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Transformative filmmaking in resettlement: refugees addressing acculturation gaps, concordance, and cohesion in Canada

Bingley, Jeffrey P.

Lethbridge, Alta: University of Lethbridge, Dept. of Sociology

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TRANSFORMATIVE FILMMAKING IN RESETTLEMENT; REFUGEES ADDRESSING ACCULTURATION GAPS, CONCORDANCE, AND COHESION IN CANADA

JEFFREY P. BINGLEY

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Dr. Susan McDaniel  Supervisor
  Professor  PhD. FRSC

Dr. Sameer Deshpande  Thesis Examination Committee Member
  Associate Professor  PhD.

Dr. Heidi MacDonald  Thesis Examination Committee Member
  Associate Professor  PhD.

Dr. Reginald Bibby  Chair, Thesis Examination Committee
  Professor  PhD.
Abstract:

This research looks at the potential of community film-making as an acculturation resource for use by resettling refugees. It explores the questions: How does participatory filmmaking affect intergenerational tension towards second-culture acquisition, and how does screening refugee-authored film affect community cohesion? The participants' reflections on the process of heritage re-mediation through oral history filmmaking and collective narrative are shared. Discussions throughout the development of Bhutanese refugee community-authored educational documentary evolve into this practice of refugees using video production to ease integration. Audiences also provide data to the research. It appears that CFAP creates opportunity to build bridges through heritage storytelling, to the host community’s social network resulting in trust and social inclusion. Simultaneously the process seems to help the refugee community by mitigating losses, and helping intergenerational relationships. The practice of Community Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes is developed. The process appears to moderate acculturative family distancing, and enhance community cohesion.
Acknowledgements

To all who supported me and this exploration, I wish to express my deep gratitude. The existence of this thesis is a reflection of your compassion, kindness, and moral support.

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To Alberta, thank you for investing in me and others like me by providing excellent
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this work. I thank family members for their words of encouragement and their patience
with my focus on the research.

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thank when things go well. In my neutrality, I have no idea who, how or which culturally
situated comprehension of a deity to thank, but hopefully such a being is aware of my
gratitude for the privilege of existence and gratitude for the opportunity to complete this
work that I hope will be of some benefit to my fellow beings.
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List of Abbreviations

Feedback groups abbreviations
AB’s- Bhutanese Audience respondents
AG’s –General Audience
AP’s- Audience made up of public services workers
AR- Audience made up of Senior Bhutanese Reading program viewers (group statement)
HC’s- Heritage Contributors
JB- Jeffrey P. Bingley (the researcher)
PF’s- Participatory Filmmakers

All other abbreviations
AFD- Acculturative Family Distancing
BTS- Behind The Scenes- footage or accounts of the process of filmmaking
CBS- Canadian Bhutanese Society - an Alberta registered non-profit tax deductible organization founded in 2009 in Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada
CFAP- Community Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes
C-FAR- Community Filmmaking as an Acculturation Resource
CMA- Concordance Model of Acculturation
LFS-IS- Lethbridge Family Services- Immigrant Services division
NVIVO- A qualitative data analysis software
PAR- Participatory Action Research
RN- Research Notes or Reflection Notes
U of L- University of Lethbridge- located in Alberta, Canada
UK- United Kingdom
UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
US- United States
Chapter 1

Introduction:

This research looks at the potential of community film-making as an acculturation resource for use by resettling refugees. Ginsberg (1991), Rouche (2003) Ruby (2005), and MacDougall (2012) have suggested potential benefits for marginalized communities who take up cinematographic representation. When this idea is combined with oral history in the context of Berry’s (1980) acculturation model, adding considerations from Piontkowski’s Concordance Model of Acculturation (2002), looking at Acculturation Gaps, and Family Acculturation Distancing, the potential benefit of community film-making for acculturation purposes seems worthy of exploration. Participatory Action Research (PAR) by Nepalese refugee young adults was proposed to introduce, explore, and develop practice in Community Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes (CFAP). The strategy utilizes community film-making oral history to explore intergenerational bi-cultural proficiency, offset cultural trauma, pass cultural knowledge across generations, and attempt to affect the inclusiveness of the host community. A number of sub themes are identified with respect to acculturative family distance and how this may or may not be mitigated by the process of CFAP.

CFAP differs from refugee film work being explored as dialogue with former combatants. While reintegrating refugee film making is the subject of recent research by Baú, (2014), her review sites no prior research on resettling refugees using community film-making for acculturation purposes.
I wish to know if for the refugee community, recovering and honoring of community heritage identity through oral history recording by youth may reduce likelihood that they will experience negative parental feedback when they adopt traits and friends needed in order to fit in to the host society. This is expected because parents will know that the youth are demonstrating their interest in maintaining their heritage in a permanent form. Will this give the rising generation greater flexibility or will it create pressure on the rising generation to maintain cultural practices in those areas where tradition and host culture conflict, such as in marriage practices? The oral histories, it is hypothesized, might reduce anxiety about impending cultural practice discontinuance by rebuilding what was lost in a new digital artifact or ‘portable monument’ (Rigney, 2008; 404). It seems that this could possibly reduce acculturation tension for the youth and the parents having a positive effect on their relationships and reducing barriers to integration.

Throughout the film making the participatory researchers are asked to reflect on the research questions: What are the effects of utilizing community film-making as an acculturation tool? Within that overarching question I set out specifically to ask: A) How does community filmmaking influence intergenerational tension toward second-culture acquisition? Over the course of the research it became necessary to ask: B) How does publically screening refugee authored film affect interest and perceived ability of host community audiences to engage socially with resettling refugees?
Historical Policies Influencing the present situation

Multiculturalism

In Canada, lobbying, demonstrations and community meetings initiated by the National Association of Japanese Canadians beginning in 1977 focused on preventing future abuses by acknowledging the past WWII internment (Miyagawa, 2012; Smith, 2014). This contributed to swelling public support centered on selling “multiculturalism as an idyllic made-in-Canada social condition” (Smith, 2014; 137). The government eventually responded on September 22, 1988 with a redress agreement that among other things created a Canadian Race Relations Foundation to “foster racial harmony and cross-cultural understanding and to contribute to the elimination of racism and racial discrimination in Canada.” (Friedman, 2014). In the same year, an Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada, became law. The Act solidified multiculturalism that had developed from the bi-culturalism begun under Trudeau in 1971. Among other things policy of the act sets out to:

(f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;

(g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

(h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and evolving expressions of those cultures;

(Government of Canada, 2014)
Bhutanese Refugee Background

While the Canadian government solidified its commitment to multiculturalism in 1988, another government was taking quite the opposite action. The Lhotshampa (‘people of the south’), as they were called by the dominant population, had grown to 45% of Bhutan's population over the previous 200 years. Of Nepalese origin, they remained culturally distinct from the rest of Bhutan in language, religion and geographic concentration. The ethnic Drukpas who ran the Monarchy became increasing concerned that the growing minority challenge the legitimacy of the ruling class. This fear was based in the referendum-based dissolution of the monarchy of neighboring Sikkim in 1977. By the mid 80’s, regional instability and rumors of Gorka nationalism had the monarchy feeling jitters.

In 1985 Bhutan declared citizenship held by ethnic Nepalese to be invalid unless they could produce a property tax receipt from 1958. This step presumably eliminated the possibility of a vote by citizens to replace the monarchy with a democracy. Three years later the kingdom ended its 22 year contract with India-based Jesuit schoolmasters who were more closely tied to Nepali culture and discontinued Nepali language in schools. In 1988 Bhutan announced One Nation One People policy which attempted to force assimilation of all residents into the dominant culture, essentially eliminating diversity. The Drukpa-centric Bhutanization revision of their national identity to an all-Buddhist kingdom of happiness included an oppressive national dress requirement, required architectural modifications, saturated news coming from Bhutan with ethno-tourism branding which obscured the external perception of the ethnic oppression, and portrayed
the monarchy as an ancient treasure to be protected for global cultural diversity reasons even while internally, diversity was being destroyed. One external verification comes from the memoir of Canadian World University Service English instructor Jamie Zeppa, who was in Bhutan in 1988-1990.

Dil and his friend are arrested and taken to Tashigang for not wearing national dress outside the campus. They were on their way back from Pala’s when the police picked them up. Many students, northern and southern, wear jeans to Pala’s. The arrest seems malicious and provocative. Dil and his friend return to school but a few days later, they disappear again. ...I hear they have run away. They have gone to join unnamed others across the border after they were beaten up by northern students for wearing Nepali dress under their ghos. And then, five more southern students disappear. They are taken at night. Arrested, gone, delivered to Thimpu for questioning, I hear from the other lecturers. The students will not talk about it; they look terrified at the mere mention of the five who are gone. This is the most frightening thing (Zeppa, 1999;194).

The king’s 1988 census dismissed the citizenship papers presented by Lohatshampas as invalid. By this means the government then asserted that the nation had a huge illegal immigration problem. The Lhotshampa protests in September of 1990 in the capital by some accounts involved burning the traditional clothes, and by other accounts were peaceful, but nevertheless provided the justification for severe backlash from the government. Subsequently, those who participated in demonstrations were identified, arrested and only released upon signing documents agreeing to leave the country. Ethnic tension escalated, and travel was restricted. A mass intimidation and expulsion program was implemented by the military who used the southern schools as garrisons and torture and detention facilities. Numerous atrocities have been documented. Any who had been involved in protests or were thought to sympathise with protests were forced to sign “no objections certificates” and “voluntary migration forms” agreeing to leave the country or face incarceration and torture or death (Hutt, 2005).
Thinley, 1994. U.S. Department of State, 1997). This resulted in 110,000 displaced Bhutanese. They ended up in refugee camps near the border inside Nepal where they have been for the eighteen to twenty years. After numerous intergovernmental meetings failed to result in acceptable settlement in either Nepal or Bhutan, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) gave up on repatriating or returning the Lhotshampa people and began the process of resettling these Bhutanese refugees in other countries (Yamagishi, 2012). Of the 6,500 that Canada agreed to receive, 900 have been sent to Lethbridge, with more than 400 arriving between 2011 and 2013 (Sarah Amies, personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Scope

There are approximately 45.2 million displaced people in the world. Of those, 10.4 million are refugees recognized by the UNHCR. The rate of displacement has been rising over the past 18 years. (UNHCR, 2013). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees only re-settles refugees into third countries as a last resort. In 2012 there were 71,000 resettled (UNHCR, 2013) refugees. With global displacement increasing, and concern about concentrations of non-integrating immigrants in urban centers, Canada has been sending more refugees to second and third tier cities like Lethbridge (Krahn, Derwing, & Abu-Laban, 2005).

Thus it seems from the history cited that that positive outcomes in extended cross cultural proximity are possible, but not guaranteed. It seems unwise to think that long-term peace following in-migration will always naturally occur. In fact, ethnic conflict is responsible for public health risks ranging from genocide to protracted displacement.
The UNHCR says that the present levels of displaced persons are the highest in history, and humanitarian resources are overstretched by present displacement levels. UNHCR attempts to help those who are displaced through three approaches. The first choice is to facilitate return to a communities from which they were displaced. Second choice is facilitate inclusion in the community to which they have fled. The last resort is resettlement to a third country. In each case, the intersection of cultures and the reliance on community is paramount to avoiding the causes of future conflict. Contemporary news events, particularly from Europe since September 4, 2015 are loaded with anxiety over migration related changes. It seems escalation processes similar to those responsible for Bhutan’s displacement must be avoided, and sources of displacement, including cultural conflict, reduced. For these reasons it seems a civic concern to attempt an understanding of the dynamics of acculturation, and to explore the development of resources to address the challenges inherent in what is referred to as acculturation.

Acculturation Literature

In 1936 anthropologists Redfield Linton & Herskovitz defined acculturation as, “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovitz, 1936, p. 149). Berry’s (1980) model of acculturation (Figure 1A) initially centered on two variables. (1) a relative preference for maintaining one’s heritage culture and identity, and (2) a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethno-cultural groups. (Berry, 2005). Variations in these place immigrants into one of four states, Integration, Separation, Assimilation or Marginalization. For over thirty
years Berry’s model has been a framework for acculturation research, and findings have been consistent that in this paradigm a combination of high contact and high heritage maintenance are best. “The conclusions of the inquiry for the life of young people in a society of immigration are clear: young people with a migrant background should be encouraged to maintain a connection to their culture of origin and at the same time close connections to the host society.” (Berry et al. 2010; 1. translation by Bing.com). Looking first at the connection to culture of origin, we consider that those immigrant populations who have experienced political attacks on cultural identity prior to arrival may face greater difficulty with retaining culture than other immigrants. It seems that leaving retention of culture to just happen by itself, would not give much support in the case of those resettling refugee populations whose displacement occurred as a result of cultural repression such as the ethnic cleansing experienced by Bhutanese refugees. While which acculturation-style quadrant the majority of a particular ethnic community trends towards influences that community’s economic success, education level and public health, there are familial and individual acculturation style preferences and proficiencies to consider, along with the receptivity of the host community. Later, Berry (1997) incorporated consideration for the attitudes of the larger society into the diagram (Figure 1).
Berry's Model of Acculturation

### Figure 1 A

**Dimension 1:** Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>INTEGRATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>SEPARATION</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Figure 1 B

**Dimension 1:** Is it considered to be of value to maintain the immigrant cultural identity?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>INTEGRATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>SEPARATION</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dimension 2:** Is it considered to be of value to adopt the cultural identity of the host community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>ASSIMILATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>ANOMIE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Revised bidimensional model of *immigrant* acculturation orientations.

### Figure 1

(Berry, 1980. Berry & Sam, 1997; 377)
Acculturation Gap

In addition to the aspects of inclusion and multiculturalism, research in the area of family acculturation has been ongoing with respect to mental health. There, the tendency has been reliance on quantitative methods such as psychometric scales. In their review of 67 articles on mental health and acculturation, Salant and Lauderdale (2003) mention that “Several studies suggest that the retention of traditional cultural beliefs and behaviors and the acquisition of new cultural features through acculturation may affect health outcomes in non-overlapping ways.” Their summary finds divergent results as indicated in the abbreviated table adapted from their work (Selections from a review of 67 studies on Acculturation Gaps, Table 1). As we can see from the selected examples, the effect of acculturation in the intergenerational relationships has been found to improve mental health in some cases and diminish mental health in other cases. There are indications that acculturative stress occurs in the intergenerational relationships in those from traditional cultures adapting to North American culture. Most of the research has focused on Asian and Latino populations in the U.S.
### Selections from a review of 67 studies on Acculturation Gaps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Subject/Participant</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Type of study</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Finding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guglani et al. (2000)</td>
<td>Hindu grandmothers</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Cultural integrity scale adapted from Cochrane Stopes-Roe (1978)</td>
<td>Hospital anxiety and depression scale</td>
<td>Better mental health among grandmothers in less acculturated families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehta (1998)</td>
<td>South Asian</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>American international relations scale, three sub-scores</td>
<td>Psychological distress (Langner-22 item scale), acculturative stress, life satisfaction</td>
<td>Acculturation as involvement in US society predicts better mental health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nguyen and Peterson (1992)</td>
<td>Vietnamese college students</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Cultural orientation scales</td>
<td>Stressful life events, total depression</td>
<td>Greater acculturation predicts depression, particularly for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westermeyer et al. (1984)</td>
<td>Hmong refugees</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Duration of residence, English language training; material possessions</td>
<td>Zung Depression Scale, symptom checklist (SCL-90)</td>
<td>Significant improvement in symptoms at 3.5 years, particularly for depression, associated with language training and possessions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1**

Table 1 adapted from Salant, T., & Lauderdale, D. S. (2003).
Similar findings apply in the U.K. as well. In the Guglani study, “Grandmothers were better adjusted in extended families than in nuclear families. This adjustment was in part mediated by the level of traditional belief within the family. Elders whose granddaughters had an exclusively ‘Indian’ or ‘Hindu’ ethnic identity were better adjusted than those whose granddaughters included a ‘British’ ethnic identity.” They went on to suggest that perhaps “the grandmothers may feel useful and integral to the continuity of life if the grandchildren consider themselves to be Indian. In contrast if the adolescents recognize themselves as British … ethnic elders may feel that the move to Britain has robbed them of their grandchildren especially when they identify strongly with the British culture..” (Guglani et al, 2000; 1051). It appeared from their research that as far as mental health of Hindu seniors was concerned if the family was in the segregation mode of acculturation this was easier on them.

As further research began to explore health in connection with stress and intergenerational relations in acculturating families the term "acculturation gap" came to be used by researchers exploring many aspects of differences of rates of acculturation between generations on a number of variables. Acculturative Family Distancing (AFD) model by Lau and Wood selected a narrower focus that identified two factors that affected mental health in acculturating families, these variables were Language differences between the young and the old, and Cultural Values differences. In this model research results have been mixed (Lau et al. 2005. Wei-Chin & Wood 2008. Tezler, 2011).
Researchers continue to explore acculturation gap with respect to differences between parents and children in heritage cultural orientation in different populations and settings using different instruments (Goforth, Pham & Oka, 2015. Shi, 2015. Tezler et al., 2016). Liu’s 2015 meta-analysis of 61 studies found that acculturation mismatch correlated with intergenerational cultural conflict, and this in turn correlated negatively with mental health and educational outcomes (Liu, 2015).

One reason for doing the present study as relates to the above is to explore whether overtures made by the rising generation to preserve the culture in filmic form will relieve tension in the intergenerational relationship of the acculturating group. Therefore I theorize that the obligation to perpetuate culture may be met in part by young adults filming oral history and assembling the culture in filmic form. This memorializing of the sacrifices of the previous generation may help fulfill the obligations of the rising generation to perpetuate the culture, thus freeing up flexibility for the rising generation to take on second-culture attributes whilst making heritage preservation easier and more definitive. In a collectively oriented immigrating group, a clear and obvious effort by the youth to preserve culture in film might reduce pressure in the intergenerational relationships.
The Relationship of Immigration to Inclusion, Community Capital and Cohesion in the Host Community

While Guglani et al’s work indicated that school-age Hindu girls born in England identifying themselves as "Indian" not "British" had grandmothers who had higher self-esteem, events in northern England a year later prioritized a contrasting objective in acculturation research. Ethnic riots broke out in several British cities in 2001. The cohesion literature attempting to explain how these occurred in a country where multiculturalism had been the policy may have been influenced by Robert D. Putnam’s startling book, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Putnam, 2000) released the year before. Putnam’s research aggregated factors such as average number of civic associations per thousand population, the percentage of people who participate in a local organization, and the percentage of people who agree that “most people can be trusted” to produce an index of social capital for each U.S. state. He found that comparing his index of social capital to ethnic diversity, income disparity, and a host of other factors, seemed to show that diversity and social trust were inversely related. Community cohesion appeared to be adversely affected by increasing multi-ethnicity. In 2007 he reported that diversity in the United States is strongly related to a tendency to withdraw from collective life. (Putnam 2007). For all of the debate over Putnam’s explanations, UK researchers had their own deliberations about diversity and community cohesion (Peach 2001, Phillips 2005, Laurence, 2009, Thomas, 2011). The Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality said that Brittan was “sleepwalking into
segregation… (and becoming a country of) passively coexisting ethnic and religious communities, eying each other uneasily over the fences of our differences.” (Marrin, 2005).

It seems immigration implies a civic responsibility towards outreach on the part of both the host and arriving communities to form bridging ties such as cross cultural friendships. “First, we see that increasing diversity has a negative impact on all individuals’ reported levels of localized trust (whether there are ‘bridging’ ties present or not). However, this effect is significantly weaker amongst individuals with ‘bridging’ social ties. The presence of ‘bridging’ ties in one’s network therefore serve as an effective buffer, mitigating the detrimental impact of increasing diversity on trust.” (Lawrence, 2009; 12). They go on to suggest, “our finding on the positive role of ‘bridging’ ties in social cohesion suggests that policies that encourage the growth of social capital (especially ‘bridging’ social capital) in diverse areas (for example, creating opportunities and incentives for formal volunteering, involvement in local civil renewal activities, informal volunteering could play a vital role in fostering both trust and tolerance.” (Lawrence, 2009; 16). Perhaps in response to such research, resettlement agencies and civic government in places like Lethbridge, Alberta have formal programs recruiting volunteers to work with the newly arrived refugees in helping them to have support from the host community and its social networks. The host family program, and the library read-on programs bring volunteers in contact with resettling refugees in Lethbridge, and this has been gratefully received by members of the Bhutanese community. Those involved in these programs, we would assume from Lawrence, form bridging ties which compensate for the ‘hunkering down’ (Putman, 2007) reflex described by Putnam.
However, these programs work with small groups and while they reach “more than 60%” (PF10) of resettling refugees in Lethbridge, the programs cannot reach even the majority of residents. What would cause those comfortable in their existing social networks to want to have social interaction outside of their respective ethnic comfort zones?

Fostering outreach attitudes in immigrants may cause things to actually be worse for them, if the attitudes they encounter in the host community are unreceptive. Baysu, Phalet & Brown (2011) find that integration is the less problematic when immigrants in host communities face minimal discrimination. Grades of immigrant students who score high in the integration acculturation scale experience bigger drops when they experience discrimination, than the grades of those in the separation or assimilation categories described in Berry’s model (Figure 1a). This seems to confirm Piontkowski’s model (Piontkowski et al, 2002) the Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA) which identifies four levels of concordance between the host community and the immigrant community: consensual, culture-problematic, contact-problematic, and conflictual.

A basic assumption of the CMA is that the greater the mismatch in attitudes, the more threatening and less enriching the intergroup situation will be perceived to be….the level of concordance is related to perceived intergroup threat and/or enrichment when controlling for the underlying acculturation attitudes: the greater the concordance between the dominant group’s acculturation attitudes and the attitudes imputed to immigrants, the lower the perceived threat and the higher the perceived enrichment. (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; 221)

If media can influence groups to believe they will find interacting with each other enriching, chances are higher that they will find evidence in their subsequent interactions to support that belief. If that momentum is continued, theoretically a stronger more tear-resistant social fabric might be built. The opposite is also true, “Perceived threat is not
only a consequence of perceived discordance in acculturation attitudes, but also an antecedent of acculturation attitudes” (Rohmann et al, 2006; 669). A separated condition where groups in geographic proximity keep to themselves partly because they believe the other group wishes to keep to itself seems needlessly precarious. Enhancing the confidence to reach out to the unfamiliar group may be a matter of providing storied evidence to help attitudes, and confidence towards new cross cultural engagement. The point being that groups coming together may benefit from films authored by the incoming, unfamiliar group to bolster inter-cultural confidence sufficiently as to encourage social engagement. Indeed as shall be shown, in the case of the present research, refugees participants wanted to then explore film for its potential in moderating cultural confluence.

**Communities using film**

Indigenous media could be thought of as the first type of community film-making. It developed from indigenous reactions to being subjects of ethnographic film makers (Stoller, 1992; Rouch, 2003). The Kayapo of Brazil got so accustomed to visits from camera-toting visual anthropologists, they decided to take charge of their own representation by adopting the medium. Their indigenous productions have been a powerful political voice for indigenous people. MacDougall describes indigenous media as

… a self-conscious expression of political and cultural identity, directed in part at countering representations by others. For indigenous people, the visual media can serve as an instrument of political action, (as among the Kayapo), cultural reintegration and revival (as among the Inuit), or as a corrective to stereotyping, misrepresentation and denigration (as among many Native American
groups)….Ginsburg has argued that much indigenous media production has a broader educative purpose, both within and outside an indigenous community. As a result there is a crossing of cultural boundaries between subjects and potential audiences as well as a project of mediating ‘ruptures of time and history’ in the communities themselves (Ginsburg 1991; 102-105). (MacDougall, 2012; 284)

Indigenous community film making has been an instrument of political action, a means to address historical cultural rifts, a way to educate external publics, and a way to mediate culture change. Might these benefits be sought by refugees who likewise have experienced marginalization, displacement, and culture loss? While recovery of identity, retaking ownership of cultural property, authority in representation and resisting assimilation are priorities that indigenous media and refugee community film-making would have in common, the refugee relationship with the external audience might benefit from a different approach than that of indigenous cinema (or film-making). Rather than confronting injustice, resettling refugee community film-making might focus on increasing approachability, empathy, and providing story knowledge to create social confidence in bi-cultural interaction. Faye Ginsburg (1991) suggests that the goal of history focused identity recovery be grounded in contemporary objectives. Minority produced media offers a possible means:

... for reproducing and transforming cultural identity for people who have experienced massive political, geographic, and economic disruption. . . . The capabilities of media to transcend boundaries of time, space and even language are being used effectively to mediate, literally, historically produced social ruptures and to help construct identities that link past and present in ways appropriate to contemporary conditions.” (Ginsberg, 1991; 96)

To this Ruby adds, “Subject-generated films and video are a tool used by some disenfranchised people in their efforts to negotiate a new cultural identity....” (Ruby, 2005; 43. emphasis added). Documenting one’s own history and the history of one’s
family and community through film-making may be seen as recuperating identity (O'Connell, 2001; Mitra, 2005). The playing back of the content in a cultural group context may produce group validation and strengthen group identity, such as in the case of an initiative called Challenge for Change which engaged a community not in the film making itself, but in support through filming.

In a project inspired by indigenous film, “The “Fogo Process” was part of a 1970s initiative called Challenge for Change, in which the National Film Board of Canada sponsored a series of films “intended to raise public consciousness about the rights and needs of disenfranchised and disadvantaged groups” (Weisner, 1992; 68). Challenge for Change did not set out to make progressive films about social issues but instead to use the film-making process as a form of social change. The intent was to use film production and distribution as a means of empowering politically and socially disenfranchised people.” (Sandercock, & Attili, 2010; 26. emphasis added) Rudy adds, "The process by which the films were made and screened was central to their impact on the lives of the islanders. The films and discussions heightened the awareness of the people that they shared common problems and strengthened their collective identity... “ (Rudy, 1991; 51. emphasis added).

The film/video production process has been explored for its benefits in the fields of public health (Rode, 1988), and as therapy in the fields of art (Rubin 1999), recreation, psychology (Johnson, & Alderson, 2008; Hoorwitz, 1984), and social work (Schäuble, 2011). There does not appear to be much prior research attempting participatory film making as an acculturation strategy among refugee populations.
Participatory Action Research

In terms of the social sciences, my inquiry is situated in the Participatory Action Research tradition (PAR), but with pragmatic rather than emancipatory leanings. Participatory Action Research grew from the work of Kurt Lewin and General Systems Theory, which began to be applied in the social sciences in the 1940s. It "formed the basis for experimentation in natural settings with a profound impact on social change through planned and systematic approaches to participation in the change process." (McIntosh, 2010: 13). Lewin's work outlined a cyclical pattern of research involving participants in successive action and reflection to generate benefit and knowledge (Fisher and Ball, 2003).

A working definition of PAR is offered as follows:

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is defined (Hall, 1981) as a collaborative process of research, education and action explicitly oriented towards social transformation." (Kingdon, Pain, Kresby 2007; 10) It is a "participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview...(and bringing) together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others in the pursuit of practical issues of concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and communities (Reason and Bradbury 2006; 11)

As for Participatory Action Research in media production, for the past ten years Lowgren and Reimer (Löwgren & Reimer, 2013) have been exploring what they call collaborative media production at MIT. Their work integrates the digital media design process with the PAR process, ending up with “code products” intended to cause societal change. They address the challenge of conceptualizing PAR within academic traditions,
and consider the varied history PAR creates in their book “Collaborative Media: Production, Consumption and Design Interventions.”

This new researcher role carries a new set of responsibilities: the disinterested stance of Mode-1 research is not an option for researchers who set out to explore and assess the potential of collaborative media in creating a space in the mediascapes for underprivileged groups to influence public opinion, for example. Initiating such transformation processes corresponds to taking societal action…. (Löwgren & Reimer 2013; 36 emphasis added).

They also connect their collaborative media production for social action carried out through digital communities to the tradition of participatory action research. “(Participatory Action Research) tradition is highly relevant for this field, and there are a number of researchers steeped in it who have worked concretely within the areas of design and media…” (Löwgren & Reimer 2013; 34).

Thus, designing digital products through group processes to influence public opinion and thereby accomplish social change can be done in a modality of Participatory Action Research. What Löwgren and Reimer are doing is essentially engaging designers to work for and with marginalized groups to create digital social change products in a PAR process. It is a similar approach to the present research.

In this practice of PAR, I as a film making researcher engage with participatory refugee researchers who “undertake enquiries with others” (McNiff & Whitehead 2005; 29 emphasis added) They bring knowledge and perspective from their experience to co-produce stories that are intended to be transformative in process (Schäuble, 2011) and in product. The city of Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada is selected as the research site because it is the location of the largest number of resettled Bhutanese
refugees in Canada. In addition, there is somewhat of a phenomenon of secondary migration to Lethbridge of Bhutanese who had previously resettled in other communities. Finally, Lethbridge is chosen because the researcher is there connected to the resources of the city and university, which makes this kind of voluntary open-ended group production with no production budget a possibility.

In terms of theoretic foundations it should be remembered that, “Participatory approaches did not originate as a methodology for research, but as a process by which communities can work towards change. When employed or adapted as a means of research, many would point to the importance of retaining this fundamental principle” (Pain, 2003; 46). As such I have been in a place of some disabling internal conflict over the colonization of the research method by placing it in categorizing constructs foreign to its origin which my application of it, from within academia seems to require. However, I selected PAR precisely because it seemed the most respectful of autonomy and of the circumstances of the formerly-oppressed population that I wished to engage with in my research activities.

Though diverse disciplines have utilized par in research, standardizing PAR within academic contexts seems somewhat accomplished in a synthesis of PAR methods by Zuber-Skerritt & Fletcher (2007). They suggest that when action research is used in academia it should accomplish the objectives of the participants and also contribute to the development of theory. They suggest that in action research, contribution to advancing theoretical knowledge may take the form of practice development. (Zuber-Skerritt & Fletcher 2007; 417) In that context the contributions to theory which are attempted in
this research are the novel application of community filmmaking to the tasks of acculturating. On the other hand it could be argued as well that the information about the transformative impacts of CFAP on acculturation in the case of Bhutanese resettlement in Lethbridge constitute contribution to knowledge.

**Information Elicitation**

Based on Berry’s 1997 model and subsequent tests we know that acculturation is optimal when the desire and ability to maintain heritage identity is stronger than inclinations towards the separation or assimilation tracks. Piontkowski’s Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA) (Piontkowski et al, 2002) adds that the desire for contact with the host community should be met by a matching interest if perceived threat is to be kept low.

We see from Piontkowski’s Concordance Model of Acculturation (Piontkowski et al, 2002) that an integration intention by newcomers only works when it is met by inclusive attitudes from the host community. There is some evidence from Zagefka (Zagefka et al, 2012) that the attitude of the host community towards inclusion can be influenced by video expressions of the integrating community. Therefore part of refugees acting with deliberate intent on their own acculturation would involve screening films they produce for the local public viewing audience as a means of strengthening connections with the host community. Film in this sense could be seen as a public relations tool to manage first impressions, reduce cross-cultural barriers such as fear of
the unfamiliar, and otherwise inspire inclusive attitudes and actions. This would involve
the refugee film editors selecting clips based on social objectives for what they want their
audience to understand, know, feel, and believe (Lee & Kotler, 2011). The general public
version(s) of the resulting video are ideally previewed to various local public audiences
along with a questionnaire. Results from the local public audience questionnaire, refugee
audience, refugee heritage contributors, and refugee participatory filmmaker interviews,
aid understanding of the potential of community film-making as an acculturation tool.
Chapter Two
Method
The Story of the Research Process

The Design

Participatory Action Research follows the steps of Plan, Act, Reflect. Those processes are congruent to Design, Implement, Evaluate. At the beginning of the research, I had very little knowledge of what would be feasible and what kind of approach to take. Canada Immigration contracts with non-profit community social agencies to provide resettlement services to refugees. In Lethbridge, the contract is with Immigrant Services, a division within Lethbridge Family Services (LFS-IS). Through e-mail I was able to arrange a meeting with the director of LFS-IS, Sarah Amies. At her suggestion, I contacted the President of the Canadian Bhutanese Society, Hemlal Timsina to further explore the possibility of arranging research with the group. He liked the idea of recording the oral histories for a Society archive and felt that the participatory approach would be helpful to the community. Although participatory methods in the purest sense would involve the participants in the development of the research proposal, due to institutional requirements under tri-council policy, a proposal was required prior to beginning work with participants. This was overcome through development of the plan with periodic updates to the president of the society to see if he felt it was on track to be valuable to the Bhutanese Society members. The resulting plan was reviewed by the
supervisory committee and revised. The proposal received Human Ethics approval at the University of Lethbridge in October 2014.

The three groups who provide data to the project were the Participatory Filmmakers (PF’s), the Heritage Contributors (HC’s) who are those interviewed or documented on camera, and the audience which was later subdivided as Bhutanese community members (AB’s) and others in the general public. Later, after feedback was provided, other audiences were added as a data source, namely general community audiences (AG’s) and public service providers (AP’s). Feedback from the latter two was obtained through a post screening convenience on-line form. The form feedback was sought to confirm whether the perceptions of the Bhutanese refugees that the film would create positive attitudes in the host community towards Bhutanese, is correct. This was important to ascertain before expanded distribution of the film was undertaken. This is considered due diligence. The Story Bridge Audience questionnaire also received ethics approval.

The plan relied on bi-lingual participatory filmmakers between the ages of 18 and 35. I provided 12 hours of workshops on the basic tools to collect interviews and do editing. The training was to be an in-kind benefit for the participants for their participation in the project, and this training was offered in advance regardless of whether they continued with the project. Those who liked their experience of working with the equipment would continue on to contribute 42 additional volunteer hours. These participatory filmmakers would decide who to interview based on who they thought would most likely be able to contribute to the cultural heritage knowledge. Thus
identified, potential Heritage Contributors (HC’s) were approached for video interviews. The interviews were recorded using questions developed as a group in the earlier workshop. I provided support for their editing the shots and sound of the interviews and finishing these out onto individual oral history Digital Video Discs (DVDs). It is standard practice in Oral History for the copyright to belong to those recorded, in this case the Heritage Contributors. Since part of the goals was to create collective heritage capital to replace that which had been lost in removal from the homeland, permission for a copy of each HC’s oral history to be held in trust by the Canadian Bhutanese Society was sought. In addition, from the captured footage a compilation of the community story was assembled. The HC interviews and the documentary working copy was shown to the HC’s in their homes for feedback. Afterwards their signed approval was sought for use of their content in the community documentary. If they approved, the video clips were then shown to the Bhutanese community and a convenience sample of audience volunteers then offered feedback on the film. Following this, the PFs gathered again to reflect on what they experienced as the film was presented to the Bhutanese community. At the time of the design of the research, this was as far as the project was intended to go, though, as we shall see, the project was extended.

Standard practice in filmmaking would simply be to get blanket releases from those appearing on camera before the interview. Typically film releases surrender complete control of the interviewees likeness, image, and story to the producer and sign away rights to further consultation. Since one purpose was to help re-capitalized the participants’ community from its losses of tangible cultural items like momentous, I felt that this two stage consent was needed, and that following oral history protocol as far as
intellectual property was concerned, would be more appropriate than filmmaker protocols. For a full understanding of the unique accommodations required by this philosophy and respect, refer to the Heritage Contributor Letter of Agreement (Appendix E).

**The Implementation or Action**

The day after the ethics approval was granted, potential participants gathered in an information session. Three weekend workshops in production methods followed. Next, participants arranged to shoot oral history interviews. These and cultural practices were videotaped by participants and the researcher, in most cases using a two camera setup, lighting support and various sound instruments which unfortunately gave inconsistent sound quality. Following that, the participants assembled and translated the oral history footage from the interviews done in Nepali language. They selected excerpts from their respective interviews to be included in the documentary, and shot the introduction to each oral history interview as individuals and to the documentary itself as a group. Thereafter working with one of the PFs at a time, from their selected footage I did an assembly edit to make a documentary for the Bhutanese audience which was 23 minutes long and had numerous imperfections (version 1.3), particularly in the subtitle translations. This was completed about an hour prior to the screening on December 26 at Losar Festival gathering of the Canadian Bhutanese Society. At the screening, audience members volunteered to give feedback in a room adjacent to the multipurpose hall rented at Southminster United Church where the festival was occurring. A few days after the event, PF’s gathered in two reflection sessions to report on the comments they had received after the show and their general impressions of the audience response. Acting
on feedback received from the audience a group decision was made to extend the production, and the logistics of doing so were worked out. By mid-February, 2015, most of the oral histories had been delivered to their respective contributors and these along with the rough cut documentary had by that time been screened to the Heritage Contributors in their homes and their feedback was also recorded. Most of it was in Nepali language. The PFs acted as interpreters in these feedback interviews. Later on, a more concise and independent translation of the recorded HC feedback interviews was obtained.

Meanwhile, a second wave of production activity was underway, based on the feedback received from both the audience and Heritage Contributors. Feedback and reflection from the PFs assembled after the screening of the rough cut to the Bhutanese audience had indicated consensus that the project needed to go further. Remember that with PAR, reflecting is followed by revising based on results, and then re-applying action in the revised direction until the desired outcome is achieved. The HSRC was consulted and approval of the plans to extend shooting was given to fill in needed gaps, to cover the topics that had not been adequately represented, and to test the results to see if the revised intended benefits could be achieved. This second wave of production engaged some of the participants who had not been fully available in the previous production effort, and relied on those of the group who had greater availability. Thematically this footage which would become part two of the documentary centered on religious practice cultural contribution to Canada. By April of 2015 I had conducted the individual Participant Feedback interviews with the PFs as each of them finished their contributions to the project. Over the summer I did transcriptions and began analysis of the data, leaving
aside polishing the edit of the production. A chance discussion at a public forum on May 7, 2015 at the Southern Alberta Council on Public Affairs (SACPA) led to an appointment to screen the documentary at the Sir Alexander Galt Museum the following November.

In the last week of October the polishing of the documentary resumed. For the documentary to be formulated in the voice of the Bhutanese community, I relied heavily on one of the Bhutanese community filmmakers, PF-7. Through her dedication and reliability the finishing edit was completed in timely way. Significant quality improvements in the documentary were made. Now with a name *The Story Bridge* with a subheading *Bhutan to Lethbridge a Journey in Community* the documentary screened to the public for the first time at the Galt Museum on November 19, 2015 to an audience of 98 people.

The name was chosen to imply that through the act of recording and telling stories of lived experiences, along with connecting these stories to one another and to the heritage stories of communities, a bridge is constructed which connects cultures. Hence it is not a bridge story, but a bridge made from stories, or a filmic bridge, so to speak, thus it is named *The Story Bridge*. The title also refers to the processes of bridging relationships which we hoped would be initiated through the screening of the film in mixed audiences.

To facilitate some objectivity in the inherently subjective relating of experience process, and to provide film-making experience, most of our activities were videotaped. This included the instruction of the workshops and behind the scenes footage. For example, the heritage interviews were, wherever possible, covered by a wide angle
stationary camera which was the first camera set up at interview locations, thereby tracking our activities throughout the setup, permissions, interviews and take down procedures.

**Reflexivity**

Reflection discussions (RD’s) occurred both formally and informally throughout the action process. These were also documented, and revisions in the film and approach were made over the course of the production based on these reflection sessions. The formal group reflexive discussions were of the whole group whenever possible, and recorded on video. There were also informal reflexivity discussions that took place in one-on-one situations or in small groupings when working in post-production after the rough edit. These were sometimes recorded on an audio device, or notes were made afterwards, depending upon whether recording would have distracted from the moments of realization as they occurred. Generally, doing this did not seem to detract from the candid nature of the discussion, and the participants had from the beginning agreed and expected to be recorded at any time during our process, with the condition that their comments in such contexts would be anonymous if quoted in the research.

Finally, there were the reflections of the researcher, or Research Notes (RN’s). These were sometimes written and other times dictated into the cell phone recorder and transferred to the research data hard drive later on. To this are added photographs of whiteboard notes made while grappling with the conceptual implications of the multifaceted research process. These are also stored in the research data hard drive.
These process recordings and process notes when combined with the production materials, and formal interviews comprised a total of 1.02 Terabytes (1,132,756,265,472 bytes) of data. The reflection and behind the scenes recordings are used here as mnemonic verification in relating the account, and will be referred to by file, with the runtime location in the file of any quoted material. In some ways, the usefulness of these process documentations are found in the act of collecting them, as they provided practice opportunities for the participants. The participants’ occasional review of the footage visually reinforced their collective identity, providing the opportunity to see themselves as filmmakers engaged in a group research project for the benefit of their community. Further reinforcement of this may yet be forthcoming. The group decided to use behind the scenes footage in the introduction to the video. There is also discussion at the time of this writing about making a larger behind the scenes video if the production turns out to be popular. Finally, the existing documentation of the process may provide opportunity for future analysis.

For those approaching this document from the film production conceptual framework, the data collected on the process may be thought of as a rough equivalent of all Behind the Scenes (BTS) footage, with pre-production, production, and post production being covered, as well as the board-room and screening room discussions, directors notes and so forth constituting all documents generated by the production. The significant difference, however is that the focus of this footage is primarily documentation for lessons on practice development and practice improvement.
**Structure of the Analysis**

In the design, three groups provided feedback. (Others were added later as a failsafe measure when screening to audiences outside of the Bhutanese community. These will be discussed later in the chapter.) The Bhutanese Audience (AB) responses to the rough cut were collected first, Heritage Contributor (HC) responses were collected next, and Participatory Filmmaker (PF) responses collected last. These formal interviews were transcribed in their entirety, comprising 119 single spaced pages (9 pages of AB feedback, 49 pages of PF feedback, and 61 pages of HC feedback). The data sets that consisted of transcriptions of the interviews of the AB's, HC's and PF's were initially analyzed in NVIVO through clustering into nodes according to topics. Themes were consistent with the explicit questions asked, while other themes emerged. Three kinds of questions, core explicit questions, responsive questions, and topical categories for discussion were used. The core questions were identical for all three groups. The responses to the first two core questions are explicit data and can thereby be triangulated. Responsive questions evolved through the interview process to explore observed topics. The topical categories questions were drawn from a list of questions for each of 6 topics on which I used to elicit more detailed responses from the Participatory Filmmakers in the final interview. The choice of questions used beyond the core questions were selected relative to the context of the conversations with the respective participants as they unfolded. It was necessary to list the questions that might arise in the interviews in the design of the study for ethics reasons. These later two groups of questions therefore cannot be triangulated but produce data that contribute to describing the intergenerational
relationship in the present context, and understanding the motivations and transformational effects of engaging in what I call *Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes* (FAP). A sequential sense-making of these later data therefore will constitute the majority of the analysis. Since the objectives of the participatory filmmaking evolved over the course of the project to include the goal of screening the film to the host community (based on the feedback the PFs received from the ABs and HCs,) it was necessary to add another level of assessment. Post analysis will therefore follow concerning data collected as a failsafe measure with regard to confirming that screenings to external audiences which were not anticipated at the onset of the project, have the positive effects on host community inclusiveness.

The core questions were as follows:

1) "Is this project helpful for the Bhutanese community in Lethbridge?  
a) If so, in what way is it helpful?"
2) "Do you feel it is important for the rising generation to have this film?"
 a) If so, why?
3) "Does this oral history film project make it easier to see the rising generation changing - - adjusting to Canadian culture?"
   a) If so, how or why does it do that?

**Triangulation:**

- In response to question 1, each person interviewed in all three groups expressed that the project helps the Bhutanese community in Lethbridge.
- In response to question 2, all respondents in all groups said that they feel it is important for the rising generation to have this film.
In response to question 3 most of the responses addressed only one aspect of the question, not the interrelationship between its three elements, therefore it is difficult to triangulate the data. It appears the question was not easily interpreted by the participatory filmmakers acting as interpreters in the HC interviews. They often asked a question with a different meaning, or asked only about the film, the rising generation, or adjusting to Canadian culture (this only became evident after the recordings of the interviews were independently translated). In addition, most of the audience respondents felt they had already given an answer to this question in their responses to the open ended sub-questions for question 1 and question 2. The responses to question three therefore result in only descriptive information.
Chapter 3
Analysis

Descriptive Data:

The answers to why the Bhutanese viewers of the rough edit (AB’s) felt the project was helpful fell into two categories. 1) conveying the culture forward intergenerationally (7 of 10 answers), and 2) enhancing the relationship with the host community (4 of 10 respondents). Before talking about the relationship with the host community, we will focus on the dynamics of the intergenerational relationships and the ideas of the three groups concerning how FAP intersects with their intergenerational connections. The writing of the descriptive data is intended to illuminate some of the processes occurring in the intergenerational relationships while acculturating. In fact Phinney suggests, “To understand the changes that occur following immigration, researchers need to recognize this complexity and incorporate it into research designs. Acculturation, like human development, is a process, not a variable.” (Birman. 2006;94)

Audience respondent 3 (AB3) gave a reply that includes many of the themes found in others’ comments.

Why this film is important is because we have come to a third country, so our culture and our people are very few in numbers so our children will start getting involved in the Canadian culture and learn more about this culture because our children are with us only for four to five hours and most of the time they are with Canadian children/friends. That’s why they will learn English very early. Our culture and language will go extinct. So this documentary will show them who we were, where we came from, what our identity is, and what our language is. My little son will not know any of these things now, but in the future, when he watches the film, my son will know who his father was, and where he came from. My son will learn from this documentary/film. And maybe I am not 100% sure but by watching this film my child will not forget my language, my culture and my origin. For that reason, this film will lead the little children to learn language culture, religion. (AB3)
This new father is looking forward and predicting the effects of immersion in Canadian culture on his relationship with his son and expects the film to help him convey the aspects of culture and heritage to such a degree that it will help maintain his relevance to his son in an environment which is unintentionally hegemonic to him. He thinks it might help inspire his son to learn the language, culture and religion to prevent them from becoming extinct.

Maintaining a connection in the midst of culture change is a theme carried on not only by the Bhutanese Audience, but also by the Heritage Contributors and Participatory Filmmakers as well.

What I feel is that the future generation will understand or they will think ‘ok, this is how our ancestors were like,’ they will also understand what were our cultures, these is how our cultures transcended from earlier times. In another way...they will also be able to understand how much of difficulty our ancestors had to face and, despite being illiterate, how they brought us here. (HC2, 04:36-5:23)

The film, she hopes, will educate and also tell the story of what was left behind with the transition that was made. An important reflection was that the decision to resettle to a third country was one which the seniors made with some degree of understanding that they were choosing to be made irrelevant to the rising generation, but they were doing it for the sake of the rising generations. The film offers the possibility that the rising generation will actually comprehend more fully, empathize and appreciate this intergenerational sacrifice in their behalf.

The coming generation they don’t know about our past right, it is very, very important documentary because we are the only ones that face problem our past, right? The coming generation they don’t know. They should have to know about what was our past. (AB4)
Throughout the comments there are occasional references to a social obligation of the rising generation to understand the experiences and heritage of their progenitors. “They should have to know” and similar statements implies that to them it is a matter of social justice to have the right to perpetuate their culture and traditions to the best of their ability under the circumstances of having first been the victims of ethnic cleansing and now being immersed in a social environment that is somewhat foreign to the context of their cultural origins. It seems that HC and AB participants expect that CFAP will help them resist obsolescence of the Heritage Culture in an environment far different from the one that fostered its evolution. By adopting the medium of the predominant culture, with its permanence, and platform, the past is re-contextualized in the language of the future. Grandfather shares the same contemporary platform as a newscaster, pop star, or documentary social activist.

With the time change, education, technology, with all these changes all children might not listen, they might not follow what their parents did before, so some are going to be good. Some are going to listen to their parents and keep on following the religion that their parents did, but ...the nature of Nepali people are to want to copy the other lifestyle that they see, their nature is like that, so some might be following and some might not. (HC2 8:47-9:30)

In the opinion of this senior Heritage Contributor, “being good” (HC2 8:47-9:30) is synonymous with retaining one’s cultural heritage, but he anticipates the change in the surrounding culture, technology and education will change some of their descendants while others, he thinks, will remain traditional. This coincides, of course with Berry’s model in that the acculturative style preferences may vary between assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. Whole ethnic communities may end up in one or more of these categories for a variety of factors such as social receptivity of the
host community, on the other hand there may be a great deal of variance in the style chosen by those individual families and individuals within families as a matter of personal preference where outside pressures towards one or another style are low.

Differences in these stylistic choices may create tensions or stresses within the community or within the family, particularly if the past community had strong social controls for maintaining cultural cohesion. One of those who intends for his offspring to remain traditional is a newly married participatory filmmaker. He offers extensive reflection on conveying the culture forward, which reveal part of his motivations towards the filmmaking process.

My mother in law’s family…are also worried about these things you know. It is very hard if our culture is lost, they said like that, and then my parents too in the U.S. are very concerned about their culture or their tradition what they have been following from the past, they give a constant (lecture) ‘Do not forget your tradition and culture, follow it o.k.?’. They can say like that still. Follow your culture. Do not divert in other things in other culture. ‘(As) we have done, you have to do too’…. It is my feeling that I have to follow my parents, what they have been following from the past, and yeah, they are very worried, “please you have to teach your children in the future that we have been following this religion and this culture until now you have to teach your children and then your children also follow the same, that way, and then it goes and goes you know. They are very worried, me too about our culture. (PF5 32:40-36:30)

A western tradition of enthroning pop culture which tends to exploit developmental needs for self definition to supplement identification with brands, thrives on marketing intergenerational independence in western culture. This has resulted in a gradual ratcheting-down of cultural expectations related to parental rights, thus host culture pressures for the rising generation choosing divergence from heritage in the first generation exists for newcomers. How will these affect the intergenerational
relationships and the continuation of culture which seems to define intergenerational connection? If refugee groups such as the Bhutanese are anxious about culture loss their ability to reach out and form social connections might be limited not merely by language as acculturation-gap, but by concern for the permanence of culturally held values. The investment in social capital might be inhibited by culture loss liability (perceived risk) of such investing. Additionally, this sense of culture loss risk might be related to the proportion of lifetime spent in the original cultural environment. If a hesitancy to interact with host community members exists for refugees, might not the same hesitancy exist in host community members who are uncertain about the effects of newcomers on their sense of investment in the present community identity? If something could be done to provide re-assurance to both communities, increases in inclusive social capital investment might result.

As I assisted with videotaping heritage interviews in various houses around the city. I wondered whether I would see indications of self-segregation which is spoken of in the literature (Cheong, et al. 2007, Phillips, 2010). In terms of physical geography, my orientation to the community by the Bhutanese filmmakers found that there are no Bhutanese ethnic enclaves in Lethbridge, despite in-migration from the other resettlement cities in Canada. The homes are scattered around the city in newer neighborhoods. I was astounded at the newness and size of the homes being purchased and surprised to learn that very few were renting. I asked whether this was the result of a government program. I learned it was the general result of a combination of tradition and frequent overtime work ours.
One of their traditions has been helpful to their rapid ability to obtain credit and purchase houses. This has to do with the pattern of married adult children living with the husband’s family. This Nepali familial tradition results in a labor pool of adult workers and senior child caregivers in one household. Multiple adult incomes per household, and pooled resources are a safety net for them, and an assurance to mortgage lenders that result in most Bhutanese refugees living in new bungalows in a surprisingly short amount of time in Lethbridge. Obviously the relationship with the in-laws is crucial if they are sharing a house, hence asking the parent’s permission before proposing is much more than a quaint custom in Nepali culture. It is important to avoiding long-term tension in the intergenerational home. Since beginning the project, several instances of arranged marriages were observed. The cultural environment of peers, concerns PF5.

(Canadians and Americans) can give more freedom to the kids after 18 years you can go anywhere and do everything, that’s their culture and in our culture, even my kids is 18 years or about 25, no matter how (old) they are they are MY kids, and they have to be under my rules, under MY culture, they have to follow my culture. ‘Hey, you are not supposed to bring your girlfriend without asking me.’ You know, But in American culture the guys, their children they just go wherever they want and go grab-, I mean they get married outside, they can go and get married outside and then they bring the bride home and they say ‘O.K. that’s nice,’ they say like that. But in our culture if I am married outside then I go to them they say, ‘Hey you are not allowed to come inside my home because you didn’t say before you married. You have to ask to me and then you have to get kind of information from me, where she is from what caste she is and then what girls parents were and what they did and if it is o.k. to get married to her or not.’ Our parents they can decide and then boys can then go get married with her. If I didn’t ask our parents they (would) never be happy.

In contrast, it seems the west has been trending towards independence and consent at younger ages. Families coming from more cohesion-focused traditions may find their hopes for perpetuating traditional influences on the children’s choices to be structurally undermined (Trimble, 2016). I wonder how well ‘regulating’ his adult children will go
for this aspiring Nepali father raising children in Canada. Clearly, anxiety about losing
the intergenerational commitment to culture is strong for some. Even motivating a young
adult to participate in filmmaking with his future children in mind. This may be on a
collision course with trending popular discourse de-emphasizing intergenerational
obligation.

The factors identified in other research as Acculturative Family Distancing (AFD)
(Hwang & Wood 2009) appear here. In the new country their seems to be fewer
structural reinforcements of continuing traditional Asian cultural practices, as the west
seems to increase focus on individualism. These are a source of acculturation stress that
motivated some of the participants to involve themselves in the filmmaking process.
Thus the first observation about the potential of participatory filmmaking for
acculturation is that participants use it in hopes of reducing the influence gap. The
camaraderie from refugee camp experience where opportunity and resilience are found in
the social capital of family and neighbors and where only a few outside institutions
interact in refugee life may be part of the interest in working together to engage
community filmmaking in the acculturation process. Whether filmmaking will help
perpetuate culture in practice rather than memorializing it, may not be evident in the
present project, but may make for a good follow up study, useful when the rising
generation reaches adulthood.

There were other kinds of intergenerational influences on filmmaking engagement
decisions. Of the female PF’s, two of the three found the confidence to engage in the
filmmaking through the support of their fathers. Said PF7. “Actually when I first heard
(of the filmmaking opportunity) my dad was like 'you have to go, you need to do it' He
wanted me to do it, so I came to the first meeting.... every time there is something new happens he wants me to learn it so he is kind of encouraging to me like he inspire me. He is inspiration. He wants me to learn everything, I guess....(then) after I joined it, I wanted to do it.” Another female PF2, a High School senior and her father joined the project as participatory filmmakers at the same time. She helped her father understand the English instructions, and her father supported her participation and free decisions in a number of ways.

PF2: Maybe it is because for generations in our culture, you know really back back back time the parents maybe they didn't have an education, they just wanted their children to work together with them something like that, I think here a lot of the people are educated and as they grow up they want to do their own stuff. In here the parents they like they allow the growing generation to do everything they want, but in the back generation they weren’t allowed. Its like Mom and Dad they controlled their kids like if they want to go somewhere else they have to talk to the parent, it is their control so that’s why maybe it is different than here.

JB So in the culture you are used to working together all the time.

PF2: I think it’s because of here there is a lot of freedom. Back home Mom &Dad they will control their kids and there is not that much freedom.

JB: So it’s just in the culture it is part of the tradition that you will listen to what they tell you.

PF2: Yeah, if we didn’t listen, maybe they would beat us or we would be scared of them like they will yell at us so we would be scared. And here I see a lot of the people with the parents. Um but I like here more than my culture because here the kids want to do and go wherever they want and do whatever they want and Mom & Dad will allow it and every time they grow step by step the parents will be there for them and they will support them and so that’s why the kids they go really higher, but back home in our culture it is not like that. We don’t get the support of Mom and Dad.

PF2: I think when they came here, a lot of people changed. But not that much, just a little bit. … but the kids they changed a lot, I know it. The oldest parents, like the older generation, the grandparents they can’t even change. They haven’t changed yet. They will change later. I hope so. But the kids they change a lot.
For his part, PF3 was instrumental in initiating the recording of the religious content featured in the production. A traditional religious leader in local Bhutanese community, one would think he would be highly invested in tradition and things staying the same. However, he seems to be one who had most adopted the video production technology he had just begun to be involved in prior to his involvement in the participatory project. Both PF3 and PF2 have expressed an interest in making various video productions after the project. The following interchange seems to show that good humor ads flexibility to enjoy the adoption of change such as filmmaking technology.

P2: Maybe the oldest generation probably not be interested (in learning filmmaking). I think, but the new generation they will probably be interested I think…(laughing) but I don’t know my dad why he is interested. I was wondering. (laughing)
JB: That’s a good question, (P3 laughs) I was asking that earlier, why are you interested?
P3: I don’t know why, yeah. (laughing)
JB: You are taking on these new technologies, you are learning.
P2: He’s trying to be like new teenager! (all laughing)
JB: Ah! Nothing wrong with that! Me too! (all laughing)
P2: Maybe he want to little bit change, maybe he want to be different than others. Because he came here and he is interested. I never knew he was a good singer and that he would sing the song! I never! Back home in Nepal he just fix the watch, like clock, and TV, and lots of stuff he is a mechanic he just fixing that. I never heard his singing any song, not even in the bathroom or anywhere singing (all laughing) but when he come here he automatically change, but that is a good thing to change.
JB: Yeah it must be the artist in you coming out!
P3: Yeah!, yeah (laughing)
JB: Musician! video star!
P3: Yeah! yeah.
JB: So, expression, is one of the reasons people do things…When you have these video tools does that allow you to get things out that you couldn’t get out before?
P2: Yes.
P3: Uh-huh
P2: I think so, ya. When we get lots of people knowing how to do productions, I want to do more.
Humor has been shown to be protective in stress situations. (Martin et al. 1993, Wooten. 1996). By way of lead-in to the next section I recount that after one screening of the film at the Bhutanese English Conversation Class (a 4 hour a week group engagement jointly sponsored by the resettlement agency LFS, and the Lethbridge Senior Citizens Organization LSCO). The film brought out the sharing of stories of personal experiences. The seniors wanted to know when they might get a chance to also relate their life experiences on camera. They said that the film didn’t give enough depth on the difficulties they experienced. They wanted to tell more about what life was like in Bhutan. One of the volunteers asked if the relating of the stories of painful experiences was OK. A member of the group replied, and it was interpreted approximately, “Yes, she will definitely cry when she is telling the story, but she will cry with happiness because she feels like she is sharing her story and she is feeling proud of how she passed her life.” (RN) Additional personal experiences were recounted by several class members which may have been intensely stressful at the time, but which brought understanding nods and laughter in group reflection facilitated by the screening.

This brings us to the second observation. Viewing “The Story Bridge” in a group tends to create a supportive bi-cultural community experience where refugees feel comfortable relating to the now empathetic and respectful audience. In that post-screening supportive space they are able to share how their own lives intersected with the events of the film. A kind of group experience seems to happen, bringing understanding at a level that wasn't possible before. The audience seems prepared emotionally by the film to reach out. For the Bhutnese, the fact they were being understood by the mainstream met enthusiastic gratitude from the seniors whose stories were now able to be comprehended. Potential for the use of this process piloted by The Story Bridge
may find useful application in other classroom community situations calling for
cohesion-building between cultures.

**Validation**

*I think it will help, yeah it will fix them (disoriented seniors). It will help them. They
would remember-- they will always (be able to) remind themselves and they will think
about it and everything that has happened to them. It help definitely.*

*(PF3 8:23-8:53)*

Another theme that emerges is the hope that acculturative filmmaking with
refugees alleviates isolation and provides validation of group and individual cultural
trauma. While our project avoided any detailed relating of trauma, not having a voice
when experiencing vast changes may be a kind of trauma that is helped by relating the
story of change.

The video making process helps because the younger generation is interested in
(the older generation), in how they are feeling and what they know about the past.
There are suicides in the population which might not have happened if they
(seniors) had had someone to help them feel better by talking out the sorrow they
are feeling…(over the losses of the past and the difficulty of adjusting to the new
country)…

There are a lot of examples, not in Lethbridge but other places in settlement we
have lots of examples of people committing suicide. That is because they have
lack of platform they didn’t have place to express their feeling. In our culture we
say, ‘the sadness once we share it will become less.’ Right? If I have a sorrow or
some bad feeling in my heart, if I share that with other people I might get feeling a
little bit better if I start sharing to people…If they don’t have a place to express
their feeling they might feel suppressed. But if they have the chance to express
themselves they might feel better. (PF1 16:50-19:22)

When the younger generation comes to visit a senior, and prepares to interview them on
camera, it seems like they have regained their importance. The things they think and feel,
and the things that happened to them become relevant to the future into which their
recording will go. At least this once they are no longer on the margins because they can speak freely in their language and know that the grandchildren who don’t know Nepali, will (through subtitles) still be able to know their feelings, their sacrifice for the future generations, and this seems to have a validating influence upon them. It seems to be an act of intergenerational reciprocity that had been suspended for a long time, is complete. The video making process helps because through it the younger generation shows interest in the seniors, in how they are feeling about the changes, and what they know about the past. The hope is that the rising generation will retain the culture or that the children will value the culture more lastingly because it is depicted in film. The video making process reassures seniors that they matter, that their sacrifices will to some degree not be forgotten, and that the way of life they lived, though different now, will be remembered.

PF1 gave a clear understanding of what the preceding generation faced in the prospect of deciding to come to a third country to resettle, and how he feels this project is helping with coping:

Mostly old age people think that most of their life is gone, right, they have nothing to do more in their life, so why go to different place and feel lost? They think they have only a few years to live in old age. Why go to different people and lose their respect? Why go back to restart like a baby to learn English. They have to learn from ABCs… they (think its) better not to choose to go to place where they have to learn other things like even to communicate they have to learn all new things so that might be too embarrassing thing for them to have to learn everything. If I say you are to go to China and live your life from now, you would think for some time ‘I need to go there, learn the Chinese language, the culture, the lifestyle’ you have a lot of thinking right? But if you say it to the small kids, they can easily go and start the new life their or as the youth if they are able to stand in their own field they need help. …so to make it easy, to make it a little bit literate we help them to make it easier for them to live their life here.
In our life if something happens unexpected we kind of panic right? …unexpected thing happen so they feel shocked but they might not get a platform to express their feeling how they are feeling what they are feeling. (PF1, 14:45)

Yeah, I feel good to help! I will help them! I want to help them….We grew up having the concept of community. In which community we were born and raised we developed certain nature. The community I was born and raised I feel respect for the parents who gave me birth I need to help them. (PF1, 6:05-6:55)

JB: Is it helpful to tell your feelings in the video interview?

Niece, interpreting: He is very happy and thankful to you…..when he was in Nepal he didn't have a chance to get interviewed and express his feelings, to express his religion, and culture and here he get that chance so he is very happy about that…. If you have something in you for a really long time and you want to get it out, just by telling it again, well, it really helps…. Uncle said that. (HC2, 24:31)

**Acculturation Gap**

*There needs to be a translator between grandson and grandparents. (PF1)*

Even with language. Too, even my cousin, its hard to speak to him in my language. Because he is all day in day care even since he was one. So he only come home for three or four hours and then he goes to sleep and next day he goes to day care all his friends and his teacher speak in English. Like for me I can read and write in Nepali, but for him no way. He can speak, but for write, no way. (PF10. 10:53-12:05)

There needs to be a translator between grandson and grandparents…. It’s kind of funny I was talking to one of my relatives also resettled in Australia, and he was saying the same thing that grandparents and grandchildren need a translator now (laughing) because they can't understand each other. It’s not just in Canada but everywhere they are having the same problem, Bhutanese refuges are resettling in 8 different countries so everywhere it is a common problem I guess for now.
I think it is because the middle generation, like my dad's age-- they are like working. They go to work, and the grandparents they don't have any way to learn English, and the grandchildren they are watching T.V. --all English. They go to school they learn from there, they go outside (and) talk to people, they are learning English from everywhere, but for the Grandparents it’s like just at home sometimes they have community events they go to, but they are all old age folks they talk Nepali, They don't have any way to talk in English, so that is how they don't have any progress or way they can learn, so yeah I think that’s why there is a gap in there. (PF7. 34:13-37:24)

One situation that widens this gap is the work schedule. Taking the jobs Canadians don’t want often is a matter of hours. For example, one of the filmmakers told me his schedule. He typically works from 3 pm to 2am at the meat packing facility (staffed mostly by refugees). He sleeps until 8 am and then goes to English as a Second Language ESL classes at the College. He leaves the college and has just enough time to go home to change into his work clothes and go back to work. With the frequent mandatory overtime, he gets to see the kids on Sunday. Subsequent to the filmmaking project, in his spare time, he has been taking guitar lessons.

**Bridging the gap**

“You know about him. He knows about you. Do more of it.” (interpreter for HC5)

Bridging the gap between the cultures tends to rely on the youth (and in our case video) as a medium. The following comment planted the idea of the bridge concept that led to the title of the film.

Interpreter for HC5: The children are filling the role of a ‘bridge.’ They bring Canadian culture to their parents and they take away their culture to Canadians. They have become a medium, right?

Researcher: Was this prevalent prior to making this project or has this added anything to enhance this relationship?
HC5: “This program, actually, this program has helped here….He (referring to the researcher) is from Canada right? We are one of those from Bhutan. He came and visited at our place. He is taking down our thoughts right? He is giving/providing his things/thoughts. So this has helped a lot.

8:55 Ip interprets: Yes, this project played a vital role because If this project wasn't born you guys wouldn't meet each other and know each other and only this project makes this possible. You know about him. He knows about you. Do more of it. (HC5, 2:34-3:45)

Yeah if you have the ability to handle (tangibility) and learn from the older generation you can transfer that ability from them to the younger generation. It is good to learn from them and then transfer to your own family in the future (PF7, 11:03-12:35).

I think it will help the rising generation to see where we were and where we are now. The way we lived then, and the way we are now is huge thing, even for the coming generation, you know my children they are going to have their own life. Different from them, they can actually go back to the video and see what was the struggle, maybe in 15 years they will say our forefathers lived that way and immigrated here. I think it is a great achievement for our community to do this. (PF10, 5:20-6:30)

(The filmmaking) will help to realize our generation, the people to see and to help themselves preserve the culture, … ’cause if you don't preserve you will loose it, so it is in our hands; like our people should work together. (PF10, 11:20-12:43)

The participatory filmmakers and the heritage contributors think that the filmmaking preserves the culture and allows reflection on the struggles of those who went through these transitions. Having considered themes on the ways in which participatory filmmaking interacts with the intergenerational aspect of acculturation, we now turn to analysis of what the Bhutanese participants, contributors, and audience suggested was the other main theme and utilitarian purpose for the filmmaking.
Addressing the host community In the Language of Film

*I think that media is a good way of communication and a good way to remove fear from your mind…. (PF7, 31:10-32:35)*

Remember that in response to question one, four of the ten audience respondents talked about using the film with respect to screening outside of the Bhutanese community. Based on these four responses, questions about target audience were then asked of the other two groups. When categorized into nodes there were 34 references to potential external (non-Bhutanese-Nepali) audiences as distribution suggestions for the production. Six referred to external audiences as “neighbors.” Six others referred to screening the film in schools and four referred to “people” or “everybody,” and four used the term “Canadians” to reference to non-Bhutanese audiences. “Public,” “they,” “other community,” and “English speakers” were words also referring to audiences outside of the Bhutanese community. In addition there were four suggestions that the film should be seen in refugee orientations either before departure or after arrival in Canada.

When you go to a Canadian friend and try to explain your culture, you miss some of it…. So this film really describes all of our culture and it’s a lot easier for us to let Canadians know about our culture and not get mixed up. If our elder people go out and explain how their culture is, they won't be able to explain it because of the language barrier right, so this film really helps them because if we recommend others to watch it, they will be able to see our culture through it, rather than our people having to explain on our own and having a language barrier. (AP6)

The film makes it easier for our community to exist in Canada…we can release the film to the neighborhood to the Canadian community. They can know (the) Bhutanese community, how (we) came. They can hear and they will learn and they will know us. (AP5)

It will help give an image for the world to see…. I am sure it will be good for other communities to watch…. I think when more and more of the younger kids and the younger generation come up with the value of sharing and giving and knowing more from others, I think this will ultimately go that way, and then people will understand more about ourselves and people will have broader
spectrum of our society and the culture and finally it will make meaningful life in Canada. (AP8)

Having heard these answers to the question, “is this project useful to the Bhutanese community in Lethbridge,” by the time I got to the HC’s I added the question of “who should see this film?” to the questions asked. After the first couple of Heritage Contributors answered that they want other Canadians to see the video, I began asking for their ideas on how to best show it to the other Canadians. Through this grounded evolution of the question I came to understand what the community considers the ideal distribution for the video.

HC1 our neighbor doesn't know about us, so I think if we show this video to our neighbor, then they can know about our culture and they know who we are and how is our culture and how we celebrate our festival and all that stuff…I think that it is a better idea to share (to) show this video to all the people in Canada, because if we show it to our Bhutanese Society also, only Bhutanese then, I think most of the Bhutanese they knows about our culture, but if you produce to others then I think the main focus is to show our culture to other community so I think it is better to cover the wide area…. And (with) this video we can flourish/publish our tradition culture to this part of the world.

HC2 The main thing is we have to make this visible to possibilities in public. If we make it and keep it somewhere else it doesn’t make any sense... “I say, if we can show it is good. If we show it then it is good. Because communication is required for people. After (they) see us through visual means, then they will know, ‘oh they are like this or oh they are like that.’ People will have an outlook on us. Even if they have not met us, or if they have not spoken to us but they would know, ‘oh they have this type of mind set.’ They will also understand our feelings/thoughts. And (cough) I feel it is good, that is what I would say. (HC2 13:15)

Of the Heritage Contributors, only HC3 was doubtful as to the benefit of neighbors seeing the film. She said what the neighbors would say, ‘Oh so this is how you lived and this is how you spent your life.’ (the inflection showing scorn) “I would rather not show it!” At this point laughter burst out between her and the interpreter. She followed up by
saying, “It can feel like that right? Because there are lots of discussion of hard times done in it. Won’t they know every secret of our life this way?” she continued with another laugh, “Everybody does not take it positively, right? If it is positively taken then it may be good…. That also depends on those individuals’ choices though.” (HC3 00:6:15).

From there the conversation attempted to identify what could be done to insure that positive reaction would be most likely from the host community, these included adding content of endorsements from well placed individuals from the receiving community to the film, and screening the film in managed settings such as schools. While she felt those things might help, she attributed neighborliness to the effect of children playing together in the neighborhood, and that since neither she nor her neighbors had children which naturally interact, there was little reason for her neighbors to interact with her. She felt her neighbors were aloof and there was not much that the film would do to enhance neighborliness.

The remark by HC3 brings us to the main appeal of the film being able to create empathy in an increasingly desensitized world, one in which cause-fatigue has worn out compassion, and where pride and independence dampen cooperative culture or neighborliness. She expresses her view that contrary to the optimism about Canadian friendliness expressed in the film by HC7, her immediate neighbors were unfriendly. To her the schools are a better option than the neighborhood for screening. “If we were to provide it in the schools that would be a good idea because they can't say anything bad there, it is all what we experienced so I thought it would be good for the community.” (HC3. 18:00)
In the interview with HC4, done through an interpreter, there were a number of family members present who, at the time seemed to be helping to clarify the communication. The response from HC4 was, “if it is liked as good one and if it makes happy then it can be shown.” Concern was voiced by another family member present that if made available widely it might be used “like a cartoon” (i.e. appropriated, used in a mash up) to which yet another family member replied that as long as copyright was in place that shouldn’t be an issue. The final consensus by the family of HC4 was, “It is nice if the video is used in proper places by proper people. It can be informative about the community in Lethbridge and to the world as well. “ (HC4 00:8:07-00:10:14). Respect for this concern played a role in identifying schools as a possible “proper place by proper people” venue. HC 5 indicated that showing it to the public would be “very helpful.” He said, “If we keep it at a corner at our home it will not do anything at all. In the same way, everybody, wherever we have a lot of people gathered, if we take it there and show it to all then they will see it and everybody will understand. That way it will be distributed to everybody.” (HC 5 00:12:38-00:13:36). HC6 reflections were very rich on many subjects, but regarding sharing the documentary, he said, “Let my children see it! Let my neighbors see it! Let everybody see it. Let them know and understand what it is I feel. (HC6 00:22:54) It will be good! Let it reach everywhere! Let everybody know it and understand it. This way-, that way-, I feel it so.” (HC6, 00:31:11)

JB: Is this project helpful to the Bhutanese community in Lethbridge? In what way?

HC-7: Oh it is very helpful it is absolutely great tool to help people understand how we came here and it will be a tool for the future generation.

JB: Does this project reduce the tension between preserving heritage and fitting into Canada? Or is there tension at all between those two priorities?
HC-7: I would not say tension so it is difficult to explain to the people in Canada, but this (film) is a standard so the same message goes to everybody. You know that if I give one message and someone else gives another message, people get confused, right. So that way this is one message about how we came to be here and what are the difficulties we experienced. That is explained. But I don’t see that there is any tension because we are free to participate in all the different religion things within the Bhutanese community as well as outside of the community here.

In collecting the Heritage Contributor feedback interviews sometimes grandchildren were present in the household. In those cases, they were invited to ad their opinions to the discussions on the matter of having the film shown in schools. The youths were not opposed to the video being shown in classrooms, and said that, though it would make them feel conspicuous, they believed it would not hurt anything. One thought it might make classmates nicer towards him. Another thought it wouldn’t influence how she was treated. She would feel shy to have peers see it but also feel proud of her family.

So the evidence supports that Bhutanese audience members and all but one heritage contributor believe it will be useful to show the video to non-Bhutanese Canadians. To finish the triangulation it is simple to point out that the Participatory Filmmakers wanted the film to be seen by the public in Canada so long as the quality is good enough so as not to be an embarrassment, but to be the envisioned useful tool.

Its human nature! If I have good things and I am able to show to other people ha! I’ll be happy! We did a lot of cultural things that you have captured all different cultural things we did, and if we can show these things to other people who didn’t know, we will feel good! (PF1. 26:50-28:30)
The PAR process of Practice Improvement:

“We used our expensive time to do this documentary.” (PF5)

One of the last questions asked of the Participatory Filmmakers related to two of the hallmarks of PAR, the value of time invested, and contributions to practice improvement. A favorable video product could have been prepared quickly by commissioning a videographer to produce a persuasive video in some public relations contract arrangement. Were the benefits of the participatory processes worthwhile?

PT1: Yeah the process, and the thing we talk about, we Nepali people have a lot of different culture lot of different religion lot of different festival lot of different things and when we are talking about all of them, personally I may not be able to include all of them (in oral history interviews), but at that time I tried everything I know everything that come in front of me, and then later on when we are getting feedback from the audience, later when we are getting the feedback I realize about covering other things, like other religion people there is not thing about them! Especially I (chose interviews) of my own relatives around and now kind of casting, Now I realize we need to focus more generally for every kind of community thing around, so we tried, but it is the first time then there a lot of mistake, so we learn from the mistake.

JB: That’s reflecting and revising, right? That is Participatory Action Research process, you start where you are and you learn as you go and keep learning

PF1: And you can learn from mistake.

JB: So is that a good process?

PF1: Yeah, that is a good process because if we don’t fail if we don’t make a mistake we don’t learn. It is to try and make a mistake,. That is the process of learning, right? (PF1, 6:51-9:43)

It was important to learn from mistakes and stick with the process until a film product was created that was good enough for the Nepalese community to feel confident about showing to the public. PT8 talked about the discouragement factor. “Our people, they watch good quality video before, and then they realize that they cannot easily make one on that level, so they feel like ‘Oh, O.K. we don’t know that much…’ They think ‘If we
can’t make that quality video why spend so much time?’ and then they pull back from it.”

(PT8, 6.04.15)  This pulling back happened in cycles just as much as PAR worked in cycles. Whenever I could show a video segment that was successfully done, it had the effect of encouraging the rest to re-engage in the process. One key lesson for PAR practice improvement is to demonstrate progress often, and celebrate completion of stages.

We used our expensive time to do this documentary. And it is good for the future and we are still planning to do some more beneficial for the community. We are planning to put this documentary into the educational sector, so what I say to the Bhutanese Community of Lethbridge, that everyone must be eager, have inner interest to participate, to make successful at this upper level the Bhutanese community must be great support for the project everyone needs to participate in this field I think, and I am going to talk in the meeting about these things and I will let you know. I think we did a lot of beneficial things for the community and I got a chance to learn a lot more about the editing field and using the camera, sound and everything. That is my great experience and my opportunity. (PF5. 1:30:12-1:33:18)

CFAP offers participatory filmmakers the opportunity to make personal time sacrifices for their community and for their culture. It offered the benefit of a sense of purpose, and a place to constructively perform that earnestness.

JB: Is filmmaking more or less valuable in terms of your time cost, than the volunteer time you put into organizing festivals?
PF8: It is more, more valuable if we, if we...it is, it is still valuable right mhm. because it’s not for us we know their history most of us, right? Right, but our children and grandchildren brother and sister they will know about it better, right? It is definitely an important thing. It is worth my time (PF8)

Yeah, after viewing this documentary for me it has been changed, you know different things. You added and edited (additional) scenes. For me it is fabulous. It is Good ya. It’s really nice! I don’t expect this much. You know how you make like what you doing all this religion things its really nice now, you (acting in connection with PF-7) added like the Kirat religion, other religion, dancing part, you did the interview…what you did that is really nice and then from our feedback from our mom and dad and mother, they are very happy with this They
are very happy with edit is very fine, you did very fine job for them and for the
next generation, (PF5 after seeing the completed video, *The Story Bridge* on
11/23/15)

JB: You mentioned that it was easier when you learned that it would be about
interviewing other Nepalese. What is the value of interviewing within your own
community? Is it important that we are doing oral history?
PF1: For me to interview my own people beside easy the very visual thing is I can
grab the knowledge from them as far as I can, right? Like for example when I
asking them about the life in Nepal when they are explaining, I didn't have to
write and memorize every question I’m going to ask, and....I can understand their
feelings, if the answer isn't clear I can infer from there, I can tell the valuable
things, I'll can make them express themselves easily. ....They will it just talking
with people with a camera, It will be comfortable to give the answers....

JB: So as an interviewer you are more intuitive, you are able to understand them
better, and they're able to talk to you better?
Pt1: Yeah they are able to express their feelings. (PF1, 9:43-12:57)
Sub-Analysis: Audience Responses to “The Story Bridge”

Following the completion of the production and the collection of data from the Participatory Filmmakers (PFs), Heritage Contributors (HCs), and Rough Cut Bhutanese Audience (AB) the film’s final version, “The Story Bridge” was screened at various venues, all with highly favorable verbal feedback during audience engagement discussions that followed the screenings. Following the first screening, an audience feedback form was developed and received ethics approval. Audience feedback from this form and from post screening discussions fall into three subgroups General Audience (AG), Public Services Audience (AS), and Bhutanese Audience (AB).

As of this writing approximately 240 people have seen “the Story Bridge” and there have been no objections, complaints, or expressions of animosity. Two people suggested technical adjustments. Some wanted to know when or where it will be shown again. Following screenings the audience appears to be on an emotional high. Bhutanese viewers have shed silent tears in part one but they are smiling in the end. The host audiences are also smiling at the end. The verbal interactions and responses have been almost overwhelmingly positive from all three categories of audience members. The qualitative comments made through the online form, are provided in whole by category below. No Bhutanese gave typed responses, but otherwise indicated approval across all quantitative questions (in the case of Seniors this was through 5 point thumbs up-thumbs-down questions administered by an interpreters, counted by tutors), and made collective positive qualitative statements through translators at screenings. Of the 27
persons who have responded to the online audience response questionnaire, 14 provided textual comments. These appear as follows:

A great cultural experience (please note: having a. been a refugee as a child; b. worked and lived in 4 developing countries from 1 - 3 years each; c. having been involved in forming and then sponsoring a 'boat people' family in 1979-80; and being generally interested in refugees and immigrants to Canada: I don't feel that this film affected my ability to interact with other immigrants - but it gave me a perspective more specific to the Bhutanese experience, and an update on a 'refugee' experience) we (my wife and I ) are actively involved in the sponsorship of two Syrian refugee families to Lethbridge. (AG7)

Overall a strong way to show people what Bhutanese refugees have gone through, their trials and successes, and how we can support them…. (AG8) (Note: in her comment this respondent also offered numerous specific suggestions related to captioning, which have been noted by the filmmakers).

Very informative. I didn't realize how many Bhutanese were living in Canada and I knew very little about the country. I think especially for the community, it is one of the most important tools we can use to educate them about the refugees. The length was very appropriate. It wasn't too long, but wasn't too short. Just the right amount of time to educate people while keeping them engaged. (AG10)

The film is informative and well-made. It helps the community members to learn more about the Bhutanese refugees background, where they have come from (their lifestyle in Bhutan), what they have been through (adversity and resilience as exiles and refugees), and what they have brought with them to Canada (their religious rituals and cultural customs). I believe that stories of their lives as refugees will cultivate compassion among other Canadians. Demonstration on the Bhutanese refugees' religious and cultural practices encourage Canadians of different racial and religious background to appreciate Bhutanese cultures and their diverse religions. The film may also help the offspring of the refugees to understand their cultural and historical roots, to reconnect with their traditions, and to consolidate their relationship with the Bhutanese elders. As a result, the documentary has fulfilled its goal as a inter-generational gap filler between the senior refugees and their young Canadian Bhutanese. I hope to see more depth in the stories of Bhutanese refugees' past and the challenges they have encountered after resettled in Canada, particularly the acculturation gap between them and their offspring who grow up in Canada (as it is an important purpose of the film is to close the "gap"). I am also curious to find out whether they have successfully preserved their traditions through generations after the refugee experiences in Nepal and after they have adapted to Canadian society. (AG11)
I watched the presentation as I knew nothing about the Bhutanese at all, I could not find Bhutan on a map. So as new information it was interesting and informative. I was surprised to learn the challenges they faced. Often you hear "it was horrible" then they don't want to elaborate so you never really get a picture. (AG16)

An interesting concept - to document a piece of history and culture in hopes that the younger generation shan't forget. However I believe this is the process of the worlds' cultures moving forward. Ways and means change as cultures merge and sometimes collide. Inter marriages occur. As a third generation Canadian there is not much memory of my ancestors’ culture from the 'old country'. We were not encouraged to learn the language...because we were Canadian. I have assimilated to the melting pot. Interesting to see a culture try to preserve itself in another land. (AG24)

Important as documentation of the history and culture of the Bhutanese community in Canada and in Lethbridge. Was impressed by the enthusiastic, positive response of the Bhutanese people in the audience; it is clearly of high value to them. Very well done. Interviews succeeded in sharing of pertinent information, conveyed important and interesting aspects of culture, very engaging, conveyed feelings of Bhutanese well (I felt emotionally engaged). (AG26)

A good film that describes the Bhutanese community. It goes deeper than the usual stories we hear because it shows the diversity of religious belief, diversity of opinions of the Bhutanese in Lethbridge, and it focuses on the positive. The film can be used to bring Bhutanese generations together and impact the non-Bhutanese as well. (AG27)

Public sector respondents consisted of employees and volunteers serving with City of Lethbridge, Lethbridge Family Services, Library, and Lethbridge Seniors Center Organizations. Their comments were as follows:

Film should be shown more widely. (AS3)

I thought that the film was very informative. As a non-member of the Bhutanese community it helped me to gain a lot of insight into their culture and life experiences without being too graphic and being very respectful. (AS12)
The film was fantastic and I think it will benefit both the Bhutanese community of Lethbridge, as well as the community itself in gaining education, understanding, compassion and acceptance. My only questions since the showing relate to life in Nepal. Why were they segregated to the camps and restricted? Perhaps it is very Canadian of me (or ignorant) to believe that other countries would want to help, instead of let them (or make them) suffer within their borders. My other thoughts since the presentation, are: - What can I do to make them feel more welcome? - How can I help them learn to live in Lethbridge? - Are there areas for us as a community to improve? (AS20, the parenthetic statements in the quote are those placed there by the respondent).

What purpose did the 4 undrunk coffees serve? Clarity (may have been sound) on some of the voices. (AS21) (This respondent is wondering about the continuity error resulting from tea being served to the crew during the interview, which appears in some frames and not in others. We chose not to decline Nepali customary hospitality during the take for the sake of continuity. There are also sound inconsistencies due to variations in experience of participatory sound recordists which are more of an issue when screened in some venues than in others depending on amplification and speaker placement).

I live in the Senator Buchanan neighborhood. Some of the Bhutanese have moved to this area. Is it possible to partner with the CBS or a multicultural body for a community showing of film and discussion? (AS22)

absolutely wonderful! I always like it when someone can open my eyes a little wider. Without these types of films, I'm left in the dark. There is only so much you can find on your own - and even then you have to take that information with a grain a salt. I think that this type of documentary allows insight into the truth and cultures specific to the location I live in. so happy this was done! Thank you!!! (AS23)

Two groups of Bhutanese seniors engaged in Library reading programs gave both verbal and non-verbal responses. Verbal responses were interpreted by one selected by the group as interpreter/spokesperson.
“You took a very difficult thing and did very good, very difficult work and (a) difficult program and you gave us a thing that is very good in our lives. In the past we survived and you gave this picture and it is much easier. We think you gave us (a) very good picture and history and we are very happy about that.” {Senior Bhutanese English Conversation (Friday class) consensus comment 2.12.16}.

“We got to watch the things from our past which were difficult situations, if people from here were to actually see what happened, not just film, but the life that we lived, they would cry. Even stones and sand would cry if you were to tell them our story. The film is good because it is going to remain as our history.” {Senior Bhutanese English Conversation (Thursday class) consensus comment 2.05.16}.

A Failsafe Measure

The audience response form was an on-line convenience sample instrument made available to audiences that watched the film after November 31, 2015. The form asks questions thought to be relevant to three audience types: General Audience, Bhutanese Audience, and Public Services Sector Worker Audience. Respondents self-identify with one of the categories by selecting from a menu that directs them to a set of questions based on these categories. Each section includes 4 or 5 numeric values questions which can be answered by means of a 7 point Likert scale. Each section also contains one open ended question: “What are your impressions of The Story Bridge?” The typed responses from the open ended question are presented in the previous section. The numeric feedback is next presented.

The number of respondents that completed the audience response form was 27. Clearly this small quantity does not allow for regression, but as a failsafe measure the responses suggests that there is no harm or damage to inclusion being done by film
screening. The responses suggest that the film has the positive affects which were anticipated by the filmmakers, at least as far as those who voluntarily engage the feedback form are concerned. The General Audience category had 12 respondents, and the Public Services Sector had 11 respondents.

Audience members were asked to complete the on-line questionnaire, and invited to access the website through the web address, www.thestorybridge.info, which address was displayed on the screen in the post screening discussion. It did not appear that anyone filled out the on-line form during the event. Responses were generally received within one day of each screening. In the case of Bhutanese audiences, it is thought that literacy and language prevented much participation in the on-line feedback form. There were only 6 Bhutanese responses in the form, 3 of these came from those directly involved in the project, therefore the values in the Bhutanese category of the form reflect information already accounted for in interviews.

![What is your age category?](image)

**Figure 2, Audience Age Categories**

General Audience (host community) respondents liked the film very much (Figure 1A). They Strongly Agreed/Agreed that the film makes socially connecting much easier
(Figure 1B), felt very favorable about the idea of Bhutanese Refugees becoming Canadian (Figure 1C). The film somewhat increased their ability or interest in interacting with other immigrants who are not Bhutanese (Figure 1D). The graphic illustration of the General Audience Feedback appears below as Figure 3.

Figure 3, General Audience Response to *The Story Bridge*
Obtaining feedback from workers in the public services sector was a particular priority, as several Bhutanese interviewees had pointed out that it would be helpful to the Bhutanese community if those agencies interacting with them saw the film. It was important to know whether the services providers themselves felt that seeing the video helped. In November and December enquiries were sent to Lethbridge Family Services Immigrant Services asking if the agency would like to host a screening to allow for feedback. LFS-IS had previously written a letter of support, and their personnel were obviously directly involved in providing services to refugees so their opinions were thought to be highly relevant. The timing, however was evidently not good for LFS-IS. During that time, they appeared to be overwhelmed with responding to community concerns about the coming wave of Syrian refugees, expected due to election promises of the new premier, Justin Trudeau. It is presumed that this is why the enquiries and hand delivered DVD and letter received no reply from the agency.

An alternate access point to public services audiences was found through the City of Lethbridge. On February 10, 2016, City of Lethbridge programs Beyond Your Front Door (BYFD) and Communities Against Racism and Discrimination (CMARD) co-sponsored a screening of The Story Bridge during lunch break at City Hall for City employees. Invitation was by email from BYFD to department heads within the City of Lethbridge government. Twenty-one public services employees attended the screening, and twelve filled out the on-line audience response form. All public services employee respondents ranked the film positively. They said that showing the video would be a help to the work they do. They believe that showing the film would be very effective towards creating inclusive attitudes towards refugees and other newcomers. They believe, though
somewhat less strongly, that *The Story Bridge* would be an effective tool for helping inbound persons adjust to the destination community. Eight of the twelve, or 66.7% felt that the act of collecting and sharing heritage stories has great merit. The responses of the public services employees are illustrated in Figure 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>As a public sector worker, do you feel showing the video, “The Story Bridge,” could be a help to the work that you do?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all helpful: 1</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
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<td>0 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very helpful: 7</td>
<td>3 25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>How useful do you think screening “The Story Bridge” would be toward creating inclusive attitudes towards refugees and other newcomers?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of no effect whatsoever: 1</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very effective: 7</td>
<td>8 00.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>How effective would “The Story Bridge” be as a tool for helping inbound persons adjust to the destination community?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all helpful: 1</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 8.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very helpful: 7</td>
<td>3 25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D</th>
<th>The film, “The Story Bridge,” implies that connecting heritage stories with one another and sharing them with the surrounding community is an act of multiculturalism that can bridge cultures. What is the potential benefit for expanding the act of collecting and sharing heritage stories in the general community?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The idea has no merit: 1</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0 0%</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The idea has great merit: 7</td>
<td>8 66.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4, Public Services Workers’ responses to viewing “*The Story Bridge***”
Through data analysis I have, with the help of content provided by the participants, drawn out themes and a descriptive picture of the intersection of CFAP with refugees in Lethbridge. It seems CFAP generates information about the community, while also acting on several hinge points to influence potential outcomes in favor of harmonious acculturation. It also appears that the audience convenience sample data confirm the perceptions of the HC’s PF’s and ABs with regard to the usefulness of the film product to facilitating social integration with the host community.
Chapter 4

Results

The thematic analysis shows that Community Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes CFAP affects collective memories, which participants see as being responsible for the perpetuation of culturally situated values. Adherence to these values in turn is seen as being as important to the future as is also the adoption of the new language and host culture. Previous research has shown that Acculturative Family Distancing (AFD) impacts family functioning and mental health, and that this distancing occurs between parents and youth as a result of language and cultural value differences (Hwang & Wood, 2009; 48). AFD was found to exist in the Bhutanese community in Lethbridge along the language continuum, “The children need to know back home culture and here culture….We say, 'You need to know our culture with both sides, English and Nepali culture,' but they don't learn the Nepali.” (post screening expression 2.12.2016).

However, participants, heritage contributors and Bhutanese audiences believe the filmmaking serves to convey the culture forward, provide a longevity to the cultural memory that will outlive the survivors, and mitigate some of the short comings of language change through subtitles and visual language which augments verbal descriptions of such things as refugee camp experiences, and ceremonial practices.

I find the main motivations for engagement in CFAP include the preservation of heritage and this is most readily identified through the film and through experiences with participants as adherence to religious practices, maintaining multigenerational households, participating in festivals, wearing traditional clothes on community occasions, preparing traditional foods, coming together in dancing and singing, and
demonstrating dedication to preserving the cultural community. Preparing the film also operates through the process of filmmaking activities to increase communication between generations by engaging participants in recording the oral histories of other generations, making group creative decisions of all kinds, consulting one with another on their individual portions of the project respective to engaging in translation work for subtitles, operating the camera and becoming familiar with editing software and translating for subtitles. In all of these processes they refer to one another and the technical assistant and provide mutual support which benefits their social networks within the ethnic community. The process of preparing the video and screening appears to provide validation to the victims of forced displacement and ethnic cleansing in particular by processing the experiences through engaging traditional culture in a contemporary container, and through post screening discussions which naturally occur as a result of viewing content.

The research suggests that group viewing of film created in CFAP may actually help reconcile generations to AFD by providing group processing of the emotions of the transformation of circumstances that has occurred in resettled survivors of ethnic cleansing. Survivors can see represented on the screen what they could not effectively convey verbally to the rising generation, (or to the host community, for that matter) and they know that their grandchildren will have an enhanced understanding of what they went through because the film exists. They know they will not be forgotten. In group comments after screenings, Bhutanese seniors have have expressed large amounts of gratitude towards the host community, and gratitude towards the filmmakers which expressions obviously help inspire inclusion. There has so far when senior Bhutanese are
present, been expressions bordering on joyfulness, and in that context they observe with some bemusement that the rising generation doesn’t know how to speak their language. They find humor in the disjuncture, rather than the foreboding, resistance, or anxiety that I expected would be putting the brakes on the rising generation’s second culture acquisition, or increasing intergenerational tension. I don’t know if seeing humor in the AFD is a by-product of the film experience, or whether it is always present in seniors’ attitudes towards AFD, which is merely expressed in the context of post screening sentiments. That question could be a good topic for future research. Survivor audiences whose eyes are wet when their story is told, seem to able to laugh about it once it has been publically shown. If a verifiable effect, this may be a most remarkable benefit of Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes.

This research finds a second major motivation for survivors of ethnic cleansing (and their immediate descendants) from Bhutan to engage in PAR-CFAP is to present a unified explanation of the community’s presence in the host city, and provide narratives intended to enable the host community to form social cohesion with the Bhutanese refugee community. Providing a collective account which gives the basic facts of their transition from Bhutan to Nepal and from Nepal to Lethbridge, along with insights into their own ethnic diversity, and cultural practices they hope their social action will influence the greater society in a way that results in cross-cultural acceptance and unity in diversity. They find Canadian multicultural identity supportive of their continuing practice of their cultural heritage within Canada. Direct discussions with host community audiences (n=240) following two Lethbridge screenings produced positive responses to the film and willingness of Canadian viewers to engage Bhutanese
community members then present in positive and informative social discussion. It appears that the film when shown in community gatherings reduces barriers to social interaction between host and new communities by providing a framework for interaction and providing large amounts of background information which can be the basis of discussion topics. Thus the product of this particular PAR CFAP, *The Story Bridge* increases social capital when screened in the joint presence of members of the two communities in connection with open discussion. The filmmaking, and the film screening manufactures good will, and perhaps social capital in communities.

The result in terms of practice improvement includes the creation of this practice itself, it being defined as Community Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes (CFAP). This type of participatory practice differs from (South American) indigenous filmmaking and other participatory approaches in that it sees the usual emancipatory imperatives as being counter-productive to its social change objectives. The goal of filmmaking resettling refugees is to fit in to the dominant culture without losing cultural identity and whilst maintaining their own cultural values demonstrate respect and provide solid comprehensive information in order to build bridges, through heritage storytelling, to the host community’s social network resulting in trust and social inclusion, mitigating losses, and updating intergenerational relationships.
Reflection-Discussion:

A participatory Action Research thesis is not complete without contribution through reflection. My reflections were generally of wide-angle, and biased by interacting with the Nepalese contrasted with my own intergenerational limitations. These reflections are in that vein.

My own culture awareness has been affected by this endeavor. I experienced shock as I read the existing accounts of the torture and abuse of the people I would be working with. I was first bemused with the folksy biography of Canadian Father William Mackey in Bhutan, then disturbed as I began to compare timelines of events that happened to ethnic Nepalese in Bhutan, with the timeline of Mackey. I had to reign in my investigative reflexes to stay focused. I was deeply frustrated with the fact that my thesis could not focus on the injustices or expose the evils of the dominant in Bhutan, the misinformation campaigns that I found, the ridiculous portrayal of the nation as a peaceful ethno tourism destination and a kingdom of happiness, the insanity of awarding a person who should be on trial for war crimes with a recent honorary degree and his hypocritical speech. I was troubled that activism and pro-democracy protests could lead to such a dreadful repressive backlash as had forced my new acquaintances from their homes twenty years previous. I was disturbed that two people were beheaded by such a movement. I was disturbed that a village headman was forced to go along with protests when people surrounded his home with torches. I was disturbed to read of beheadings in Hindu scripture, and then reflect I had once been reading of a beheading to my own children from Mormon scripture, and am still troubled over why beheadings seem to be very near the beginning of most religions and political movements from the French
Revolution, to Daesh. I marveled that in the west we find gunshot deaths much more palatable and so much more frequent. I am troubled that there are schools in Bhutan that re-write history to say they came into existence after the occupation, when in fact they were scenes of torture and mass rape during occupation by the Bhutan army. That schools built for development in the 1960’s denied their pre-occupation creators their recognition. I cannot fathom how a kingdom can be maintained in the name of preserving Buddhism when there is so much hypocrisy towards Buddhist principles, and I wonder if I will ever meet the children who must have come into existence because of the rapes, and learn how they comprehend their identity. I realize that history is written by the winners, and maybe exposing reality could reignite the conflicts rather than reconcile them, so the film doesn’t go there. Despite having felt such caustic feelings over the injustices done to Bhutanese refugees, we have produced an uplifting production that lets go of that through maintaining an acculturation focus in our filmmaking work together.

I reflect that I have unexpectedly acculturated to Bhutanese refugees even as they are acculturating to Canada. For instance, I was recruited to perform a song in Nepali language at Dashain festival. A few days later, Friday November 13, I got a text message from one of the participants who said, “bring your camera to (location) right away. We are waiting for you.” I had no idea what that was about, but I went. They wanted to record Diwali festival. During Diwali, I was asked to stand-in for the brother of one who could not be present. So suddenly I am seated across from one of the Heritage Contributors. The ceremony involves the sister bringing food 4 times to the mouth of the brother. The first three times, she does not actually place the food in the mouth, but tosses it to the side. On the fourth she places the food item in the brother’s mouth and he
eats it. Next she does a special Tika placement on the brother’s forehead. This is a white vertical line on which the seven chakra colours are placed. As I experienced this firsthand, I was watching her mix the pigments in the tray, and as I followed the motion of her hand upwards I noticed that she had tears coming down her face. She said simply, “I’m sorry. I miss my brother.” This unexpected experience challenged the emotional neutrality of being a researcher. I was deeply emotionally moved by the experience. Thereafter I was called “brother” or “uncle” by the family of the one who had done the Bhai Tika ceremony.

This moving experience prompts reflection on what it is that creates familial belonging and attachment. The Bhai-Tika legend of Diwali is about the sisters preserving the lives of their brothers by essentially tricking Yama, the destroying angel or grim reaper who she obligates to notify next of kin before taking the life of a brother. In this story the crow, the ox, the dog, and other animals are identified by the sister as being the other family members of the brother. Therefore, Yama has to go around to all these relatives to inform them thereby buying the brother a great deal more lifespan. It occurs to me in the naivety with which I experienced Diwali, that the sisters are making intersession for the brothers. They have fasted before this ceremony as well. From what I observed, after the sister makes personal sacrifice for the brother through this service, the ceremony concludes with the brother giving gifts to the sister and bowing at her feet. This puja demonstrates willingness to do for others what they cannot do for themselves, even though such service may be humiliating, and in doing so a family member may expect reciprocity of the same willingness to make self-depreciating personal sacrifices on behalf of another. Bhai-Tika ceremony may epitomize one of the things that is the
essence of family belonging. That this familial reciprocity is culturally situated and culturally signified gets at the crux of the research question. Whether anxiety results from second culture acquisition may have more to do with the security of the relationship in the presence of second-culture immersion and the differing priorities that resettling places on individuals than those which are familiar and supportive of family bonding times, or cooperative familial effort since both devotion and belonging are given and rewarded within the comprehension created by culture. What then emerged as the aspects of engaging participatory oral history filmmaking with resettling refugees?

**Aspect 1: The relevance of the senior population is strengthened.**

By placing senior interviewees in the temples (screens) of the west, they can re-take the same respected space as pop stars, professional athletes, TV anchors, and other consumable gods, goddesses and authority figures that otherwise replace them. In other words, the west doesn’t value shrines. It values media representation which has replaced worship in the role of the common reference point. In the refugee homes, the shrine is the place for individual reflection, multi-family gathering, sharing ideas and bonding with others. In western culture, being in front of the screen replaces being in front of the shrine. Being able to be on the screen helps give the older generation and their beliefs a contemporary respect by showing they can occupy the medium that has been replacing their mentorship.

**Aspect 2: Protection of heritage from devaluation.**

This benefit is enhanced when feedback from the receiving community screenings is a sense of awe towards the heritage culture of the newcomers, whereas
without the well-made video the receiving community attitudes towards refugees are at best compassion and empathy, not admiration or respect. This downward looking humanitarianism means well and is superior to heritage defense response manifesting as prejudice, but it somewhat unintentionally makes it seem to the other cultures' rising generations that the goal to peruse is to become like the benefactor because the benefactor is higher and one’s own culture and people are lower. So self-improvement and socio-economic opportunity in that context is found in abandoning the lower old culture in favor of- rather than in addition to- the new culture. The phenomenon of self-segregation discussed by cohesion literature (Phllips, 2006) may be explained in terms of not only networks, but a means of protecting the elderly of a group and their traditional knowledge from devaluation by the larger society. This is essentially due to poor ability to present the incoming culture as having merits or of being of value in the language of the receiving culture.

In other words, when the means of cultural bequeathing is overshadowed by the power of electronic media centered in Hollywood and New York, the traditional culture is marginalized or made less relevant and less appealing because the means of authorship are not within reach of the inbound. My purpose was to balance the worth of the cultures by empowering near professional-level authorship of the traditional within the inbound community. This was not to challenge the host community on whose generosity the inbound are reliant. Instead, raising the valuation of the heritage culture, via media, was undertaken to reduce intergenerational tension towards second culture acquisition on several fronts. It set out to portray the incoming heritage culture as enriching the existing host culture so as to facilitate acceptance at a par value in the eyes of a host culture through which the rising generation would increasingly see their heritage. It also meant
to process collective losses, and group-validate the difficult transition of the refugees resettling. These then helped to free up emotional resources for the task of acculturating, proved the capability of the incoming young adults to achieve the technical status of demonstrating media authorship, and enhanced, in ways the host community could appreciate, their already monumental accomplishment of moving from developing contexts with being fully capable of media authorship in the dominant-culture’s dialect of social significance—video. Because integration is a multi-front endeavor it was important to look at the possibilities of video as a tool for integration because it seemed capable of addressing these multiple fronts.

**Aspect 3: Mindfulness of the dynamics of the intergenerational contract in society**

When we reflected on the goals of the video, we became mindful that the assumption that posterity will treasure, protect and pass forward the conceptual contributions of forbears has historically been one motivation for the provision of care to offspring. Part of this unwritten intergenerational contract is the right of parents to attempt to imbue those concepts and stories which they themselves have lain claim, to their offspring. They have the expectation that the process will enrich the lives of the offspring, and traces of their contribution will continue on inter-generationally for the span of human existence. Thus underlying the refugees expressed anxiety about cultural extinction is a motive for parenting, which is a vague expectation that continuation of ideological elements of the self, sown into the upcoming generation, will result in a kind of immortality within cyclical mortality. Continuation of culture seems important to that contract. Doing CFAP helps protect parental investment when undergoing acculturation in resettlement.
Another expectation of the intergenerational contract challenged in resettlement is the expectation that relational interaction with offspring will occur consistently thereby absolving and preventing social isolation through relational permanence. Parents from Nepal expect to live with their children, and eventually their male children’s spouses and offspring from the time they are born until death. This is an aspect of the intergenerational contract which is highly emphasized in traditional cultures for hundreds of years, including those in contemporary East Asia. From the perspectives of the resettling refugees, this contract is failing in North American culture, and they don't want that problem to afflict them!

In North America, industrialized families were idealized as nuclear families with children maintaining loose connections after adulthood. The marketing strategies of the period that reinforced the smaller nuclear family have moved on to simply the individual. The focus on immediate individual rewards have eclipsed intergenerationally transmitted obligation and rewards of familial affiliation. After associating with resettling Asian traditional families described by one of their number as being "two hundred years behind in development" a perspective comes clear: Large economies require insatiability of wants for which products are offered to alleviate loneliness caused by social isolation. This creating identity around brand affiliation instead of family, caste, or religion perpetuates that loneliness. Individualism is associated with greater loneliness (Triandis et al. 1988). Culturally undermining collectivism may contribute to a fluid workforce Guy Standing calls the precariat (Standing, 2011) which further concentrates wealth and intellectual capital into corporations who in turn replace heritage culture with pop culture (Hall, 2010). The point being, there may be a tension between Canadian culture and Nepali culture most acutely felt in the difference in valuation of the intergenerational
connection and importance of conveying heritage culture. The replacement of the traditional culture and the concentration of knowledge capital into corporations in developed societies probably is a factor in low birth rates in those countries. Given that, host countries might not be as selfless as they appear in being willing to resettle immigrants at a gradual cost to their intergenerational connections in return for benefits of modern materialism.

For the most part the intergenerational agreement happens beneath our cognitive awareness, yet it offers explanation, if we think about it, for many of the conflicts and structures that exist in the social and political world including those which drove ethnic Nepalis from Bhutan. It is particularly relevant to refugees whose status as such is the result of ethnic conflict. Without the intergenerational contract there would be little of ethnicity to have a conflict about, for ethnicity is a layer of identity closely tied to the intergenerational contract. Different cultural allegiances need not be threats to one another, nor should capitalists view traditionalists as enemies. When we figure that out, the dangerous divisive rhetoric of politicians that burn pluralism for campaign fuel will be mute. Ethnic displacement will be reduced.

**Aspect 4: CFAP is a countermeasure to devaluation of heritage culture of immigrants because of the relative value of the medium in the dominant culture.**

Because the attitudes of the receiving community are more important to the youth who are trying to fit into the new community, their perception of the value of their culture is presumably vulnerable to the attitudes prevalent in the host community.
Therefore, if the video product creates admiration or respect in the host community peers of the refugees, this reduces the pressure on the intergenerational relationship by causing the wishes of the rising generation to align with the desires of the past generation—that is, to preserve culture becomes important for them to do in the new community. To perform that culture for the medium is a further reinforcement of the preservation theme that strengthens the connection. It increases the social acceptability and respect towards the traditional culture.

**Aspect 5: Shock at losses of continuity is better understood.**

The gap between past and present, and the experience of culture shock is collectively processed through participation and through group validation that occurs during screening and in post-screening discussions. This includes replacing the lost tangible memorabilia and loss of surroundings that would usually facilitate recollection and re-telling of stories. However, if shown without the presence of living seniors who thereafter naturally relate their own stories, it could end up replacing the contributors own significance. The group screening is therefore the recommended mode of distribution. It promotes intergenerational and cross cultural social interaction to screen in real, not virtual, gatherings.

**Aspect 6: The trauma of change is validated.**

When Bhutanese watched the video together, they cry together, they smile and laugh together. When the host community sees the footage from the camps their comments afterwards indicate they gain respect for the resiliency of the people sitting next to them. For those who have experienced cultural ruptures from ethnic cleansing, fitting into the new third country is evidently a bigger challenge than for those who do not
immigrate under duress. Loss of tangible mementos combined with traumatic removal from home creates grief. Grief is likely to interfere with second culture acquisition and functioning in the new community, thus grief increases the likelihood of self-segregation and even marginalization. With Participatory filmmaking it is possible that showing the film in the resettled refugee community might provide group validation of cultural trauma, allow working through feelings using creative artistic engagement, and produce tangible heritage assets which may lessen that grief. Community oral history documentary processes and products, I theorize, might compensate for compromised mechanisms of conveying culture by contextualizing it in the medium of the new culture. Video interviewing senior refugees whose relevance was diminished by the new environment of the host community, might reaffirm their self-esteem and overcome the language barrier between them and their grandchildren. In addition to the benefits of reducing intergenerational tension in families, CFAP makes inroads to belonging in the new community.

In-roads through refugee filmmaking could have the public health benefit of reducing the causes of ethnic tension. When groups see proximety of other cultural identities as a threat to their cultural perpetuation, political opportunism of the distrust and uncertainty can fuel ethnic unrest. Conflict preventative public health practices involving participatory media as a tool for creating cross-cultural cohesion could ultimately reduce cycles of forced displacement. Such cohesion could inspire mediating personal, community and national identity to increase sense of security among diverse groups. Following that process to its end, CFAP could ultimately reduce the trust breakdowns that lead to ethnic antagonism thereby helping prevent the re-occurrence of displacement.
Thus Community Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes may reassure the host community and Seniors in the in-bound community. Avoiding this Heritage Defence Response from being triggered in either culture balances the challenge of integration. Instead, story bridging with film fills in the unknowns, creating social cohesion and social capital. In short, CFAP facilitates multiculturalism.

Reflecting on the results: For film, usually a tool of colonial hegemony, this democratic practice is an atypical application, and an inversion from film production’s typical hierarchical structure. The role of the producer in CFAP is to facilitate the voices of the heritage contributors and participants. The facilitating researcher must remove self from the authority role to be there as a technical assistant to the vulnerable minority to empower them. Story bridging producers teaching video production give a voice to heritages that would be unheard otherwise. Such a voice turns out to be a polite voice, it is not a voice of bitterness, but a clear united voice. It is a voice spoken in recovery. A voice which gets to speak at the west’s enshrined pulpit of digital media. In the case of The Story Bridge, it just so happens that this voice is an optimistic, grateful, thoughtful, and inspiring voice. That is the voice that came as I laid aside my entertainment-and film precedent-biased lenses, and let the participants show me how they see. I suppose that to film, I have invented CFAP which fits in a new sub-genre of documentary. If so, it was to solve a social need. I do wish that there had been greater independence by the PFs. I do wish that they had not persuaded me to take the interviewer’s chair in so many of the English language interviews. But they said, on
each such occasion “if it is in English we don’t want be interviewer. You be on camera.”
The film breaks the convention of putting the interviewee’s name placard on in introduction when they first appear in the film. Doing so for the Bhutanese would have violated our ethics agreement. Together they are all one voice. They are a community, not individuals. Most importantly the film achieves what Ginsberg suggested. This process which has produced this thesis and *The Story Bridge* helps heal “ruptures of time and history” (Ginsburg 1991; 105) in the resettling Bhutanese in Lethbridge.

If left without supports for dealing with acculturative stress in families, ethnic communities acculturating will be more inclined towards segregation into ethnic enclaves in order to reduce the stress on culturally honored seniors. Families acculturating will likely experience Acculturative Family Distancing and should receive support through tools like CFAP that can harmonize the cultural priorities of old and young. Research that facilitates multicultural cohesion may help prevent ethnic cleansing which contributes to record global levels of displacement. Supports such as CFAP can also help ensure that those victims when re-settling become socially integrated in the new community while retaining elements of their cultural heritage and preserving the significance of their contributions to the generations that follow.
**Future Research**

*The religion may be different, but the community is the same.*

*(The Story Bridge, Part 2, 14:17)*

This research has utilized community filmmaking to provide consistency and continuity in the midst of circumstances of extreme change post forced migration. In this research film was used by resettling Bhutanese in Lethbridge in ways that support communities undergoing change by preserving culture, validating loss, showing the difficulties of transition, and revealing contribution. The research reveals that host communities find reassurance in the filmic story tool that helps them form community with inbound refugees. Future research might further explore applying the practice of community filmmaking with PAR to establish the transferability of this practice to similar and differing contexts. Particularly worthwhile will be the exploration of this process for creating cohesion and reducing tension in intergenerational acculturation contexts.

Other recent research continues to describe an inverse relationship between diversity and social capital. Neal states, “the values of community psychology notwithstanding, it is not possible to simultaneously promote respect for diversity and sense of community in a typical world where relationship formation is driven by homophily and proximity.” (Neal, 2014). It seems to me however that relationship formation is sometimes driven by interest in the new and different. Perhaps ability to engage in relating to new and different people lies in a base of having first met a
prerequisite sense of security through old relationships and familiar things. In other words it seems that creating permanence facilitates change by reducing perceived risk of loss that change represents.

Further, importing from the field of leisure psychology, Cskszentmihalyi’s (2000) flow model might reveal something else that has been missing from the diversity-cohesion discussion. In that model, anxiety occurs when a perceived challenge is higher than perceived ability, but when ability and challenge are matched, a positive psychological state is likely to occur. Proximate and similar neighborhood relationships presumably require less skill than intercultural ones, but might not offer the rewards of newness of ideas and perspectives to the degree possible with diverse interactions.

In considering the variation in the literature on the influence of diversity on cohesion one explanation may be that those within host communities experiencing precariousness or challenge elsewhere in their lives may look upon inflow as a potential additional threat, making them more likely to hunker down and cling to their existing low-risk social networks rather than taking the effort to reach out simply because they lack the background information and social context needed to make trusting connecting possible. Their inclination to prefer low-challenge contacts in the absence of helps will be likely because their levels of anxiety about their circumstances are already high due to factors like income inequality, or prolonged precariousness. They are thus more likely to harbor resentment towards incoming minorities, particularly if the newcomers appear to be more upwardly mobile than themselves. However, in jurisdictions outside the U.S. Putnam's findings have not been found to be universal. Collectivism may be stronger in some places than others. Perhaps propensity towards ethnic scapegoating and discord
that generally emerge during economic downturns might be preventable through cohesion building efforts. Locally authored film centred in providing connecting points between cultures holds potential for reversing the apparent negative effects of diversity on social capital. Unsupported, stressed-out majorities, if overlooked in resettlement situations could be inclined to resist inflows when they do not have the experiences needed to feel safe with the inbound other. Film can be explored for providing some needed resources for trust building particularly through community screenings.

When general sources of risk are perceived as low, such as Lethbridge where growth and employment have been relatively stable over the immigration period, divergence from familiar and proximate offer the possibility of experiencing higher psychosocial rewards when the challenge is met by high levels of proficiency. Besides familiar and proximate, humans also need challenge and opportunity if they are to avoid boredom. It may be that the balance between boredom and anxiety, safety and challenge may influence willingness to engage in cross-cultural social interaction. So one reason the film was valued by audiences may be that providing information and creating empathy towards newcomers through CFAP reduces perceived risk and increases inter-cultural social proficiency of the host population by providing knowledge and favorable depiction of those who are other, thereby increasing confidence in cross cultural social engagement. It is likely that the better sides of human nature in communities experiencing inflow need and want the resources to reduce their anxiety toward newcomers. The evidence suggests that community filmmaking has done that in the case of Bhutanese resettlement in Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada. A question for future research is whether filmmaking can be relied on to do so in other situations.
Community Filmmaking for Acculturation Purposes can be more fully developed and implemented as one way to create and distribute needed cohesion building to reduce anxiety and create confidence in engaging with newcomers as a preventative to the emergence of diversity-rejection activism. Future research if guided by those values, should seek those catalysts that increase confidence in cross cultural social engagement, and test CFAP as one such catalyst in various contexts and formats to perfect the model initially explored here. It seems from the general fear of present migration expressed in the 2016 U.S. presidential race, this could be done in grassroots community initiatives broadly to help maintain cohesion and avoid escalating negativity by creating intercultural proficiency through group media creative collaborations. In situations of low trust, the support of locally made film is likely to be higher than productions dropped into culture from distant centres already suspected of being insensitive to local needs.

It should be mentioned that when planning to work with those who may have experienced trauma a clear ethics plan is important. Though it may feel limiting, ethics planning provides helpful structure which may have influenced outcomes. The inconvenient benefit of the restrictions placed upon expression when it is part of social research as I have explored it here includes the assessment of all risks known or anticipated, and commitment with a plan to minimize the risks of harm to anyone. Much activism would do well to voluntarily apply such standards. The ethics proposal required by the vulnerability of this population influenced the approach taken in the project. Similarly, when engaging in workshops to give voice to the disaffected I think that emphasis should be on groups identifying the desired outcomes in the planning stages of production. I offer my opinion that resentment focused expressions towards the old country,
or demanding expressions towards the new country might not have had beneficial effect on fostering positive feelings towards inclusion. It may be that these refugees deciding to resettle have long ago processed the majority of such feelings. I observed that none of the participants seemed interested in dwelling on bitterness, only explaining why they had to leave and reflecting on life before the difficulties in the context of explaining why cultural preservation mattered to them. CFAP with other cohorts may not necessarily experience similar observation, so the universality should be tested with other groups. This research was not political in focus because this project was about seeking inclusion while managing change. Researchers engaging in PAR with community filmmaking may encounter other kinds of goals rather than fitting in, but with resettling refugees it is thought that since the filmmaking for acculturation purposes seeks integration as optimal, a favorable audience response is the goal.

**Precautions & Limitations in Future Research:**

Any media experts recruited to replicate this model in another community should probably commit to avoid the common habit of seeking to build tension and conflict for rising action in story rather than unwinding conflict as is done here. In CFAP willingness to leave the commercial media assumptions regarding good storytelling behind is necessary. The goal in this model is to promote social integration, therefore expression for shock, entertainment, and emancipatory language styles take a back seat to the goal of building a better collective future by building community trust. While I am not such, media producers with public relations backgrounds hired to assist processes in other jurisdictions are likely lower risk as technical assistants to incoming groups than those brought up in the angst-as-entertainment, or even angst-as-social-change creative
traditions. Recent examples of the detriment of focusing on conflict in interethnic media include the disintegration of co-existence between resident Arabs and Israelis in Jerusalem in early 2016 which seems in part exacerbated by skillful, violent, social media productions. Such is an example perhaps of an instance where media authorship skill without commitment to be sensitive to public health objectives in populations where valuing integration is not strong may not necessarily be helpful. Facilitating polarizing speech would be unhelpful to integration social objectives.

Technical media guidance explored to pro-actively author peace media may compensate for mass media's inherent propensities to problematize potentials in uncertain social situations, thus social expectation toward positive interaction might be encouraged through media collective authorship to tip potentials towards integration soon after arrival of newcomers. I cannot predict the result of attempting similar practice in situations of marginalization in the second or third generation, such as conflicted marginalized urban long-established Muslim communities in Belgium. It may be worthy of considering how a CFAP project might be structured in such a way as to have positive cohesion outcomes in situations where challenges of acculturation concordance are more pronounced.

With regard to intergenerational relations in acculturating refugees, this qualitative research discovers that CFAP appears to enhance family mental health, and community health protective measures, but further research is needed. In order to compare apples with apples, quantitative measurement using the same survey instruments that identify stress, self-esteem, and depression in earlier studies defining AFD should be utilized to learn whether CFAP changes these same variables after it is engaged directly through productions such as The Story Bridge.
The connection of story to identity is implied in this research and new research could further map out the systems of how telling recent and distant-past stories to suit the new circumstances may create belonging. Social cohesion is probably best served by not advancing social change without provisions for the need for social continuity. Honoring of intergenerational commitments to cultural perpetuation has been the human pattern and incentive for parental sacrifice and the provision of care. Respect for this is seldom shown in social change initiatives. CFAP has in this project demonstrated that respect for this process may reduce anxiety towards culture change.

More can be done to develop tools for maximizing audience in social exchange following screenings. For example, the most recent screening included clustering the audience into groups to discuss the film and then each group presenting summaries to the whole audience. Various social engagement techniques could be explored through PAR with optimal ways of audiences processing experiences together to build inter-cultural cohesion.

Further research also can be done to identify potential benefits in situations where groups are in a state of marginalization, segregation or assimilation. It may be that filmic cultural preservation might create social pressure on those who prefer outright assimilation if there are any. Meeting anyone intending to fully assimilate and leave behind their culture did not occur in our research.

It may be that diversity seems related to loss of social capital in the U.S. because there differences seem often grounds for combative tone. The conflictual, legalistic culture of pitting interests against one another in polarized win-lose speech seem more of a pastime than weaving multicultural tapestries. Other factors may be combining with
diversity to cause hunkering down, but solutions should be sought so that the pluralism destruction by Bhutan's king are not similarly engaged on a grander scale by politicians seeking popularity of majority through scapegoating of minorities.

**Story Bridging**

Immigration can result in diversity, but this no more creates a cohesive community than the delivery of building supplies to a ravine creates a bridge. Actions connecting the various pieces must be engaged to build bridges from diverse cultures. The suggestion here is to explore connecting stories as a means of creating cohesion; testing different forms of collective story construction to find reliable templates for the development of community cohesion. Film has the advantage of being able to attract large audiences. We built our bridge from individual oral histories, and collective experiences by attaching the pieces where they conceptually fit together using the tools of the video production process. Exploring other story connecting approaches through PAR and grounded methods might result in a different kind of bridge than ours, but one which does the job of connecting heritages for community strength nonetheless. The film *The Story Bridge* found ways to create a structure from a collection of stories in Lethbridge. Perhaps different local materials may require custom construction to traverse varying landscapes with local and imported cultural materials. When connection points and intersections with the host community heritage are found, a cohesive bridge is formed between and among the holders of various heritage identities.
Appendix A: References


Guglani, S., Coleman, P. G., & Sonuga-Barke, E. J. (2000). Mental health of elderly Asians in Britain: a comparison of Hindus from nuclear and extended families of


Appendix B: Link to “The Story Bridge”

The Story Bridge

*The Story Bridge; From Bhutan to Lethbridge a Journey in Community* is a documentary resulting from this research. It is placed under copyright of the Canadian Bhutanese Society (of Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada) which is acting as steward of this collective cultural item. Viewing in public gatherings with representatives from the Canadian Bhutanese Society present at screenings where possible is encouraged. A license from the society is required for screening or distribution of the film. This may be obtained through contacts available on the web site.

Viewing under the principles of academic sharing is provided for in the agreement between the researcher and the Society. Free academic access to review the video in connection with this thesis is available. Simply register for an institutional password at the website, www.thestorybridge.info.

**Institutional Password**

_________

**Link to The Story Bridge**
Appendix C:

The Human Subject Research Committee (HSRC) certified that, “the treatment of human participants will be in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and University policy.” (Certificate of Human Participant Research protocol #2014-061 on October 3, 2014).

The Ethics protocol was extended on July 29, 2015.

The Audience Feedback form was reviewed and approved by Ethics on January 7, 2016.

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CERTIFICATE OF HUMAN PARTICIPANT RESEARCH
University of Lethbridge
Human Subject Research Committee

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Jeffrey Bingley

ADDRESS: Department of Sociology
University of Lethbridge
4401 University Drive
Lethbridge, AB T1K 3M4

PROJECT TITLE: Exploring Refugee Community Film-Making as an Acculturation Resource

INTERNAL FILE: 2014-061

INFORMED CONSENT: Yes


The Human Subject Research Committee, having reviewed the above-named proposal on matters relating to the ethics of human research, approves the procedures proposed and certifies that the treatment of human participants will be in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and University policy.

[Signature]
Human Subject Research Committee

[Signature]
Date
Appendix D:

**Audience response to "The Story Bridge"**

This survey is a follow-up to a study titled "Exploring Refugee Community Film-Making as an Acculturation Resource" conducted by Jeff Bingley, a graduate student at the University of Lethbridge. The survey is voluntary and should take you no more than 10 minutes. You are giving us your consent to participate in this survey by submitting responses, and you can choose to not answer any question. The survey is anonymous unless you choose to provide contact information but confidentiality of the responses will be respected. Only the researcher will see the responses and no personal information will be associated with any answers. The answers will be used to determine if it will be helpful to share the video "The Story Bridge" with service agencies as an educational resource. For further information, please contact Jeff Bingley at jingley@uleth.ca. Thank you in advance for your participation.

1. When did you see "The Story Bridge"?
   
   Example: December 15, 2012

2. About how many people attended the screening where you saw the film?
   
   Mark only one oval.
   - 4 or fewer people in the audience
   - 5-10 people in the audience
   - 11-25 people in the audience
   - 26-50 people in the audience
   - 51-75 people in the audience
   - more than 75 people in the audience

3. What is your age category?
   
   Mark only one oval.
   - less than 18 years old
   - between 18-30 years old
   - between 31-40 years old
   - between 41-50 years old
   - between 51-60 years old
   - between 61-70 years old
   - between 71-80 years old
   - Over 80 years old

4. What best describes you?
   
   Mark only one oval.
   - I am a general community member  
   - I am a member of the Bhutanese community  
   - I work in the public sector (social services, education, government, NGO)
Public Services response form to The Story Bridge

5. As a public sector worker, do you feel showing the video, "The Story Bridge," could be a help to the work that you do?

Choose a number from 1 to 7

Mark only one oval.

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<th>Very helpful</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Not at all helpful</td>
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6. How useful do you think screening "The Story Bridge" would be toward creating inclusive attitudes towards refugees and other newcomers?

Mark only one oval.

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<th>Very effective</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Of no effect whatsoever</td>
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7. How effective would "The Story Bridge" be as a tool for helping inbound persons adjust to the destination community?

Mark only one oval.

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<td>Not at all helpful</td>
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8. The film, "The Story Bridge," implies that connecting heritage stories with one another and sharing them with the surrounding community is an act of multiculturalism that can bridge cultures. What is the potential benefit for expanding the act of collecting and sharing heritage stories in the general community?

Mark only one oval.

|   |   |   |   |   |   | The idea has great merit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|The idea has no merit |

9. What comments do you have for the filmmakers?

..................................................................................................................
10. Do you wish to be contacted for further information on using "The Story Bridge" at your agency or school?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes, I wish to leave my contact information

☐ No, I do not have a desire to be contacted. SEND FORM now. Stop filling out this form.

I wish to be contacted for further information about using "The Story Bridge."

11. Leave your contact information below only if you wish to be contacted for further information about "The Story Bridge."

Name, email, or phone:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

12. I am done. SEND FORM now.

Please check the box to prepare your answers for sending.
Mark only one oval.

☐ Click here, then "continue" followed by "submit" to send form Stop filling out this form.
"The Story Bridge," General Public Audience Feedback
Please let us know what you thought of "The Story Bridge"

13. Overall, how did you like "The Story Bridge?"
Choose a number from 1 to 7.
Mark only one oval.

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<th>7</th>
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<tr>
<td>I did not like it at all</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I liked it a very much</td>
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14. How well do you agree or disagree with this statement?
Seeing "The Story Bridge" makes it easier to socially connect to new Bhutanese Canadians.
Mark only one oval.

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<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
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<td>Strongly agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>It does not make socially connecting easier</td>
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15. After seeing this film, how do you feel about the idea of Bhutanese Refugees becoming Canadian?
Mark only one oval.

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<tr>
<td>I think it is a very bad thing</td>
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<td>I think it is a very good thing</td>
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16. Has watching the film affected your ability to interact with other immigrants who are not Bhutanese?
Mark only one oval.

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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It has greatly discouraged my ability or interest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It has greatly increased my ability or interest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. What are your impressions of "The Story Bridge?"

........................................................................
........................................................................
........................................................................
........................................................................
........................................................................

18. Do you want to support another screening of "The Story Bridge?"
Mark only one oval.

☐ No, Stop filling out this form.
☐ I want someone from "The Story Bridge" to contact me about supporting other community screenings of the film. Skip to question 11.
Bhutanese Community Response to "The Story Bridge"
Please let us know how you feel about "The Story Bridge."

19. Did you participate in some way with the film?
   Check all that apply.
   □ I was a part of making the film
   □ I was not a part of making the film

20. How did you like the film?
   Choose a number from 1 to 7.
   Mark only one oval.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   I DO NOT like the film at all
   I like the film

21. Does the film, "The Story Bridge," do a good job of representing the journey and adjustment from Bhutan to Canada?
   Mark only one oval.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   It is a very BAD representation
   It is a very GOOD representation

22. Does this film acknowledge the difficulties of the past in a way that makes adjusting to the changes easier?
   Mark only one oval.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   Using this film to acknowledge the past does NOT AT ALL make adjusting to the changes easier
   Using this film to acknowledge the past makes adjusting to the changes MUCH EASIER

23. Do you agree or disagree?
   "The Story Bridge" makes it EASIER to socially interact with non-Bhutanese people who see the film.
   Mark only one oval.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

   I Strongly DISAGREE
   I Strongly AGREE
24. Do you agree or disagree?

The existence of the film, "The Story Bridge," makes it easier to pass the culture forward to the rising generation.

Mark only one oval.

I Strongly DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I strongly AGREE

25. Do you agree or disagree?

"The Story Bridge" takes pressure off the relationships I have with those older or younger than me.

Mark only one oval.

I Strongly DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I strongly AGREE

26. Do you have any comments for the filmmakers?

........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................

27. Three more clicks are needed to record your responses.

Please check the box to prepare your answers for sending.

Mark only one oval.

☐ Click here, then "continue" followed by "submit" to send form. Stop filling out this form.
Appendix E: Agreements

PAR researcher letter of invitation and Consent

1) I would like to invite you to participate in a research project. Our research will explore participatory heritage filmmaking to see if reassembling, preserving and conveying heritage culture through film makes integration less stressful, especially with regard to intergenerational relations.

2) If you choose to participate the total time you will need to plan for this is 42 hours, spread over 3 or 4 months. During these hours the researcher will be providing technical assistance in filmmaking, participating with you in workshop discussions while making observations and inviting your input on your experiences in the filmmaking process.

3) You do not need to do anything that you feel uncomfortable with nor do you need to discuss upsetting topics.

4) You will not receive monetary compensation for your participation in this research. The experiences you engage in as a Participatory Action Researcher are their own reward, if they are at all rewarding, and while it is hoped that you will find the experiences intrinsically rewarding there is no promise made or implied that you will do so. Your participation is completely voluntary and unpaid.

5) You may choose to be recognized for your participation in the film credits and in the preface to the research report by so indicating below, otherwise your participation will be anonymous and confidential as far as the publication or presentation of the research and supplemental material is concerned. You may revise your decision about anonymity or recognition up to two weeks prior to publication by simply signing a duplicate consent form with a later date. The new form will carry the words “revised on ___” (date) in the margin. Since you will be interviewing with other members of your community as a part of the research your identity will obviously be known by those whom you interview and with whom you participate in group film production, but by signing below each participant including yourself agrees to not discuss the identity of any member who wishes to remain anonymous.

6) You agree to voluntarily record and be recorded by members of the group when engaged in group PAR discussions, workshop skills development and when engaged in oral history recordings. You agree that you will protect the confidentiality of all recordings by copying them to the research hard drives and removing them from the memory card once they have been backed up. The files will then remain at the University of Lethbridge in a locked cabinet in a locked office during project use and the raw files will remain there until transferred to the archive or intellectual trust approved by all persons taped. Those files which persons taped would like erased will be erased. You agree not to distribute the recordings by any means outside of the stated research purposes nor use recordings in any way contrary to the wishes of the persons in the recordings.

7) You agree to be recorded when participating in group reflective discussions for the purpose of the research. These recordings will be kept in a password protected computer and on the backup hard drives above mentioned during the research, and archived by the researcher at a secure location on campus or in a document storage facility for a period of up to five years following the completion of the study. During this time the researcher, Jeff Bingley, will have access to the files in the event they are needed for further data analysis. After five years the digital media (hard drive) whereon the files are stored will be overwritten or physically destroyed.

8) You can stop or withdraw at any time without consequence by notifying the researcher either verbally in writing, by email, text, or social media of your intent to withdraw. If you decide to withdraw from participation we can arrange to have your information withdrawn from the research or your identity masked in video data and disregarded in any group recordings, but it may not be possible to entirely remove your influence from the study due to the nature of group work.

9) In terms of copyright, the video recordings you make of oral history interviewees will belong to the interviewees themselves and your work with their footage is in accordance with their research agreement with Jeff Bingley. The resulting film production will belong to the Canadian Bhutanese Society. 

10) At no point in the research is anyone encouraged to discuss personal behaviour of an illegal nature. Academic confidentiality may not apply to instances in which the researcher may be obligated by law to report a confession of illegal activity. There are no questions in the research that could reasonably be
11) The potential benefits include a letter from the researcher indicating that you have been a participant in a community cinema workshop; hands-on experience with camera, lighting, sound, and editing equipment; your name (or alias) in the credits of a film; the potential to benefit your community and leave a cultural legacy; a sense of knowing that you have contributed to an understanding of the process of acculturation and ways in which community filmmaking may ease that process. There may be additional intrinsic benefits.

12) While risks have been reduced through the provisions of this agreement and the other agreements in this research, risks still exist. In a digitally connected world there is no guarantee that your work will not be seen by individuals or groups who may react negatively. While this is less likely due to limiting distribution to Lethbridge, and providing for anonymity, risks may still exist. Staying on-topic will reduce the risk of anyone taking legal action to obtain the confidential files of the research. You might encounter typical day-to-day risks associated with travel when moving to and from the workshop location. While the portable video equipment is not overly cumbersome it is possible to drop a lightweight camera on your foot, or in other ways injure yourself. Safe handling and best practices will be covered when introducing each piece of equipment. Be aware that this research may include risks such as those or others unforeseen and not mentioned.

13) Information from the experience, from our group discussions along the way, and from 1.5 hour individual interviews at the end of the project will be the basis of a thesis that I will write by September of 2015.

14) Copies of the research or a research summary will be made available to you through the Bhutanese Canadian Society. If you require a copy of your own I will gladly provide it.

15) If you have any questions, you can contact me directly at 403-634-9198 (j.bingley@uleth.ca).

Signing below indicates your agreement with all of the above points and your consent to participate according to these points.

Please initial one:

_____ Use a pseudonym in any written publication in which I am quoted, and disguise or replace my likeness in any audio-visual publication resulting from the project.

_____ Use a pseudonym in any written publication, but do not disguise my likeness or conceal my identity in any audio-visual publication resulting from the project. Instead, give me full titles recognition as ___________________________ (name as you would like it to appear in the film titles).

Participatory Action Participant

(print name) (signature) (date)

(print witness name) (witness signature) (date)
Participant/Pseudonym:

I, ____________________________, the Participatory Action Researcher/Research Assistant/Transcriptionist, agree to:

1. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., laptops, USB sticks, hard drives, transcripts, surveys) with anyone other than the Researcher(s).

2. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., laptops, USB sticks, hard drives, transcripts, surveys) secure while it is in my possession.

3. return all research information in any form or format (e.g., laptops, USB sticks, hard drives, transcripts, surveys) to the Researcher(s) when I have completed the research tasks.

4. after consulting with the Researcher(s), erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not cleared for archiving by the participants/interviewees. (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive).

Participatory Action Researcher/Research Assistant/Transcriptionist

(print name) ____________________________ (signature) ____________________________ (date) ____________________________

Researcher(s)

(print name) ____________________________ (signature) ____________________________ (date) ____________________________
Please explain these to the interviewees:

You, the person being interviewed will own the recording.

If you give permission, CBS will store a copy of the recording in a way that will last for a long time (archive) so that other members of our community and the rising generations can watch the recording to remember our community heritage.

We also ask your permission to include parts of our interview in a short film. We, as Botanese-Nepalese filmmakers will edit the video. (we will have help as needed) It is for our community. It is by our community. When we finish a rough edit of the film we will invite you and everyone who is in it to see the film. Then we will ask you if it is o.k. to keep those parts of the interview in our movie.

This project was started by a researcher at the University of Lethbridge. After you see the film, he will want to ask you about your experiences in being interviewed by us for the film and archive. He also asks your permission to show some of the interview when he reports on his research.

We would like to take just a minute to let you know we aren't here to document the abuse that happened. You can talk about only the things that you want to talk about. Any personal things that you don't want the world to know should not be spoken in this interview. Keep in mind that even though the intended audience is our Bhutanese refugee community in Lethbridge in this digitally connected world the possibility exists that your video could eventually reach anyone in the world, including people in your former homeland, and maybe even people who dislike you in some way. Such people are not our intended audience. Speak to us. Speak to our future generations, but keep in mind we cannot guarantee confidentiality unless you want us to disguise you. If you want us to do that, you can tell us at any time, but it is easiest if you tell us before we begin. We are not here to talk about conflict. We are here to strengthen our peace by recovering pieces of heritage that could be lost or forgotten if we don't make this recording.

We are here to record your personal experiences and insights about our shared Bhutanese/Nepalese/Canadian heritage and history. We also have questions about adjusting to life in three different countries. You are welcome to read the questions before we start.

Before we begin let us read together through the consent agreement.
Please also put your mailing address on this envelope. It will be used to mail you your copy of the interview on DVD. (This is the only place that your address will be written in any of the forms, and it will be used to keep your information together until the project is done. Then it will be mailed to you, leaving no record of your address behind in the researcher's office).

Above are instructions included on top of consent forms for PF's to follow when securing HC consent.
23 July, 2014  
(on University letterhead)

Invitation and Consent to participate in Oral History Filmed Interview:
I would like to invite you to participate in a research project involving Bhutanese Community Oral History Filmmaking. The purpose of the research is to see if community oral history filmmaking can reduce anxiety about culture in resettling situations.

This project gives your community (the Nepalese/Bhutanese community of Lethbridge) technical support in film-making to collect and preserve cultural heritage. In this oral history project Nepalese who grew up outside of Bhutan will interview those who remember life in Bhutan. Your interview can then be preserved in an archive for future use by the community if you so choose. You can decide at the conclusion of the interview whether to submit your interview footage for possible inclusion in a community film that the interviewers will be making. The Bhutanese community interviewers will then work from those stories with technical assistance to make a documentary film reflecting on the combined story of your community.

If you agree to participate, fellow Nepalese who are learning video, sound, lighting and interviewing, will conduct an interview with you, on camera, in which you can discuss heritage-related topics, and have these recorded to preserve them. If possible I will accompany them to help them if they need it, and make some notes. You should plan on being in front of the camera for up to an hour and a half.

As an oral history project, you may refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time. You do not need to discuss anything that might feel upsetting to you. You can cancel interview participation at any time, for any reason without consequence. If you withdraw we will consult you as to what you wish to have done with the data you have provided to that point. If you withdraw, there will be no impact on any services you receive through the Canadian Bhutanese Society.

In addition to being able to choose to have your complete unedited interview archived for the use of future generations, you can also decide whether you wish your identity to remain unknown or known in the community film, and in the oral history archive. If you decide you want to record your history anonymously, let us know, and a member of our crew will explain what we can do to record your interview without showing your identity.

When the film crew has finished putting together a draft of the community film, you and the others who were interviewed will be invited to a private screening of the film. After watching the film, you and the other interviewees will be asked to participate in a 1.5 hour group discussion to comment on the film and the film interviewing experience. Your comments as part of the focus group will be part of the data of the research I am doing to evaluate the usefulness of oral history filmmaking in resettling situations. You will not be identified in the academic report, and if you are quoted, a fictitious name will be used to protect your identity in the research write-up.

I will give you a final copy of your Oral History interview on DVD for your records and I will make my final research report available to you either through the Canadian Bhutanese Society, or direct mail if you choose.

If you have any questions, you can contact me directly at 403-634-9198 (j.bingley@uleth.ca). Questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research can be directed to the University of Lethbridge, Office of Research Services, 403-329-2747 or research.services@uleth.ca. I look forward to meeting you at the interview, at the screening of the film, or in the focus group.

Sincerely,

Jeff Bingley
Consent to be interviewed

I ____________ (name of interviewee) consent to be interviewed for the project Community Film-making as an Acculturation Resource as outlined in the letter of 23 July, 2014.
Please initial one:
_____ Use a pseudonym in any written publication in which I am quoted, and disguise or replace my likeness in any audio-visual publication resulting from the project.
_____ Use a pseudonym in any written publication, but do not disguise my likeness or conceal my identity in any audio-visual publication resulting from the project. Instead, give me full titles recognition as ___________________ (name as you would like it to appear in the film titles).

Signature ___________________________ Date ____________

Witness Signature ___________________________ Date ____________

I ____________ (name of interviewee) request that following the completion of the research the footage or recordings of my Oral History Interview for the project Community Film-making as an Acculturation Resource be archived under the following conditions:

To be privately archived and held as a community intellectual trust by the Canadian Bhutanese Society, a Lethbridge-based registered society made up of Bhutanese refugees. I will retain copyright. The society will not distribute the recording outside of Lethbridge, and the original and all copies held by the society shall be surrendered to me or my heirs upon my request.

Signature ___________________________ Date ____________

Witness Signature ___________________________ Date ____________

Consent to Participate in a Focus Group
I ______________________ (name of interviewee) consent to participate in a group discussion to give feedback about my involvement as an interviewee in the project *Community Film-making as an Acculturation Resource* as outlined in the letter of 23 July, 2014. I understand that I will be participating in a discussion with other Bhutanese refugees who were also interviewed for the film. Because the discussion is one involving others I accept that my identity and comments will be known by other members of the group, and therefore the confidentiality of any comments I make cannot be guaranteed in this part of the study. I understand that the conversation will be recorded and that portions of the discussion may be quoted under a pseudonym in the research paper prepared by Jeff Bingley. I understand that the recording of the group discussion will be stored by the researcher in a secure location and destroyed after five years.

I understand that I need not respond to any particular question in the group discussion. I understand that I can withdraw from the discussion at any time. If I withdraw I will be consulted about what will be done with the data collected to that point. I understand that it may not be possible to remove my comments from the recording due to the nature of group discussion.

Signature ______________________  Date ______________________

Witness Signature ______________________  Date ______________________

**Appearance Release**

(Oral History Interviewees)

Having viewed the rough edit of the film ______________________ (working title) on ____ (date) I release the portions of my oral history interview (recording) that are used in the film to the Canadian Bhutanese Society for use in the film. I allow distribution of my likeness, image and voice as presented in the film within the city of Lethbridge, Alberta and at academic presentations made about the research by the author of the associated research.

Signature ______________________  Date ______________________

Witness Signature ______________________  Date ______________________
Here follows the Nepali script version of the preceding HC consent forms. Note that these are provided in image form due to inconsistencies in fonts which can convolute the translation from one computer to another. This is the reason the format is not offered side by side in text.
निम्नलिखित वीडियोसिक फिल्मको अन्तर्वाचा मा भाग लिनको लागि सहमति:
म भूमिका समुदाय द्वारा मीडिया वीडियोसिक फिल्म बनाउन गरेको एउटा अनुस्थान पारिवारिक निर्माण व कुल स्त्रोतहरू मा भाग लिनको लागि सहमति हुन तपाईंलाई निर्माण गर्नुहोस्।
अनुस्प्न्यस्तिको उदेश्य मीडिया वीडियोसिक फिल्म निर्माणले समुदायबाट सामाजिक पूर्णतमतिर्नुभएका चित्रको कम सक्छ या सजबैन ल्याउँ हो।

यो पारिवारिक जनता समुदायबाट (लेखकले कुनौनीमा व्यक्त किने) फिल्म बनाउन सामाजिक अनुभवको संबंधमा सक्नुहुनुको सरलता र शक्तिको साधनको अयोग्यता दिनुहुन्छ। यो मीडिया वीडियोसिक चित्रकारिकीको अनुभवको धर्म एवं कार्यक्रमले अन्तर्वाचा लागि लिङ्ग र उन्नति भएको अन्तर्वाचा लागि लिङ्ग र उन्नति लागि सक्नुहुन्छ। तस्पिच्छि तपाईंको अन्तर्वाचा बाट तपाईंले बनाइन्छ शोध धर्म र उन्नति भएका लागि सक्नुहुन्छ।

एक मीडिया वीडियोसिक पारिवारिक जनता समुदायबाट तपाईंको भएको एक धर्म र उन्नति भएका लागि सक्नुहुन्छ। तपाईंले कुनौनीमा फिल्म बनाउन गर्नुहोस्।

फिल्म चाला गरिको फिल्म निर्माण तथा भएको, तपाईंको अन्तर्वाचा मा भाग लिनको लागि सहमति हुन तपाईंलाई निर्माण गर्नुहोस्।
तपाईका दिशापत्र ध्यान समृद्ध को आधारामा अनुसरणको हेतु दोस्रा हुनेछ जुन म मौखिक इतिहास फिल्म निर्माण पुनःसुधार्ने अवस्थामा उपयोगी छ, छैन मुख्यालयका गर्नेछ। शीर्षक रिपोर्टमा तपाईको पहिचान हुनेछ र यदि छ भने एउटा कार्यकोष नाम द्वारा तपाईको पहिचान लुकाउनेछ।

मौखिक इतिहास साधारणको अन्तिम प्रतिलिपि डि.सिडि मा ग अर्थ तपाईलाई दिनेछौ र म नेपो अनुसरणको अन्तिम रिपोर्ट तपाईलाई क्याणुदा मुख्य समाज द्वारा उपलब्ध गराउनेछ र तपाईले चाहिए प्रत्यय ईमेल गर्नेछु।

यदि कुने प्रश्न भएका तपाई 403-634-9198 (j.bingley@uleth.ca ) मा सिखा भएको संपर्क गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ। यस अनुसार साधारणको आफ्नौं अधिकार सम्बन्धी प्रश्नहरू भएको तथ्याङ्क विवरणको लागि, 403-329-2747 र र esearch.service@uleth.ca मा निर्देशित गर्न सकिन्छ। म तपाईले फिल्मको सक्रियतामा साधारणका बीत ध्यान समृद्ध भएका गर्न तपाईले दिने हुन्छु।

निर्देश

Jeff Bingley

अन्तर्वाक्ता गर्न सहमती

म .................(साधारणको नाम ) २३ जुलाई २०१४ को पत्रमा सभाधार फिल्म निर्माण एक लोक सोहां उल्लेख भए अनुसार यसै पाठ्यक्रमको का लागि अन्तर्वाक्ता दिन तयार छ।

कृपया एक प्रमाण:

छान नाम को प्रयोग हुने दिखिए प्रकाशनमा परिपोजना परिणामबाट जहाँ म उद्धृत हुनेछौ र भेस र मेरो अधिको कुनै श्रद्धालुबाट प्रकाशनमा प्रस्तावित हुनेछ।

छान नाम को प्रयोग हुने दिखिए प्रकाशनमा परिपोजना परिणामबाट, तर मेरो रस्तौलमा भेस छैन र मेरो चिनाए छैन कुनै श्रद्धालुबाट लुकाउनेछ। बस, मलाई पूर्ण शीर्षक माख्याति दिने ................. (काल्याणक नाम)।

हस्ताक्षर .................................................. मिति ..................................................

प्रत्ययामर्दीको हस्ताक्षर.......................................................... मिति ..........................
सहमति ध्यान समूह सहभागिनी हुन

(सम्पदाको तथाकथा)

म .......................... (साखालकारको नाम) यस पारियोजनको समूह छलफलमा सहभागि भई आफ्नो प्रतिकृया साखालकाको ल्यामा २३ जुलाई २०१४ को पत्रमा एक लोड संसाधनको रूपमा समुदायक फिल्म निर्माण भनी उल्लेखित भए, अनुसार आफु सहभागि हुन राज्यहुनु?

मलाई याहि छ कि म अरु बुदारी शारणरी हुन जो फिल्मको अन्तर्विवाहमा धिकुल, उनहर्स्रुङ्ग एक छलफलमा सहभागि हुनेको छ छलफलमा अरु भनि पानि सहभागि मुल्याङको म मान्नुहोस् कि मेरो पतिल र मेरो शिष्यीहरु समुहको सबै सदस्यलाई धारा हुनेछ स्वयंसेवको भन्ने विषयको भन्दा मौद्रा मैले मल्गी कुनै पनि दिशालीको गोपनीयताको प्रति मानौँछौ।

मलाई यो पनि धारा हुने कि यो कुरा चन्दा रेकोर्ड गरिन्च र त्यो रेकोर्डिङ को छलफल को अंगा Jeff Bingley द्वारा तथा गरिएको अनुसार गरिएको पत्रमा काल्पनिक पतिलको ल्यामा उद्वित आज्ञानुभूत हुनेछ। मलाई धारा छ कि समुह छलफल को रेकोर्डिङ शोधकर्ता द्वारा कुनै सुरुवाति स्थान या भण्डारण गरिएको र विस्तृत वर्ण छ।

मलाई धारा छ कि छलफलमा कुनै पनि विशेष प्रकारमा म आफ्नो प्रतिकृया नन्दन सक्कै र छलफलमा कुनै पनि समयमा आफु बाहिरी पनि सक्कै। यदी म बाहिरी चाहिए ज्ञात गर्न देखि समूह संक्रमण भएको बेटा संग के गर्ने भन्ने म सोंग परामर्श गरेको छ। मलाई याहि छ कि समुह छलफलको प्रक्रियालाई गर्दै रेकोर्ड गरेको तथा मेरो शिष्यीहरु निर्विदान सम्भव छैन।

हस्ताक्षर ..........................................................

मिति ..............................

प्रत्यक्षदारीको हस्ताक्षर..........................................................

मिति ..............................
Group Appearance Release

I/We agree to appear in videotape of our cultural/religious practice on __________ for the purpose of showing our culture for future generations in a community archive and in our community documentary film being prepared by members of the Canadian Bhutanese Society and a researcher from the University of Lethbridge, Jeff Bingley. We give permission for video to be used in ways that match the goals and objectives of the Canadian Bhutanese Society. We also have no objection to Mr. Bingley writing about this experience in his academic research. If he does so, it is with the understanding he will not use our names.

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The Story Bridge promotional materials contain a visual onomatopoeia built in Nepali script to reference a bridge. It translates as "Bhutan from, Lethbridge to." This is to say the film is a cultural bridge from Bhutan to Lethbridge.
Appendix F: Oral History DVD’s

Some of the “We Speak About Us” series of Oral History DVD’s that the project generated. Here some of them are photographed prior to their delivery to their respective Heritage Contributors and to the Oral History Archive held in trust by the Canadian Bhutanese Society.