge, heavy and painful to mount and remove from the tripod. I wanted the higher quality of the HPX500 when the Canon was not applicable and lugged it around on several occasions near the end of production.

Production on Graciously We Receive was an initiation that I will long remember, an experience that could have easily descended into chaos had I not implemented a solid plan and developed good relationships with project participants. Quick cine-
ethnography proved to be a stable yet flexible platform that kept production on track and ensured that I had the coverage I needed to edit my film.
CHAPTER 5
POST PRODUCTION

Workflow

*Graciously We Receive* was edited in Final Cut Pro™ using a MacBook Pro™ laptop and 4tb LaCie™ hard drives. I chose Final Cut because of my familiarity with the program. Transcoding the 5D footage in Magic Bullet Grinder™ resulted in Apple ProRes 442™ files. The Panasonic HVX200 and HPX500 record on P2™ that is also transcoded to Pro Res 442™. Still photos were processed from Camera Raw to jpeg files in Adobe Lightroom™ and imported to Final Cut Pro™. All footage and stills were converted to black and white in Final Cut Pro™, using Channel, 3-Way Color Control and Brightness Contrast filters. Audio was edited in Final Cut Pro™, processed and mixed in Adobe Audition™.

The filter pack used in grading is significant in that Channels provides control over tonal renditions much like placing glass or gelatin filters over the camera lens while using panchromatic black and white film. The filters are subtractive, with a red filter darkening blue sky for example, so distinct tonal separations can be had that simply desaturating the color cannot provide. Skin tone, foliage and sky with clouds are depicted with a distinctively black and white look. 3-Way Color Control was used to adjust highlights, mid-tones and to set the blacks independently in a manner reminiscent of burning and dodging broad areas of a print in a chemical darkroom, while the Brightness and Contrast filter worked like dichroic contrast filters on variable contrast paper and in some cases added a feel of the *silvering* of a nice print. Finally, I used a Final Cut Studio™ plug-in for the vignetting filter to "burn the corners," forcing the viewer's attention to the most informative portions of the frame, a noise reduction filter
because of the lousy low light performance of the HVX200 and a lens correction filter to remove the hideous barrel distortion from that camera's lens.

Essentially, I approached the visual component of this project with tools that I have a deep comprehension of, based on my experience in visual media and influenced by the great works of the history of photography. During my career as a professional photographer I was frequently hired specifically for the expressive qualities of my black and white images, which have lasting emotional impact. In motion pictures as in silver black and white prints, processing the image is a critical aspect of the creative process.

Editing Theory and Methodology

After primary production concluded, Hearts for Homes started a new project that would prove to be pivotal in my research and my involvement in the community. The Parker project began on June 4, 2011, three weeks after I had completed primary production. I had coverage of the crew leader meeting where this project was discussed and prioritized. With the Parker project, I had the opportunity to follow a Hearts for Homes project from its inception through implementation and observe the impact on the quality of life on the homeowner. This also presented an opportunity for a secondary sampling to build on my familiarity with the Hearts for Homes community developed during four months of pre-production and production. The process of Mrs. Parker's home repair provided triangulation for my previous coverage and enhanced the narrative structure of the film. I was able to position the Amen project in a wider context and make clearer association between two projects as exemplars.

Running concurrently with post-production, the Parker project is a parallel narrative with many similarities to the other projects. With data from the Parker project I
was able to triangulate data, in a manner similar to the constant comparison method of grounded theory. Orthodox grounded theory would call for layers of coding: extensive processing and journaling in preparation for synthesis and, presumably, the writing of a paper. My approach has been to study the footage, place clips on the timeline and look for themes and patterns.

Using the constant comparison method for thematic evaluation, I isolated critical narratives within the data. A major thematic feature of the film is the principle of giving back to the community. Jerry's story is intercut with Harley's as each man describes his need to give back to the community. Jerry's service comes from his gratitude for his success in life and Harley's, to reclaim his self-respect and standing in the community while recovering from alcohol addiction. The binary pair created by these two narratives is very powerful and shows the wide spectrum of motivations to volunteer. Harley's experience is remarkably ceremonial in that his service to community is a literal and hard-earned re-integration into society.

When the narrative structure was established I was able to write an edit chart with scene components and transitions clearly visualized. The final production session on the Parker project was on July 1, 2011 and rough-cut was completed July 5. Post-production resumed on August 15 after carefully reviewing the rough cut. The film continued to build out as I recognized the project leaders as a central core of the story supported by the interplay between volunteers and homeowners, within a super-structure provided by the relationships between Susan, Larry and Bettye. These relationships were refined and the film became more fully integrated. It was during this phase that I better understood the dynamic between volunteer and homeowners and the need to be needed.
While developing the sound design, the avian motif became evident. Listening closely to audio tracks revealed a parallel soundscape to the human narrative. Practically every production session had birds (or frogs or cicadas) chirping nearby. Maria's canaries were in full song while we were filming. From this combination of dialogue, construction noise, ambient sound and music emerged a sound design that places the visual component in context. Texas is a noisy place and audio from observational footage can be confusing. To accommodate the ambient noise, I developed an acoustemology in which the component sounds remain distinct through the roar of Skilsaws and air conditioners.

The Parker project is a classic expression of the Hearts for Homes vision and a clear expression of the belief system from which it emanates. I was able to witness and to a small extent, express some of the Mrs. Parker's joy in having her home's first toilet installed. Since 1952, through the life and death of her husband and three children, Mrs. Parker has lived in a rickety home nestled between factories, without a toilet, while paying sewer bills to the City of Denton. Somehow she fell between the cracks and stayed there. Hearts for Homes re-connected Mrs. Parker's home to the city sewer system and installed a very nice bathroom, enabling a higher quality of life for an independent elder.

Filming the Parker project while editing gave me a running comparison of two similar projects. What was once new to me became familiar and patterns emerged from the footage. Every Hearts for Homes function begins with a prayer. This communal summoning of the will identifies the community and its function, to clearly focus on the tasks at hand. Sharing the articles of faith and an iteration of purpose before acting as a group is both ubiquitous and culturally specific, such as mangling the *Star Spangled*
Banner before a baseball game or the processions of rival villages before a game of Trobriand cricket. The gesture of prayer is essential to the culture of Christian outreach and to the structure of Graciously We Receive. Prayers are included in this film unedited to emphasize their significance and because I feel unqualified to edit a prayer.

Grounded theory is a common approach to conducting and processing qualitative research in the social sciences. It provides a platform for establishing relationships between data and for the discovery of theory, or narrative, from the data. It can be done with charts and journals, computer software such as Atlas-ti™ or as I did, using note cards, mind maps and clips on the timeline.

Ultimately the tools of grounded theory facilitate recognition of themes in documentary coverage that, when developed to their conclusion, present a constellation of significance. This ties into the beginning of the process, the questions that provide the base-line data that establish the direction of the project. Recognizing the influence of questions on what people say in a documentary puts tremendous importance on preparation and background research because the gestalt of the relationships between the filmmaker and the participants are assembled in post.
CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS: TRANSFORMATION, CULTURAL CREATIVES AND COMMUNITAS

There is nothing special about a three-part story structure: even a piece of string has a beginning, middle and an end. Aristotle discussed these essentials for narrative in his Poetics in 350 BCE. Calling it tripartite diachronicity can assuage the academic urge to greater complexity, but does not accommodate the fact that many other narrative structures have communicated just fine for centuries. The sonata form of symphonic narrative has four sections. Indigenous story telling often has a four-part structure in reference to the four directions of the circle of life. Shakespeare's plays usually had a five-act structure. Forty years ago Hollywood movies were two hours long with an intermission. Graciously We Receive, being ceremonial in nature, reflects the classic anthropological influence of the transformation cycle.

Despite the convenience and stability of the triad form, Victor Turner, in his research with the Ndembu, isolated a fourth transformational stage beyond re-integration: communitas (1967:129). Communitas is a sense of social cohesion that develops beyond the bounds of the culture, yet strengthens the society from which it comes. Hearts for Homes volunteers invoke a paradigm shift that allows a distinct perception of the function of the individual in the community and facilitates a revised understanding of the symbiosis of service. The giver and the receiver, in a relationship like fungi and algae living symbiotically as lichens, create a mutually sustainable system. Communitas is a realm of possibilities created by meeting the need to be needed by meeting a need.

Graciously We Receive chronicles transformation on several levels. Homes change, homeowners change, volunteers change, filmmakers change. Susan Frank
limps into the film, has both knees replaced and strides out slim and invigorated. What Hearts for Homes has accomplished is the creation of a dynamic entity existing outside of the social structure, an "anti-structure" as Turner would call it, that strengthens the society with its presence. This principle is essential for cultural creatives of all stripes. Knowing that transformation comes from the tension between social structure and the creation of anti-structure through individually realized grassroots activism is the commonality within differences essential for a functional society. *Graciously We Receive* is intended to illustrate experiences of transformation through selfless service and the emergence of communitas.
APPENDIX

PRODUCTION BUDGET
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<td>Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liability</td>
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<tr>
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<td>E&amp;O</td>
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<td>Duplication</td>
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<td>Promotion</td>
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<td>Subtotal</td>
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<td>Grand Total</td>
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<td>Amount Requested</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$9,250.</td>
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REFERENCES


Malinowsky, Bronislaw. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native


