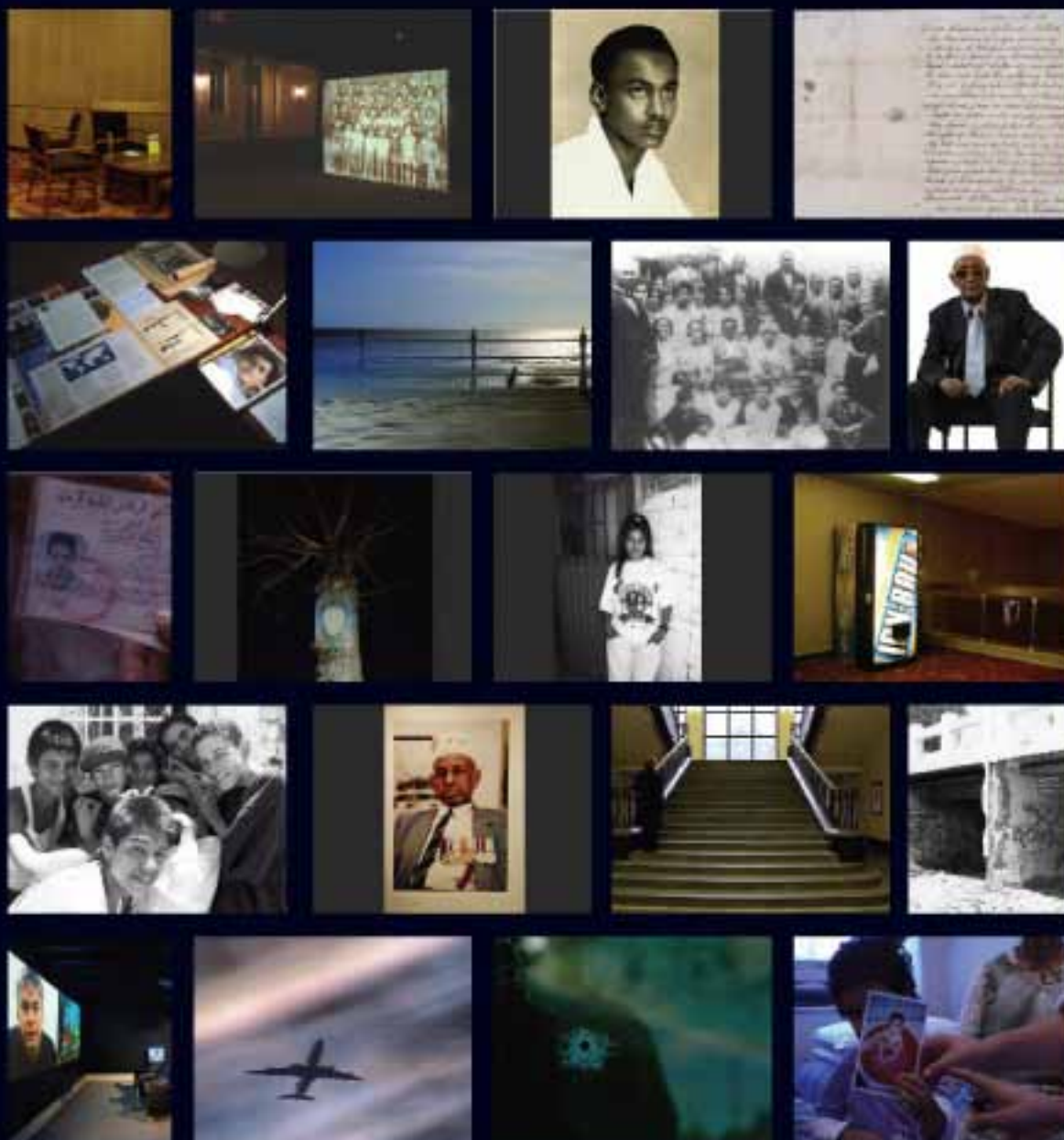




TELEVISUALISING TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION: THE NEW AMERICANS

Alan Grossman and Áine O'Brien

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I

The title of this book [*The New Americans*] and the documentary series upon which it reflects proclaims that something is fundamentally different about our most recent wave of immigration. The racial and ethnic identity of the United States is - once again - being remade. The 2000 Census counts some 28 million first-generation immigrants among us. This is the highest number in history – often pointed out by anti-immigrant lobbyists - but it is not the highest percentage of the foreign-born in relation to the overall population. In 1907, that ratio was 14 percent; today, it is 10 percent. Yet there is the pervasive notion that something is occurring that has never occurred before, or that more is at stake than ever before. And there is a crucial distinction to be made between the current wave and the ones that preceded it. As late as the 1950s, two-thirds of immigration to the US originated in Europe. By the 1980s, more than 80 percent came from Latin America and Asia. As at every other historical juncture, when we receive a new batch of strangers, there is a reaction, a kind of political gasp that says: *We no longer recognize ourselves*. This is the mythical 'middle American' speaking.

- Ruben Martínez (2004: 17-18)

We follow an Indian couple to Silicon Valley through the dot-com boom and bust. A Mexican meatpacker struggles to reunite his family in rural Kansas. Two families of Nigerian refugees escape government persecution. Two Los Angeles Dodgers prospects follow their big dreams of escaping the barrios of the Dominican Republic. A Palestinian woman marries into a new life in Chicago.

- Kartemquin Filmsⁱ

The series prologue to the first two-hour episode of the seven-hour documentary mini-series *The New Americans*, as screened in the Stranger Than Fiction Documentary Film Festival (Dublin, 2003)ⁱⁱ comprises a montage of immigrant subjects interwoven with a cacophonous medley of accented voices. Our immediate reaction to this unexpected use of an established televisual convention, although impressively facilitating a polyvocal perspective for the viewer is, however, one of surprise, if not disappointment. This feeling diminishes rapidly, ruptured emphatically in the film's opening sequence by the sound of a tribal call and response ritual carried over tracking shots, transporting viewers into the interior landscape of a refugee camp in the west African Republic of Benin, and the subsequent introduction to the first of five immigrant stories in the series - the Ogoni family of Israel and Ngozi Nwidor, prior to their departure to the United States. Steve James, co-executive producer and co-editor of *The New Americans* is seated in the audience, invited to the festival to introduce and screen his most recent film *Stevie* (2003), and teach a documentary master-class, supported by Screen Training Ireland. Exiting the theatre, we reflect on how the extraordinary scale and transnational collaborative components of the production, specificity of immigrant subjects/families, locations and varied film crews, collectively provide a compelling and challenging subject for possible

address in the book/DVD-ROM project that was to become this publication, linking questions of migration with documentary practice.

Our meeting over breakfast the following day in a central Dublin hotel was brief and purposeful. Steve responded favourably to our proposal of an extended interview format, suggesting the most beneficial, indeed egalitarian, way to engage with the production and thematic concerns of the seven-hour film would be to speak directly with the series producer and directors/producers of the stories, together with his Chicago-based colleagues at Kartemquin Films, including his co-executive producer of the series, Gordon Quinn, who was also co-director of the Palestinian story with Jerry Blumenthal. Given the impracticality and the impersonal nature of long-distance e-mail interviews with so many members of *The New Americans* production team, we happily accepted Steve's invitation to visit Kartemquin in early January 2004, months prior to the film's inaugural three-part television screening on PBS (29-31 March).ⁱⁱⁱ Following on from Chicago we travelled to New York to interview Susana Aiken and Carlos Aparicio, directors of the Dominican Republic segment. Due to time and budgetary constraints, it was not possible to meet with the directors/producers of the Mexican and Indian stories, Renee Tajima-Peña and Indu Krishnan respectively; however, we did receive from them detailed written responses to our questions, which are incorporated selectively, and hopefully seamlessly, in the transcript that follows, as well as appearing in pdf format on the DVD-ROM. The same can be said for the contribution of series producer Gita Saedi. Further integrated into this mosaic transcript - divided into four sections, ranging from the film's preproduction to postproduction considerations - is the inclusion of previously published reflection (here italicised), designed to provide a meta-commentary where relevant. Thematic subjects discussed include among others: the history and production concerns of Kartemquin Films; storytelling and the dramatic aesthetic in documentary filmmaking; outreach campaigns and the politics of public television documentary funding; the salience of family relations in the context of transnational migration; and the ethics of collaboration in documentary postproduction. In myriad ways the chapter's textual assemblage and synthesis of interview material, video clips, pdf files and interview audio extracts mirrors the very demanding and time-consuming process of independent documentary film editing; the resulting narrative account is similarly partial and necessarily condensed, by no means representing an exhaustive account of the interview research materials generated.^{iv}

11

For 35 years, Kartemquin Films has sought social justice through documentaries that reveal extraordinary truths behind ordinary lives.

Gerald Graff (2002: 116)

Áine O'Brien: As executive producers of *The New Americans*, could we begin by asking you to sketch the film's preproduction background, dating back to its inception as a Kartemquin Films project on transnational migration.

Steve James: Well, I remember very clearly when the idea for the film first came to me. I was doing a final editing pass on *Hoop Dreams* (1993) after the film had played at the Sundance festival and had

been bought for distribution and theatrical release in 1994. At that time there was much talk about the cost of immigrants on the airwaves - of closing the border with Mexico. Pat Buchanan was running for the presidency and expressing provocative thoughts on the subject. So too was then-governor Pete Wilson seeking re-election with his immigrant-bashing campaign. These debates and discussion led to the 1996 Welfare Reform Act that put in place very restrictive measures regarding immigrants. I was also at that time travelling far more extensively than usual because of *Hoop Dreams* and I'm somebody who enjoys talking to cabbies to and from airports. Most of them I met in the big cities were immigrants, who were often willing to share with me their extraordinary and dramatic stories. I quickly realised that I had yet to meet an immigrant whose life story was anything but compelling.

Alan Grossman: Incidentally, we came in with a Sudanese man.

James: Exactly. So there we were completing *Hoop Dreams*, which is essentially a film about the American Dream seen through the eyes of inner-city African-American teenagers and it just occurred to me how fascinating it would be to look at America and issues of race through the eyes of immigrants. When I eventually shared the idea with Gordon a good while later in 1995, early 1996, I wasn't particularly informed about issues surrounding immigration. What I knew was mostly anecdotal, my knowledge sketchy and neither did I have any close friends who were immigrants. *I didn't know how I felt about undocumented workers crossing the border and getting jobs in America I thought taking on a job like this would be an interesting way to figure that out* (James cited in Rosen 2004:8). I guess my instincts as a filmmaker told me that that there was a really great story to be told.

Gordon Quinn: I like Steve's cab driver's story because when he first mentioned the idea for the series, something really resonated with me, since it was a very genuine interest on his behalf. The question he was raising was very much a sincere expression of curiosity: 'Who are these people? Who are these people in the fullest sense of their humanity?' Asking such questions is always a good place to begin to start thinking about a film project. Interestingly, a similar kind of question arose from the outset in relation to *Hoop Dreams* when these two very tall guys (Steve James and Fred Marx) walked into Kartemquin, wanting to do a film about inner-city Chicago high-school kids dreaming of becoming NBA stars. *One of the longest running documentary companies in the country, Kartemquin has always been a home to young, ambitious filmmakers, providing equipment, expertise and encouragement* (Terry 1996: 98). I remember thinking, well, Kartemquin does have a political background in filmmaking and that as white filmmakers we were informed about issues in the black community. That said, what was distinctive about Steve and Fred was the fact that they were passionate about basketball. That was their common ground with the teenagers. So for me what resonated was precisely this kind of human quality inherent in Steve's curiosity about immigrants.

Also, another aspect I recollect from my discussion with Steve was the fact that when Kartemquin made a series of labour films (*Taylor Chain 1: A Story in a Union Local* (1980); *Taylor Chain 11: A Story of Collective Bargaining* (1984)), we did actually research and study early twentieth-century immigration into America - particularly the Irish and eastern Europeans, the people who came over to work in the steel mills, and we saw what happened to these immigrants and their offspring in

later generations. One of the things I'm able to say on the subject of immigration when addressing students in universities or wherever in response to when, for example, a white student happens to raise concerns about America, about their own dominant white culture, is this: 'You, who are in the class of Irish or Italian descent, your ancestors weren't considered white when they first came to America, they were considered dirty, foreign, or Catholic, not part of the dominant culture. There was absolutely no way that your ancestors were going to fit in. This was the stereotype of immigrants who came to America at that time. So with hindsight, since the issue of immigration is so thick in the air right now in America,' both Steve and myself intuited that it made a lot of sense strategically to grapple with a Film about immigrants, that this topic would be important for what was going to happen in America over the next decades - little did we appreciate just how important when we actually started. If you're going to address an issue such as immigration in the context of globalisation, you have to have an appreciation of immigrants as complicated and contradictory human beings, a sensitivity arguably lacking in much public political discussion in America on the subject.

James: From the get-go, I should add, we never thought of ourselves as re-inventing the wheel in how we wanted to do the series. We were quite clear though that it had to be distinctive, that we didn't just want to find one immigrant story to tell. Had we opted for a single story, we would never have been able to get at what was really at the heart of the series, which was to try and reckon with the multidimensionality of the immigrant and refugee experience in contemporary America - in other words, seeing America through their eyes. No one story alone could accommodate this reach, so we thought in terms of multiple stories that we would interweave together and narrate over a long period of time, each of which would ideally begin in country of origin. This kind of approach was fairly rare then, but is becoming more common now. Unlike Gordon, I haven't seen nearly enough films about immigration, but I think it's fair to say that they fall generally into two categories. One being a broad historical survey, providing a great deal of information combining archival material, photographic and moving image, alongside the views of experts. The other category has been a very intimate treatment of migration, for example, the filmmaker's individual or family story.

Grossman: Steve, could you say more on your use of the word 'story'? We'll want to return to this subject later with yourself and David Simpson as co-editors of the series. In a preliminary way, what for you is story in relation to documentary film?

James: I've always, and I think this is true for Kartemquin too, been fascinated with the idea of telling people's stories. For me the idea for a film starts with a story, it's often someone else's story that I hear, somebody struggling or working towards a goal - the classic stuff of drama. Like most documentary filmmakers, when I first fell in love with film, it was with dramatic film, because that's what you're exposed to from an early age. So what has always interested me are not issue-based films with social questions in mind, but rather films in which one is witness over a period of time to the unfolding drama of people's everyday lives, as in the case of *Hoop Dreams* and more recently, *Stevie*. By and large the Kartemquin approach I heartily adopted is this notion that we are less interested in what experts have to say on the topic and more attentive to what the people who are actually going through the experience think and feel, whether working-class kids in an ethnic neighbourhood, immigrants or refugees. We've found time and time again that by following people

closely over long periods that they themselves have much to say on various social issues as eloquently and as thoughtfully, to our mind more so, than academics and political experts on the subject. Kartemquin's body of work, I would say, certainly those films I've been involved with, is non-polemical. Now that is not to suggest that these films are non-political and don't make a progressive statement, that they don't have a point of view. They do, with considerable complexity and contradiction. This is something I value and I know Gordon does too.

Quinn: I think the question here is an important one and it's certainly an area that has evolved in our various films over the years.^{vi} Almost all filmmakers, whether dramatic or documentary filmmakers, would say that it's all about the story, in one way or another, but the question 'what is the story and what kind of story are you telling' is something that really does change. If, for example, you look at our early *vérité* films like *Home for Life* (1967) about old age or the *Taylor Chain* films mentioned earlier, which are pure *cinéma vérité*, everything is in strict chronological order as it happened; even within any given scene we were cautious not to shift things about in order to make it work. I think one vital point we learned in doing *Hoop Dreams*, and this is very much something that Steve brought to Kartemquin, is the value of borrowing storytelling elements from narrative film. Emerging out of this purist *vérité* background we've come to learn that the rules and conventions are there to be broken; you need, however, to know what they are while having an appreciation of your roots. It's important to realise that there are a multiplicity of ways of telling any particular story and no one particular approach is more valid than another. This whole question is something we've been working through during the past 15 years or so - what lines do you cross and which ones not?

James: It's a slippery issue in any kind of documentary filmmaking, though especially in Kartemquin's approach which is to go out and collect a great deal of material across different locations and situations. We don't go out and simply shoot at random - we do so with a focused idea as to what we're interested in but don't allow that focus to prohibit us from letting the story unfold in whatever direction. That is the whole appeal of this kind of filmmaking; we come back with an enormous amount of material that can be shaped in any number of dramatic ways, shaped pretty much to say whatever we want it to say.

Quinn: The most exciting building block for us in terms of narrative development, dating back to our early more ethnographic/anthropological films like *Home for Life* and *Thumbs Down* (1968) and continuing into the present, is the day-to-day observation of human behaviour and social interaction, the accretion of detail over time, which is such a different process to doing oral history films - here, you sit someone down and say tell me your story, it's driven by language and sure, we've done projects like that. We never, I should stress, try to be invisible and neither would we claim invisibility; rather, in our films we attempt to create some kind of convention in which the relationship of the filmmaker to the subject is conveyed in both subtle and explicit ways - the end product, I would argue, always falls back on the integrity of the filmmaker. It's not as if we adhere to some kind of magic formula, certainly in our early days we used to talk at length about this and I'm told this issue still comes up in film classes today. In Kartemquin's 'cinematic social inquiry'^{vii} days we talked about story, but what we were often doing, in an ethnographic or anthropological way, was trying to edit things down, shaping them, trying to get to the core, to figure out what in essence was happening in a given scene. I think in some sense the ability to stand back and look at the larger

picture, at the larger dramatic structure of the documentary is what we're doing now, which certainly makes our work more amenable to a televisual audience. But, you know, it's not just a question of seeking a broader audience. For us, it's an ongoing artistic struggle to find new ways of telling a coherent story - if we don't evolve, then there's always the danger of becoming static.

James: As my father would say, 'when you're green you grow, when you're ripe, you get rotten'. Why should the documentary format concede dramatic aesthetics to fiction film? For makers of documentary such as myself and others, there's a strong feeling that we should have at our creative disposal as many tools as possible in dramatising people's everyday lives. Of course there are critics and academic writers who begrudge this development in documentary film.^{viii}

Quinn: One final thought about our approach to storytelling that to my mind links into your question yesterday as to why we chose to focus exclusively on stories of legal, or as you put it, documented migration. In the making of *Home for Life*, we set out to locate the best possible home for the aged in Chicago, not the worst. Why? Because if you want to get at the dynamics of social structures in society through the work of any given institution, if you choose to represent incompetent and corrupt professionals, then the audience response to the film will often be to remove these people from office. Essentially, you're out to expose a snake pit and that's not part of the tradition of Kartemquin filmmaking. If, however, you identify competent and well-intentioned professionals working in an institution trying to provide the best possible practice, then as filmmakers we can begin to impact on and reveal larger social structures at work. The link here to our choice of legal immigrants in *The New Americans* is this. I think one of the overriding perceptions in America is that most immigrants arriving in this country are undocumented, illegal, and so often when people talk about immigrants, there seems to be this unspoken assumption that they are illegal. It's always stories of undocumented immigration in the news, which fuel and drive public debate. So as a form of intervention if you like, we felt we had to counter this trend by concentrating on the majority of immigrants who enter this country legally and who are engaged by various institutions and immigrant advocacy organisations doing their very best to shape national immigration policy.

III

Independent Television Service (ITVS) has found that broadcast alone is not enough to ensure that a social-issue television programme achieves its potential impact - or even reaches the audience for which it is intended.^{ix}

O'Brien: You've begun to identify the imagined audience for the film. In order to make this question of audience more concrete and having looked at the PBS companion website^x to the series back in Dublin, could you outline, in terms of development and funding, the relationship between the civic engagement campaign or outreach project and the film itself? Were the two conceived as integrated parts from the very beginning?

Quinn: Very early on we knew it was vitally important that the film would speak to those communities represented in it and to the wider immigrant community. So from the outset, some

two years before production commenced, we got involved with our outreach partners, whose main focus is working with public television stations, encouraging them to work with their local constituencies and organisations with a view to creating outreach activities prior to and well beyond broadcast. There were, however, some frustrations along the way. For example, we wanted the film to be accessible to immigrant communities in the various languages spoken in the film. A huge part of our outreach campaign did a lot of research work in the area of presenting materials multilingually, reflecting the languages represented in the film. Sadly, this component never got funded, which was very disappointing.

James: The breakthrough for me in knowing that the project could really be something of value to immigrant communities was when we presented what for Kartemquin was an unusually long 24-minute demo used as a fundraising device at conferences and in meetings with immigrants, refugees and members of numerous organisations working on their behalf. A substantial component of these events was made up of professional immigrants working in the field who were very responsive to the demo. I remember feeling completely energised by their response and thinking, 'yeah, this is something that can speak to those audiences' because we were telling human stories full of complexity, humour and contra-diction. They understood that we weren't trying to portray immigrants in symbolic ways. We also had the experience of showing the demo to non-immigrant activists. They were equally engaged, but far more reverent about what they saw.

Grossman: What did the demo consist of?

James: It was material from the first year distilled down greatly and represented the Ogoni, Palestinian and Dominican Republic stories. The Indian story, while underway at the time wasn't developed sufficiently and Anjan, its central character, had yet to come to America. The Mexican story about the Flores family, directed by Renee Tajima-Peña, was later added on. She had been working on this story independently.

Quinn: In the course of talking about the project to immigrants, ESL teachers and immigrant-serving organisations, we hooked into a group called 'Grant Makers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees', where for three years in a row we were the entertainment, screening the demo and presenting ideas about the film. I recall an experience I had with Gita that surprised both of us in its intensity of feeling. In one of the later meetings, after we had shown the demo and other clips, presented materials, introduced the objectives of the outreach programme, identified possible publication materials to be made available to them and discussed pre-screens leading up to the broadcast, in short, the various facets of the project, the audience was just stunned, tearful, not willing to talk about our agenda at all. What they really wanted to talk about was what they had seen in the footage, what many of them had experienced - the incredible pain, shock, loss and dislocation that immigrants go through, the grieving process and what they'd left behind. Immigrants arrive in America and we're quick to say to them we have this and that programme for you, present a whole range of opportunities before them, which they're then asked to sign up for. My point is that we forget their experiences and so this meeting for me represented a very sobering

moment because while I had seen glimpses of it in our work, it all too easily disappeared and here we were reminded of the reality for immigrants so powerfully.

O'Brien: At what point then and from whom did you receive initial funding for the film and outreach campaign?

James: The foundation funding for the film and outreach programme didn't really gather momentum until 1997 when we got funding in place initially from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and then subsequently from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and PBS. Between them we raised approximately a million dollars, which is a lot of money. Yet, for the kind of series we were proposing at that time it amounted to approximately a third of our projected budget. Kartemquin had a track record with MacArthur at that point because of *Hoop Dreams* and other projects, so there was an already established relationship of trust between us. They provided funding up-front which was straightforward. Yet when it came to public television even though CPB and PBS had awarded us the grant, they were not going to release the money until we had raised at least 75 per cent of the total funding of the budget for the series. This forced us to scale back the budget and project to telling three stories although ideally we had five in mind. We put it to them at the time that if successful in raising further funding from other sources, we would then want to expand the film to our original plan. So we asked them to release the money in order to get started. Had we insisted on the five stories from the outset and waited for the money to come in perhaps we would still be sitting here today waiting to begin the production. This is the way the system works in America with public television funding - it's a dance that American documentary filmmakers have to do. Funders are fearful of being burned, very conservative about awarding money and then releasing it to filmmakers, which at the time made a project like ours impossible without certain compromises in place.

Quinn: To be honest, when we started both Steve and I thought, well, immigration was very much in public eye, we were coming off the success of *Hoop Dreams*, we had a terrific film project, a dynamite demo that we knew was really moving people's hearts, and so therefore it wouldn't be too difficult to raise the outstanding budget. We were actually dismayed at how difficult this task became. In fact we never raised the total amount of our budget, which was reduced over and over again during the course of the production. Had the MacArthur Foundation and ITVS not bailed us out then we might never have finished the film.^{xi}

James: Our problems surrounding funding had less to do with the demo, since those who turned the film down thought it was a terrific project. The struggle with funding had to do, in large part, with the reality of the funding of documentaries in this country. In the foundation world funding has diminished to a significant degree and there are only a handful of major foundations that still fund media projects. MacArthur is the exception. Given the size of our project, we had to cobble together a lot of small grants.

Quinn: There were foundations that fund major television documentaries with whom we entered into long conversations over the years, all the while encouraging us to think that that funding would be forthcoming. When it never materialised, we were all a bit shocked. I certainly was.

James: I think one explanation for that and drawing on our experience in making *Stevie* was that some of these foundations that Gordon is referring to had issues with our approach to filmmaking. It's much easier for them to fund something that's more straightforward in terms of style, using experts and commentary and so on. Kartemquin's more intimate approach posed questions to them about our exploitation of people, putting their personal lives up on the screen.

Grossman: Could we move on to the content and funding aspects of the outreach component of the series? The perspective of series producer Gita Saedi would be a good starting point.

Gita Saedi: Throughout the process myself Gordon and Steve were all thrilled and involved with how expansive the campaign got as we kept picking up partners. It's any filmmakers' goal to reach the widest audience possible, and with a seven-hour series having an outreach campaign as wide-ranging as ours is a wonderful thing. In its incubation stages, we drove the conversation with partners to create something clear and potentially real. Once the partners all came on board and we mediated their roles both shared and specific, the outreach truly took on a life of its own. There were growing pains with the union of outreach partners, but like siblings, they learned how to work together and make their collaboration help their own campaign that much stronger. Both guiding and then assisting our partners to create the wide-reaching initiative was enjoyable, necessary and extremely successful.

Quinn: We started off working with Active Voice, one of our outreach partners, putting together a series of 20-60-minute video modules excerpted from the series and associated discussion guides.^{xii} Leslie helped on this.

Leslie Simmer: As part of my postproduction supervisory role at Kartemquin and after Gita had moved away from Chicago and I had been part of an editing team on the Dominican Republic and Ogoni stories, I helped with the content development of three modules with Active Voice for multiple use in the workplace and schools and by community organisations. The three modules were 'Supporting Families' - helping teachers and other professionals meet the needs of immigrant families; the second was 'Finding Community' - opportunities for immigrant civic participation, which is designed especially for service producers and policymakers in identifying ways to engage new immigrants in public life. The third, 'Building Bridges', is designed for community work, for deepening an understanding between long-term residents and new immigrants. Gordon has actually used these modules in college classes.

Quinn: Later ITVS came on board with funding and services support once production was underway recognizing that *The New Americans* could be a footprint program in their mission of reaching

underrepresented communities (Creekmore 2005). ITVS has a very developed outreach division and they're also doing the community engagement campaign website for the series."^{xiii} So a huge outreach campaign has been established in conjunction with the film, much of which has been funded independently from the series itself.

James: One of our frustrations and something we were constantly up against was the fact that there were organisations interested only in funding the outreach programme and not the media. For example, the Annie E. Casey Foundation gave us a substantial grant for the production in addition to separate grants towards outreach extensions they were supporting. The MacArthur foundation did that with *Active Voice* too. We had to therefore navigate back and forth between chasing production funding on one hand, and funding for the outreach project, on the other. Not easy. While there were competing interests at play, moving between the two invariably uncovered further leads to pursue. Fortunately, there were no major mishaps along the way.

I think it's important to note a fundamental shift here for American documentary filmmakers. Increasingly it's hard to get your project funded unless you have an outreach programme in place. That places yet another burden on the shoulders of independent filmmakers trying to get their work done. One good result coming out of this is the necessary skill that filmmakers are forced to learn in terms of being wily and enterprising, finding new ways to get their films made. There was a time when outreach concerns never mattered or, if they did, it was something you thought about only after the film was completed. More and more funding bodies have now realised that it's insufficient to invest huge sums of money into a production for the sole purpose of a single television broadcast. They now ask questions about outreach; they may not support it directly, some will as I said, but they want to know about the film's utility beyond the broadcast itself.

Saedi: Best intentions aside, to receive foundation support, your film inevitably needs to be more than just a film. This reality was our impetus to get together an initial proposal.

Quinn: Foundations want to be in a position to gauge the film's social impact. Fair enough. For us at Kartemquin, the concept of outreach has never been problematic; it's what we've always done at a micro level though not necessarily at the level of national broadcast television. It's an integral part of our roots dating back to the 1970s when we operated as a collective.^{xiv} Many of Kartemquin's films, for example, have toured cities with special screenings organised in schools and in collaboration with community organisations. So as this development increasingly becomes the norm, well, we're there, that's how we do things and as questions of outreach became increasingly important for potential funders, it was just a matter of toning down our more politicised language. Through working with *Active Voice* during the past five years or so I've become quite educated about how documentaries can be used to shape policy.

O'Brien: A compelling feature of *The New Americans*, particularly from our European vantage point, is given that it has been shot for prime-time viewing and so in effect has a popular appeal attached to it, the various online and outreach stands of the broadcast add up to something extremely ambitious that arguably isn't present elsewhere.

James: No, not on American television.

O'Brien: Nor on European television in the sense that a broadcast film wouldn't necessarily be connected to an outreach project on the scale of *The New Americans*.

Quinn: What's right for Kartemquin to be doing at this moment in time is to reach a broad American audience with powerful emotional material supported by outreach components designed to create maximum social impact. *'The New Americans outreach effort in many ways represents the best in public broadcasting's desire to not only reach but engage audiences', says Maria Alavarez Stroud, executive director of the National Center for Outreach. 'By taking the national broadcast and giving it legs through public television outreach, it ensures that the issues raised on air are actively addressed locally'*. The more confrontational agitprop kind of filmmaking is still alive, for example in the form of Indy media, but in many ways Kartemquin did that twenty-five years ago. Now it is the turn of much younger filmmakers and online activists stylistically experimenting in different and exciting ways, organising events and using the internet as a political platform for their work; for example, MoveOn.org, has this contest right now for anti-Bush campaign spots designed to be shown on the internet and there is all sorts of documentary material getting up on satellite television. I pick it up on Free Speech TV and LinkTV so the broadcast mix is radically changing all the time.

James: This kind of work though is never screened in theatres and doesn't appear on public television.

Quinn: Sure. But then, neither was our early work.

James: Because of the recent explosion of awareness of documentaries in recent years, I think there is this tendency to consider whatever is seen in theatres, on public television, on HBO, as comprising *the* world of documentary filmmaking.

Quinn: But that's just *one* field of documentary, right?

IV

Migrant life places a tremendous strain on family relations. The ceaseless movement over and over the horizon to the next town, the next state, the next country, across rivers and oceans, is stressful enough, as are the long separations between parents and children. Another toll is the disintegration of extended family. The social fabric of Old World societies is made up of the complex network of relations the nuclear family has with the greater family of aunts, uncles, cousins, in-laws. Collective identity based on the geographic proximity of intimate relations – in the village, you may be within walking distance of most of your extended family - starts to crumble as one after another relation

takes to the road.

It is one of the terrible ironies of the global era that many migrants undertake their journeys with the goal of providing a better life for their families, yet the separations that result often can work against that very goal. What happens when Dad leaves for the States, saying he'll be back in six months, and three years later his presence in the village is only manifest a couple of times a month by a disembodied voice on a long-distance line, or, perhaps, every once in a great while, a VHS videotape greeting? (Martínez 2004: 99)

Grossman: *The New Americans* accomplishes the difficult task of rendering visible the transmigration of subjects within the intersecting contingencies of globalisation, class, gender, family and community in both country of origin and destination. What's so compelling in the series and something observed closely over time is the extent to which economic pressures on the individual migrant threaten the collapse of family and communal values, generating tension within and between family members. We're wondering whether the series producer and the directors/producers of the stories anticipated in advance the collective role of families in shaping migration patterns and whether this influenced production decisions made in the field, necessitating the cultivation of relationships with various members of migrant families and indeed the wider community. Gita, could we begin with yourself and then move on to responses from the various crews to our illustrative pre-selection of clips across five family stories in the series?

Saedi: I was certainly aware of the fraught dynamics you describe in families living both in the homeland and the new land. How we shaped our filming around this is a little too related to chance for any identifiable strategy to be discussed. I would say, however, that one main crux of the film was to get to know these individuals in their countries of departure before they would come to be labelled 'immigrant' or defined as outsiders. By introducing the audience to the families of these immigrants-to-be, by humanising the long lost family and communities, the financial ties and woes make more sense. Had we not introduced the viewer to the six adorable Flores children in the Mexican story, or the priceless mother of Israel [Nwidor] in the Ogoni segment, then when the financial hardships arose the idea of 'just not helping' would possibly spring to mind. Knowing who they were helping in the country of origin and why they had to, makes it all the more real and important. Also, through knowing and following them for so long, we therefore had access to these intimate moments and stories.

O'Brien: In the Indian story, Indu, family tensions surrounding the decision to migrate are enacted powerfully through the ideologically fraught relationship between Bangalore-based computer programmer Anjan Bacchu and his father, who opposes his son's desire to exchange *the Silicon Valley of India for the real Silicon Valley* (Martínez 2004: 198). This relationship comes to a head in the culmination of a sequence prior to his departure in which Anjan is lectured by his father on the meaning of genuine 'freedom'.

Indu Krishnan: I was very interested in exploring the economic tensions that a family would experience, especially in the case of someone like Anjan. From the very first interview when he talked about conflict with his father over his spending habits, I became hooked. His father, M.A.

Bacchu, was a labour leader and devout Gandhian who had been let go for his union activities and so I had the strong impression that money was going to be an area of contention, especially given that Anjan was so liberally throwing it around. That said, I think that Anjan's wanting to come to the US was more than just earning buckets of money, since he was already doing that in India. I think it was very important for him to prove himself here - almost a matter of prestige for him. But I am sure he was hesitant to voice it openly, especially given his father's dim view of America. And so when asked his reasons for coming to the US, he often said it was to gain knowledge, expand his horizons, couching it in such terms to avoid possible confrontation with his father.

Regarding the 'freedom' conversation you highlighted, I think his father felt strongly that the 'brain drain' was an aspect of the neo-colonial domination of India by countries like the US who were depleting the reserves of highly-skilled talent in India which had been nurtured at the expense of the common man. *Anjan would become one of the 240,000 Indians [nearly half of the country's newly graduated engineers and scientists] who left the motherland between 2000 and 2002. It is perhaps the greatest emigration in India's history* (Martínez 2004: 188). But like Gandhi, being somewhat feudal in his personal relationships, he firmly believed in maintaining a somewhat patriarchal pecking order. While Anjan was very affected by his father's politics, the US nevertheless represented for him freedom at the level of the individual - the freedom to do this and that and be his own person away from the overbearing influence of his father. I found this father/son conflict interesting because I believe it is deeply-rooted in the Indian middle-class mind-set, especially those caught up in the Gandhian ethos; I wonder how many viewers were able to make sense of this?

O'Brien: The other source of immigrant family strain in the Indian story, fuelled by economic imperatives, is Anjan's relationship with his newly-wedded wife Harshini Radhakrishnan, a computer instructor from Mysore whom he met through a computer-aided marriage bureau and who subsequently joins him in California. We were struck by the fact that Anjan does not immediately tell Harshini about being laid off from his job at 2Wire. Were the film crew then in a position of knowing what was happening to him, yet Harshini wasn't. If so, did this present any ethical dilemmas?

Krishnan: At the time of Anjan's redundancy we had been following him around for over three years. We actually interviewed him for the film some two weeks after he and Harshini met in late 1998. So in a sense, I had become a close friend and perhaps because I had lived in the US for many years, he felt I was more tuned in to the way things worked here and, therefore, would be sympathetic to his situation. But yes, I too found it odd that he hadn't been able to tell Harshini about his redundancy and even asked him why. To which he replied they would argue if she knew; she wouldn't be supportive and would just plain freak out with all the uncertainty. So not wanting to put Harshini through all that he felt the lesser evil was to keep the news away from her as long as he could. But I think the decision to use it in the film was to signal the tensions that had crept into their relationship, tensions that may have played out very differently had they been back in India, and tensions that were part and parcel of their experience as highly-skilled immigrants working in the United States.

O'Brien: A striking illustration of this tension in their relationship is the compelling vérité sequence in a shopping mall when after buying a pair of sneakers Anjan expresses the desire to eat french fries and sets about persuading Harshini to join him. She, however, resists. This encounter is preceded by

Anjan's reflection on his struggle to negotiate family and career, conflicting material and spiritual values. A further powerful sequence is towards the end of the Indian story, when Anjan is left absolutely alone at San Francisco airport having said farewell to Harshini who is returning to India. He speaks of being 'lost' - he is, as he says, without his 'compass'.

Krishnan: In some respects Harshini had far more quickly internalised American values than Anjan who remained locked in internal combat over his 'Indianness' and its erosion in the US. Regarding the airport scene, his sense of rootlessness does seem to reflect what is quintessentially the postmodern condition; his career, the work he does, the mobile workforce he belongs to and communicates with in faceless chat-rooms and alias-ridden bulletin boards has in some sense deterritorialised him. What is touching about his predicament is that when he is dealt the last final blow and is forced to be separated from that last source of identity - his wife and child - he has no one left to be his 'compass' and is forced to refer back only to himself. In his worldview this moment, when he has chosen to trade in family and country in pursuit of a chimerical career, represents a low point in his life. Ironically, and in contrast, the Mexican [Flores] family, although imploding from all the internal and external tensions, manages to reunite and remain together.

Grossman: In the film's depiction of Mexican economic migrant Pedro Flores and his family, we are collective witness to numerous intergenerational separations, departures and homecomings, characteristic of the Mexican labour migration journey, which is *not an end unto itself but rather a means to lift the family out of poverty in the only way the migrants know how: crossing the Rio Grande and staking a claim on the future* (Martínez 2004: 150). Having obtained the right to legal residency in the US, a process he initiated seven years previously following thirteen years of peripatetic low-paid manual labour in the field, Pedro is currently employed in a meatpacking plant in Garden City, Kansas. The Flores family is finally about to be reunited in Kansas, pending Pedro's ability to secure visas for the seven other family members via an upcoming immigration interview at the American Consulate in Ciudad Juárez, located just across the border from El Paso, Texas. Two intergenerational departure sequences involving Pedro's eight-year-old son 'Pedrito' and his wife Ventura, illustrate simply and dramatically the process of upheaval from school, family, land and community in their hometown of Cuernavaca, Guanajuato.

O'Brien: Renee, building on Alan's comment, in the Mexican story, to my mind more so than any other in the series, the question of gender and its entanglement with circuits of migration is most forcefully highlighted, together with pressures placed on the extended family unit. I want to ask you in particular about Ventura's role and agency in that her transition from being a single parent in rural Cuernavaca, holding the family together in Pedro's absence, to Garden City, Kansas is quite dramatic. In Kansas, she spends much of her time in the home, appears bored and unhappy even though her children have gained enormously. She then makes the decision to take the children out of the school system in Kansas where Nora, the eldest daughter, has the opportunity to finish high school, with a view to relocating to Mecca, California to reunite with her sister and five children, where the Flores family knowingly will have to endure backbreaking work in the heat of Mecca's greenhouse nurseries and picking fields (as one subject comments this is virtually a 'step-down in the migration cycle'). Ventura's catalytic decision is arguably extreme, yet at the same time, understandable. Here we see the dialectic of family migration with full force.

Renee Tajima-Peña: I think Vangie and I, because of our respective backgrounds and work in our communities, were hyper aware of the effect of mobility, globalisation and immigration on families. (See my written response to your question on selection of Pedro Flores which I link to questions of family reunification). Ventura was really interesting to me. The conventional wisdom and 'marketing' of the American Dream, so to speak, is that the US offers educational opportunity, and therefore class mobility. For Ventura, that meant physical and psychic mobility, and thus, the possibility of further separation within the family. Pedro and Nora opposed the move from Kansas to California, because they would lose both job and educational opportunities. Meatpacking is dangerous, relatively low-paid work, but offers higher pay in a region with a relatively low cost of living, compared to fieldwork in California. The schools are better in Kansas, and Garden City in particular has tried hard to serve the needs of immigrant working families. Also because it's such a small community, there isn't the 'white flight' out of public schools as in metropolitan areas, or what we have here in California. The Flores kids went to school with other immigrant kids, but with native English speakers, so they were exposed to English in a way they are not in the highly segregated community of Mecca.

It's interesting that my husband, who grew up in a migrant farm-worker family, was really disappointed and somewhat angry when he heard the family was moving to Mecca and forgoing the opportunities afforded them in Kansas. In our definition of success, the kids would learn English, go to college, get a good job, and get out of south-west Kansas. But the mobility that has pushed almost all of his brothers away from the poverty-stricken Rio Grande Valley is also the greatest source of sorrow for the family. They are scattered, adrift from the anchor of home and each other. I think Ventura feared the same thing for her children and her family - the essential condition of American modernity is this mobility and the alienation from home. Furthermore, when a child crosses the border from one class to another, there is another kind of potential alienation from their family.

Grossman: At this point, we'd like to shift discussion to the production of the Ogoni story, to the selection of the refugee families of Israel and Ngozi Nwidor and Barine Wiwa-Lawani, sister of writer and activist Ken Saro-Wiwa executed by Sani Abacha's military regime in Nigeria. They have finally secured political asylum in the United States having resided for more than two years in a Benin refugee camp. Steve, as somebody who was on camera for some of the location shoots in both Nigeria and Chicago, alongside your co-directorial role of the segment with Gita, and as co-executive producer of the series from the outset, to what extent did you anticipate the impact of economic pressures on the refugee family unit in Chicago? For example, the everyday difficulties surrounding separation from their extended family and native community in Ogoniland on the Niger Delta, alongside the demands and expectations of success bestowed on the Nwidors as representatives of the Ogoni exiled from their family and community.

James: Across the various stories there were a number of surprises. We did anticipate in advance that for some of the immigrants and refugees such as Israel and Ngozi who came with next to nothing, their lack of financial resources would always be a daily struggle, affecting their individual wellbeing and the kinds of jobs that they would have to end up doing, despite being very educated, Israel in particular. He had a degree in petrochemical engineering, which was worthless in the US. I think what surprised us though was that this economic struggle alongside having to deal with

unforeseen daily demands took less of a toll on their marriage than the demands and expectations of family back home who were reliant on them. It was an eye-opening experience to see how on one occasion when filming them calling home they were arguing with relatives on the phone about how much money to send back. Israel spoke about how the family just wanted the remittance money to be sent and that he couldn't get himself to tell them how the money was earned, the low prestige of the jobs they were forced to take. So, the impact of economic imperatives reverberates not only on the immediate family but down the immigrant family line - this was certainly apparent in their case, which I found to be quite revealing. *'Today when you leave here [refugee camp] and enter that bus and go to the airport, be determined and ready to work', says Israel's pastor. Israel listens intently with his head bowed. 'If you don't succeed, the Ogoni have failed because your success is your family's success, it is your village's success, it is the success of the Ogoni. If you fail, it is an Ogoni failure, we have all failed'* (Martínez 2004: 73).

Grossman: Each of them was earning \$7 an hour, doing steward and housekeeping jobs in hotels.

James: That's right. Sadly it's still true today. I met up with them a few weeks ago at Barine's birthday party and they're still juggling jobs, working split day and night shifts because they can't afford a baby-sitter. In the other immigrant stories of the series, there were further surprises and developments, Take Anjan for example. Here was somebody who was relatively well off whose reasons for coming to the US had little to do with real economic need. In a similar way that the Dominican Republic ballplayers José Garcia and Ricardo Rodriguez wanted to play in the major leagues of US baseball, Anjan wanted to play in the big leagues of Silicon Valley. When he arrives and it's the dot-com boom, all is well. Harshini comes too, we see them shopping for a car, clothes, gadgets, on vacation. They have a nice apartment and their life and relationship is comfortable. Yet when the dot-com bust hits you see the toll it begins to take on them individually and on their marriage. In the series as a whole I would say that the stresses and strains on the families are sometimes economic and other times not - an example being the Palestinian story where the tensions are less economic and more political in the relationship between Naima Saddeh and Hatem Abudayyeh.

Grossman: Staying with the Ogoni story, I want to ask you about the memorable 'video letter' exchange between Israel, Nogozi and their extended families back in Ogoniland. Could you contextualise this sequence? How did it materialise?

James: This is a very emotional sequence in the story. Let me answer your question by referencing to begin with the bilingual Spanish/English film *Balseros* ('Cuban Rafters', 2002) that Gordon mentioned yesterday in our conversation about documentaries we looked at on the subject of immigration. Essentially the film dates back to 1994 when a Spanish crew of telejournalists filmed and interviewed Cubans attempting to reach the US on homemade rafts. Many drowned en route, hundreds turned back, and some were picked up by the Coast Guard and held for a year or so in a temporary refugee camp in Guantanamo Bay. The film crew gained access to the camp, following the flight of the rafters as they waited for their immigration status to be sorted out. Seven years later, the crew reconnects with these same subjects to discover the outcome of their new lives in different cities across the country. What's interesting is that throughout the film the directors deploy the tactic of

facilitating video letters between the rafters and their families back in Cuba and in so doing, very much become a vital link between the two - something that we happened to do only once in the Nigerian story.

Israel and Ngozi could not afford a return trip back home to pay their respects to Ken Saro-Wiwa whose remains were removed from a mass grave for burial in a tomb. This also would have an opportunity to reunite with their family whom they hadn't seen for several years. So we suggested videotaping them - at the time they were having difficulties in reaching the family by phone - and then showing the video letter to the family, which they wanted us to do. This is an example, really, of a completely orchestrated moment in the series, something that never would have happened without the presence of the filmmakers. We made an assumption, rightly or wrongly, that viewers would guess from the way it was shot that the film crew engineered this exchange. Whether you know this to be the case or not doesn't detract from what this sequence powerfully conveys; that the two families on either side of the screen miss each other profoundly, that intimate dialogue occurs between screens and that while photographs, letters and email are still sent home, video contact has become very common. *In today's migrant world, VHS or digital video is increasingly the preferred 'virtual epistolary form'* (Martínez 2004: 93). So observing the dialogue unfold and interaction between screens and people separated by thousands of miles was quite a revelation.

Grossman: The disembodied modes of communication and material exchange depicting transnational Ogoni family relations are arguably in marked contrast to the Dominican Republic story in which we are exposed to some of the visible benefits of remittance payments sent home by baseball players Ricardo Rodriguez and José Garcia, alongside recurring face-to-face contact and pressures imposed on them by their respective mothers in the Caribbean to succeed in the US major leagues. Susana [Aiken] and Carlos [Aparicio], unlike other immigrant family living arrangements in the series, what's interesting is that Ricardo and José take up residency in Great Falls, Montana with their adopted 'house-parents' Ole and Marie Mackey, an elderly Catholic couple, while playing for the Dodgers in the minor leagues. Here begins a fascinating account of intricate transcultural relationships, including a trip undertaken by the Mackey's to Ricardo's family in the Dominican Republic and significantly, a rape allegation by a white woman in Great Falls against Dominican player Ramon Martínez. As Spanish immigrants and co-directors of the story living in New York, what was your response to these 'house-parent' families, to relations between your two key subjects and the wider community in this small northern town?

Carlos Aparicio: First, I want to say something about Lala and María, the mothers of José and Ricardo. They play a huge role, policing them at all times and occasionally slapping them if need be even though José and Ricardo are these 18-year-old giants. Why? Because the mothers project the dreams and ambitions of the entire family onto their sons, giving them the responsibility of extricating the family from its state of poverty. So when asked about what they would do with any money earned, the first response from both of them would always be 'to buy a house for my mother'. In relation to their adopted parents, I want to say how shocked, how pleasantly surprised I was in meeting them - yes, I went to Montana with a lot of prejudice and preconceived ideas and then, to my amazement, discovered this very progressive Catholic community who are somehow connected to ideas about liberation theology in central America. What the relationships between the host families and the Dominican players revealed was that the film Susana and I were making was not strictly about immigration and sport; the material we were getting opened out, like every

human story in documentary, to the quality of relationships between people, which always has the ability to attack prejudice of one sort or another. So many of the prejudices that I took with me to Great Falls, about the kind of people and community I expected to encounter, about this particular geographical area in the US, were very much shattered when I met and to know people like Ole and Marie and saw at first hand the quality of interaction between the Dominican players and members of the community.

For example, you see Ricardo and José being lovingly received into the congregation of the Mackeys' church, invited to sing in the choir. *The presence of Ricardo, José and their Caribbean cohort in Great Falls might be unusual, but it's no longer a unique migrant experience in the US. The 2000 Census provided ample evidence of a dramatic demographic shift. In the course of a decade, immigrants from Latin America, Africa and Asia spread out from the traditional portals of major cities and into the American heartland* (Martínez 2004:130). What was enriching for me was that every time we explored questions of racism, their experience as 'black' kids in a white town, 99 per cent of the time they responded positively - they were in fact widely accepted by most of the community. Interestingly, there was some conflict at a later stage when José became the boyfriend of a Mormon girl and things got slightly out of hand because the Mackeys thought that this was a ploy on behalf of the Mormons to take away their 'son' and somehow make money out of him. It's important to remember that the presence of the Dodgers in this small town gives it some kind of status and respectability and the Dominican players coming into the town get caught up in the local mix of religious politics.

Grossman: How in fact are the players assigned to particular families? Is this an existing arrangement between the Dodgers and the community?

Susana Aiken: Yes, and unsurprisingly it's mediated through the church - the Dodgers are very intelligent in this regard. One aspect I find totally compelling in the material we shot is the extraordinary presence and contribution of Ole and Marie. They for me symbolise the white American person who has a total longing to embrace others different to them in skin colour, language or whatever, but haven't had the opportunity to do so or in reality would never have the chance of embracing a non-white person in America. So they openly accept the opportunity of taking these 'black' Dominican players into their home despite the fact, culturally speaking, that the Dominicans don't see themselves as black. What particularly struck me when I accompanied Carlos on the second shoot to Great Falls was this sheer abundance of physical affection, the sensuality displayed between these two attractive non-white players and their adopted white working-class hosts whose social conventions are quite defined in terms of how you relate physically to others, when and how you touch. Suddenly these 'black' Dominican men come into their homes and you witness this incredible alchemy between them, hugging one another at every opportunity. The downside or negative dimension of this open expression of sensuality resulted in the rape incident involving Ramon [see section V, below], which really tore the community apart. The allegation by a white woman of being ravished by a black man is so ingrained in race relations in this country.

O'Brien: In relation to the Palestinian story, the three of you have spoken about your respective roles, discussed issues surrounding gender, access and the timing of the production just prior to the outbreak of the second intifada. Compared to the other family stories, the Palestinian segment

stands out in terms of its camera style and ethnographic approach, reminding me of the dominant aesthetic in Michel Khleifi's fiction film *Wedding in Galilee* (1987), which is an intimate and allegorical portrait of a Palestinian village under Israeli occupation in which the politics of place is accessed through everyday relations and a wedding ritual. I'm particularly thinking of material shot in the West Bank village of El Jib, home to the tightly-knit Saadeh family and the period immediately prior to Naima Saadeh's emotive departure to Chicago, where she will join her American-born Palestinian future husband, Hatem Abudayayah. In your representation of the migrant journey undertaken by Naima, the individual immigrant as an integral part of a collective, be it family, community, or in this case and most significantly, the specificity of location allied to political struggle, is marked emphatically.

Jerry Blumenthal: As a crew I think we certainly set out to establish and develop a keen sense of place, situating Naima, her siblings and mother Um Mujahid in a landscape that has very much shaped their moral and geographical universe. We expected to do so from the outset and were attentive to the significance of place throughout the film work given the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, which of course is so much about ownership of the land. One example here was filming Jihad, Naima's brother, who was imprisoned during the intifada, actually replacing windows for a living in an Israeli settlement nearby – something he found extremely distasteful for what it represented. The Chicago end of the story has an obvious sense of place built into, for example, their new home in the basement of Hatem's family, but not as much as we would have liked.

Quinn: I think that it's no accident that sense of place in the story is most tangible for viewers in and around El Jib because here, in this world, the people, the look and feel of the village, her mother's house, collectively have a great deal of material and symbolic meaning to Naima. In stark contrast, when she arrives in Chicago, 'our' city, Naima didn't appear to respond to and wasn't interested in our pedestrian questions about what she thought about the city; it was as if she wasn't there which was so radically different to how we experienced her in El Jib. Chicago is in the realm of the imaginary; only El Jib is real for Naima. Her body lives in the village and the village lives in her body (Martínez 2004: 27).

Blumenthal: I recall how on one occasion in Chicago we were driving in the car with Naima on the way to her first job interview at a battered women's shelter - we were very excited. I was at the wheel, Gordon had the camera and Naima was wired sitting at the back. We tried in vain to ask her all sorts of questions, but she just sat there quietly, gazing out the window, blanking us out.

Quinn: We definitely wanted the politics to emerge out of our filmic construction of place, which is why I spoke earlier about the absence of maps and their importance in the context of Occupation. It was very frustrating because I felt we've got this village and this extraordinary family, and the potential was there, but we just weren't able to actualise it, of going straight from their feelings and emotions of living in this particular place, to the actual maps that people argue over in terms of the politics.

Grossman: The invocation of place, it seems to me, is not so much established in and throughout El Jib and its surrounding area, which arguably is an incidental landscape to the story. Rather, the real

sense of place conveyed in the footage was the domestic setting, the Saadeh family home and the intricacy of relationships within. It very much felt as if the crew had taken up residency in the family home.

Fenell Doremus: Well, we did! [collectively voiced]. We were living with the family. We spent most of our time in the home, so much so that at some point we were thinking that we had to film outdoors and asked Naima to give us a guided tour of the village, of specific places that were important to her. It was fascinating to see her get dressed up for this occasion, much like a television newscaster, looking very slick in her black jacket and white shirt, black pants, heels and make-up. What emerged though from this tour was that not a great deal had much meaning for her in the village, because female members of the family didn't simply just wander around freely in the village, hanging out at the coffee shop - it's a strict Muslim village. The women stay at home and if they do go out, then it's to their neighbours, socialising in the kitchen or in the courtyard. So, apart from some interesting voice-over we ended up using very little visual material from this outing.

Quinn: I would say we have enough material that is not in the film itself to make a complete feature on the domestic life of the Saadeh family. We shot tons because we were fascinated by it; they used to have to drag me away from filming somebody cooking or doing the laundry. There was something incredibly appealing about the ethos of this family home. With a great deal of affection we used to refer to it as a certain kind of domestic idiocy. Why are we filming this?

Grossman: What you're describing is possibly a function of your Jewish American subject position, entangled as you are whether you like it or not, in having to take a particular view of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. The Palestinian story presents itself as your first opportunity to film on the West Bank and so, when actually confronted with the reality and novelty of the Saadeh domestic arena, are you arguably susceptible to exoticising the family environment?

Quinn: Yes, a good point and I think there is some truth to that. Yet I would also want to say that we all felt this way that we were working with a rather exceptional family. Although we did spend some time with other families, relatives of the Saadeh family, there was something extremely appealing about Um Mujahid's family, how this wise and wonderful widowed woman who'd also lost a son in an Israeli prison managed to raise seven children and somehow keep things ticking over in a patriarchal society.

Blumenthal: It's not just that it was appealing, but also particularly rich, intimate and physically expressive at the level of domestic familial relations between mother, son and daughters; for example, the scene where Naima and her sister are going through Jihad's letters, which he smuggled out of prison. To have stayed in this house, in this atmosphere and not get incredible material would suggest there was something dramatically wrong with you as a filmmaker. I also want to make the point, and this was something we always talked about during filming, that the material we were shooting, showing the humanity of the family against the everyday politics of the situation, carried the potential to subvert stereotypes viewers have in the West about Palestinians.

Quinn: Yet even from a pro-Palestinian angle in the West there remain powerful stereotypes. What we were really striving for was to demonstrate the levels of complexity in these people. Yes, they live under Occupation, but as a people they are just as contradictory and complicated as any other.

O'Brien: An illustration perhaps of what you're describing in terms of competing and complex subject positions is an illuminating discussion on the night of Naima's college graduation party before her departure. The men, including Hatem and Jihad, gather upstairs on the rooftop courtyard and in the heat of this political conversation Jihad, his credentials as a veteran resistance fighter respected by all, speaks openly, indeed provocatively, about his feelings towards Palestine. The other interesting aspect of this sequence is its orchestration, since the conversation doesn't appear to occur spontaneously.

Quinn: There are two things to say about this particular sequence. To begin with, it is heavily condensed and in fact is an intercut, creating the impression that the discussion occurs on the night of Naima's celebration, which it did not. So it was edited out of sequence in terms of space and time, something we would tend not to have done in our earlier work. Secondly, it was Hatem who alerted us in advance to these kinds of political discussions between himself and cousins whenever he was visiting El Jib. In fact they had a similar conversation the night before which we missed for some reason and so here was another opportunity to film, which Hatem instigated. Once it started we just shot for three hours.

Doremus: It even ended seamlessly, probably at that point where we were getting tired. They said, that's enough and wrapped things up.

Blumenthal: It really had its own engine. Hatem didn't have to play the role of leading the conversation and sparking the others. All of them were totally clued into the issues at stake and were clear about their positions.

Doremus: Though I do think there were fresh issues being debated and that they weren't faking it.

Blumenthal: Having gone through it once before you would think that when asked to regroup, they would simply go through the motions, acting out their positions. Yet the issues they were discussing were so real, so immediate and so much a part of their lives. Take Jihad's comments for example. He was absolutely furious with those who took the position that you have to stay and fight because he felt that he had done his fair share, served his country and was now ready to leave.

Grossman: I want to ask about how you managed to film and follow closely a group conversation in Arabic, assuming the three of you don't speak the language. The issue here also opens out to the

important question of translation in the production context of developing relationships with Naima and her family.

Blumenthal: That's an interesting question.

Quinn: In Kartemquin we are fortunate to have this person Jim Morrisette who you should speak to about this sequence. He is otherwise known as the 'Dean of Chicago video, who we consulted with regarding the technological aspects of simultaneous translation. He is a technical wizard, also a cameraman with an engineering background. We knew from the outset we would have a potential problem understanding what our subjects were saying, since none of us spoke Arabic although crucially we did work with a translator [Siham Rashid] who became an essential part of our crew.

Blumenthal: The Palestinian story in general and that particular discussion would have been extremely difficult and messy had we not figured out in advance how we were going to do the simultaneous translation so we did all kinds of tests - we had to get it right and fortunately it worked smoothly.

Jim Morrisette: It was really Gordon's brilliant idea to come up with the question of whether it would be possible to do simultaneous translation using the equipment we had. My goal was to get the simultaneous translator's audio on to the sound track directly with the original footage, so that you would always know where you were, as opposed to the original idea of recording the translation on a separate audio recorder. This would be fine for making typed transcripts but to synchronise it with the film would be the hard part for people like us who don't speak Arabic. So I simply devised a way whereby the translator could go into a separate audio track with a wireless microphone and feed a headset so that the camera operator could hear what the translation was while he or she was shooting. On the opposite sound track then was the actual synchronised sound of the original language, Arabic, and because digital has essentially total isolation between the two tracks of audio we could load both tracks into the editing system, edit using the scratch track and then pull the scratch track out once we put down our subtitles.

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The New Americans was definitely the largest in-house project that Kartemquin has done to date. We did all the logging, editing, colour correction and sound mix entirely in-house in order to save money. We purchased two DV-Avid systems for editing. I fought hard for the Avids because I knew that if we were to edit the old-fashioned way - loading material into the computer at low resolution and then returning later to recapture and locate all the pieces - we would not have had the time or the money. The Avids allowed us to load everything in at full resolution, all one thousand hours of footage, which remained in the machines throughout the whole postproduction phase, which lasted approximately two years. Having two machines enabled Steve [James] and David [Simpson] to edit simultaneously...

- Jim Morrisette, Kartemquin Films Technical Supervisor

O'Brien: In this final session we want to focus the discussion on selective aspects of the postproduction phase of the series. In particular, the collaborative editorial division of labour, beginning with the reception of the material from the directors/producers of the stories, the conversations and negotiations surrounding its content and form in the final cut, since it was your role and responsibility, Steve and David [Simpson] as series editors and Leslie too as postproduction supervisor to transform the one thousand hours of material into a seven-hour documentary television series. Moving on from that, we have more specific questions about decisions shaping the method and structure of the edit given the comparative and integrated televisual narrative logic, which draws on vérité material, in addition to the inclusion of the voice of a male narrator throughout. In contrast to stand-alone documentaries, interweaving stories, in this case migrant narratives, always carries the danger, does it not, that the comparative juxtaposition of subjects creates a potential imbalance in that one subject is viewed as doing better than another. So, how then to avoid the trap as editors of inserting value judgements in this regard? Steve, in addition to your position as series co-editor you were of course also editing material from your co-produced Nigerian segment, so there are further points of tension to explore here.

James: The other dimension to consider, which we spoke about in Dublin, is the creative process not only between David and me as a team of editors, but between us and the producers of the stories, the filmmakers themselves who subjected their cinematic impulses to the greater good of the film. As one of them commented, 'they handed their babies over to us'. In the Ogoni story, for example, and this is my own personal view, I'm happy with the way it plays in the series; people identify with Israel, feel for him and what he's going through. Yet had this been a stand-alone film about the two Ogoni families, how different they are, how one struggles more than the other, then much more of the material we shot would have been used to make the story significantly stronger as a feature-length piece. So it would be interesting to ask the other filmmakers whether they think their story would have been stronger alone rather than interwoven into a series. I suspect they'll probably tell you that they can appreciate the gestalt form of the series, but there's a part of them that wishes they could have made the film as a stand-alone. I happen to think that there's something really terrific about all these integrated stories as part of one long series as opposed to a bunch of standalones. Ultimately it will make the series more successful, for both viewers and the press.

David Simpson: It's a case of the whole being greater than the sum of its parts.

James: Since we're documentary filmmakers who value real honesty and the contradictions in the work we do, I would urge you to speak to the story producers on the issues you raised. I would like them to feel comfortable in voicing their opinions - I don't want to speak for them. I do though want to stress the point that we all came through this process with our respect for each other intact. We're excited about what has been accomplished and hopeful that the series is going to achieve everything we want it to do. Sure, it's been tricky at times, but ultimately a positive experience. We were aware in advance that the editing process was going to be tough - we even spoke about this openly in a group meeting saying 'a point would come in time when you will have to hand your baby over and no matter how much time we will have given you, it was never going to be enough.

O'Brien: We'll certainly convey your openness to critique and reflection to the other directors. Could we begin with your respective roles when the material started coming into Kartemquin?

James: I had very little to do with Kartemquin's organisation of the massive influx of material. It was really Leslie and Gita who managed this from the outset.

Simmer: We were getting the material in several years before the in-house editing actually began. The story producers submitted rough cuts of their work which varied in length, anything up to three hundred hours in the case of the Ogoni story, for example. They also provided some translated transcripts, but not enough, and it was Gita who organised the transcription in Kartemquin, using a huge and impressive voluntary army of interns. So there was a mechanism in place before the editing got started and David began with the Palestinian story.

Simpson: This was the only case in which I began working with the footage of a story and not the rough cut itself, mainly because a large chunk of the Palestinian story was based here in Chicago and I was ready and available for work. The directing-producing teams did most of the initial editing, giving the material some shape.

James: So David operated initially as the primary editor of the Palestinian story before putting on the hat of series editor that followed. Jerry then stepped in to continue editing the Palestinian story because we didn't have the luxury of time to go through the story as the two of us had to begin the process of series editing. Gita as series producer did something similar on the Ogoni story, initially editing in an attempt to get our arms around the three hundred Ogoni hours, since I wasn't available for a period of time as I was finishing editing *Stevie*.

Simpson: At the beginning of the series edit each story was considered separately and we weren't overly concerned with interweaving the segments. In the back of our minds we were aware of resonances between the stories, thematic connections; for example, between Hatem and Naima and Israel and Ngozi's circumstances. So from the start, our editorial concerns were not necessarily shaped by how intersecting points of interest could be joined up; instead we were searching for the content and strength of the material in each of the stories.

James: What happened was, we organised a meeting in Kartemquin where all the filmmakers came together for a discussion about the process we were about to start in terms of series editing, which was very productive. At that point not all of them had completed their own editing of the segments; there was though enough material in each of the stories to engage with. The idea behind the meeting was initially for everybody to give each other feedback on the individual cutting of the stories, but more importantly to get all the filmmakers in the same room, talking about thematic points relevant to immigration that they wanted raised in the series. We then reflected on these issues as we moved into and through the editing process. I actually roughed out an outline of the

entire series for the meeting based on what we had received and what I knew had been shot. If you were to look at the outline now compared to the film today, there is little resemblance. So it was really an attempt to dive into the individual stories and begin the process of structuring the series around the interweaving of stories.

O'Brien: In our discussion with Steve and David on the subject of editing the series, Steve reflected on a remark by one of the story producers that you the directors had 'handed your babies over' to himself and David. We understand that you had done some initial editing of material shot prior to sending it on to Steve and David and that a collective directorial meeting was held at Kartemquin. How did you respond to relinquishing editorial control of your material? During the course of the lengthy series edit, were there any points of tension/debate in your communication with Steve and David? Were they responsive to suggestions on your behalf?

Aiken: As Spanish immigrants critical of US immigration policy and having done various migration projects during the past eighteen years, it was very exciting for us to get involved with a group of Americans [Kartemquin] whose work we knew and respected. But there were a number of real difficulties beginning with the fact that unlike the other directors we never got to choose the story ourselves - Iose and Ricardo were picked in advance by the previous director who we subsequently replaced some six to eight weeks into the production. When we came on board the Dodgers were already on their way to the US and we didn't get to do the background work on the film - looking at the social and political conditions of where the two came from in the Dominican Republic. So coming late into the production meant that we were handicapped in terms of time and budget, that we had to use and rework material that we never shot and wasn't compatible with our style of filmmaking.

Aparicio: The other big challenge for us was that we were asked to explore immigration through baseball, a sport most Americans love, lending a positive and bright side to the series. This particular focus was going to be the selling point of the series, at least that's the impression we got from Steve early on. Unfortunately the story we inherited was locked into the dynamic of coming to the US to make it big, or not make it all. All of this was a totally new experience for us, as was the fact that we were tied into a group of filmmakers with an executive production structure above our heads, something we hadn't known before as independent filmmakers. We both feel there wasn't enough dialogue with Steve in the cutting of the film. We were very worried, and said so to Steve, that the Dominican story would be seen as a moral or ideological celebration of Ricardo's success in contrast to the failure of José to establish himself as a professional player; two different characters pitted against each other, their destinies linked to an American Protestant work ethic. What for me is absent in the story, something we would have wanted to emphasise, is that Ricardo's success is really an exception to the rule. What in reality happens to José is a far more accurate measurement of the bigger picture, of the experience of the majority of players, who arrive in this country, dreaming of becoming a millionaire, but return to the Dominican Republic defeated and ashamed because they couldn't make it. Or they stay on illegally, and here in New York we have a huge Dominican community. If you talk to them, you learn that most of them had been involved in the baseball world at some point or another but are now working in a little bodega. They are the losers. To realistically explain why somebody like José didn't make it, we would have had to do an in-depth exploration of the politics inside the Dodgers.

Grossman: Yet present in the Dominican story and at work throughout the series is an implicit critique of Americanness, of certain values and of a civilising discourse imposed on these new migrant subjects. A forceful illustration of this was a combination of scenes in the Dodgers training camp in the Dominican Republic where Ricardo, José and the other recruits undergo an ‘Americanisation’ training in acceptable forms of public social conduct. We saw this as quite brutalising.

Aiken: I’m happy to hear that because we were frustrated that we couldn’t actually devote a significant part of the film to exposing the farming techniques of these camps which are run like a military academy whereby the kids are picked up young and in some cases deformed physically for life. Instead of shooting guns, they hit balls. After you train for four years non-stop from the age of sixteen to be a pitcher, if you’re then released, one arm could well be half a foot longer than the other, you’ve had no academic education, which means unemployment and the family’s impossible dream effectively over. We did touch on some of these issues, but it wasn’t really the intended focus of the film.

Aparicio: The most difficult aspect of the production for us was that at certain points there were very crucial events unfolding, for example, the Ramon story, which we wanted to tackle in greater depth, but couldn’t. The funding wasn’t available from Kartemquin.

Aiken: This was also because Kartemquin, especially Gita and Steve, didn’t really appreciate how important the story was in the community. Ramon wasn’t a central character and so the rape allegation and everything surrounding it was seen as a side story. Gita did do a fine job as series producer, but she was also a master of resistance. What was happening with Ramon happened to coincide with a six-month period in which funding for the series was frozen. We pushed and pushed and did lose precious weeks and finally had to be quite forceful in our communication with Steve, who I don’t think really made himself available to us. He was probably overwhelmed and had his own deadlines. This absence of sustained communication was definitely the weakest and worst part of the process.

Aparicio: We did have a couple of tough conversations with Steve where I would call saying ‘filmmaker to filmmaker, surely there must be a few thousand dollars somewhere in the production budget for an emergency’ Kartemquin didn’t want to tell us how and what we should do, but the problem was that they were so preoccupied with the overall funding for the project at this time and we, on the other hand, with developing Ramon’s story, which we thought extremely important.

Aiken: The Ramon incident should really be the dramatic climax to our story in the series in which these Dominican players are militarised and indoctrinated in the training camps, from how to eat to how to treat white women. They’re then brought to the US, given the best possible training and in the end, whether they like or not, are still seen as black and threatening. That’s the reality check and an essential part of our story. Steve at the time was most likely thinking, well, we have this material

and more, including action from the minor leagues and relationships with the house-parents. That was enough for him, but he wasn't living the story as we were. As of now, we still don't know how Ramon features in the final cut. We've seen pieces here and there and I'm certain it won't be central.

O'Brien: We have viewed the series in its entirety and what happened to Ramon does come out in the end.

Aiken: The story is there, but in order to do justice to it we would have really needed to immerse ourselves in that community, shoot for weeks rather than days, dig ourselves in, do many more interviews and follow people around. Essentially, bring to the surface the legacy of Harper Lee's novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960).

O'Brien: Could we move the discussion along by examining the role, gender and accent of the narrator in the series - a question directed at the entire production team. Was the inclusion of voice-over designed to accommodate the demands of a televisual audience? Or was it used more as a device to draw the viewer in by the very accent of the narrator, given the fundamental significance of accent to the project?

James: In that meeting with the directors I spoke of earlier, the question of the series narrator was first raised. The discussion - it was civil, it wasn't nasty - turned into an interesting debate about 'accent'. Hardly surprising, because assembled in the room were a group of people most of whom were immigrants or first-generation immigrant filmmakers. I recall arguing that ultimately if *The New Americans* couldn't be narrated by an immigrant voice, if we didn't commit ourselves to this, then what series could? Some agreed with my suggestion, but quickly raised questions about whose voice should it be, which led to further discussion that maybe after all it shouldn't be an immigrant voice, because deciding on a particular voice or accent as it turned out, was far too complicated. In fact, in the early stages of the edit, David, myself and Leslie too, were working with three different voices as scratch narrations. The narration question was thrown out quite provocatively at the end of this meeting and I remember writing a memo a week later, re-opening the matter and there was a lot of communication back and forth between the directors. David, you certainly had strong views on the subject.

Simpson: The narration was always going to be a difficult issue, essentially because the film draws heavily on the voices of immigrants as they speak in vérité appearance. The film's narration is for the most part utilitarian - it carries information and is not about personal musings. It certainly is not first-person narration or 'voice of God' narration; I think of it more as the voice of the filmmaker or of the filmmakers who are looking at this particular group of people and narrating a set of stories. My own view at the time was ideally to use an accented voice that never pretended to be that of an immigrant. It was a real struggle to find the right voice, one that had to be non-identifiable in terms of its heritage, while at the same time conveying an authentic quality and clear enunciation.

James: I wanted a little more, not exactly what David is saying. The voice of the narrator had to sound like an immigrant - the straight narration wouldn't have worked with false emotion or soulfulness when it was basically serving a utilitarian purpose. I remember telling Ismail [Bashey], the series narrator who we eventually worked with and who Leslie helped to locate via one of the immigrant civic organisations here in Chicago, that we wanted him to speak with conviction, from a certain depth of experience.

Simmer: We immediately identified this quality about him when we first met; it wasn't necessarily his accent that persuaded us, but the quiet ability in his voice that made you want to listen. Ismail himself is an amalgam of different cultures, originally from an Islamic family in India who's also lived in the Middle East and for a long time in the US. So I think these various influences come together in his voice.

Saedi: Since we wanted the strongest voice to be that of the immigrants we were following and because we also needed cohesion for the film to work, I think the choice made was the right one. I was always fighting for the voice of an immigrant, definitely not an American one. Our directing team and principal subjects were immigrants and non-immigrants alike; if you fused all our voices together I'd imagine you'd get a product of the same vein as the series narrator.

Aiken: There was some serious debate in the meeting about the narrator. It seemed early on that Steve was going to narrate the series. At least this was a possibility.

Aparicio: As he did in *Hoop Dreams* and *Stevie* and we were familiar with this particular style of narration. Susana and I discussed this and were very concerned that his voice and what it represents should not carry the series. Others jumped in too, particularly Indu and Renee. It was really Renee who most openly and persuasively spoke out against the use of Steve's voice, arguing it would be synonymous with a dominant white male perspective on PBS.

Tajima-Peña: Throughout editing the Flores family story, I could never 'hear' a third-person narrator in my head. When you put together a documentary it is necessary that you hear and know the voice of its narrator. The voice is the starting point, the embodiment for the story itself. Every time I tried to imagine a third-person narrator, I'd feel like I was listening to an ethnographic educational film about the aboriginals. I think Vangie and Johanna felt the same way. So we tried to assemble the story with Nora's voice. She was the central emotional force in the film; for us, she was the person who changed and emerged in the story. Nora was a transitional figure on the immigration stage. Old enough to be tied to Mexico, young enough to be transformed by America. I think if we had more time to edit, we could have really made it work with Nora. But of course, it never was going to work in the context of the series, which was intercut with a single narrator's voice. But that's the process we had to go through to understand the shape of the story, and give it a point of view. I think I would have preferred a woman's voice, but probably because I'm a woman and directors all in some ways consider themselves gods, so of course you want to remake the world on film in your own image. As a director I have to hear and see the story through someone else's lens. The most difficult

thing about editing this piece was that I didn't know whose perspective and voice that would be. I could only imagine it through my own voice, or what made the most intuitive cinematic sense to me - that of Nora. I did, however, feel strongly that a male voice with an American accent would have been a disaster. The fly-on-the-wall, cinema vérité style we all used is particularly vulnerable to that anthropological/ ethnographic, outsider's voyeurism; and an American male voice could have tipped all our good intentions over the edge. I liked the final narrator's voice - he had an insider's quality due to the accent.

Krishnan: I initially felt that I could find no internal justification to suggest a South Asian accented male voice as the point-of-view of the series except for an aesthetic one. I didn't see anything wrong with using a compassionate Anglo-accented male voice, fully aware of the historical burdens that point of view suggests; especially since the series had been shaped through a process which had centralised the edit, imposing a consistency on its look and feel, which in the end very much had the Kartemquin imprint.

ⁱ Kartemquin Films. Available at <<http://www.kartemquin.com/films/index.html>> [Accessed 20 April 2005]

ⁱⁱ Irish Film Institute, 2-5 October 2003.

ⁱⁱⁱ For a selection of US press reviews following the PBS screening, see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbcfour/documentaries/storyville/new-americans_reviews.pdf> [Accessed 18 April 2004]. BBC Two, *Storyville*, screened the series in five episodes between 26-29 October 2005.

^{iv} Online interviews to date with the producers of *The New Americans* typically include accounts by James, Quinn and Saedi. See, for example, the PBS Independent Lens 'Producers' Q & A' Available at <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/newamericans/theseries_producers.html> [Accessed 18 April 2005]; and BBC4 (Storyville) 'Filmmakers Interview'. Available at <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbcfour/documentaries/storyville/new-americans-interviews.shtml>> [Accessed 18 April 2005].

^v Several days after this conversation, and illustrative of the prevailing immigration debate in the United States, President George W Bush urged Congress to pass his controversial plan to give illegal immigrant workers, most of whom are Hispanic, temporary legal status. The debate surrounding undocumented immigrants has since developed to a level of intensity no doubt unanticipated by the filmmakers; the McCain-Kennedy Immigration Reform Bill (2005) proposed that an estimated 10-12 million illegal immigrants in the United States should obtain legal jobs and eventual citizenship.

^{vi} For an in-depth discussion with Gordon Quinn on the subject of story and storytelling in the context of documentary production, see Centre for Social Media (November 2003) 'Gordon Quinn and *The New Americans*' Available at <http://www.centreforsocialmedia.org/res_fm_makersspeak.html> [Accessed 26 January 2005].

^{vii} For an elaboration of cinematic social inquiry as both a methodological research tool and medium of communication, see Temaner & Quinn (1974).

^{viii} Zimmerman for example, critiques the 'homology to narrative film' (2000: 11), in the practice of an increasing characterisation within documentary which she sees as limiting the analytical scope of documentary to realist conventions, and consequent celebration of exceptional individuals at the expense of a more discursive analysis of national/social policies and agendas and governmental structures.

^{ix} Independent Television Service (2003) *Outreach*. Available at <<http://www.itvs.org/outreach>> [Accessed 31 December 2003].

^x See Public Service Broadcasting (PBS) (2003) *New Americans*. Available at <<http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/newamericans>> [Accessed 31 December 2003].

^{xi} See Zimmerman (2000) for a rich and detailed history of the systematic conservative attack on the programming of independent documentary within public broadcasting in the US and the subsequent defunding of public television documentaries from the mid-1980s onward, with the discontinuation of WNET's Independent Documentary Fund in 1984, in addition to a restructuring (privatisation) of internal production infrastructures within PBS and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

^{xii} See Active Voice (2005) *The New Americans*. Available at <http://www.activevoice.net/new_americans.html> [Accessed 26 January 2005].

^{xiii} For a comprehensive guide to the goals, audiences and resources of *The New Americans* community engagement campaign, see ITVS (2005) Available at <<http://www.itvs.org/outreach/newamericans/index.html>> [Accessed 26 January 2005].

^{xiv} For an interview with members of the Kartemquin collective, see Lesage (1975).

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Balseros (2002), Carles Bosch and Josep M. Domenech. Seventh Art Releasing, 120 mins.

Home for Life (1967), Kartemquin Films. 80 mins.

Hoop Dreams (1993), Kartemquin Films. 170 mins.

Labor Women (2003), Renee Tajima-Pena and Asia Women United, 30 mins.

My America (...or Honk If You Love Buddha) (1997), Christine Choy and Renee Tajima-Peña, 85 mins.

My Journey Home (2004), PBS, Renee Tajima-Peña and Lourdes Pontillo, 120 mins.

Stevie (2003), Steve James. Kartemquin Films. 140 mins.

The Best Hotel on Skid Row (1990), HBO, Christine Choy and Renee Tajima-Pena, 48 mins.

The New Americans (2004), Kartemquin Films, 411 mins.

Taylor Chain 1: A Story in a Union Local (1980), Kartemquin Films, 3 mins.

Taylor Chain 11: A Story of Collective Bargaining (1984), Kartemquin Films, 30 mins.

Thumbs Down (1968), Kartemquin Films, 102 mins.

Wedding in Galilee (1987), Michel Khleifi, Lasa Films, 113 mins.

Who Killed Vincent Chin? (1988), Renee Tajima and Christine Roy 87 mins.