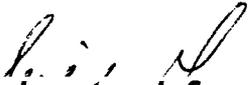


AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Casey R. Campbell for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Speech Communication, Speech Communication, and Business Administration presented on June 9, 2005.

Title: Bowling Together: The Making of a Documentary.

Abstract approved: \_\_\_\_\_

  
**Redacted for Privacy**

Trischa Goodnow

In an attempt to better understand documentary theory and production, I created *Bowling Together*; a documentary recounting the experiences of one bowling team and looking at the relationship between participation in bowling leagues and civil society. This thesis provided me a first-hand experience at producing a documentary, allowing me to draw conclusions about civil society, documentary theory and documentary production.

The idea of the community strength within civic associations is well documented by many researchers looking at the idea of civil society. However, a potential connection between league participation and the family unit could be seen within *Bowling Together* through the experiences of one team as most participants were introduced to bowling through family members and many felt the act of bowling together in leagues helped strengthen their family bonds. The connections felt by these individuals reveal a potential connection that could be explored in later research.

While documentaries may serve many different purposes, they all attempt to make an argument from the evidence they collect. Within *Bowling Together* the argument revolves around the connection between family and participation in bowling

leagues. The focus of documentary films on arguments differs from most other film productions because the documentary filmmaker uses evidentiary editing, focusing on the evidence to create an argument instead of continuity editing which works to create an aesthetically pleasing product that flows well visually.

The fact that each documentary makes an argument about something can be coupled with the idea that no documentary can be truly objective. The process of creating a documentary includes many decisions such as what to film, how to film it, and how to structure the argument, and each decision represents a subjective choice. A documentary cannot be measured in terms of objectivity, but levels of subjectivity.

Finally, creating a documentary requires an abundance of preparation in order to adjust for problems that may arise during the production. The documentary filmmaker has little control over many factors of production and even less control on the subject and in order to create a documentary, I had to accept this lack of control and work with what I had. What happens in front of a camera represents what happened and a documentary filmmaker cannot change it, only work with what they have.

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**Bowling Together:  
The Making of a Documentary**

by  
**Casey R. Campbell**

**A THESIS**

submitted to

**Oregon State University**

in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the  
degree of

**Masters of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies**

Presented June 9, 2005  
Commencement June 2006

Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies thesis of Casey R. Campbell presented on June 9, 2005.

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Casey R. Campbell, Author

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to first thank everyone who has stuck with me throughout this experience; it took a little while, but I finally finished. Thank you for the time and effort Drs. Paul Kopperman, Hal Koenig and James McAlexander put in while serving on my graduate committee. Thank you Dr. Laura Wackwitz for pushing me towards this project so I could do something I love and helping me throughout. Thank you Dr. Trischa Goodnow for pushing me over the last year and encouraging me from the beginning, I couldn't have done it without you.

I would also like to express my appreciation for all those fellow graduate students who have come and gone during my time here; I will never forget your friendship and support. And to everyone at KBVR-TV and the rest of student media; thank you and keep up the tradition.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my family for all of their support. Grandma and Grandpa, I cannot thank you enough for helping me throughout all of the years and teaching me so much. And thank you Mom for encouraging me, helping me, reading this entire paper, and most importantly, showing me what true strength is.

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## Introduction

The idea of using video or film to help better understand people or culture is not a groundbreaking innovation. Early films such as *Nanook of the North* (Flaherty 1922) took advantage of the growing technology available to advance the idea of mixing ethnography and video to create documentaries about cultures and events that provided a glimpse into worlds most people could not witness otherwise. The documentary format has continued through this day and has taken many forms. They can help us see a way of life we may not be aware of, allow us to take a step back and look at our own lives to get a better understanding of what is going on in the world around us, record an event to help preserve an idea or event for all time, or to tell a story that you may never hear otherwise.

The term documentary remains a vague description of a genre that can take many shapes and forms. Determining a single definition of documentary remains difficult because of the different styles, approaches and purposes that a documentary film may incorporate. While many people make documentaries, few seem to address the theoretical aspects of the documentary in their creation of the product. Of those who look at documentary theory, few seem to be documentary filmmakers approaching the topic from a practitioner's perspective. John Grierson originally coined the term "documentary" as he searched for the appropriate way to define the films he created. Grierson, a documentary filmmaker, created films that clearly differed from the fiction film and explored the fundamental differences between fiction film and documentary. Others followed in the study of documentary films.

Bill Nichols contributed much to the documentary field of study, but did so as a theorist, not as a documentary filmmaker. Many others have contributed to the theoretical study of documentary, either directly or indirectly, but few have been practitioners in the field.

As a practitioner of video production, I want to examine what documentary means through the process of creating a documentary. Making a documentary can hopefully provide insight into the ideas presented by Grierson, Nichols and many others regarding the purposes and traits of documentaries and what complications arise within the production process and the creation of a documentary. In every step of video production, one must make decisions about how to make the product, whether technical or contextual, and each decision can impact the meaning of the film and how the audience interprets the message. Studying the final products can take one only so far in the discovery and understanding of documentary video and film because vital information about what the filmmaker includes and does not include cannot be fully uncovered without seeing the process as it occurs. By creating a documentary and examining the choices and consequences of those choices, I can provide a first hand look at the ideas surrounding the production and theory of documentary.

Mixing my passion for bowling and the theories of civility surrounding organizations such as bowling leagues addressed by Robert Putnam in his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, I chose to create a documentary examining the sense of community within bowling leagues around the city of Corvallis as seen through the eyes of the participants in the leagues. This

documentary started as an examination of the concept of civility, civil society and community by exploring how the participants of the leagues view their participation and interaction within the leagues. However, as the process progressed, the focus shifted to one family who have bowled together for a long time and have bonded through their participation in leagues together. The general topic of civility and bowling continued, but the documentary focused on telling the story of this one particular family and showing the idea of civility and community through their experiences. From this family's experiences, my documentary, *Bowling Together*, was formed.

This thesis starts by looking at the literature regarding civility and bowling communities to provide an initial foundation for the development of these ideas within the documentary. I collected literature on documentary production and documentary theory and examined this body of work to better understand what it means to be a documentary and provide a strong technical background to help produce a technically sound product.

After collecting and examining the existing literature, I document the production of the documentary. The methodology provides a step-by-step recounting of my documentary production process including contextual and technical problems and solutions as well as options available and what decisions were made and why. Within the methodology, the process has been divided into three areas: preproduction, production and postproduction.

The preproduction phase of the methodology outlines everything from the development of the initial idea up to the point of filming. I explain the initial development of the idea, but, as will be evident throughout the process, this original concept goes through a metamorphosis as different ideas are brought to the forefront and the story to be told emerges. This phase also includes choosing participants, setting up interviews, and creating the release forms that ensure the legality of using the footage. Finally, preparation for filming plays the largest role within the preproduction phase. Determining the technical aspects of the interviews including lighting and sound and making decisions about what to film and how to film it becomes a high-priority. The choices available to me as a filmmaker and what decisions I made are clearly outlined and documented.

Once prepared to film, I discuss the production phase. Within the production phase, all of the preparation and planning leads to the filming of the interviews, interactions and other footage necessary to create the documentary. I explain every step of the filming process, including setting up for each interview and adjustments made, filming the actual interviews and the content gathered from them, capturing the interaction of the bowlers during leagues and gathering extra footage to utilize as fillers, bridges and b-roll throughout the documentary. Even more important than recording the footage, the discovery of the story and the metamorphosis of the documentary can be seen throughout the production process as every discovery and choice slightly adjusts the focus of the documentary and the story being told. Within the production phase, many activities usually occurring during the preproduction

phase became necessary in order to adjust for technical difficulties and adapt to the developing story.

Finally, the postproduction phase of the methodology outlines the steps taken after the filming to create the documentary and tell the story such as editing, sound choice, narration and any re-shoots necessary to gather more footage after the primary filming. As each step within the postproduction occurs, I discuss the choices available, decisions made, and some possible impacts and consequences surrounding the decisions.

After documenting the process in detail, including the choices made at every phase, I analyze the process. For the decisions made during each phase, I examine the outcomes and possible consequences of the choice I made. In particular, I look at how the decisions affect the documentary's meaning and purpose and try to evaluate how the end product might be different if I chose differently within different phases of the process. Taking into consideration the literature on documentary theory I outlined within the literature review, I examine how this video fits into the category of documentary and where it falls within the category.

After analysis of the process and providing the conclusions I have drawn through the process, I discuss what I would have done differently if I were to go through the process again. In retrospect, I can identify certain decisions made that if done differently, would have produced better results technically and contextually. Technical limitations due to lack of equipment and environmental factors may have been better compensated for through different choices and more information may have

been gathered to use in the documentary if time restrictions were removed. Some limitations fell outside of my control, but others could have been adjusted for more effectively. The limitations section of this thesis recounts the problems I encountered and the different choices I would have made given more time and more resources available.

Finally, I draw some conclusions from this entire process. I sum up the discoveries I made through the process of creating a documentary and what functions my documentary serves. I discuss where my documentary falls within the broad spectrum of documentaries and how examining the process of creating the documentary has provided a glimpse into the dimensions of this spectrum. The struggle to clearly define the term “documentary” and to understand what it truly means to be a documentary will continue. But the following account of my process and discoveries throughout the process will provide a glimpse into the broad sense of documentary.

## Literature Review

Before looking at theories examining what it means to be a documentary, functions of documentaries and documentary production, I would like to begin with an overview of the concepts and ideas upon which my documentary's content is based. The following ideas sparked my initial interest in creating a documentary and provided a topical foundation from which to start the process.

### ***Civility***

In recent years, the concepts of civility and civil society have emerged as important ideas within the United States. Robert Putnam (2000) helped bring the discussion to the forefront with his *New York Times* bestseller *Bowling Alone*. While Putnam and many others have more recently brought the discussion of civil society into the spot light, the concepts they are discussing are far from new. The idea of civil society and the concepts at the heart of the discussion was addressed by Alexis de Tocqueville (1945) in his book *Democracy in America* originally published in 1835 and by numerous scholars since then, particularly in the Eastern European region by people such as political philosopher Hegel, as many nations experienced turmoil and many Eastern European dissidents struggled against communist dictators (Elshtain, 1998 & Wolfe, 1998). While the concept of civil society has been around for some time, only recently has the discussion focused on the role of civil society and the impacts of the a possible decline of civil society.

Studying the ideas around civil society presents a very difficult task due to the lack of clarity about what civil society means. While civil society seems to be an abstract term that is easily generalized, narrowing down a more specific ideal appears to be more difficult. In addition, one encounters many similar concepts that are often referred to in research about civil society that are just as difficult to define and clarify. For the sake of simplicity, I focus my attention on the definitions and ideas most closely related to the current discussions. While de Tocqueville (1945) looked at the foundations of democracy within the early United States, including civic involvement, and Edmund Burke coined the term “little platoon” to describe the subdivisions people belong to within society (Himmelfarb, 1997), the terms civil society and civility seem to have important denotations and connotations that are now unique to our time and place. This makes evaluating the current ideas and terminology critical to understanding the concept under discussion.

Robert Putnam (2000) refers to a decline in *civic engagement* and the impact on community within the United States, but never refers to the concept of *civil society*. In his discussion of civic engagement, Putnam talks of participation in civic associations, organizations, politics, religious organizations and workplace associations. The participation in these areas, or the level of one’s civic engagement, builds *social capital*, or a value given to the social networks created through participation. Social capital refers to the connections among individuals from these social networks and can bring with it norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness.

Theda Skocpal (1998) and colleagues at Harvard have started a Civic Engagement Project that assembles data on the emergence and growth of large voluntary associations in America. While this project remains in the early stages, Skocpal addresses this voluntary activity within civil society. In following the lead of Skocpal, it would seem that the civic engagement discussed by Putnam addresses one major part of civil society, the voluntary associations that one belongs to. While a large part of the equation, civic engagement does not account for the entirety of the ideas discussed within the realm of civil society.

The exact definition of civil society differs from theorist to theorist, but each encompasses very similar ideas. Alan Wolfe (1998) refers to civil society as “those forms of communal and associational life that are organized neither by the self-interest of the market nor by the coercive potential of the state.” Michael Walzer (1998) labels civil society as the “... space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks – formed for the sake of family, faith, interest, and ideology – that fill this space.” Colin Powell (1998) takes a slightly different approach, arguing that while what exactly constitutes a civil society may differ in the details, “... most people would probably agree that, at a minimum, a civil society is one whose members care about each other and about the well-being of the community as a whole.”

Each of these definitions of civil society differ in how they approach the topic. Wolfe and Walzer see civil society not as a description of a certain society as Powell seems to have put it, but as an entity in its own right. Gertrude Himmelfarb (1998) echoes Powell’s idea that the exact definition varies amongst those interested in the

concept, but she believes the connection between most concepts of civil society revolve around mediating structures, voluntary associations, families, communities, churches, and workplaces, those areas of society that fall between individualism and the state. In other words, civil society could be seen as all of the associations and communities that exist independent of the state and free from pure market forces that are purely self-interested. This civil society includes the civic engagement discussed by Putnam (2000) and Skocpal (1998), but also includes relational associations such as families and non-organized social networks.

Civil society and civic engagement leads to the closely related idea of *civility*. Civility shares many of the concepts found within civil society, but is often examined as a behavior one engages in. Much like civil society, however, civility remains a difficult idea to define. Stephen Carter (1997) examines many of the conceptions included in the idea of civility and tries to solidify the definition. According to Carter, many people equate the idea of civility in the simplest manner to the use of manners and proper etiquette. But this oversimplifies the idea because manners and etiquette are merely the empirical behaviors resulting from civility. Carter summarizes the idea of civility as the sum of many sacrifices we are called to make for the sake of living together. Some of these sacrifices are manifested in the use of manners and etiquette while others may be the sacrifice of our time and energy to participate in civic associations. The sacrifices are not all easily seen or defined, but they are the basis of Carter's concept of civility.

Drawing on earlier definitions of civility, Carter (1997, p. 15) reflects on Erasmus' concept of *civilité* as the basic concept that allows us to live together.

To be civilized is to understand that we live in a society as in a household, and that within that household, if we are to be moral people, our relationships with other people (our fellow citizens, members of our civic household) are governed by standards of behavior that limit our freedom. Our duty to follow those standards does not depend on whether or not we happen to agree with or even like each other. (p. 15)

Simply put, civility represents the idea that people behave in a manner consistent with the understanding that they are not the only people in the community. In order for people to live together, each person should accommodate for the others around them, constituting the "sacrifices" we make according to Carter (1997).

Abbott Ferriss (2002) approaches the idea of civility even more simply, proposing a working definition of civility as "consideration of others in interpersonal relationships." The use of the term "interpersonal relationships" allows for all kinds of situations, whether within family, school, work, politics, organizations or any situation where one must interact with others.

Finally, Corey Keyes (2002) of Emory University breaks social civility into three components: *social responsibility*, *social concern*, and *social involvement*. Keyes sees social responsibility as the obligation to the interpersonal and civic domains of society. Obligations might include things such as serving on a jury, voting in elections and keeping informed about national news. Social concern reflects the effort that individuals direct toward improving others' welfare or well-being. Social involvement represents one's participation as a volunteer in hospitals, political organizations or causes, and any other charities, causes, or organizations. Using these

three components, Keyes (2002) looks to quantify the level of social civility within the United States through surveys designed to measure self-reported levels of each component.

When you look at the overall concepts of civility and civil society, it seems that the two are intertwined. In essence, if civility represents the consideration of others in interpersonal relationships, manifested in the sacrifices one makes for the sake of living together, then civility represents the behavior necessary to fully function within civil society. I would argue that civility is a function of civil society, a necessary component for civil society to exist.

For the sake of this project, I would approach the term civil society as Alan Wolfe (1998) interprets it: as those forms of communal and associational life that are organized neither by the self-interest of the market nor by the coercive potential of the state. This definition echoes Walzer (1998) and Himmelfarb's (1998) ideas but offers a clarity for the purpose of my work. In essence, civil society represents every associational and communal relationship and network one belongs to, whether in a recognizable formal organization or an informal connection that exists free from pure-self interest and the state. This concept includes both the civic engagement discussed by Putnam (2000) and incorporates the behavior necessary for civil society to exist in the form of civility. So, as the discussion over the existence, importance, possible decline of and impacts of civil society are debated, the discussion over civic engagement and civility can be directly related to the broader discussion. Since civic engagement represents a large portion of activities within civil society, it would make

sense to draw the conclusions that if one declined, the other would most likely decline as well. At the same time, if the level of civility is in decline, then one could make the connection that civil society must also be affected because civility represents the behavior necessary for civil society to function properly. These connections help to bring the many topics and discussions within one general sphere of study. Instead of looking at three different arguments, one can see how each idea represents part of a broader discussion.

Keyes' (2002) attempt to quantify and measure levels of civility represents a trend within the study of civility and civil society to accurately measure the levels of each and determine if civility and civil society are in decline. Ferriss (2002) also looks at ways of studying and measuring civility in an attempt to discover the current trends in behavior. Ferriss noted that evidence shows a slight decline in civility over the past three decades, but acknowledges that the study only opens the door for further study and does not make any definitive claims. Keyes (2002) finds that civic engagement has decreased over the last half of the century, but suggests that social civility appears to be high in the United States. Once again however, Keyes looks at a cross-section of the United States at one point in time, so can provide no evidence to whether there is a decline, increase or leveling of civility. Without a longitudinal study, Keyes can only claim a "high" level of civility based on personal interpretation without any comparable data.

Robert Putnam (2000) stands out as a researcher who has tried to quantify the levels of civic engagement and social capital through his compiling and analyzing the

numbers of participants within voluntary organizations. Putnam looks at self-reported participation in organizations, church, communal associations and other such social networks. He also examines membership numbers of organizations such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, bowling leagues, 4-H, American Legion, Elks, Lions Club and many others. Putnam deduced from the numbers that a general decline in civic engagement exists and then looks at the many factors over the past four decades to try and determine the factors for this decline.

Many scholars have since challenged the numbers and data collected by Putnam. Wolfe (1998) states that Putnam's data have been effectively criticized by academics and journalists, but points out that in social sciences, the process of formulating hypotheses relies heavily on initial data, criticisms, disconfirmation and reformulation. Because the social sciences cannot be as exact as natural sciences, the initial calculations are only a start. However, this start performs a necessary role in sparking the debate and bringing the discussion to the masses.

William Galston and Peter Levine (1998) attempt to look at the evidence gathered around the debate of America's civic condition and suggest that voluntary activities are generally healthier than formal political institutions and processes. It seems to them that citizens are shifting their preferred civic involvement from official politics to the voluntary sector. More important than their findings however is their argument that current methods for determining and comparing rates of group memberships are flawed. Galston and Levine refer to problems with established survey instruments identified by other critics. First, they argue, that since comparable

survey questions have only been asked since the 1970s, it is hard to evaluate any trends before that time. Second, that existing surveys are unlikely to account for all of the changes in U.S. associational life. Finally, Galston and Levine also note that not all organizations are the same and should not be judged the same in terms of civil society. To assign the same weight in analysis to groups based on gatherings and involvement with those mailing list associations that don't always promote interpersonal interaction does not accurately assess the current levels of civil society. In following Ferriss' (2002) interpretation of civility as the consideration of others in interpersonal relationships, it would seem critical that there be interpersonal relationships within an organization for it to be a strong player in the realm of civil society. Hence, if the organization relies on communication through mailing lists, the interaction between members is limited and does not build the interpersonal networks that an organization based on gatherings would.

Theda Skocpol (1998) and William Schambra (1998) echo this idea that not all groups foster civic involvement and civil society in the same manner. For Skocpol and Schambra, a difference exists between national organizations and local organizations. The local grassroots associations and networks are seen as a more critical piece of the civil society puzzle than the large nationally based organizations. Skocpol argues more precisely, that local, state and national organizations are important and that local organizations can do more good by joining with similar forces nationwide to help unify the volunteers, but problems occur when the people, particularly the privileged, focus too heavily on giving money as a solution and not

getting involved directly. In other words, the national movements can work well when they are based on involvement at the local level. Working together to solve the problem instead of giving money to solve the problem.

Schambra sees a greater focus on national community occurring as technology helps us stay connected with others across the country. Modernity has brought with it the ability to be a part of a group that can consist of people from very diverse geographical locations, but at the same time, has strained local communities. According to Schambra, the idea of national community has not provided the same involvement and connectedness that the local communities have throughout time.

If organizations differ in their contribution to civil society and in their abilities to foster social networks and communities, then it would seem that the quantitative measures provided by Putnam (2000), Ferriss (2002) and Keyes (2002) don't paint a very accurate picture of the level of civil society and civility. However, while many people have challenged the data collected by Putnam and it seems that the numbers don't provide a very clear perspective on the issue, few would argue that the fact that so many people are focusing on this idea demonstrates that the issue does warrant some examination. As Alan Wolfe (1998) stated, "While one could-and many did-challenge Putnam's data and interpretations, it was impossible to argue that interest in the idea of civil society was somehow manufactured or ungenueine." While the measurements are questioned, the concern of people such as Putnam (2000) and Carter (1997) help illustrate that many people feel that the level of civility and civic engagement either has declined or is in decline.

Those who dispute the importance of this focus on civil society often do not refer to the data surrounding the level of civil society, but rather voice concern that a sense of *nostalgia* influences our perceptions of the civil state of the United States. Both Alan Wolfe (1998) and Jean Bethke Elshtain (1998) note that the main critics of civil society see it as a form of nostalgia, longing for a time of civic involvement and close communities. But the problem of nostalgia can often be that one remembers the positive aspects without accepting the negatives that came with it. Returning to the society of yesteryear, where people lived in close communities and families mirrored the Cleaver family from *Leave it to Beaver* brings with it a return to segregation and a caste system within society. As Alan Ehrenhalt (1998) notes, community and authority have unraveled together. Ehrenhalt notes that much of civility and civil behavior comes from behaving within a set of rules or norms assigned to society. These norms are often ascribed to society by authority figures. However, at the end of last century it was clear that the sense of authority had eroded and people were more free thinking and less inclined to listen to authority. Ehrenhalt claims that we don't want to revert to the 1950s, but we want to have the order that is associated with that time without the authoritarian structure. For Ehrenhalt and many other critics, one cannot easily have an orderly world without somebody making the rules by which order is preserved.

Wolfe (1998) and Schambra (1998) suggest we not look to the past to find answers, instead we must find a way to adjust for modernity. The fundamental questions that remain are "What has happened to cause the decline of civil society?"

and “What can we do to improve the situation?” These questions are not easily answered, and most people who have entered into this debate provide different answers. To start with, let us look to Robert Putnam (2000) since his research helped bring this discussion into the spotlight.

Putnam tried to determine the cause of the decline of civic engagement, but could not place blame on one culprit, but identified many factors that have contributed in the process. Putnam claims that things such as time pressures that come along with work, families with both parents working, urban sprawl, mobility, technological advances, mass media and generational changes have all played a part in changing the civic environment. The impact of each of these items are very complex and intertwined, but each seems to have had an impact on civic engagement over the last century.

As mentioned before, Schambra (1998) sees technology and modernity as a major factor in the decline of civil society. As technology allows us to form and maintain more relationships across greater distances, the focus on national community has increased at the expense of local community. Pam Salo and Gail Pressberg (1998) echo this sentiment as they note that a local sense of belonging and community have no substitute in global society. As we are more easily able to keep in touch with those people far away from ourselves, we focus less on those immediately around us and our local communities suffer as a result.

Others, such as Stephen Carter (1997) and Gertrude Himmelfarb (1998), see the decline in civility and civil society as a sign of a greater problem. Stephen Carter

notes that underlying the decline of civility is a crisis of morality. Himmelfarb expresses similar ideas, but goes further by saying that civil society can, at times, actually be part of the problem in the moral crisis of today. For Himmelfarb, the existence and promotion of civil society can be useful if a strong moral foundation exists within the communities that is promoted and perpetuated through the interactions and relationships within the communities. But she warns that the focus on civil society itself can be misleading because there are many units within civil society that promote discrimination, hatred and other values that one would not associate with civil behavior, such as the Ku Klux Klan. While this may be an extreme example, other organizations such as universities, unions and nonprofit foundations propagate causes such as feminism, affirmative action and political correctness that reflect the individualistic ideology of rights and big government instead of the communal values associated with the concept of civil society (1998, p. 118). For Himmelfarb, promoting the concept of civil society without addressing the moral foundation on which society should be built can be quite problematic.

Finally, let us look at some general ideas about what can be done to help improve civic engagement and civil society. The ideas provided within the writing vary from specific public policies that can be put into place to broader changes of attitudes amongst citizens. These suggested solutions can provide insight into what might be done, but are too numerous to cover in great detail. Since I am more concerned with learning more about the evaluation of the state of civil society and

civility in the United States and the functions of organizations within civil society, I will only briefly cover the perceived solutions.

Many people offer specific ideas about how we can become more involved and better utilize the connections and resources available to us. Jane Eisner (1998) explains that we must put volunteer work in proper context to help foster the right ideals on which volunteer work must be based. She explains that when people do volunteer, they should understand the good that they are accomplishing instead of just doing the work. Unless community service is employed wisely and effectively, it will not make a difference in Eisner's eyes. As Skocpol (1998) would argue, along with using the resources efficiently, Americans need to emphasize "doing with" instead of "doing for." For Skocpol, building civil society and community requires a hands-on approach to community service.

As Schambra (1998) has noted, modernity has brought with it a focus on national community that has taken away from local communities. For Schambra, as well as Skocpol, one step towards a stronger civil society would be to put more focus on our local communities. Putnam (2000) relates this technological boom to the changes occurring during the Progressive Era, quoting Walter Lippmann (Putnam, 2000, p. 402) at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century who noted, "we have changed our environment more quickly than we know how to change ourselves." Drawing from Schambra and Skocpol, we may need to refocus on local communities in this era where we can reach out to people all across the world. For them, the local community provides benefits that cannot be equaled by national community. Putnam indirectly

echoes this by explaining that organizations such as bowling leagues helps build social capital by allowing us to connect with people unlike ourselves, thereby transcending our social, political and professional identities. Technology such as the Internet, allows us to find others who share similar interests, but according to Putnam, we must interact with others with diverse backgrounds and ideas in order to truly build bridging social capital. This bridging social capital may help alleviate some of Himmelfarb's (1998) concerns about civil society fostering individualism.

To many, such as Walzer (1998) and Bill Bradley (1998), civil society itself represents part of the solution to the problem, part of the larger equation in balancing all aspects of our society. Looking at the idea of civil society as all of the associations and communities that exist independent of the state and free from pure market forces that are purely self-interested, it seems that there are different active forces within our society that must play a role. For Bill Bradley (1998), the government and market are not enough to make a civilization, there must also exist a strong civic sector to allow America to thrive and flourish. A democratic civil society places a premium on social equality, which Bradley sees as critical to the democratic process, the founding principle of this country. Bradley provides many specific public policies meant to foster civil society. However, the key to improving the civic sector is through emphasizing the language of civil society. This language promotes the ideal of giving something freely to others without expectations of return instead of the language of the market that promotes self-satisfaction and the language of the government, that promotes regulation of others.

For Walzer (1998), civil society provides a similar solution in its abilities to help balance ideologies. Ideologies such as Marxism, capitalism, nationalism and democratic idealism all claim to provide answers to how life should be, but Walzer sees each ideology as flawed in their singularity. But civil society provides a fifth ideology that focuses on plurality and the incorporation of other ideologies into how society functions. To Walzer, all ideologies need to be included, but none preferred, meaning that we are able to balance the strengths and weaknesses of each to function together. The market, the government and civil society must coexist to benefit each other and to allow each to function effectively. As Walzer states, "Only a democratic state can create a democratic civil society; only a democratic society can sustain a democratic state." (Walzer, 1998, p. 140).

### ***Documentary Theory***

Before discussing the uses and impacts of documentary film, I would like to address what exactly documentary video is. Much like the idea of civility, documentary remains a difficult concept to define. It seems that with both documentary and civility, we often find it more difficult to define exactly what we mean when we use the term, but easier to see when something, either behavior or a text, falls inside or outside of the concept. When behavior falls outside of the realm of civil behavior, we can identify it as such. When a film or video falls outside of the realm of documentary, we can identify it as such. But to understand what exactly what is meant when referring to documentary, I will provide some background on the

definition of “documentary.” Only then can I look into the principles behind the documentary film and the functions of documentaries.

Before looking into the theoretical definitions of documentary, I must establish the media to which I am referring while discussing documentary. Early work with documentary, as discussed by John Grierson (1966), was based on the use of film to create the product. As technology continued to develop, advances allowed for the sound to sync with the image during the recording process (Barbash and Taylor, 1997). Later video came into play, where there was no more film, but the image and sound was recorded through electrical signals, allowing for ease of use. Recent developments in digital technology takes the video realm further, as it becomes easier to record higher quality images and sound while shifting editing to a non-linear process instead of a linear one, making it easier to rearrange footage quickly. These technological advances have had a large impact on the realm of documentary, but as will be seen later as I discuss Nichols’ (1991) modes of representation and Barbash and Taylors’ (1997) similar classifications of documentary intent, the impacts of new technologies have been felt across the entire theoretical spectrum. Winston (1995) discusses the impact of digital technology on people’s perceptions of documentary, impacting not only those documentaries filmed with digital technology, but all documentaries made, as will be discussed in more detail later. The medium used to record events and create the documentary plays a larger role in the process of documentary creation than in documentary theory.

While the medium can influence some particular aspects of how each documentary is received and has some impact on the entire field of documentary, most of the theoretical discussions on documentary aren't based on the exact medium used. So, throughout my discussion of documentary theory, the terms documentary film and documentary video will be used interchangeably, though I will primarily use the term documentary film to maintain a consistency with the terminology used by most theorists. The impacts of the medium used in the documentary production process will be discussed in more detail within the documentary production section.

What does one mean when referring to *documentary*, whether it be film or video? The term documentary can be very difficult to narrow down to one simple definition. According to Brian Winston (1995), Grierson used the term "documentary value" in his reviewing Robert Flaherty's film *Moana* for a New York newspaper in 1926, which represented the first time that the term was used in the English language to represent this particular sort of film. Grierson not only first used the term, but also was one of the first to study the theoretical issues around the concept. In defining what documentary meant, he explained it as "the creative treatment of actuality" (Winston, 1995, p 11). While this definition provided an idea about what documentary is, there are some problems that are inherent with the definition. As many point out, including Winston, the terms creative treatment and actuality seem to be contradictory.

Grierson also seemed to be somewhat unsure about the definition of the term, as he would later claim "documentary is a clumsy description, but let it stand."

(Grierson, 1966). But, as will be seen later as I discuss the principles and elements of documentary, this definition allows for great freedom in determining what constitutes a documentary. Much of Grierson's attempt to define what documentary is revolves more around what documentary is not. The documentary film differs from the fiction film in the use of natural materials, or more specifically, obtaining footage from real events. But documentary goes beyond many other texts that use natural materials such as newsreels and magazine items, because it is not just a collection of daily doings. The documentary must go to the next step of creation (Grierson, 1966, 150). This step of creation marks one of the critical elements of documentary, the creative treatment that Grierson talked of in his initial definition. As I discuss the elements of documentary later, this creative treatment will become more evident as many other theorists add to the discussion on how this creation occurs.

While Grierson defined documentary with a succinct phrase that left much room for interpretation and debate, Nichols (1991) defined documentary in a very different fashion, but with a result that resembles the openness of Grierson's. Nichols accepts that documentary as a concept has no clear boundaries and guidelines. There is no finite inventory of techniques, no clear subject matter, and no strict style or form that a film must follow to be considered a documentary. Instead, the term documentary must be seen as a concept that changes throughout time. More important than one clear definitive definition that strictly defines what constitutes a documentary, is a definition that is able to address questions about the concept, whether the questions have been asked already or will be asked in the future (1991,

12). Instead of one definition, Nichols looks at three definitions of documentary from different perspectives: the filmmaker, the text and the viewer.

To begin with, Nichols looks at what documentary means from the standpoint of those who make documentaries. While others may state that the control the filmmaker has over the process is a key factor in what constitutes a documentary, Nichols warns that control is only a small piece of the puzzle. Within documentary film, the filmmaker maintains little control over the subject or the event, but depending on the situation, their control can vary greatly over everything else. Of more consequence, the perceived lack of control of the filmmaker can be simulated within non-documentary films. A contemporary example of this simulated lack of control can be seen in the 1998 film *The Blair Witch Project* where the makers of this fiction-film took out consumer quality video equipment and acted out their parts as if they were documentary filmmakers. The catch to this fiction film was the simulated feel of a documentary to seemingly add to the suspense and reality of the horror film, but it could hardly be considered a documentary.

More than control, the concept of documentary from the view of the filmmaker revolves around a sense of institutional form. The filmmakers of documentary films often share a sense of common purpose that connects them together. These documentarists are really self-defining, but their institution is guided by a fundamental preoccupation with the representation of the historical world. Nichols notes that in a sense, a documentary is what those who regard themselves as documentarists produce (Nichols, 1991, p 15).

Secondly, Nichols defines the documentary in terms of the text itself. For Nichols, the documentary genre takes shape around an informing logic that uses evidence in the form of images and sound to create an argument about the real world it represents. Because of this foundation around logic and argument, the documentary text will often depend more heavily on the principle of sound than a fiction film would. The spoken word often drives the argument and evidence even more than the visual image. The defining feature of documentary within the text is the use of sounds and images as evidence, instead of a simple plot element. There are different modes of documentary production identified by Nichols that will be discussed later in this chapter, each exhibiting different approaches at creating an argument, but the defining feature remains their use of evidence and a foundation on informing logic.

Finally, Nichols looks at documentary as defined from the perspective of the viewer. In a manner similar to the premise that a documentarist makes documentaries, the viewers help define documentary through the assumptions and expectations they bring to the viewing process in order to understand the text. The most fundamental difference between expectations while viewing a fiction film and a documentary film lies in the status of the text in relation to the historical world. For the documentary, the viewer makes a fundamental assumption that the sounds and images seen within the text bear indexical relation to the historical world, that the evidence presented to the viewer could have been witnessed by the viewer in the real world as it is shown within the text.

For Nichols, this fundamental assumption helps define the documentary from the vantage point of the viewer. However, when the assumption comes under fire because of new technologies, some questions arise around the concept of documentary. Winston (1995) notes that the emergence of digital technology has brought the authenticity of the documentary under suspicion in the eyes of many viewers. Digital technology allows for digital manipulation of images to create new images, eliminate others and change meanings of the image. As will be seen later, one does not have to digitally manipulate an image to change the meaning, one only needs to frame the shot differently, either omitting certain information or adding different information to change the meaning. But the widespread knowledge throughout the viewing public of the possibilities of digital manipulation may have already started influencing the general assumptions the viewer brings with them to understand the text. If the viewers no longer assume the images and sounds are directly related to the historical world, this definition of documentary may lose its foundation and become obsolete.

In a similar manner, improved technology may be influencing viewer's perceptions of documentary films. As Hans Richter (Renov, 1993, p 24) noted, "it became clear that a fact did not really remain a 'fact' if it appeared in too beautiful a light." The evidence presented within documentary films may not be seen as factual evidence by the viewing public if the production qualities of the film are too high. It seems that while the control of the filmmaker may not be a determining feature in terms of the documentary as defined through the filmmaker (Nichols, 1991), the

perception of control by the viewers may play a large role in defining documentary through the viewer. Much like fiction films may simulate the look of a documentary by filming in a manner that looks uncontrolled, if the documentary exhibits too much perceived control, the viewers may not accept the film as a documentary but look at it as a fiction film. With more technological advances the quality of digital video increases, allowing for better image quality with less control of the environment, thereby creating some difficulties in defining documentary through the viewer and their assumptions.

As seen through these attempts to define documentary, there seems to be no hard and fast definition that holds true for all cases. The term documentary takes on different meanings that are dependent on context, time and perspective. However, the definition by Grierson seems to be a foundation upon which many other documentary theorists have built their ideas. In the rest of this chapter I will look at the concept of documentary in terms of what elements are essential for a documentary, the general principles driving documentary films and the functions that the films serve.

To make a clear connection between the importance of the elements of documentary and the definition of the concept, let us look at the difference between documentary and ethnographic film. At times, these two terms are used interchangeably, but there seem to be some key differences that can occur which will lead us into Grierson's idea of "creative treatment." When looking at documentary production and theory, one will find many writings on documentary, as well as, ethnographic film. Nichols (1994) explains that ethnographic film shares many of

anthropology's principles; representing other cultures to members of our own. For Barbash and Taylor (1997) documentary and ethnographic film have no precise distinction, so throughout their guidebook on production they use the term documentary film to signify all productions of the sort. However, when you examine the text of those who teach ethnographic film production, such as Karl Heider (1976), ethnographic film refers more directly to a film that reflects ethnographic understanding. According to Heider, ethnography provides a way of making a detailed description and analysis of human behavior based on long-term observational study at the scene. Ethnography looks to relate specific observed behaviors to cultural norms within social and cultural context in order to strive for truth. For Heider, the ethnographicness of the film remains far more important than the cinematography because the film is really a tool for something else; recording human behavior within the people's natural environment to help understand the relationship between the behaviors and cultural norms within the context of that culture. While many of these principles may overlap with documentary theory, as will be seen later, there is one distinction that exists that can make a large difference between ethnographic film and documentary film; ethnographic film does not require the creative treatment discussed by Grierson. For Heider, the film only needs to accurately capture the ethnographic data, using the footage as raw data without the film attempting to form a narrative from the raw material. This could lead to films that are simply a collection of images and evidence that do not move to the next stage of creation that Grierson suggests, or it could lead to an ethnographic film that takes that next step to create meaning. I

would argue that some ethnographic films could be classified as documentaries but many could not.

This distinction between the principles of ethnographic film and documentary film reflects the key to documentary film as explained by Grierson (1966), the progression of a film beyond the simple collection of natural materials to something of a higher level. This creation does not involve just making a thing, but the making of virtues. It requires editing the images and sound together in a sense that provides meaning to the film. For many this meaning comes from narrative (Fisher, 1987 and Young, 2002), others see it as dramatisation (Winston, 1995), others refer to the sequenciation of documentary (Rosen, 1993) and still others view it as creating an argument through evidence (Nichols, 1991). Whatever the terminology used, each of these ideas represents a similar element of creating meaning from the images and sounds.

The idea of narrative can be seen throughout much of the research on documentary theory and production. For Jane Young (Young, 2002), a documentary film needs to have a narrative structure. How the narrative is imposed within a documentary differs from that of non-fiction, but one must find a narrative structure for the documentary in order to create a documentary film. Walter Fisher (1987) analyzes the narrative paradigm that runs through much of documentary theory, explaining that the narration represents the symbolic actions that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create, or interpret them. According to Fisher, humans are essentially storytellers who base decision-making and communication on “good

reason.” Fisher sees the world as a set of stories and our good reasons are based on these stories. For documentary, this narrative must also exist in order to truly reach the next level of creation, which will later be explained by Nichols (1991) as an argument, or reasoning, made through evidence.

Winston (1995) expresses the similar need for narrative structure, explaining that in the actual world of our observation, there was always a dramatic form to be found. Winston refers back to Grierson’s idea of creative treatment, concluding that the idea of treatment is the need for dramatisation. This dramatisation functions as an interpretation of the material at hand. This dramatisation brings a slightly different terminology from narrative, but the essential idea of creating, or interpreting, the meaning of the natural materials remains the same. Winston (1995) also looks at the idea of a *document*, the term from which documentary was derived. The contemporary use of the term document carries with it a sense of evidence or proof. This sense of evidence inherent with the term document is to be further examined by Philip Rosen (1993) and Nichols (1991).

Rosen (1993) makes a clear point to distinguish between document and documentary. The documentary in his sense should be treated as the conversion from the document into the documentary, involving a synthesizing knowledge claim, by virtue of a sequence putting pastness into meaning (Rosen, 1993, p 71). Putting the evidence collected into a sequence that gives meaning to the evidence separates the documentary from the simple document. This sequenciation, as Rosen refers to it, mirrors the narrative discussed by Young (2002) and Fisher (1987). For Rosen, like

Grierson, the documentary represents something more profound and something with an important social mission. It should not just show events as they happened, it should provide a meaning to those events you see in the film.

Nichols (1991) takes this idea one step further by noting that a documentary not only uses a narrative form to help provide structure and meaning to the images and sounds within the film, but it should form an argument through the evidence contained within. Beyond the creative treatment to interpret meaning, the documentary is an argument about the historical world. Nichols explains that the documentary is not a story about a world out there, but an argument about how things are or were in that world. This argument about the world raises questions by many about whether a documentary should be “objective” in its representations, but Nichols claims that objectivity is itself a perspective. To better understand this idea, one can look at Kenneth Burke’s notion of *terministic screens* (Burke, 1966). Burke notes that when a person witnesses something such as an event, or in this case evidence, they view it from their personal perspective which includes a foundation of language and terminology that has been shaped by events from their past, beliefs and values they possess and numerous other factors that influence how they perceive what they are seeing. These terministic screens can also influence what a person sees and what they do not see. You cannot help but witness something through your personal screens, so it would seem impossible for true objectivity and the notion of objectivity represents a perspective on the idea of truth.

This idea of truth becomes a large factor in the role of documentary. For if every documentary makes an argument about the world from one perspective, then can truth ever be known? To this, both Nichols (1991) and Rosen (1993) emphasize that documentary does not attempt to present *the* truth, but *a* truth. Since each piece of evidence can lead to more than one argument about the world, documentaries must make arguments about the world from one perspective and add to the discourse about the issue at hand.

Jean Baudrillard (1993) sees some dangers within the realm of cinema in general, particularly in the field of documentary film. For Baudrillard, the connection of the image to basic reality is coming under fire. While the image initially served as a reflection of basic reality, it eventually acts to mask the existence of reality and become its own simulacrum. To clarify this notion, films and images within the films have come to represent the reality that they themselves have created, independent of the real world. Documentaries are seen to disseminate information from the intellectual elites, creating an idea of reality that is based on the information presented through the films and not based on reality itself. This idea bears some resemblance to the impacts in George Gerbner's cultivation analysis (Littlejohn, 1999, p 344). Cultivation analysis describes how television viewing may impact a culture's view of the world by creating ideas about reality through the representations shown on television. The images and sounds presented in television and documentaries may paint pictures of a world that is created through these images and sounds which bears no connection to actual reality.

Nichols and Rosen see Baudrillard's ideas as extreme because within a documentary, the footage provides evidence of events that have occurred in reality. If documentary truly exists, as arguments about *a* truth in regards to the historical world and not *the* truth, then there will always be some interpretation of reality and no documentary can ever truly reflect reality in its entirety. For Nichols, "the separation between an image and what it refers to continues to be a difference that makes a difference." (Nichols, 1991, p 7). The separation between an image and the argument made from the image represents a perspective on the world and the purpose of the documentary is to add to the discourse about the world.

Building on the idea of documentary as an argument about the world, I would like to move into the perceived functions of documentary film. The purpose of documentary film was of great interest to Grierson as he first saw the potential of cinema as a medium for public opinion instead of as an art form (Grierson, 1966). He saw the documentary form as a chance to help inform and educate generations in the nature of the modern world. Grierson suggested documentary film brought with it a sense of social responsibility that could have implications on citizenship. In essence, the documentary form had a foundation immersed in sociological impacts instead of aesthetics.

Rosen (1993) echoes Grierson's emphasis on the social implication of documentary, claiming that documentary should aid in the diffusion of social knowledge. The documentary has a distribution potential that spans across socioeconomic and geographical lines that might otherwise disrupt the flow of mutual

knowledge. One might look to cinema, with the documentary film in particular, to help in the practice of government and improve citizenship. This sense of social responsibility can also be seen within Nichols' writings as he explains that documentary has a kinship with what he refers to as the *discourses of sobriety*-science, economics, politics, foreign policy, education, religion, and welfare- in as much as these discourses have instrumental power in affecting change (Nichols, 1991, p 4). Nichols does not put documentary at the same level as the other discourses, explaining that documentary films appear as "pale reflections of the dominant, instrumental discourses in our society." While a pale reflection of the dominant discourses, documentary films can distribute the knowledge and arguments within these discourses to a larger mass of people, thereby aiding in the democratic process.

While it may seem that social education lies at the heart of the theoretical purpose of documentary film, the ways in which documentaries accomplish this can vary. Not every documentary will cover the same subject, present the information in the same way or even make similar arguments. Therefore, one needs to examine the different approaches documentary films may take in making their cases.

To begin, Michael Renov (1993) looks at the four fundamental tendencies of documentary films; to record, reveal or preserve, to persuade or promote, to analyze or interrogate, and to express. These four tendencies are not mutually exclusive nor are they set in stone as the only tendencies, but studying these tendencies can help advance the documentary field through understanding the intent behind the

documentaries. Not every documentary hopes to accomplish the same thing, but understanding the common driving tendencies can provide better insight into the field.

First, some documentaries attempt to record, reveal, or preserve. This tendency leads to the attempt to replicate the historical real and in essence cheat death, stop time, or restore loss. Within this tendency, there are some concerns that arise for Renov, such as the issue of selection. Because cameras cannot capture everything, one must select what shot to record and the results of this selection create a mediated view where factors do come between the image on the screen and the event it is supposed to capture. Also, while the documentary that records, reveals or preserves an event or information can be valuable, the emphasis on preservation over interrogation can detract from the documentary's power to enhance understanding (Renov, 1993, p 27).

Secondly, a documentary may attempt to persuade or promote within the text. Renov believes that the persuasive element is intrinsic in all documentaries, reflecting Nichols' (1991) description of a documentary as something that forms an argument from evidence. While some documentaries may present a clearly persuasive argument in favor of one idea, others present a persuasive argument within their construction of their meaning.

Thirdly, a documentary may incorporate analysis or interrogation within their text. Renov seems to appreciate this function more fully than the others because of the value he sees within analysis. He states that presentation of material is not automatically interrogation and interrogation can be a valuable part of any

documentary. Within this realm of analysis, those films that examine their own processes instead of covering up any problems will more likely stimulate the healthy skepticism that brings about true knowledge.

Finally, Renov explains that documentaries have a tendency to express. This is where Grierson's (1966) creative treatment comes to fruition in the form of aesthetic function. The expressive nature of a documentary can range from a simple surveillance style presentation to one that focuses on the expressiveness of the artist. Because of the degree of the expressive nature of documentary, the inclusion of aesthetic techniques should not disqualify a film as documentary. The use of aesthetic appeal can't be fully removed from documentary if the goal is "pleasurable learning" (Renov, 1993, p 35). This expressive function expresses the idea that in order to function as a dispenser of knowledge, others must view the film. If the viewer does not find the film aesthetically pleasing enough to view it, then the knowledge does not reach the viewer and the purpose of the documentary is lost.

As mentioned earlier, Nichols (1991) identifies modes of representation used within documentary films: expository, observational, interactive and reflexive. These modes are similar to Renov's tendencies, looking at some intentions that drive documentaries, but Nichols approaches the classification of these modes as organizational patterns around which most texts are structured. His modes of representation are not meant as a definitive end to how documentary films are constructed, but a general guideline at this time regarding general structures that are

utilized in the creation of documentaries. A documentary may utilize different traits from each mode within the text.

Expository documentary represents early documentary form, addressing the viewer directly with titles or voices that advance an argument about the historical world. The expository document contains an authoritative commentary directed at the viewer, informing the audience about how things are. The images within this mode are mostly used to illustrate the message of the commentary while the heart of the argument remains the authoritative voice explaining the world. Viewers tend to expect the expository documentary to present an argument about the world and provide answers to a problem or puzzle that exists, in essence, telling the audience about the problem and providing the solution.

As technological advances made it easier to go out into the field and capture synchronized sounds with images, a different style of documentary began to emerge, the observational documentary. Expository documentary relied on non-sync sound because often one could not record sound with the images in the field due to technical limitations, so the voice-over and external music were used heavily. But as people were able to record both images and sound from events in the field, many documentarists moved towards an observational style where they simply wanted to record the event as it occurred and relay this event to the audience. This style represents a “fly-on-the-wall” (Kochberg, 2002) approach; in its purest form the observational documentary is free of voice-over commentary, external music, reenactments and even interviews (Nichols, 1991, p 38). Instead of trying to tell the

audience of a problem and solution as expository did, the observational film attempts to depict events for others to witness. The argument within the film comes from the exhaustive depiction of everyday events and arguing that this is how things were. The editing focuses on sustaining the continuity of events instead of the logical continuity of an argument, but the argument comes in the attempt to depict the events as they occurred.

The observational mode has often been used as an ethnographic tool, allowing for access to everyday activities of cultures or peoples that can be studied. The viewer looks in on and overhears *social actors*, the individuals or people within the events that are occurring. The ideas behind the observational documentary and ethnographic film are very similar, attempting to capture events and depict these events as they occur, free of judgment and interpretation, conveying the sense of total access to the world. One common concern about the observational mode of representation revolves around the ability of a documentary to capture an event as it would naturally occur. Should the documentary attempt to depict life as it would have been had the camera not been noticed, or life as it goes on before and as affected by the camera? (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). With the presence of a documentary crew, can the event actually occur in the same manner as it would have had the camera not been there?

The interactive mode of representation incorporates the presence of the filmmaker into the style of the documentary. The interactive documentary engages the events and the social actors to provide a sense of the historical world as witnessed by one who inhabits it. Unlike the observational documentary, the interactive

documentary utilizes interaction with the subject and social actors to try and present an argument about the real world, moving towards a similar ideal of the expository documentary but relying more on personal accounts and histories to drive the argument without an authoritative voice. Interview styles and interaction techniques arose to help the documentarist attain the evidence through interaction with social actors, witnesses, and experts. Nichols discusses many ethical implications of this interactivity, including possibilities of manipulation of the situation by the documentarist and misrepresentation of the evidence collected.

The techniques used within the interactive mode vary, but it often relies on the interview, attaining information, accounts of events and oral histories through direct questioning of participants and witnesses. The interview can take many forms, from a sense of free conversation between interviewer and participant to a “pseudomonologue” where the interviewer remains off-screen and unheard so the participant sounds as if they are just talking out loud on their own. The common interview remains more structured than the conversation and tends to be driven by a specific agenda as the interviewer extracts information from the participant. While the techniques are numerous and varied, and each technique can add influence to the presentation and interpretation of the information, the interactive mode will be expected to provide conditional information and local knowledge. The expectations of the viewers in regards to this mode of documentary rely on the idea of *a* truth instead of *the* truth. The search for knowledge within this mode revolves around the discourse

on the subject between the filmmaker and the social actors, participants, witnesses and anyone else involved.

The final mode Nichols presents focuses more on the topic of cinematic mediation involved in the representation of the historical world (Nichols, 1991, p 56). The reflexive mode of representation resembles something that may be termed a “metadocumentary” where the documentary focuses on the use of documentary film to represent reality. Films within this mode focus attention to the process of creating a documentary, giving the viewer a greater understanding of the text as it relates to the subject matter. This represents a shift in focus from that of other modes where the importance was placed primarily on the relationship between the subject within the text and the historical world. While the interactive mode utilized the interaction between the filmmaker and the subject, the reflexive mode places emphasis on the relationship between the filmmaker and the viewer. The reflexive documentary can prompt the viewer to a heightened consciousness of the relationship between the viewer and the text and the problems and constraints that may exist between the text and the subject portrayed within the text (Nichols, 1991, p 61). In essence, the reflexive documentary may help the viewer become an informed consumer of documentary films by pointing out production aspects and techniques and the influences these techniques have on the message being delivered to the audience.

The audience comes into the reflexive documentary expecting the unexpected. Unlike other documentaries where one comes in with expectations and assumptions to help the audience understand the text and find meaning, the viewer approaches the

reflexive documentary with few assumptions, expecting instead to experience a text that evaluates its own status as a documentary and questions the assumptions one holds in viewing documentaries.

Again, these four modes of representation are not mutually exclusive. A documentary may fall somewhere between modes, utilizing techniques from different modes to best communicate the message. These modes are also not seen as the only modes of representation possible, but instead the prominent ones in use today. Much like the progression from expository to observational to interactive to reflexive occurred as new technologies emerged and new concerns about the documentary text arose, future concerns and issues may bring about new modes as well. Others have built off these foundational modes and made some adjustments, such as Barbash and Taylor (1997), who discuss the expository, observational, reflexive and impressionistic documentary styles. While they approach expository, observational, and reflexive styles in the same manner as Nichols, they propose another style they refer to as impressionistic that focuses more on implying an argument rather than asserting one. The focus within impressionistic revolves around the aesthetic nature of the documentary, often falling into the realm of the abstract. Instead of attempting objectivity and providing problems and solutions within the historical world, the impressionistic film will highlight people's subjective feelings. While Barbash and Taylor find some slight variations within the styles from what Nichols identified, they regard Nichols' framework as more nuanced than their own "crude framework" presented in their book (Barbash & Taylor, 1997, p 527).

This overview of many of the predominant theories regarding the documentary genre highlights what elements exist within a documentary text, the purposes of documentary films and how the information may be organized and presented within the film. Because of the nature of the medium, many concerns and issues have arisen regarding the documentary concept and many more will come about as technology continues to advance and uses of the documentary film change. Now that I have now provided an overview of many of the theories surrounding the documentary concept, the next step is to provide a general outline of the documentary production process. Theoretical concerns about the documentary concept discuss production techniques and the films as complete texts, but to create a documentary, one must also understand the general process from start to finish.

### ***Documentary Production***

The process of creating a documentary film has no standard set guidelines of how it must be done nor a predetermined list of what techniques must be used. Nichols (1991) states there is no finite inventory of techniques that define a documentary and Kochberg (2002) claims that anything goes as far as technique is concerned. How you create the documentary varies from style to style and subject to subject, but the process of creating any film has many similarities and similar steps that are necessary for a solid production. My goal here is not to go over every detail of production, for there are too many steps and choices to be made to cover every option. Instead, I will provide an overview of the general film production process as explained by several documentary filmmakers in their production guides with some

additional input from some ethnographic filmmakers and experts in certain parts of production such as lighting and sound. I will focus more on the production aspects of particular value to the field of documentary production.

Barbash and Taylor (1997) created a guide for documentary production that attempts to help guide a filmmaker through the entire process, but make it clear they aren't telling filmmakers *how* to shoot, but want to prepare the filmmaker for the decisions to be made throughout the process. With the numerous and varied styles of documentary films, there is no one way to make a documentary. Also, because the documentary filmmaker tends to have less control over the production process than a fiction filmmaker, particularly in the area of subject matter, much of the filming and production happens spontaneously so one can really only prepare for possible situations and be ready as the event unfolds.

Despite the fact that the process varies from film to film, there are some generalities that can be found throughout most filmmaking processes. Most filmmakers would agree that the production process can be divided into three phases; preproduction, production, and postproduction. Barbash and Taylor (1997) break up their process into these three phases, but note that these phases are not always very distinct and much overlap can occur. While Barbash and Taylor break up the process into these three stages, Rosenthal (1990) divides the process into five steps; developing the idea, preproduction, filming, editing and sound mixing. Janice Kearns (2002) identifies four phases; research and development, preproduction, production and postproduction. While each make distinctions between certain parts of the

production process, highlighting certain aspects of the process, they all recognize the same functions.

In general, the preproduction includes everything that occurs before the actual filming begins. While Rosenthal (1990) and Kearns (2002) distinguish the idea formation phase as a separate phase from preproduction, Barbash and Taylor (1997) include this step within the general preproduction phase. As they all include preproduction in the process and point to this phase as the preparation phase, I will follow the designation of Barbash and Taylor in including the formation of the idea and research of the topic into the preproduction phase.

The production phase is agreed upon by all, involving the actual filming process. Rosenthal refers to it purely as filming, however, the functions remain the same between their filming and the others' production stages. In documentary production, the preproduction and production phase can often overlap greatly as the filming can bring with it new ideas and one must adjust the general concept of the film and the schedule as needed. The preparation and planning will continue throughout the filming, incorporating more of the steps of preproduction throughout the process than the production of a fiction film might.

Finally, the postproduction phase involves the creation of the film from the materials gathered during the production phase. Rosenthal distinguishes the editing process from the sound mixing process, but Kearns and Barbash and Taylor lump these two steps into one general postproduction phase. While video editing and sound mixing are two critical steps, the distinction between the two steps may be more or

less distinct depending on the documentary. Looking back at Nichols' (1991) modes of representation, you can see that observational documentaries would have less distinction between video editing and sound mixing than the other modes because most of the sound is synchronous sound from the footage itself. Expository documentaries however, would make a greater distinction between sound and video because of its prominent use of external sounds and voice-overs. To cover all modes of documentary, the postproduction phase consists of video editing and sound mixing as well as anything else necessary in the creation of the film from the raw materials collected. Much like preproduction and production overlap, postproduction may also contain steps that are generally attributed to other phases. Re-shoots may be necessary to gather better quality materials or new materials may need to be filmed if it becomes obvious during editing that things are missing. Because of the nature of documentary, the actual scripting process may also be more prominent in the postproduction phase (Young, 2002). The development of the script in postproduction differs greatly from the process of fiction film production where the script is done primarily in the preproduction phase with some re-writes or adjustments occurring in the later phases.

Having identified the phases of film production, I shall now examine each phase and explain some key items and concepts within documentary filmmaking. As mentioned before, the process for each documentary differs greatly so it remains impossible to cover everything and so much of the process occurs on the fly that one cannot hope to plan the entire process, so this will be a brief overview and the specific

issues that arose within my own production will be further explored while recounting my production process within the methodology section.

Coming up with an idea for the documentary starts the preproduction process. The inspiration for a documentary may come from many places. There are no limitations as to what topic you may choose to do a documentary on (Nichols, 1991) and various reasons for choosing a topic. Someone may choose a topic and subject matter because they are interested in the topic, find great importance and relevance in something occurring, be hired by others to create a documentary or be driven by any other number of reasons. One may also approach the documentary from more of an ethnographic research perspective and utilize the documentary format to help some exploratory research (Rosenthal, 1990). No matter what the reason you get interested in the subject initially, preparation and research about that subject remains the most important thing to remember in developing an idea.

A documentary may function as part of exploratory research, but that does not mean a filmmaker should approach the subject matter without any prior knowledge or without a basic understanding about the people, place or occasion they are filming. Kearns (2002) feels the research and development phase is important enough to separate it from the rest of preproduction. Barbash and Taylor (1997), Kochberg (2002), and other filmmakers point to the ethical considerations inherent with the documentary filmmaking process, many of the primary concerns revolve around the responsibility to the subjects to be as unobtrusive as possible when filming and to accurately represent the subjects within the film. In order to accomplish both of these

effectively, knowledge of your subjects, the culture and other factors involved is critical. The closer to ethnographic film one gets with their documentary, the more crucial accurate and thorough research and development becomes in order to accurately capture the culture and behaviors as accurately as possible.

Once the idea has been formed, one must find a way to fund the project (Barbash & Taylor, 1997 and Young, 2002). A proposal and treatment should be created to provide a general sense of what the documentary will look like and the function of the documentary. The treatment helps the filmmaker explain the film he or she wishes to make and allow possible investors a chance to see what the filmmaker is trying to accomplish. However, this phase does not hold the same importance in college when a student wants to create a documentary as it would when a professional looks to create a documentary film because of the financial burdens more inherent in the professional world than in college (Young, 2002).

Throughout the preproduction phase and the rest of the filmmaking process, the filmmaker should keep in mind the audience they are targeting with their documentary. Documentary as a media product can be seen as a commodity, intended to be sold for audience consumption, but it is also a text (Womack, 2002). The audience has to be competent in the subject matter or at least have an interest in the subject to be adequately engaged with the material. Documentaries are commissioned and created according to audience interests. The audiences for documentaries vary tremendously, most have a specific audience they are geared towards, but some are meant for mass consumption (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). Heider (1976) claims that

ethnographic film has only one market: education. Since true ethnographic film functions as a text for aiding in ethnographic research, the educational field provides the primary market for such films.

The filmmaker must also identify and obtain all the practical resources to turn the idea into a film (Kearns, 2002). This includes, but is not limited to, selecting a location, film crew and participants to be in the documentary (Barbash & Taylor, 1997 and Kearns, 2002). In choosing a location, the location should be relevant to the subject of the documentary (Barbash & Taylor, 1997) and provide a good environment for both filming and capturing the essence of the subject. Throughout the preproduction phase and the rest of the process, planning is essential to avoid mediocrity (Garrison, 2002). During the filming process, William Garrison advocates for as much planning as possible to help prepare for filming a subject that one often has little control over. Garrison points to the difference between active and passive cinematography (Garrison, 2002, p 104) as one of the critical factors between creating a mediocre film and a great film. Much of this comes in the preproduction phase when you are looking for locations because a few of the factors in active cinematography are anticipating action and planning the scene so you can place the camera in the best location possible. Ideally, a shot should be filmed from the best spot possible, not from wherever you happen to be at the time. Often, the choice of location and scouting the location effectively will be the difference. Once the location has been chosen, scout out the location for factors such as lighting, available space to

film from, available resources one may need such as electrical outlets and other factors that may play a role in the filming process.

Determining the crew a filmmaker will use can also be very critical within the documentary process because of the possible interactions between the crew and the subjects (Kearns, 2002). The filming environment and nature of the documentary being produced will call for different requirements as far as crew is concerned. When filming in a close knit environment where as little interference as possible is necessary, the crew should be kept small. If attempting to film a one-time event that must be captured as completely as possible, then more crew and more cameras should be involved to better cover the occasion.

When choosing the people to be involved with the documentary and participate on-screen, one should be aware of their choices and why they are making those decisions. Have these people been chosen because they fit stereotypes of the people you are studying, are they exemplary representations of the people or culture you are representing, do they fit specific personalities within the film or are they just those who are available? (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). The individuals or groups of people within a documentary are different from a fiction film because they are not acting a part, they are “being themselves.” Of course, not everyone can truly be themselves in front of a camera because the presence of the camera can alter behaviors (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). Those individuals found within a documentary are often referred to as *social actors* (Nichols, 1991, p 42) because they are representing themselves to others to some degree which may be considered a performance. Some social actors have a

stronger presence in front of the camera and can draw the audience in more than other social actors. The ability of the social actor to perform and make a connection with the audience may be a factor that one would look at in choosing people. Barbash and Taylor (1997, p 41) put it best when they noted, "...film has the power to make ordinary people look interesting and celebrities appear mundane."

Once the location, crew and people have been selected, one of the last steps to be done in preproduction is legally securing the use of the location and use of the participant's images within the film and securing the use of any copyrighted material needed within the film. Consent forms for both participants in the film and owners of the locations at which the filming will occur present a major step necessary for all filmmaking and allow for legal use of the images within the film.

Depending on your subject, documentary style and limitations, other things may need to be accomplished within preproduction. Scheduling shoots, acquiring equipment and numerous other items that are specific to each individual documentary may come up and preparation before filming for any potential problems will allow for a superior product in the end.

One last thing within preproduction that must be examined that leads into the production phase is the decision about what medium to use; film or video. For many, the availability of the camera will play a large role in what specific medium used, but each has different qualities that can impact the documentary. Film will provide a much cleaner and higher quality picture than video when used correctly. Video however, provides a cheaper medium, is usually more portable, and provides ease of

use and editing techniques are much easier. New digital technology has the capability of providing very high quality images, close to the quality of film, but most digital video cameras do not allow the producer to take full advantage of the medium because the cameras tend to be built more for portability and ease of use instead of highest quality. For academic distribution, video will usually be the preferred medium of choice (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). The higher end professional cameras will provide more quality and also allow for more manipulation of exposure and quality, providing professionals outside of the academic circle a higher quality film in terms of image quality (Garrison, 2002).

The production phase of documentary filmmaking remains wide open in terms of steps and procedures. There are no clear techniques to use because each documentary differs greatly. However, the same fundamental principles of film production apply to documentary films as it would for fiction films. All filmmakers are concerned with the same things: composition, lighting, camera placement, focal length, exposure, and camera movements (Garrison, 2002).

Compositional guidelines will be similar throughout all films, employing techniques to help ensure aesthetic appeal of the film. General guidelines like noseroom, headroom, leadspace, rule of thirds, screen dominance and psychological closure (Barbash & Taylor, 1997 and Zettl, 2003) will be standard from film to film, but ensuring compositional aesthetics can be more difficult within documentary production because of less control over the subject and environment. When filming action and events, capturing the moment and the feeling of the situation outweighs

technical and aesthetic conventions (Barbash & Taylor 1997). A shot that looks great compositionally but fails to capture the action or the emotions conveyed by the participants holds no real weight in the documentary. It is also important to realize that not only does the evidence you gather help in creating an argument, the evidence that you don't gather can be critical. Garrison points to the preparation as a major factor in ensuring aesthetic appeal (2002). Filmmakers must not let the action control the filming, but instead must try to anticipate action and plan how they might film the scene, with the knowledge that the plan may change drastically and quickly.

Performing interviews for the film remains a technique that is found primarily in documentary and can be done numerous ways with various impacts. One critical part of interviewing is the rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee. All filming requires considerable trust between the filmmaker and the subjects because of the invasive nature of the camera (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). This rapport can be particularly important within the interviews because of the direct interaction between filmmaker and subject where one asks the other to open up parts of their lives to them and the camera. This level of trust can be the difference between simple answers that provide little depth and those answers that help the filmmaker and viewer see inside the situation. Rapport cannot be narrowed down to any one factor, but can come from many different factors or as a function of many factors combined.

When filming, the two main factors to consider in the interviewing process are formality and who is seen and heard on film. In formality, one needs to decide if the interview should have a casual conversation style interview where it seems that the

two are just talking naturally or should there be a clear question and answer format where the hierarchical structure is clear? For the on screen view, should the interviewer be seen and heard or should they be off screen? While no set relationship exists between the form of the interview and the content, each style can bring with it some interpretations (Nichols, 1991, p 51). At the far end of the spectrum is the “conversational interview” where the interviewer and subject(s) appear to talk at leisure in front of the camera without any clear structure or agenda. A slight variation on this approach is the “masked interview” when the interviewer remains off camera and unheard as other subjects converse in front of the camera. The conventional interview appears more structured than the conversation as both interviewer and subject(s) are heard and most likely seen. The conventional interview demonstrates a clearer hierarchy as the interviewer asks the questions and the subject(s) answer, making the perception of a purpose or agenda more prominent. Finally, according to Nichols (1991, p 54), a filmmaker might utilize a “pseudomonologue” style interview. A pseudomonologue occurs when the interviewer remains off screen and unheard while the subject answers the questions on screen. Often, the subject will not look directly at the camera, but off to the side, providing a look and feel of a monologue where one is, in essence, thinking out loud. The pseudomonologue can help disguise the interview structure and the direction of the interviewer because one cannot hear the questions and it seems as though the subject has all of this to say without any prompting.

Interviews are not limited to the styles mentioned above. The types of interview styles are more like a spectrum with conversation on one extreme, a strict formal interview on the other, and many variations falling between. While Nichols (1991) provides the spectrum of interview styles, Barbash and Taylor (1997) warn that interviews, when used judiciously, can enrich a documentary, but can also detract from many documentaries that should be more event driven. While the impact of each style of interview should be considered, Barbash and Taylor also acknowledge that production restrictions may play a large role. If you are filming an interview where both interviewer and subject are heard and seen in some respects, the filmmaker will probably want to incorporate reaction shots that require more than one camera. If the filmmaker does not have a large crew, then elaborate interview set-ups can be more difficult. Interviews are a balance between form, function and feasibility.

Besides composition and interview techniques, lighting should be discussed as it pertains to documentary production because lighting and exposure represent two factors that can be the most difficult to control in many environments. Of primary concern is the amount of light necessary to film. In many situations, the levels of light are too low for effective filming. Newer technologies have made it easier to adjust the video gain, which boosts the electronic signals received by the imaging pickup device to enhance the brightness of the picture (Barbash & Taylor, 1997 and Zettl, 2003). However, this can cause graininess and negatively impact the picture quality, so it remains best to use adequate lighting and correct exposure. In order to accomplish the

feat of appropriate lighting, one might need to incorporate external lights into environment or try to limit filming into the areas that are adequately lit.

One of the other key lighting issues that can arise while filming on location is balancing color temperatures of light. Light from different sources have different color temperatures and different temperatures of light contain different degrees of red, blue, and green in it (Barbash & Taylor, 1997 and Garrison, 2002). The coloration of apparently white light is expressed as “color temperature” and is measured as degrees Kelvin (K). The average temperature for a tungsten bulb lamp and a shade is around 2000K while sunlight can vary from 4200K to 10000K (Garrison, 2002). Each of these temperatures has a different color hue that can be seen on screen and should be adjusted for. The problem arises when lights of different color temperatures fall within the same location because it becomes more difficult to adjust correctly. How you solve the problem can vary, from filters for each light source to eliminating one or more of the light sources or bringing in external lights to provide the primary lighting. However the filmmaker chooses to adjust, balancing the color temperatures can be critical to ensure appropriate coloration of the places and people captured on film.

As for camera operation, the general guideline seems to be “do it yourself to assure accuracy.” Most cameras made now have automatic exposure modes and automatic focus modes, but unless the situation necessitates automatic functions, the use of the manual focus and manual exposure settings is the way to go (Barbash & Taylor, 1997 and Garrison, 2002). Using the auto exposure mode to provide a starting point for exposure control can be useful, but the more control you have over these

functions, the less chance you have of the camera messing up a shot and the better quality picture the experienced camera person can attain (Garrison, 2002). If exact exposure can't be reached, then the filmmaker should err on the side of underexposure because it is more easily adjusted for it in the editor than overexposure.

Finally, sound recording on location can provide some of the most critical evidence within a documentary, but it can also cause a lot of problems in the filmmaking process. During production, the main concern with sound is gathering synchronous sound, or the sound that naturally goes with the images collected (Geesin, 2002). Some of the synchronous sound gathered in the field consists of interviews, sounds from social actors in the field and some ambient sound. Capturing sound, much like recording video, has too many options to cover all of the options available in a process guide. However, like capturing video, the more preparation and planning one does before the actual filming, the better the audio recordings tends to be. Selecting the appropriate microphones for potential situations and positioning the microphones in the most beneficial position can help capture all of the sound at as high of quality as possible. Relating Barbash and Taylor's (1997) point about choosing content over aesthetics in video to the field of audio production, the same should be applied to the process of recording sound. Depending on the type of documentary being produced, capturing the audio accurately and clearly may take precedence over the video. In Nichols' (1991) expository and interactive modes of representations, the editing often revolves around the sound because the spoken word tends to drive those types of documentaries. In order to provide the best evidence to

create an argument, audio recording should receive as much planning and attention as the process of video recording.

There are many more details around the production phase and filming that can be covered at great length, but they are all very situational and would take too much to cover. The documentary production phase requires a lot of spontaneity as the subject can push the filming in one direction or another. The point reiterated throughout the different guidebooks is simply; be prepared and ready for whatever may come.

After the production phase has wrapped up, or at least come to an initial conclusion, the postproduction phase begins. I would qualify this as the end of the production phase, even though the postproduction phase may require the filmmaker to go back and film more footage or re-shoot certain sequences. While this appears to be returning to the production phase, it still falls under the postproduction category because the new filming remains intertwined with the editing process.

The postproduction phase consists primarily of putting the evidence together to create the documentary. One major difference between fiction film production and documentary film production can be found at the start of the postproduction phase. The process of creating the script will often fall within the postproduction phase in documentary production while the fiction film won't usually start filming until a script has been completed (Young, 2002). Because the narrative of many documentary films relies heavily on the footage and evidence collected, the scripting process will occur after all of the evidence has been gathered. Young suggests transcribing and logging all of the footage gathered and starting the postproduction process with a paper edit.

The paper edit allows the filmmaker to arrange the words and comments gathered to create a coherent argument based on the evidence. As Nichols' explained, documentary scenes are more heavily organized around the principle of sound than fiction films and take shape around an informing logic, meaning the organization of the dialogue and spoken arguments often dictate structure (1991).

The process of editing the film together can differ from film to film and from filmmaker to filmmaker. In general though, the documentary structure will depend on evidentiary editing instead of continuity editing (Nichols, 1991, p 19). While continuity editing attempts to organize the material to create a sense of space and time congruent with a chronological pattern of story telling, evidentiary editing organizes the evidence around a single argument from which the viewer can locate an informing logic. Because of this different editing style, the documentary film may include many more jump cuts and footage out of order than a fiction film. This is not to say that general editing principles around continuity are abandoned, but the major organizational theme revolves around the argument, not the continuity of time and space.

Differing slightly from Nichols' ideas, Barbash and Taylor (1997) stress continuity editing within the realm of documentary production. They acknowledge that many films will break continuity conventions to create their films, but they suggest that these breaks be used sparingly. For Barbash and Taylor, determining the narrative upon which the documentary will be organized provides the key to the

process. Keeping continuity within the film and maintaining an appropriate pace allows the audience to follow the narrative easily.

A third approach is presented by Damien Toal (2002) who suggests that documentary editing is above all an experimental and adaptive process. The editor must negotiate the relationship between the audience, filmmaker and film to best reach the audience. This negotiation may include many conventional editing styles, but may also break away from tradition and move into more experimental methods depending on the audience, subject and how the two can best relate to each other.

Whatever style and editing techniques are utilized, paper edit will be followed by a rough cut where the general structure and outline can be identified (Toal, 2002). From this rough cut, the structure, pacing, and general flow can be assessed and adjusted for. While much of the film may seem disjointed without the fine-tuning, the rough cut allows for great insight into the film's overall look and feel. From the rough cut, the sound editing and video editing can be fine tuned, edits added, colors corrected, sounds adjusted and other finishing touches can be made.

Once the film has been completed, the final step is marketing the film and getting it out to the audience. The distribution process can occur through self-distribution, outside distributors, television, theatrical distribution and film festivals (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). The distribution method for a documentary remains highly dependent on the film, the purpose of the film and the audience the film is intended for. Unfortunately, the distribution process presents another instance where there is no

clear path, so covering all of the different options presents too large a task for this overview.

The overall process of creating a documentary remains very open and full of options at every step. As Barbash and Taylor (1997) emphasized, there is not a single method of creating a documentary, the process varies greatly from film to film and from subject to subject. One can only prepare as best as they can in every phase of the process to be ready for whatever comes their way. The process does consist of the same stages from film to film, but what happens within each stage will depend on the subject, the purpose of the documentary and the crew creating the film. In order to look more closely at the process and see how each choice can affect the documentary and provide more insight into documentary theory, I will next provide a recounting of the process I went through to create my documentary: *Bowling Together*. Within the methodology I will often expand on certain steps in the process particular to my film, looking back to this general foundation presented here and providing new ideas and support specific to my situation.

## Methodology

The process of creating a movie or video can vary from project to project depending on what type of video one plans to create. A dramatic piece will require much more set design, shot set up and scripting before shooting ever starts while a documentary will often rely more on shot selection within the setting to capture the events and postproduction scripting. In a dramatic piece one spends an abundance of the time planning how to best tell the story they have created. In many documentaries, including this one, the focus on telling the story comes during and after the filming stage. Unlike most dramatic pieces, a story can develop in any stage of the documentary process. There may be a story in the beginning that the documentary producer wants to tell or the footage and situations that you observe throughout the documentary process may reveal a story worth telling that guides the rest of the documentary. In other cases, there may be no story to tell, but the footage must be edited together into a congruent piece independent of one story. As will be examined throughout this process of creating *Bowling Together* the story can also change and develop throughout the steps of production to create a very different product than originally imagined.

The process of creating a documentary will vary for each documentary filmmaker because of the different styles of each filmmaker. Each filmmaker adds their personal style to the story they tell through video, whether they choose to or not. As mentioned earlier, Kenneth Burke (1966) asserts that people view the world through *terministic screens* that influence how they see things as they are occurring.

When related to the process of documentary production, each filmmaker will intrinsically view their subject differently than others. How the filmmaker views the subject will impact the story they tell through their documentary. If three documentary producers were assigned to create a documentary on the same subject, each will see that subject through a different terministic screen and may see different stories to be told.

Even if they see the same story, the choices of how they go about creating the documentary could be vastly different. Some may choose to film everything themselves while others may hire a photographer. Barbash & Taylor (1997), Kochberg (2002) and Rosenthal (1990) have all written books on the process of documentary production and ethnographic video, but each book does not provide one simple how-to process. As seen in the literature review, they each stress similar ideas and focus on the process in general, but each one differs, in that each one has their own style of filmmaking and approach the process with different ideas and techniques.

Beyond the style of each filmmaker, the subject can also change the process dramatically. If the documentary filmmaker means to cover a one-time event, then the process must cover that process as it happens, getting all of the footage during that window of occurrence, and then move from there. If the documentary filmmaker means to revisit an occurrence from the past, then old footage might be searched for and interviews from people that experienced the occurrence might be gathered. The subject matter changes the production process.

The rhetorical function of the documentary can also impact the process. As Bill Nichols (1991) theorized, there are four documentary modes of representation: expository, observational, interactive and reflexive. Each mode serves a different purpose and represents a different organizational pattern around which the text is structured. As discussed earlier, these organizational patterns require different approaches in gathering the material, arranging the material, deciding how the story is to be told and who is telling the story. The process differs from mode to mode and when combined with the filmmaker's style and subject matter, the process for creating a documentary can obviously be very different from production to production.

As varied as the process may be from project to project, the general process can be broken down into three main stages as referred to within the literature review: preproduction, production and postproduction. While the particular steps and actions within each stage may differ, each one has a general function that they serve. In the following chapter I shall recount the process used to create this documentary including the actions within each stage and why each action was done in that particular manner. Reconstructing the process will provide insight into the process and decisions made throughout the process that can be compared to production and documentary theory to provide insight into both from a practitioner's point of view.

Of particular importance within the process will be the choices made and the effects these choices had on the documentary. From the conception of the idea to the final edit, the specific topic of my documentary changed as new information was gathered, the function of the documentary changed with the topic adjustments and

where this particular documentary fell within the realm of the genre continuously shifted. This adaptation and shifting throughout the process reveals a lot about the nature of documentary video and film. By recounting the process and the adjustments made and shifts that occurred, I will provide an insider's view on documentary theory, examining the final product and the process. The path taken can show more about a journey than just looking at the final destination.

### ***Preproduction***

The preproduction phase includes everything that occurred before filming began, starting with the inception and development of the initial documentary concept. The development of this particular documentary initially came about through several influences and opportunities. While working on my graduate class load, I was enthralled by a class taught by Dr. Goodnow based on the idea of civility. Within my research for this class, I found a book by Robert Putnam (2000) titled *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* that looks into the concept of American community and civility with a particular emphasis on group association such as bowling in leagues. Being an avid league bowler myself, I was instantly drawn to the correlations between what I have seen in my life and the theories and examples provided by Putnam. This spark led me to the initial idea of creating a documentary.

As seen within the literature review of this thesis, my research led me to a broad discussion of community, civility, civic engagement and civil society. Some of the debate over the concept of civil society included the question of how one

researches the concept and levels of involvement within the United States. My initial goal for this documentary focused on a qualitative exploratory study of the idea of community within the bowling leagues. From Putnam's (2000) research came a great debate over the measure of civic engagement, civility and civil society. As seen from the many different perspectives on the topic, creating an effective measuring device to study civil society quantitatively posed a great task. How can one truly measure all of the factors that go into the idea of civil society? Putnam tried to measure this by looking at the membership numbers from organizations over time. Keyes (2002) and Ferriss (2002) attempted to devise a measurement that relied on self-reporting and broke down the idea of civility into key factors.

Galston and Levine (1998) however, proved to be the inspiration for my approach when they pointed out the inherent flaws of the current survey measurements used by many in the civil society field. Instead of attempting to discover how many people were taking part in organizations such as bowling leagues, I decided to use a qualitative study to look at the participation within the organization from the perspective of the participants. As Galston and Levine point out, not all organizations promote democratic health in the same way or to the same extent. If each organization and voluntary association differ in their impacts on the development of community and their role in civil society, it seemed practical to look at the organizations from the inside out to try and better understand the impacts participation has on the members of the group. Instead of participation numbers of different organizations across the

board, I wanted to narrow the focus to one small group and get their perspective on the idea of community and involvement that permeates through that particular group.

In this documentary, I did not wish to question the participants and dissect their responses in an attempt to better prove the role of voluntary associations in their lives. Instead, I wanted to open up the discussion and communication to those that are directly involved in this civil society and let their voices be heard through a documentary. An open discussion on the topic would not only help to better understand the perspective of those involved in league bowling and shed some light on the idea of community and involvement within this association, but it would help to add more voices to the discussion. Much like my research on documentary production helped look at the theories from the inside out from a practitioner's point of view, the documentary could look at the concept of civil society in much the same way. Adding the voices of those directly involved with or impacted by a topic would hopefully provide better insight on the topic than a discussion held purely between those on the outside looking in.

Mixing video production with the exploration of civility and bowling leagues was a great mesh of many things I found important in my life, so I jumped at the opportunity. My involvement within the bowling leagues and bowling community allowed me to look at this issue from a participant observer role and was beneficial from a videographer's stand point because of the contacts within the community that would allow for easier access to subjects. While this involvement in the community allowed me to get inside the community more easily for the research, I worried that

prior involvement might lead to some unaccounted-for biases in my research. These possible biases will be addressed later in this methodology as the project evolved, but early in the preproduction phase the possibility of bias became evident and was a concern for my later work. As I continued to develop my idea, I often stopped and looked at the direction in which my project was moving and tried to examine whether the information I discovered guided the story or if I was guiding the information discovered towards a preconceived story I had in my head. In order to ensure more objectivity, I planned on discussing my footage, interpretations and direction with others who did not have a vested interest in the project in order to get a more objective third party opinion to keep my personal biases in check. At this point, I had a general idea without any clear direction or narrative, so I felt satisfied that my biases had not come into play yet.

After the initial concept was developed, it was necessary to do more research regarding civility, bowling and documentary production. This research, addressed within the literature review, played a role throughout the early stages of preproduction in planning questions to ask subjects and what possible concepts might arise through the process. The questions developed were different for people dependent on their roles in the bowling leagues. For instance, the owners of the bowling establishment were asked more questions concerning their experiences of the leagues from a business perspective while other league bowlers were asked questions more directly related to their personal experiences. I developed a standard set of questions for each group of interviewees, providing a general foundation of questions to elicit some

experiences and then more questions could be developed during the interview dependent on the information provided by the subject (Appendix A).

The goal of the interview questions was to start with general information that was easy to answer and not too personal to help build a rapport with the subjects allowing them to feel more comfortable in the process. Rapport and comfort in this interviewing process was seen as a very high priority because of the inclusion of a video camera. Any interview process can be slightly unnerving and adding a video camera to the mix may have an increased negative impact on the comfort level of the subjects. The questions for every subject started with simple questions such as name, years involved with bowling and involvement with bowling leagues. Later questions reflected more in depth information that would provide more insight into the feelings about their experiences. The questions developed were meant to act as a starting list that could be followed, adjusted or abandoned depending on how the interview went. If interesting experiences came out through the interview then questions would change to revolve around those experiences to help provide more insight.

After the concept was developed and the general questions were formed, the time came for recruiting subjects. The initial sample set was easy to obtain because of my involvement with the bowling leagues throughout the years. I was able to find a few subjects who could provide a variety of experiences and knowledge. My initial sample set was a sample of convenience because they were either friends and acquaintances from my experience through league bowling and I could easily approach them about participating in the documentary. I felt this sample of

convenience would not only allow for easy access to a strong set of subjects but also ease some nervousness within the subjects because of a rapport already established between them and myself. This previously established rapport with the initial subjects would hopefully provide a more relaxed atmosphere where the subjects could speak more freely during the interviews and eliminate some of the nervousness involved.

Asking the initial subjects was done in two phases. The first phase was asking the owners of the alley, Bill McNelly and Gary Haworth if they would participate in the interviews as well as asking for permission to use their establishment, Highland Bowl, as a setting for the interviews. I felt that interviews in the natural environment for bowling would provide a more dynamic setting that related to the discussions instead of a neutral environment that may be more aesthetically and technically sound. Because the documentary revolves around bowling and leagues in particular, this particular setting was thought to be the best for helping the authenticity of the content in the form of “constructed authenticity” (Barbash & Taylor, 1997) and allow for a comfortable setting during the interviews even though there were some technical trade offs such as poor lighting and noise. Backgrounds can reveal a lot about interviewees, so interviewing someone in their natural environment helps create a sense of “constructed authenticity” within the interviews. While the interview doesn’t necessarily have to occur in an environment most relevant to the content of the interviews, the connection between the content and the background may help the audience accept what is being said as more relevant and true. However, Barbash and Taylor warn that this “constructed authenticity” may work against the filmmaker if the

audience perceives the setting as too constructed and staged because the audience may be apprehensive about the authenticity if it appears as though the film is trying too hard to be authentic.

Bill McNelly and Gary Haworth were very receptive to the idea of a documentary and using their business as a setting for the interviews and other footage. They agreed to let me film in the establishment and also were willing to participate in the interviews. The problem that we encountered was one of timing. League bowling occurred all throughout the days and nights and they were only available during normal business hours, 9-5 Monday through Friday. Finding a time that they were available, I was available and no leagues were bowling became a very difficult prospect. Unfortunately, the trade-off of noise for a natural environment became a major hurdle because if anyone was bowling in the background during interviews, the noise tends to overpower the interviewee and ruin the footage. This meant finding a time that very few people would be bowling. Finally, there was a Thursday available three weeks after the initial contact that we could set up interviews with Bill and Gary.

The second phase of recruiting subjects involved asking some league bowlers if they would be willing to participate in the interviews. I first wanted to find people who had been involved in league bowling for an extended period of time, at least 10-15 years because they would have enough experience to provide insight into the feelings that permeate through leagues and could provide their perspectives on possible trends in participation over the past decade. From there I was hoping to interview some people who had been bowling for even longer, some who had just

started and if possible, some people who had discontinued their league bowling activities. I asked Randy and Laurie Franklin first because of my previous experience with them. During my time at OSU working on my undergraduate studies, I was on the OSU Bowling Club team where Randy and Laurie were coaches. I had known them for approximately 6 years and had bowled with them on many occasions after my time on the OSU team. At the time, Laurie was also a member of the Corvallis Women's Bowling Congress, so she had a unique insight that I felt could add to the information gathered. Laurie and Randy were both willing to participate and I was also able to recruit their teammates Fran Franklin and Diane Nakashima. Fran Franklin is Randy's father and Diane was a friend of Laurie's and they all had been bowling together on a team in this league for some time. I knew all of them through either my experience on the OSU team or through bowling leagues in Corvallis over the past 9 years, so it was a very easy time asking them to participate and I felt this prior experience would help keep the interview process fairly relaxed and comfortable for all involved. Laurie was designated as the contact person who would help gather them together when the time came for interviews. No time was scheduled initially because I wanted to interview Bill and Gary first to see how the process went and adjust any technical aspects that may have needed to be changed.

With these first two phases of recruiting complete, I waited on recruiting anyone else until after I had conducted interviews with Bill and Gary as well as with Randy, Laurie, Fran and Diane so that I could further assess the technical aspects of the process as well as make any necessary adjustments to the questions asked or to the

direction of the documentary based on the answers provided. I wasn't too sure what I might hear from those involved and tried to have as few expectations as possible to allow the information gathered to help guide the direction of the documentary.

With the initial interviews scheduled and the interview venue approved, the next step was to create release forms for the interviewing process. The release forms provide legal use of the footage collected during the interview process. I created two release forms, one for the right to use Highland Bowl as a location for the interviews and one for those interviewed allowing me to use the footage obtained through the interviews (Appendix B). Both release forms were roughly based on standard release forms located in *Cross-Cultural Filmmaking* (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). In creating the release forms I avoided too much legal jargon that may have intimidated an interviewee and kept the form straight forward and focused on this project to ease any concerns that may arise from the participants as to what the footage may be used for.

The interview setup and technical troubleshooting posed the next major obstacle in the preproduction process. As discussed earlier, using Highland Bowl as a setting for the interviews allowed for a more natural environment in which to conduct the interviews for the participants and would add "constructed authenticity" to the footage collected in the eyes of the audience. However, the location posed many technical difficulties revolving around sound quality and lighting. These obstacles needed to be addressed during preproduction to ensure the highest quality sound and video during the interviews themselves.

After the initial decision to use Highland Bowl was made, I scouted the premises to determine if the interviews could actually be conducted there. The amount of light and type of light within the building presented the most prominent potential problem. A scouting trip through Highland Bowl uncovered many potential problems and solutions for the production. First and foremost, a location where the interviews would occur had to be located. A rough diagram was created to map out the different areas of the premises (Fig 1). The general area could be divided into four primary regions: the business counter, the lanes, the staging area and the table seating with walking patterns. There were other areas of the building that exists such as the restrooms, the bar and the back room behind the lanes where the pin cycler and pinsetters are located, but those areas were ruled out very quickly due to restricted access, privacy concerns, lighting or sound issues and lack of relevance. Of primary concern were the areas that everyone associates with bowling so the background could add to the “constructed authenticity” of the video.

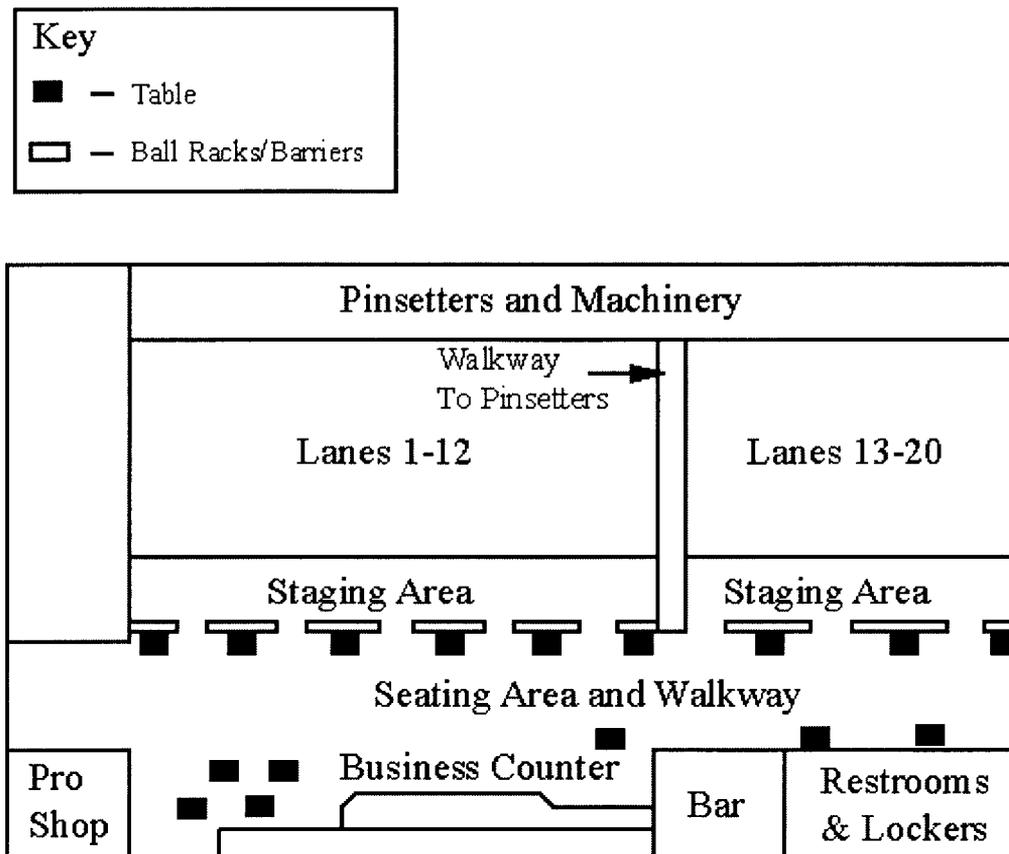


Figure 1. General layout of Highland Bowl and prospective areas within the building to conduct interviews.

I quickly ruled out the business counter next due to liability concerns.

Interviews with the owners may have been appropriate by the counter or pro shop, but the both areas are laden with advertising and product promotions. Eliminating product advertising from the interviews would have been practically impossible through camera location during the actual interviews at the business counter and attempting to eliminate the advertising through blurring or pixilation in post production would have been too time intensive and complex. Instead of dealing with possible copyright infringements and product placement within the video, I eliminated the business counter as a possible location for the interviews to take place.

The actual bowling lanes were also eliminated very quickly due to inconvenient setup. The lanes are oiled heavily, making it very hard to stand on without slipping. The approaches also presented problems because of the lack of seating and the potential to scratch the approach or spill something on it during filming. As a bowler I understand the importance of keeping the approach very clean and smooth so your foot slides and you don't "stick" during your approach. Sticking cannot only interfere with performance, it also presents a potential for injury if a foot catches because it can lead to falling over or a hyper extended knee. To remain as unobtrusive to other bowlers as possible and provide a comfortable seating area during interviews, I quickly eliminated the lanes as a setting.

Two potential settings remained, the staging area and the seating area. While these two areas run against each other and are very similar, there are some key differences that provided both benefits and drawbacks when filming. The seating area that contains the tables and chairs would allow for easy seating arrangements because the tables and chairs are moveable and can be situated as needed for any interviews. In addition to moveable seating, the seating area was well lit by fluorescent lighting, providing an even lighting across the subjects. However, with these two benefits came drawbacks.

First, while the lighting across the subjects was fairly even, the background lighting was very spotty. As can be seen in Figure 1, the lanes and the seating areas are lit by overhead fluorescent lighting, but the staging area between the lanes and seating area had no overhead lighting. The staging area relied on light from the other

two areas, so was in turn a lot darker than anywhere else in the building. This provided a definite drawback for using that area for interviews, but also made the lighting for the seating area difficult because the subjects were in light but there was no backlighting on them and the background was fairly dark. Backlighting illuminates the top of the head and the shoulders of the subject creating a sense of separation between the subject and the background, thus creating the perceived three-dimensional quality of the image within a two-dimensional medium (Zettl, 2003). Also, with the even flat lighting provided by fluorescent lighting, the image may seem very flat. Basic three-point lighting calls for a key light to illuminate the subject, a fill light to help tone down shadows and a backlight to create the three-dimensional quality of the video. If the interviews occurred in the seating area without any additional lights, the video would most likely seem very flat, boring and two-dimensional.

Second, the background provided by sitting in the seating area is very boring and many of the qualities of the bowling atmosphere are lost due to the barriers between the staging area and the seating area. These barriers appear much like a counter top from the side of the seating area, but are actually the shelves where the general bowling balls are located for bowlers. Unfortunately, with the camera at the eye level of the seated interviewees in the seating area, these barriers block the view of the lanes except for where the walkways between the barriers were located. The lanes would appear to be very distant and removed from the interviews because of the limited sight caused by the barriers.

The staging area on the other hand, presents different benefits and drawbacks. Utilizing the staging area allows the lanes to be clearly visible in the background creating a more authentic atmosphere for the interviews. With the interviewees immersed more directly in the bowling environment on screen, the effect of “constructed authenticity” can be more effectively implemented.

As discussed earlier, the staging area is not well lit, as there are no fluorescent lights directly overhead. Without this direct lighting, the subjects would be dark compared to the background and there may not have been enough light for appropriate exposure. The video may appear dark or very grainy due to adjusting the gain on the camera to compensate for a lack of lighting. Much like the seating area’s lack of a background light, the staging area lacks a key and fill light while providing a backlight from the overhead lights illuminating the lanes as well as the other lights from the pinsetter area. In order to utilize this area, portable lights would have to be brought in to illuminate the subjects.

Seating in the staging area also presented a potential problem because most of the seats are bolted down to form small arcs around the main scoring terminal, creating individual pocket areas for each pair of lanes. Only the chairs at the scoring terminal are moveable, so the camera position and seating positions would be limited in arrangement. This could potentially make composition more difficult as well as reducing the comfort level of the interviewees during the interviewing process.

While each of the remaining two areas presented technical benefits and drawbacks, each location also presented a different feeling. The staging area seemed

to present an opportunity to immerse the audience in the bowling atmosphere and environment while the seating area removed the direct sense of involvement and provided a somewhat distant overview of the process. These feelings presented by the environment of the interviews came to be the deciding factors in choosing which location to use. For the interviews with the owners, I chose to film them in the seating area because they represented a more general look at bowling leagues from an owner's perspective. This owner's perspective would be more of an overview of everything, slightly removed from the actual bowling. Even though from the brief time talking to Bill McNelly to set up the interviews I knew Bill bowled in leagues regularly and would probably consider himself a bowler before owner, the questions I wanted to ask him and Gary were more related to the ownership side of the process, so this environment could evoke the appropriate feelings to accompany the potential content of the interviews.

While interviewing Laurie, Randy, Fran and Diane I would set up in the staging area to help provide that sense of involvement. My questions for these participants would be directly related to their experiences in bowling leagues and on the lanes and I decided the feeling of involvement this location provided would help accentuate their experiences in the leagues and provide the "constructed authenticity" for the audience.

This cognitive decision-making process demonstrates one instance of the filmmaker overtly choosing one aspect over another to create a particular feeling or sense within the video. While the intentions were not to manipulate the footage to

represent something in particular, the decision reflects the interpretive influence the filmmaker possesses as discussed in the literature review. When given options during the process, it seems that any choice made will represent the influence the filmmaker has. Some choices may be overt such as this one and others may be more subconscious, but it would seem that any time a choice must be made, there is some of the filmmaker reflected in the decision made. Throughout this process, many such decisions were necessary and the impacts of such decisions will be further examined within the analysis section.

Up to this point, the process of determining a location for the interviews remained purely speculative. These assessments were made through my visits to Highland Bowl and my general surveys, but no camera had been involved. The time had come to bring in the camera and equipment to perform a test interview and determine if my assessments were correct.

To keep the initial exposure testing simple, I first brought in the video camera on a morning with no league bowling to test general exposure and see how well the camera I would use could function in the bowling environment. Without an interview subject, this field test was simply to get a general feel of the lighting and see how well the camera would respond to the lighter and darker areas of Highland Bowl. Of particular interest was the potential contrast problem that could occur when one area of the frame was well lit and others were dark. If the camera adjusted too much for a dark background when the subject was well lit, there was potential to overexpose the subject and wash out their features.

When I took the camera through the location, I set the camera to the auto exposure mode and simply pointed the camera in different directions to examine the exposure and image quality. While conducting the interviews I planned to utilize the manual exposure mode to ensure proper exposure on the desired areas and maintain as much control over the image quality as I could, but using the auto exposure mode during the test allowed me to see how well the camera adapted and adjusted to the lighting in general. Because the LCD viewing screen on the camera is small and somewhat unreliable for assessing exposure due to size, quality and brightness variable settings, I recorded some general footage to take back to the editor to better assess the exposure and video quality. However, I was very careful to avoid recording those people who were there bowling as to not make them feel uncomfortable or interfere with their bowling experience.

Once completed, I returned to the editor to upload the footage and fully assess the lighting of the location and exposure of the footage I collected. From the video I realized that the camera could maintain proper exposure in general, but there were some very dark areas that started to get grainy as the camera tried to compensate for a lack of light by increasing the gain. The gain electronically boosts the video signal to compensate for a lack of light, but can add a lot of graininess in the process. When in manual exposure mode, I would have full control over the gain so I could avoid the grainy quality of the video, but I would possibly sacrifice some detail that could be lost in the darkness.

From this test I decided that I wanted more control over the lighting and exposure than the house lighting would provide, so I decided to bring in some lighting for the interviews. While I would maintain more control over lighting and exposure, this decision meant I would have to add more time to set-up before the interviews and take-down after the interviews were complete. While the Speech Communication Department doesn't possess any lighting equipment, I was able to acquire some lights through student media television station on campus, KBVR-TV. The lighting available for use at the time was a Lowel Softlight 2, a fairly large box light that required an external power source. While the light provided more control over exposure, it also added a few more restrictions to the set-up because of the amount of space the light would require as well as the need to be close to an electrical outlet to power the light.

With this decision to add more lighting into the environment, I had more factors to influence where I would actually conduct the interviews. While the natural lighting of the building now less of a factor because I could add light as I wanted to control exposure, the contrast between fluorescent and incandescent lighting could cause some color balance problems as well as the need for more space and an electrical outlet added to the decision making process. The Softlight emits light temperature around 3200 degrees Kelvin while the fluorescent light emits a discontinuous spectrum of light that consists of various colors which, when combined, appear white but can produce various results in video (Kochberg, 2002). Different types of lights will produce different temperatures of light, resulting in different color

hues that need to be adjusted for and can cause difficulties when mixed. To adjust for the different color hues of the mixed lights, the white balancing function of the camera must be fully utilized to adjust the color spectrum the camera recognizes.

To ensure proper exposure and composition as well as finalize a location for the interviews, I recruited a fill-in interviewee to help fine-tune the technical aspects of the interviews before they occurred. Since the focal points of the test interview were exposure and setting, not the interview questions, it was unnecessary to recruit a bowler for this test session. Convenience drove the selection of the test interview subject, choosing a friend of mine to sit in for the possible interviewees. My friend Amber represented one possible difficulty with exposure because of her pale complexion and bright blond hair. Because she represented the lighter end of the spectrum in both complexion and hair color, she could provide useful information for one possible extreme for the exposure.

I scheduled a time for the test interview early in the morning on a Saturday when there were no leagues bowling and few people were expected to be bowling so we could assess setting, lighting and sound variables. Once we arrived, we found only a few people bowling and most of them were using the lowered numbered lanes, leaving most of the higher numbered lanes open. From my experiences in league bowling at Highland Bowl I knew that most leagues also utilized the lower numbered lanes, often confining themselves to lanes 1-12. As shown in Figure 1, lanes 1-12 and 13-20 are divided by a walkway that leads to the pinsetter area behind the lanes. Seeing as though lanes 1-12 seemed to be utilized more for league and non-league

bowling as well as the location of the business counter in close proximity to the lanes, I chose to focus my attention on lanes 13-20 for possible interview locations. That way I could not only do my best to be unobtrusive to any bowlers, but I could also try to minimize any video or audio noise or interference from other bowlers.

Now that my possible locations were narrowed down, it came down to picking the specific locations in the staging area and seating area around lanes 13-20. The next factor that influenced the final decision was the location of a power outlet around these areas. As seen in Figure 1, there were two available outlets along the back wall by lanes 13-20 that I could utilize. Even with these outlets, I would need to bring an extension cord with me to reach the staging area, but I wanted to keep the location as close to the outlet as possible so I didn't have an extension cord stretched too far across the walking area and risk potential accidents if other patrons accidentally tripped on the cord and either hurt themselves and/or broke the lighting equipment.

With all of these factors taken into account, I decided to set-up interview locations around the seating area behind lanes 19 and 15 to test each location for background composition and lighting. The set up behind lane 19 was first and half way into the set up process I ran into some problems. I chose this location first since it was the furthest location from most of the bowlers in the establishment, but because this location placed the interview location close to the east wall of the building, I could only place the camera to the eastern side of the interviewee in order to see the lanes instead of the wall in the background. This proximity to the east wall also presented an unexpected problem with the lighting. The test interview, much like the scheduled

interviews later on, needed to be conducted early in the morning to avoid league bowling and other busy bowling times, but I discovered that the exit door on the east wall was comprised of large panes of glass that allowed sunlight into the building. Direct sunlight shone on the test subject since the test interview occurred in the early morning when the sun was low on the eastern horizon. The actual interviews would also occur early in the morning so the potential for direct sunlight shining through the door during those times also existed. Direct sunlight produces a temperature of light that varies between 5900 and 6500 degrees Kelvin and appears more blue on video (Kochberg, 2002) which added a third type of lighting to an already complex exposure problem.

Before completing set-up at this location, I chose to move on to the location behind lane 15. This specific location eliminated the sunlight problem as the sunlight didn't shine that far into the building and allowed for a fairly broad background without encountering the wall. I set the camera on a tripod and arranged some chairs in the manner they would be set-up for the interviews. The interviewer and interviewee chairs faced each other and the camera sat just to the right of the interviewer. The exact positioning of the camera and interviewee had to be adjusted to ensure that the lanes were in sight behind the interviewee and not blocked by the barriers. The camera placement to the right of the interviewer provided a shot of the interviewee that was at a slight angle and not head on to ensure the perception of three-dimensionality within the shot, adding a more dynamic feel to the video footage.

The Softlight positioning presented some problems in the set-up. First and foremost, the direct light cast heavy shadows across the subject's face, creating an undesirable dramatic and dark effect. Even with a diffuser added to the light, the harsh light cast many shadows. The Softlight was moved from one side to the other to examine the difference between shadows falling across the face one way versus the other. The best result came from the light being placed to the left of the camera because many of the harsh shadows were hidden from sight of the camera due to the angle of the subject matter. However, the shadows that could be seen still presented problems. The Softlight presented another problem because of its close proximity to the subject due to the confined space. The test-subject found the bright light to be very harsh and uncomfortable, though the diffuser helped to eliminate a lot of the discomfort.

Unfortunately, the Softlight could only be moved a few feet farther way from the subject because of the limited space available in the seating area, so that problem would remain. However, the harsh shadows could be minimized with the incorporation of a bounce that would redirect, or bounce, some of the key light back at the subject from the other direction to act as a fill light without the necessity of bringing in another light. Thankfully, KBVR-TV possessed a Photoflex 42" Litedisc that I would be able to procure for my production to bounce the light back towards the subject.

Incorporating the Softlight and bounce into the interview set up seemed as though it would create a decent overall lighting scheme that provided a well lit subject

and a background that could be seen but would not dominate the composition. Figure 2 shows the general lighting set up as it applies to the interviews conducted in the seating area. In order to ensure the lighting would work in the staging area as well as the seating area, I moved the Softlight down to the staging area to test that setup. Most of the chairs in the staging area are bolted into place, limiting the seating arrangements possible. The limited flexibility of seating also limited the lighting setups possible. After adjusting the light and testing different setups and compositions I decided on the final arrangement, as seen in Figure 2. I felt this setup along with the incorporation of the bounce into the scheme at the time of production created a solid lighting scheme that helped ensure a dynamic lighting composition.

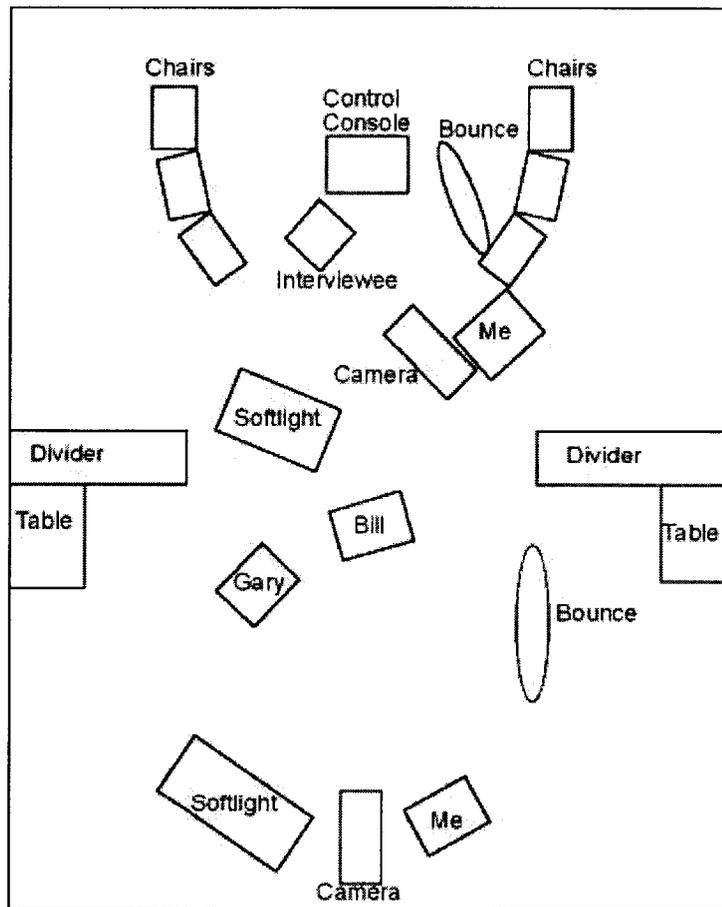


Figure 2. Lighting set-up for interviews occurring in both seating area and staging area

This setup, while providing good exposure and composition, presented a small problem because of the spatial constraints that accompanied the use of the Softlight and bounce. With all of the equipment in use, the interviews definitely had to occur when there were as few bowlers in the near vicinity as possible because of the imposition of the light on the neighboring lanes as well as the extension cord that ran from the staging area across the seating area to the electrical outlets. It would seem that the more bowlers around during the time of the interviews, then the more traffic that would occur around the interview location as people bowled in neighboring lanes

and walked through the seating area to use the restrooms located near the interview locations. More traffic around the interview areas increased the chance of an accident occurring as people crossed over the extension cord and walked close to the lights. I felt that fewer bowlers around during the time of filming allowed for better chances of filming without incident. The presence of children during the filming created greater concern than just the number of bowlers around. Having bowled for a number of years I have witnessed the behavior of children and adults within bowling alleys. My experience led to concern about the presence of small children because of their tendency to run around and wander off while bowling. The possibility of children wandering around and running in the proximity of the lights was of great concern to me. While a large number of adults would create more traffic around the setup and increase the potential for incidents, I would be more concerned about possible accidents with just a few children and their abundant energy and possible curiosity about the lights and cameras. The interview times scheduled were for early in the morning when few people should be around, so I felt safe with the setup, but the lights and extension cord helped emphasize the fact that the interviews must occur at a time when few people were around.

After finalizing the lighting scheme, configuring the sound and testing the sound quality and determining any audio setbacks that could occur came next. The Sony PD-150 camera that I used has two inputs for microphones, which allowed for use of two separate lavalier microphones during the interview process. This would allow for interviewing two individuals at once without requiring the use of a shotgun

microphone to pick up audio from both subjects. A shotgun microphone in this situation would be able to pick up multiple subjects but also may have picked up a lot more unwanted ambient noise. While lavalier microphones tend to be omnidirectional, meaning they are sensitive to sound from all around, they also tend to be proximity oriented, which means they will pick up speech close to the microphone while reducing background sound (Alten, 1990). A shotgun microphone will more likely use a cardioid, or unidirectional pickup pattern that limits the sound from all angles except for a narrow angle at the front. While the shotgun microphone will discriminate against more ambient noise outside the narrow angle pickup pattern, it has extended reach beyond that of the lavalier microphone, so it will pick up more sound generated from a further distance in the direction it is pointed. Because of the location of the interview, with the lanes in the background, the shotgun microphone would be aimed at the interviewees and consequently, the lanes. I feared using a shotgun microphone pointed at the participants would pick up a lot more of the noise created by the balls hitting the pins and the pinsetters, so I felt the proximity oriented lavalier microphones would be more beneficial in limiting the ambient sounds.

Ambient noise around the bowling lanes would be very difficult to eliminate completely and eliminating all ambient noise would actually hurt the feel of the video. Ambient noise works like the setting, to help add to the *constructed actuality* of the video. Seeing people bowling in the background without hearing any evidence of such actions could create a disconnection within the viewer's perceptions if the sounds they hear do not match up with what they are seeing. So the goal with audio was not

to eliminate ambient noise, but to control and limit it as to allow the speech of the participants to be heard without interference.

Along with the Softlight, I checked out an Audio Technica AT831b lavalier microphone from KBVR-TV for this practice interview to test the audio quality provided by the microphone in this environment. Because I only had one lavalier microphone at the time of the practice interview, I only used one microphone to test the audio quality captured during a general question and answer session with my assistant Amber. I attached the microphone to her collar, as it would be positioned during the other interviews to see how well her audio came through as well as testing her volume levels versus the background noise. I utilized my headphones with the camera to ensure that I only heard the audio levels recorded through the camera while eliminating the other ambient noise I might have heard. I listened to the audio during the practice interview and also recorded the question and answers to see how it sounded after uploading it to the editor.

The audio of the interviewee came across very clearly and loud enough to provide a good soundtrack for the video. I quickly realized however, the lapel microphone picked up some of the background noise a bit too well. The sounds of the people bowling often came across quite loudly, almost overpowering Amber's voice. In particular, the sound of a bowling ball hitting the lanes upon release and the sound of the ball hitting the pins created very loud sound that could be a problem. In many instances, the sound of bowling in the background would come out louder than the voice of the participant.

Technically, loudness can be measured two ways, one being an objective measure and the other being a subjective measure (Aldridge & Liggett, 1990). Objective measurements are calculated in terms of watts of sound power and amplitude of the sound wave. However, for most general purposes and in my particular instance, the objective measurement is less important than the subjective measurement because it doesn't give much indication as to how loud the sound seems to those hearing it. The subjective measurement is much more important in evaluating loudness but, because of its relative nature, it can be difficult to measure accurately. When the sound reaches the listener, their impression of loudness is not based purely on one factor but many factors, both objective and subjective (Alkin, 1989). Factors such as sound pressure level (SPL), intensity of the sound, distance of the listener from the sound origin, interference between the origin and listener, acoustics of the environment the sound occurred in and other sounds occurring in the vicinity can all affect the subjective measurement of any sound. While many factors play a role in determining the subjective measurement of a sound, a general measurement that takes into account the primary factors does exist. The decibel (dB) represents the standard measurement of relative loudness of a sound. The decibel expresses the ratio of two quantities, such as sound pressure, power, or intensity (Alten, 1990).

In my situation around the bowling lanes, the sound of the bowling ball hitting the lanes and the sounds of the pins being struck by the ball and bouncing around creates a high sound pressure level and a high intensity which resulted in a higher decibel level than the sound of most voices. While the origin of the sound is fairly

distant and the lavalier microphone is designed to pick up close proximity sounds, the sound of bowling is still perceived as greater than that of the voice of the interviewee. Along with the subjective measurement of the sounds, another factor played an important role in the perceived loudness of the voice and ambient noise. Unwanted sound, or noise, can sound louder than wanted sound of equal intensity (Alkin, 1989). If two sounds are measured at similar decibel levels, one of which is desired sound and the other is undesired, the listener can perceive the undesired sound as louder because it interferes with their ability to hear the desired sound. This subjectivity plays a major role in my video because the crux of my video will come from the words spoken by the interviewees and any other noise perceived by the audience as louder than the subject interferes with their message.

The problem of the ambient noise overpowering any responses given by the interviewees presented a major obstacle to filming at this location. Some ambient noise could be very useful to help create a sense of constructed actuality for the audience, but if the background sounds becomes an annoyance or makes it difficult to understand the responses given by the interviewees, the negative effects would far outweigh the benefits. Some of the louder noises could be adjusted within the editing process to reduce the intensity of sounds at different frequencies, such as the frequency of the loud bowling sounds while accentuating the sound frequencies at which the subjects talk. However, minimizing any problems before filming is far more efficient than adjusting after the filming because once the video and audio has

been recorded, it is there on the master tape for all time. Any adjustments to eliminate one particular sound can have an impact on the other sounds recorded (Zettl, 2003).

The potential problem of the background noise as well as the issues with lighting led me to question the use of the bowling establishment as a setting for the interviews. Moving the interviews to a different location could help minimize the dangers with the traffic around the camera and lighting equipment and allow for greater control over the audio captured. I weighed the potential problems of the interviews occurring in Highland Bowl versus moving interviews to location such as the TV studios as KBVR-TV where I could have greater control over the lighting and sound. In the end, the control over the technical aspects of the interviews seemed far less important than the sense of authenticity the bowling lanes added. More importantly, I felt the bowling lanes would allow the interviewees to feel more comfortable because of the familiar settings and would be far more convenient for the participants since they frequent the location anyways. In particular, Bill and Gary are at Highland Bowl working during the weekdays and finding a time for them to meet me at separate location could be difficult and inconvenient for them. Keeping the process easy for those people willing to participate remained a high priority for me throughout the process. In the end, I decided to keep the interviews at Highland Bowl and had to make sure the interviews took place at a time when very few, if any, bowlers were bowling. While this could severely limit the times available to film, the minimized effects of background noise and traffic around the location would be very necessary.

Once I had established my audio for the interviewees I had to decide whether or not to use a microphone for myself as I asked the questions during the interview. Both contextual and technical implications arose within this decision. If I decided to have a microphone on myself as I asked the questions, I could include my questions within the documentary along with the answers provided by the participants. I knew I didn't want my questions to be heard within the documentary because the story told though the video should be directed by the responses and stories told by the subjects without the reliance on my questions directing the narrative. Nichols (1991) refers to this style of interview as a *pseudomonologue* where an obvious interview style occurs but with a visible absence of the interviewer or filmmaker. The pseudomonologue makes the viewer the subject of the cinematic address, eliminating the mediation present between filmmaker, subject and viewer that the interactive mode of documentary accentuates.

Through the documentary I hoped to explore the concept of community and civility within the bowling leagues. To fully discover and explore themes around these concepts I decided to interact with the subjects so I could witness the interaction and more importantly, find out how the participants within the bowling leagues perceived their involvement and their overall sense of commitment and community around the leagues. I felt this required interviews to help delve into their perceptions and experiences, but I wanted the content within the interviews to guide the narrative instead of my questions guiding the narrative. I felt my voice asking the questions within the documentary must be omitted to achieve this.

Even though I didn't want my questions in the documentary, I could still record my questions in case I had something important that was necessary to add into the video and so I could hear each question exactly as it was spoken so there was no chance of misinterpretation. Even though the questions may be on the master tape recording, during the editing process I would have to edit the responses together in such a way to help create a clear narrative for the audience to follow, so omitting the questions from the video would be simple.

Contextual impacts only accounted for half of the decision making process however. The available audio inputs on the camera became a greater immediate concern. As mentioned earlier, the Sony PD-150 camera has two audio inputs, easily allowing for two microphones. In many cases, I planned on interviewing two subjects at once, meaning both inputs would be utilized. During the documentary process, many people need more than two microphones at once and can easily adapt by utilizing an audio mixer to accommodate for more microphones. The audio mixer would take multiple inputs and allow the documentary maker to select which inputs to use and adjust audio levels for each input. These inputs are mixed together to create one primary output, allowing for the use of many different inputs at once. In order to accommodate for more than two inputs, I could borrow an audio mixer from KBVR-TV and mix the inputs to create one input for the camera. In most cases, this would be an easy solution to the problem of multiple microphones. However, this solution would require more equipment, more set up time and extend the time needed for the interviews.

In order to accomplish this correctly, the audio mixer would also require me attaining an assistant for the interviews to run the audio mixer as I was performing the interviews. Up to this point, I contemplated the use of an assistant to help with the interviews, but had decided against it because of the timing involved and the skills necessary to help out with the filming. An assistant could help expedite the process of interviewing by helping with setup and adjustments during filming, but it would require someone who had knowledge of the filming process and would be available to help with filming at different times. More importantly, because of the possible difficulties with finding times to film, the person would need to be available with little notice in case the planned times didn't work out and other arrangements would have to be made. I approached a few people I knew around campus and at KBVR-TV, those with adequate knowledge to assist me, about the possibility of helping me throughout the filming process. Unfortunately, because most of the interviews were tentatively scheduled for Thursday mornings around 9:30 am, those I talked to were unavailable due to class time conflicts. Finding others qualified to help who had Thursday mornings free turned out to be quite a hassle. The more I learned from the practice interview, the more I realized that Thursday mornings would probably work the best because fewer people were expected to be around then than any other time during the week. I couldn't easily adjust the time of the filming, so I had to rely on finding someone who had that time available and also had the flexibility to adjust if problems arose with the timing. All of these factors led me to believe an assistant remained a luxury that I didn't have at the time.

Without an assistant, using an audio mixer would add more time and stress to a process that needed to be kept fairly simple to allow for flexibility in time and to keep the interview process as unobtrusive as possible on the establishment and bowlers. So all things considered, while adding a microphone for myself as I asked the interview questions would provide the questions on tape in the exact phrasing and context asked, the questions would be unnecessary for the final video and would end up adding more complexity to the process for very little added benefit.

Another potential problem with adding a microphone for myself would be the addition of more noise. If I said anything during the interviews as the participants talked, my voice could be picked up and recorded, adding more background noise and interfering with the audience hearing the interviewee's message. Even if I were to remain silent during their responses, my microphone would be there to pick up more ambient noise such as the sound of bowling balls hitting the lanes and pins. I have already established the potential problems of ambient noise from the microphones of the participants, but if you add one more microphone that is picking up nothing but ambient noise during the participants responses, the problem could be magnified. With an audio mixer, you could potentially turn down the input from my microphone as the participants responded, but the timing could be tricky. If the participants don't wait for me to finish my question completely before responding, then my voice will be picked up and create noise as they respond. If I did not have my voice in the video regularly, any single occurrence of my voice would sound strange and inappropriate. Without a microphone on myself as I ask the questions, my voice could be picked up

faintly by their microphone if they did not wait for me to finish the question before responding, but it would be faint enough that it should be easily adjusted for. Overall, adding another microphone into the situation for my questions would create more problems and more potential for problems without adding much benefit.

The completion of the practice interview and the technical preparations necessary to complete the interviews marked the near completion of the preproduction phase. Much more planning and preparation would have to occur throughout the rest of the process, as more interviews would be set up, footage of the bowling would be collected and the narrative throughout the video would need to be discovered and expressed. However, as discussed earlier, unlike a dramatic video or film where the story is predetermined and able to be fully scripted and planned out, the narrative(s) uncovered through the initial interviews would drive this documentary. I couldn't plan any more beyond what I have already outlined because I didn't know what would come about from the interviews. I tried to remain objective and unassuming throughout the early stages of video production, so any more preparation would have required me overstepping my boundaries by making assumptions as to what may occur. With preproduction completed, the next phase of production could start, beginning with the initial interviews.

## ***Production***

The initial interviews with Bill McNelly and Gary Haworth were set to occur on Thursday April 22, 2004 at 10 am. After testing the equipment and location throughout the preproduction phase, I felt ready to conduct the interviews, so on that

Thursday I arrived at Highland Bowl ready to film. Upon arrival, I noticed an abundance of cars in the parking lot, more than I thought appropriate for a morning with no regularly scheduled leagues. I went into the establishment without any of my equipment to check on the status of Bill and Gary. When I walked through the doors, I saw close to thirty middle school and elementary school kids throughout the establishment. Unfortunately, the local school district has a teacher in-service day, so the students didn't have school and a few parents offered to take many of the students bowling to keep them busy. With thirty kids currently bowling and another forty or so on their way, I was unable to conduct the interviews because Bill and Gary had no time to participate with all of the business there and the children added too much noise in the background for interviews to occur. We rescheduled the interviews for two weeks later, May 6.

In the meantime, I secured an interview time with Laurie, Randy, Fran and Diane for Saturday May 1, 2004 at 10 am. As a team, they would often go in Saturday mornings to practice, so that time worked well for them and provided a time with few bowlers in the establishment, minimizing noise and traffic problems. The morning of May 1, I arrived around 9:30 am to arrange the interview setting before the participants arrived so I wouldn't waste their time as I tried to set up. For these interviews, I prepared the scheme planned for the staging area as shown in Figure 2. Diane Nakashima arrived first, so I decided to interview her first. I first gave her the lavalier microphone and helped her attach it to her collar and ran a microphone check, viewing the audio levels through the built-in meter on the Sony PD-150 camera.

Through the headphones I listened to her volume and clarity as she spoke while I looked at the visual levels and felt satisfied with the audio quality I heard. I then set up a medium close-up shot, keeping her on the left hand side of the screen, providing adequate headroom and noseroom within the shot to keep with standard compositional guidelines. I decided to place her on the left-hand side of the shot, looking at me across the camera, not looking directly into the camera. I intended to from some of the interviews on the left-hand side of the screen and others on the right-hand side to allow for shot variety from side-to-side as I edited clips from the interviews together. I felt that keeping everyone on one side of the frame would get boring and monotonous as the documentary cut from one interview to the next. By switching the sides, I could help balance the overall compositional weight within the film and keep it more dynamic.

Once I had the shot established and audio checked, I went over the general questions that I planned on asking her in order to allow her a chance to think about the topic and formulate some general thoughts. I felt that disclosing the general topics I wanted to cover before we filmed would help ease her mind about the process, establish a solid interviewer-interviewee rapport (Barbash & Taylor, 1997) and I might elicit more developed and fluid answers. I explained that I wanted to ask her questions about her history and background in league bowling, her experiences within the leagues and her general relationships with the other league bowlers. I informed her that I planned on asking questions geared towards full sentence answers that could be elaborated on easily. If I did happen to ask a yes-or-no question, I asked if she

could elaborate on her answers and provide any examples. With this general understanding established, I gave her a few minutes to collect her thoughts and asked her to let me know when she felt ready to go with the interview. I attempted to ensure her comfort throughout the process and help her relax as much as possible throughout the interview. She soon let me know that she felt ready. I started recording, then allowed for ten seconds of pre-roll before I started asking any questions to provide room before the interview content so I could upload the footage easily during the editing process and ensured that I did not accidentally cut off any content as the camera started recording since there is a lag time between pressing the record button and when the actual recording occurs.

This interview, along with every interview I performed, started with simple and superficial questions to help ease the participant into the process and help them feel more at ease before asking any more complex questions. I first asked Diane to state her name and spell her name so that I had a clear account of how to spell her name for later credits and titles. The rest of the questions followed the general questions I had planned (Appendix A), but also veered from the schedule of questions when I felt the topic was important enough to warrant further questioning or to follow her train of thought to allow her to express herself openly without any restraint. The transcriptions of the interview questions and responses for Diane's interview, as well as all other interviews performed, can be seen in Appendix C, though the interview questions are often paraphrases or general questions because I could not hear all of my questions on film since I did not have a microphone. My voice was often picked up

by the microphone the participant wore, but many of my questions were muddled or unclear on the tape, so some of the questions on the transcriptions are not word for word in accordance to what I asked, but the general question and formation of the questions was recorded as best I could.

At the conclusions of Diane's interview, I thanked her for her participation and had her sign the release form that allowed me legal right to use the footage I had just gathered. I chose to have the participants sign the release form after the interview so they would not be intimidated by any wording on the release form before and during the interview and it also allowed them a chance to not sign if they felt they said anything they might not want added. I felt both of these factors would help to ease any concerns they had about the interview process and keep the participation very light-hearted and open to help attain as much information as possible.

By the end of the interview, Laurie, Randy and Fran had arrived, so I asked Laurie Franklin to be next and started the same process with her as I went through with Diane. Laurie's interview proceeded in the same manner as Diane's, framing Laurie on the left-hand side of the shot and asking very similar questions, veering from the general question list when appropriate. At the conclusion of Laurie's interview, she signed the release form and I brought Randy Franklin over for the next interview. Randy's interview went in the same manner as the first two, though I placed Randy on the right-hand side of the shot to help break up the monotony of the shots. Randy's interview also followed the general question list with other questions asked when appropriate to follow a certain idea or theme.

At the end of Randy's interview, I started to notice a general theme within the first few questions that I found very interesting. When I asked each person how he or she got involved with bowling and bowling leagues, they each referred to a family member responsible for their initial interest in bowling. The family theme would also resonate throughout many other answers they gave, often explaining that the bowling leagues allowed them to connect with some family members. This theme should not have come as much of a surprise considering Randy and Laurie are married and bowl with Fran Franklin, Randy's father, however, seeing the extent of the family involvement was rather surprising. I had known Randy and Laurie for approximately six years, since they had coached me on the OSU Bowling team, but I didn't know the extent of their family involvement in bowling. Randy mentioned within the interview that he had been bowling in men's league with his father for over twenty years and had never bowled in a men's league without his father. This fact struck me as being quite unique and a strong statement about the importance of the family component within league bowling for this group of bowlers.

To further explore this family component, I next interviewed Randy and Laurie together to ask them questions about their relationship and the influence league bowling has had upon them. Because I had no specific question list for this interview, I decided to ask general questions about how they met and their relationship early on and then move to more questions about the impact their bowling has had on their relationship and their perspectives on the bowling community as a couple who bowls together. I set up the interview as a two-shot, with Laurie on the left and Randy on the

right, keeping with their positioning within their interviews. I followed the same general procedures as before, adding another lavalier microphone into the audio input and testing the levels with both microphones.

Unfortunately, once the interview began, my interview skills failed me early on. In retrospect, I realize that I knew too much about their relationship and how it started, so many of my first questions were leading questions that asked for simple answers without much opportunity for elaboration. I knew that they had met on the OSU Bowling team when they were in college, so my early questions had the answer already formulated in the questions, basically asking for confirmation that I was correct or eliciting a simple response. I soon moved on to questions asking for their perspectives on couples in bowling leagues and the impact that bowling has had on their relationship, questions whose answers were not known by myself, at which point, I was able to phrase the question better to elicit a more elaborate response. At this point in time, I realized that while my familiarity with the participants provided a strong rapport with them from the beginning, it also acted as a detriment because I was often asking questions that I already knew the general answer to. Using an interviewer that did not have the same connection to the participants and who had more experience with the interview process could compensate for this familiarity. I also realized that I needed more practice and experience at the interview process to help overcome this problem and allow me to ask better questions in general that might yield better results. However, this familiarity problem would be a non-issue for the rest of my interviews

because I did not have the same background knowledge of Fran, Bill or Gary's experiences that I had of Diane, Laurie and Randy's.

Upon completion of the interview with Laurie and Randy, I asked Fran Franklin to come over for his interview. Fran's interview followed the same procedures as the others, positioning him on the left hand side of the shot. His responses echoed many of the themes throughout the first few interviews, but he also provided a perspective that spanned many decades within the bowling leagues, recounting what he referred to as the "older times." His parents owned two bowling centers when he was a child, providing him an inside look at the trends within bowling over the years.

At the completion of my interview with Fran, I thanked them all for their participation within the documentary and asked if I could join them one Thursday night at their mixed league to attain some footage of them bowling, interacting with each other and interacting with other bowlers within the leagues. Laurie would be out of town that following Thursday, so we agreed upon the Thursday after that, May 13, 2004.

From these interviews, I started to formulate some strong ideas about the direction my documentary should take and what story I wanted to tell. This team of bowlers had an amazing story to tell about the function family plays within the bowling leagues and the function the bowling leagues plays within their families. A couple who met through bowling, bowling with the husband's father and the wife's long time friend presents a story that may be very unique in the details, but also could

represent a component of civic engagement that Putnam (2000) didn't account for within his assessment of civic engagement and community. I felt this story could present a strong argument that my documentary could try to form.

Along with noticing a strong family theme throughout these interviews, I also noticed that each of these participants was very well spoken and seemed pretty natural in front of the camera while talking about a topic they really care about. Diane, Laurie, Randy and Fran all presented themselves very well as social actors, representing strong personalities that an audience would probably connect with and find interesting. From this, I had a tentative direction for my documentary and a solid story to tell, but I wanted to interview Bill and Gary to understand their perspectives as owners and bowlers to ensure I wasn't missing something else that could develop.

Before I interviewed Bill and Gary, I took the footage I had collected from the interviews to the editing lab to examine how the sound and lighting turned out. Upon examination of the footage, I was very pleased with the sound quality of the interviews, but disappointed with the images I collected. All of the video was darker than I thought it should be and contained a slight blue tint. When I looked at the camera settings, I noticed that I had accidentally changed some of the settings, including the iris and the white balance. During the preproduction, I had configured the settings to best accommodate the lighting situation, but between the preproduction and actual filming, I must have adversely adjusted the settings. The exposure controls for the Sony PD-250 are located on the back of the camera, making them easily accessible, but apparently also allows for accidental adjustments during the take down

and setup processes. During the setup on the day of the production, I focused more attention on the audio quality because I felt clarity of the audio to be the critical aspect of the content. When I thought back to the day of the interviews, I realized that the images seemed a little dark in the LCD screen on the camera, but I attributed that to the screen because I mistakenly assumed I had the settings set correctly from earlier tests. If the LCD screens brightness wasn't fully accurate, I thought back to Garrison's (2002) suggestion that erring on the side of underexposure could be more easily adjusted for than overexposure. For the next interviews, I would be sure to focus more attention on the exposure than I had previously. As for the footage, while the images were a little dark, the audio came out very well, so I felt comfortable with what I had. The idea of redoing the interviews to adjust for the lighting crossed my mind, but I did not want to impose upon Diane, Laurie, Randy and Fran any more unless I had more questions to ask that covered new ground. Also, I didn't feel I could get the same emotional connection and sincerity a second time if I had to redo any interviews because the participants may try to replicate their previous answers or feel a sense of redundancy from answering the same questions again instead of opening up and talking freely as they did the first time through.

The following Thursday morning, I arrived at Highland Bowl to once again attempt to conduct my interviews with Bill and Gary. This time, few cars occupied the parking lot, easing my concern about similar problems this time as the time before. When I entered the building, only one small group of people were bowling at the time, providing a quiet atmosphere conducive with filming the interviews and easing the

stress imposed on Gary and Bill as they took time away from working the counter to participate in the interviews. Once I had confirmed that they were still available and willing to participate, I brought in the camera, softlight, bounce and microphones from my car and began setting up. Because they were the owners of the establishment, I wanted to interview them in the seating area to help separate them from the other interviews, as shown in Figure 2. In the seating area, there was more light, particularly some ambient light from outside that came through the door to my right, so I chose to frame both Bill and Gary on the left hand side of the screen to allow the ambient light to shine on their faces instead of it coming from behind and casting shadows across their faces. I set up the microphone and tested it on myself to make sure it functioned correctly and then made sure my exposure looked good. The video looked much brighter on the LCD screen than it did during the first interviews, so I felt comfortable that my iris, shutter speed and overall exposure settings were correct.

Bill was available first, so I brought him over to the interview area and helped him with the microphone and went through the same process I had for the other interviews. For Bill and Gary, I had a different list of questions (Appendix A) because of Bill and Gary's unique perspectives of owning a bowling center. I felt they would have a stronger sense of overall league numbers and could provide more insight from the business perspective, so many of my questions revolved around their experiences in the business. I still started with some general questions about them and their personal experiences around bowling to both attain more perspectives from

participants within the league and to help build the rapport with each person during the interview.

From the beginning of Bill's interview, I noticed his answers came in the form of short, concise sentences that didn't go into much depth. When I tried to elicit more detail, he would continue with more information, but still in short sentences that didn't contain much content other than simple answers. While these responses answered the question I asked, I couldn't see most of them being very useful within a video format because they were a little too concise. Unfortunately, much like the interview with Randy and Laurie together, I didn't have the interviewing experience to adjust to Bill's style and ask questions that would elicit more elaborate responses. After I asked the last question, I thanked him for his participation and had him sign the release form.

Bill then went back to the business counter and sent Gary over to the interview area for his interview. The general process for Gary's interview remained the same as the others with the setup and quick explanation of the types of questions I planned on asking. I started with the same questions, looking for general background information on his bowling experiences and I found his responses a little more elaborate than Bill's, but they still not as full and powerful as those given by the four interviewed earlier. I felt a little frustrated during the interview because I didn't know how to adjust as an interviewer and I found myself reverting to the technique of leading the questions to find out more about certain areas, but that only allowed for more simple answers. While it remains possible they did not have much to say, I felt like there was a wealth of knowledge in front of me that I could not acquire.

Once the interview with Gary finished, I packed up the camera and equipment and went to the editor to review the interviews. I didn't feel very satisfied with Gary and Bill's interviews from a content perspective, so I hoped they were technically superior to the last set. Upon inspection of the footage in the editor, I found the sound to be solid and the exposure looked much better. Upon closer inspection, as I scanned through the footage, I noticed a peculiar color shift pattern that I had not seen before in any video. The color balance seemed to cycle from a yellow tint to a more natural tint with more blue in it. The shift happened gradually in a cyclical pattern that seemed to maintain a consistent timing. It appeared as though the camera was cycling through the white balance continuum to try and adjust for the different lights that possessed different color temperatures (Garrison, 2002). The camera tried to adjust the white balance to compensate for the multiple lights with different color temperatures within the scene and wound up cycling through the settings. While I set the exposure to a manual setting, I realized that on this camera, the white balance setting could still be set at an automatic setting while the rest of the exposure remained at a manual setting. I felt the white balance problem did not warrant a re-shoot since the evidence within the documentary often comes in the form of the sound rather than images (Nichols, 1991) and like before, I still had solid audio from the interviews. While aesthetically, the footage gathered to this point could have been better, the content provided a lot of good ideas to work from.

Reviewing my interviews with Gary and Bill also made me realize how strong Diane, Laurie, Randy and Fran were as social actors. While Bill and Gary didn't do

anything specifically detrimental, they did not possess a strong presence that an audience could easily connect with. As I mentioned before, each of the four interviewed earlier possessed a strong presence on screen. Laurie and Randy both seemed able to open up to the camera and provide some great insight and present themselves in a very personable manner. Diane and Fran also presented strong personalities on screen, but not quite as personable as Laurie and Randy. The interviews with Bill and Gary helped me decide to focus my documentary on the team of Laurie, Diane, Randy and Fran. Specifically, I wanted to tell their story as it related to the context of community and civic engagement and create a general argument within the documentary about the connection between bowling leagues and family that many of the researchers on civil society seem to miss.

With a general argument in mind, I needed to gather some footage of the team bowling together and interacting within the league with other bowlers. I arrived at Highland Bowl on the Thursday night agreed upon to gather some footage. I showed up a little early, arriving before the league started, to set my exposure and white balance. Because I had one light source, the white balancing process was a little easier, but the exposure was a little temperamental because of the lack of lighting directly above the staging area. The seating area remained well lit and the lanes were also fairly well lit, but the staging area remained quite dark. Because the darker area fell between the two lighter areas, I found many of the bowlers to be backlit and their faces were not as well lit as I would have hoped. However, as I watched the warm-ups and early interaction, I noticed most of the interaction occurring in the seating area, so

I did not worry too much about possible underexposure. For sound, I wanted some ambient noise to use, but I did not worry about picking up any particular conversations because I hoped to gather video footage to supplement the interviews, not gather conversations.

This night turned out to be a major crossroads in my the process of creating the documentary. As the team arrived, I noticed Laurie did not arrive with the rest of the team. Randy informed me that she had fallen ill and was home sick with flu-like symptoms. My first thought was to reschedule and come back the following week when everyone was healthy and present, but I quickly learned that Laurie would not be there the following week either. Laurie went out of town the previous week to interview for a job in Everett, Washington and she received the offer for the job earlier that week. Unfortunately, the job required her moving up to Everett soon after that, so she would miss the rest of the league. Randy would be staying behind in Corvallis to finish his job and sell their house and would soon follow her to Everett. While my inability to get footage of them all bowling together seemed to be the immediate problem, I also realized this move would end the twenty-plus straight years of Randy and Fran bowling men's league together. With these changes coming soon, I wondered how this would impact my argument and the story I had to tell.

Unsure what to do at the time, I figured it best to film that night as the three other members of the team bowled so I could get footage of their interaction and attain some general footage from the entire league. I filmed the first two games of the three game series and stopped after I realized they fell into a routine and I was getting very

similar shots over and over again. I found the filming process to be more restrictive than I am used to because of limited access to certain areas. For a production to surpass mediocrity, Garrison (2002) suggests that the filmmaker plan out the camera placement to help achieve the best shots possible. I found myself falling more into the passive cinematography mode where I filmed what I could from where I could because the environment prevented me from moving around to different locations with the camera. From participating in league bowling myself and from the interviews with Diane and Laurie, I knew that common etiquette prevents other bowlers from stepping up on the approach while a bowler in an adjoining lane takes a turn because of the distraction it causes. During this league, each team had four members, meaning there were approximately eight people on each set of lanes, creating a crowded situation for someone with a camera. There were people walking to and from the lanes to the seating area, effectively blocking many shots I could attempt to get from the staging area. As a result, I stayed close to the counter that divides the staging area and the seating area in order to get the best footage possible of the people interacting in the seating area and the bowlers bowling on the lanes. Unfortunately, all of my footage of people bowling came from behind them, but most of the interaction between the bowlers I was able to film from a position that allowed me to film their faces.

I now had a general idea, some good interviews and some solid b-roll to go with the sound, but I had to determine whether I could continue in the current direction considering the circumstances or if I had to change my approach and argument. My first choice to make had to be whether to continue telling their story or

if I should change my general topic. While I realized that not having video footage of Laurie bowling with the rest of the team could impact the audience's perception in a way I did not intend, I still felt their story and the argument about the family factor in bowling leagues remained the best option and held some very valuable information regarding the idea of civil society. As Garrison (2002) and Barbash and Taylor (1997) noted, the evidence you gather is not the only important parts of the documentary, the evidence you do not attain can also play a large roll. If the audience noticed the lack of footage involving Laurie bowling, they may question her involvement or possibly question the relationship between her and the others. The images an audience sees are not the only things that impact the audience's interpretations and perceptions; the things they don't see can also have a serious impact, especially if they consciously notice the absence. Regardless of this, I still felt this story should be told and there remained no possible way to attain the footage with all four of the bowlers together, so I decided to continue with the documentary as I started planning it, but try to work with what footage I had.

My next choice presented a more difficult decision, one that I still question. I had to decide whether I would incorporate the newest developments within the documentary and if I did, how I would accomplish this. Specifically, should I inform the audience that Laurie and Randy were moving to Everett and the team would essentially split? If I chose to incorporate the move into the documentary, I could either add text at the end of the video explaining the developments or I could go collect more interviews and footage after the move.

I soon realized that collecting more footage to add another chapter to the documentary was not an option because there was no set time line for the process. Randy could not move up to Everett and join his wife until they had sold their house and he finished his job at Oregon State University and he had no clear time frame for this to occur. With no real time frame to work with, this option didn't seem feasible. This left the option of adding text at the end of the documentary to serve as an epilogue, updating the audience on the most current developments within the story that could not be included in the filming. The epilogue option could be accomplished easily and would allow me to express the actions that I could not show within the interviews and footage. However, I felt the addition of the epilogue could have a drastic impact on the entire documentary and those few words at the end could change the entire message of the documentary.

By adding an epilogue explaining the move and the consequent dissolution of the team, the argument about the involvement could be undermined and the audience may be left with a feeling of futility and hopelessness. If this team, which represents the epitome of the family bowling together, cannot continue bowling together, falling to the pressures of life and the job market, then the end feeling may be one of despair. The story and consequent argument I want to make within the documentary revolves around the role the family plays within the bowling leagues and the impact the leagues have on the family. This story of this team bowling together for all this time, the family involvement they have seen, the connections they have made from their experiences, and the insight they provide into this relationship between family and

bowling does not change because of what they do in the future. The next chapter of their story will begin, but the story to this point does not include that change and it is their story up through my interviews that I wanted to tell. I felt that adding the beginning of the next chapter of their story without the ability to tell the rest of the story wouldn't necessarily change the earlier chapter, but could drastically change the audience's perception of the earlier chapters. This shift in perceptions could unjustly hurt the logical continuity of the argument I have to make by presenting evidence that cannot be fully placed within the appropriate context since the rest of the story has yet to unfold. If Randy and Laurie move to Everett and start bowling with Randy's brother, who apparently lives in the area, then the family connection continues strong, but in another direction. However, this possibility cannot be told within the documentary because it has not occurred, so the audience would only be left with the knowledge that they moved away and the team no longer bowls together. This last piece of evidence could hurt the rest of the argument at this time, but the things that occur in the future due to the move could actually help strengthen the argument. Since I have no way of knowing what will occur, I chose to keep the documentary without an epilogue so the audience would not be left with evidence they cannot contextualize at the end that unfairly shapes their perceptions of the known evidence.

### ***Postproduction***

With the initial filming complete, the time came to begin postproduction in order to develop a script and start constructing the narrative for the film. I knew I

would likely need more footage, but without a clear narrative and script, I couldn't be sure as to what footage and what kind of shots I would need.

I had already reviewed all of my footage as I filmed, so I felt comfortable in my knowledge about the footage I had and what the people had said in the interviews. To edit my film together, I received permission from KBVR-TV to use their editors, either a Sony ES-7 editing station or a Final Cut Pro station. I had done a lot of editing in the past and knew that the editing process can be very time intensive and if any re-shoots needed to occur or I had to gather more footage, the editing process could be spread out over a long period of time, especially if other obligations and responsibilities delayed the process.

At KBVR-TV, the Sony ES-7 remained unused because no one around at the time knew how to use it and so everyone edited using Final Cut Pro. Since everyone at KBVR-TV used the Final Cut Pro editor, that meant access to the editor could be limited as others tried to finish up projects and hard drive space for each project would also be at a premium. Because I knew how to use the Sony ES-7 and I would have nobody to compete with for time and resources, I chose to utilize the Sony ES-7 editor. Unfortunately, the DV deck that the editor utilized had been removed temporarily, so I had to wait for a short while for the editor to be fully functional.

When the editor became available for use, I started by uploading all of my footage. I started by uploading each interview response and then proceeded to upload the footage I had gathered during the league. With the footage uploaded and ready to arrange within the editor, I attempted to arrange the responses in an order that made

sense. I tried gathering the comments and arranging them by ideas and themes, but no matter how I arranged them, I couldn't get them to flow together and make sense. After my initial attempts and arrangements seemed to be falling short, I soon found it necessary to attend to other issues within my life, primarily teaching and family, delaying the editing process for a month or so.

When I found the time to return to the editing process I found the editor to be in a state of disrepair, again missing the DV deck and now missing the keyboard and other small components necessary for functioning correctly. The uncertainty around the functionality of the Sony ES-7 lead me to look for new editing equipment that I could rely on and utilize over an extended period of time without the possibility of other people disrupting the process and altering my files. At that time, OSU had numerous editing stations throughout the campus, but most of them were meant for short-term use. Most of the editing labs had restricted times for use, usually during the day when a lab assistant was on duty, were open to most students, creating a strain on time and resources, and were programmed to reset to a standard profile each day, deleting any new items not saved in the storage drive. Unfortunately, I like to edit late at night and would require a lot of storage space that I could utilize over an extended period of time, so I found it difficult to find an editor that I felt comfortable using. Eventually, the Speech Communication Department received a grant to install five editors in the basement of Shepard Hall. After procuring the grant, preparing the rooms and purchasing the equipment, the editors were installed. I received full access

to the editors and was the only person utilizing the equipment, so I had no restrictions on time or resources, allowing me to start the editing process again.

With a fresh start at the process, I decided to rethink my approach to the editing process. I realized I had gone into the editing process from the perspective of a fiction filmmaker, focused too heavily on the aesthetics and images and not enough on the words spoken by the participants within the interviews. While I knew that documentary editing often revolved around evidentiary editing instead of continuity editing (Nichols, 1991), I did not understand how to effectively utilize evidentiary editing. I returned to the methodologies outlined within the documentary production handbooks to try and better understand not just the ideas behind the editing styles, but how to utilize the techniques. Young (2002) recommends logging all footage collected and creating a paper edit before attempting to edit the footage together. The paper edit could help me see the actual words spoken and create a script based on the evidence provided through the dialogue instead of worrying about all of the images as well as the sounds. Understanding the exact words spoken represented a problem within my initial attempts at editing because, while I knew the general meaning of the words they said, I never fully knew the exact words used. By transcribing all of the interviews, I could better understand the actual words spoken and more easily create an argument based on the evidence provided. My background in video production came from an artistic and aesthetic background in fiction film so I had to shift my approach.

During my first attempts at editing together *Bowling Together* I found it very difficult to look at the footage and see only the verbal evidence provided by the respondents because I have spent so much time editing together the images while utilizing the sound to enhance the images. In order to combat this problem, I transcribed all of the footage (Appendix C) so I could see the exact words spoken and then put together an argument based purely on the evidence within the dialogue. Once I had all of the dialogue on paper, I looked through all of the comments and categorized each statement within one of three categories: status of leagues, community, and family. By grouping similar comments together, I felt I could better understand each theme that ran through the interviews and piece together smaller arguments that could work together to form one larger argument. Some comments fell into more than one category and I made special note of them because I hoped they would function as transitions between the arguments.

Once I had the comments categorized, I looked within each category to try and piece together the arguments and determine the order in which the evidence would be presented to the audience. The comments concerning the status of the leagues and the trends people have seen within the leagues painted two pictures. Randy, Laurie, Fran and Diane commented on the decline in participation over the last decade, often painting a bleak picture. Bill and Gary on the other hand, saw league numbers leveling off over the last few years and think league participation may be on the rise. Though these two ideas may seem to contradict one another, I saw them as representing past and future. The team looked to the past to see how things had been

going and recognized a decline in the numbers while the owners looked optimistically to the future in an assessment of what may come about. I decided to use the comments of the decline and recollections of years passed as the first part of the documentary, introducing the base argument by Putnam (2000) that the participation within bowling leagues has dropped over the last few decades.

If the past introduced the documentary, it seemed only fitting that the future conclude the film. Using Bill and Gary's optimistic comments about the future would provide a strong conclusion, tying back into the ideas that opened the film while looking to the future with some hope. As I pieced together the responses of each participant to create an introduction and conclusion, I realized the full power the filmmaker has during the editing process. While all the evidence I have collected remains constant, the order in which I place the evidence could drastically change the argument being made. For instance, by ending on an optimistic note, the audience may be left with a sense of hope to what may become of the bowling leagues and the people within the documentary. However, if the comments by Randy, Laurie, Fran and Diane concluded the piece, talking about the decline in numbers, the audience no longer sees the sense of hope at the end, possibly leading to an interpretation of despair. Even if all of the comments were still presented within the film, the order in which they appear could have a major impact on the interpretation.

As I thought about how different my documentary might feel from just changing the order of the beginning and ending, it seemed that the idea of objectivity seemed even farther removed from the documentary film. While each piece of

evidence can be used to support many different arguments, even contradictory arguments (Nichols, 1991), the organization of the argument itself can play a large role in the meaning. The order in which the evidence is presented within the documentary could change the meaning of the film just as the selection of what evidence to present and what evidence to omit does change the meaning. Within the expository, reflexive and interactive modes of representation (Nichols, 1991), no clear organizational pattern is likely to naturally exist as the filmmaker pieces together the argument from the evidence, so the simple task of organizing the evidence represents subjectivity within the film. The observational documentary may have a natural chronological structure inherent with the footage if the goal is to capture the event and present the occurrence as it happened, minimizing the subjective influence of the filmmaker, but for the other three modes, the order in which the evidence is presented represents more subjectivity within the film.

After organizing the footage concerning the status of the leagues, I looked at the footage that talked about the community within the leagues. I initially wanted to determine what could be eliminated and what could be kept within the film. I had a lot of responses that said the same thing as someone else, so it seemed pointless to repeat the same ideas. In order to make the film succinct and interesting, I had to cut out a lot of the footage. I couldn't include every comment made, so I looked for repetitive ideas and tangential comments that I could eliminate easily. Once I had a narrowed list of the ideas, I looked for any patterns that existed within the comments that would help me organize the ideas.

Finally, I examined the comments concerning family involvement and influence within the bowling leagues, again, looking for natural patterns and themes. I found that a lot of the family comments dealt with how the team members first got involved with bowling and why they continued to bowl.

There were many comments that fell outside of all three categories, often dealing with lingo and traditions within the league. In my questioning, I asked many questions about the etiquette and traditions held within the leagues, exploring the aspects of bowling in leagues that non-league bowlers might not be familiar with. As I constructed my arguments and themes for the documentary, these comments did not fit into any of the ideas I had to present, so I chose to omit all of them from the documentary. However, one line of responses from Randy presented a unique perspective on community that didn't really fit into the rest of the comments. He had recently torn a tendon in his right arm because of a bowling accident, potentially sidelining him from bowling for over a year. However, instead of quitting the leagues, he chose to bowl left-handed instead, something he had not regularly done before. His story demonstrated his dedication to the leagues and how important his participation within the leagues was to him as well as talking about the support of the other bowlers. I felt the story really helped the audience connect with Randy, but it didn't fit into the general themes because it presented a somewhat tangential story that only hinted at the community. I decided to include the story, but did not know exactly where to place it.

Once I had my general smaller arguments formed, I had to put them all together into one structure. I wanted to begin with the comments on the decline in

league participation, looking to the past to introduce the subject matter. Next, I chose to introduce the idea of the community within the leagues, looking to establish a sense of community therein. Within one response, Randy provided a perfect transition from the status of the leagues to the sense of community when he stated: “When bowling is good it seems like the community is doing better. When bowling’s bad, like now, you know, not enough jobs, kind of drops off. Kind of an indicator I guess.” I kept the introduction into the community short, presenting a small overview of the ideas and then moved into the idea of family and introduced the team of Diane, Laurie, Randy and Fran as the heart of the documentary. After I introduced the team, I wanted to show how the team formed, how they kept going, and present their specific experiences and insights into the bowling leagues. To end the documentary, I organized the evidence around the future of bowling, including the next generation of the Franklin family and their participation in bowling and Bill and Gary’s final thoughts on the future of the leagues.

While I had a general script that included the comments of all the social actors, I needed to find a way to connect many of the comments together and introduce the subject that many of the participants were talking about. For instance, when I asked the social actors how they initially got involved with league bowling, they all answered the question, but none repeated the question I asked or rephrased the question in their answer, meaning the audience would have no way of knowing what the responses referred to. Instead of me adding a voice-over of the question to help

guide the audience, I chose to include text between the sections of responses to act as signposts for the audience.

While the text helped the audience to put the responses in context, I decided the documentary still needed something that would present the overall argument and help connect each smaller argument together. I chose to add narration to the film in order to introduce the general ideas of the documentary and help connect the individual arguments. The text and narration shifted my documentary from the interactive mode of representation towards the expository mode. I initially wanted all of the responses and comments from the social actors to drive the documentary without the need for narration, but the way the responses were worded and my inability to go get more footage because of Laurie and Randy's relocation lead me to present the main themes through narration while constructing the primary argument through the evidence provided by the interviews. My documentary seemed to be settling into a space between the expository and interactive modes, utilizing techniques from each mode.

With my initial paper edit complete I moved into the editor to edit the video together. The editing process went very quickly this time, creating a general foundation for the documentary based on the paper edit. I created the text to insert between the footage and put the appropriate footage in order. Next, I had to record the narration to include in the video. I chose to find someone other than myself to be the narrator because I don't have a strong voice and did not want to hear myself over and over again throughout the editing process. I went to the campus radio station, KBVR-

FM, and asked around for anyone who had a strong radio voice. Everyone I talked to at KBVR-FM recommended the news producer Kyle Wells. After talking with Kyle about the film, he readily agreed to read the narration for my documentary.

In order to record the narration, I used a hypercardioid condenser hand microphone plugged into the Sony PD-150 input. I chose to record the narration straight to a mini DV tape via the camera instead of a sound booth because the editor I was using had no options to upload any sound or video other than through the DV deck or the CD-ROM drive. Under optimal circumstances, I would try to utilize a sound booth for recording narration in order to ensure the highest quality sound with as little external noise as possible, but neither KBVR-TV nor the Speech Communication Department had a functional sound booth at the time. I utilized a desk stand for the microphone so Kyle could hold the paper and read the narration into a stationary microphone to help keep a constant audio level and listened to the audio through the headphones to ensure the sound quality.

Kyle read through the narration several times, each time making some small adjustments to what words he emphasized and how he spoke. While writing the narration, I had a specific idea of how it would sound so I had to work with him to keep the emphasis on the correct parts of the sentence. After the first reading, I noticed the prominence of popping sounds in Kyle's vocals, so I moved the microphone so he would not speak directly into the microphone, but across the microphone to help reduce popping occurring from the plosive consonants (p's, b's, k's, and t's) and sibilance resulting from s's (Alten, 1990). Kyle read through the

narration two more times, making small adjustments each time until he had it how I thought it should be.

After recording the narration I went back to the editor and added in the narration into the rough cut of the film. The narration completed the initial rough cut, providing an argument through dialogue, sound, and text. Very little video footage had been included in the initial rough cut other than the interview video and no color correction had been done, but the rough cut provided me an opportunity to evaluate the flow of the film and fluidity of the argument. I created a DVD of the rough cut to take home and view in an environment outside of the editors so I could sit and take in the entire piece. While viewing the rough cut at home, I realized that many of my edits could be cleaner, as I could cut out a few frames from the beginning and end of many shots to help keep the film moving at a quicker pace. Along with the frames between the dialogue, there were many sentences that could be eliminated from many responses as they were either irrelevant or redundant, but I had left them in because they were part of a response given that provided good information. Watching the rough cut, I realized I could cut out many of these sentences without impacting the overall meaning of the response.

More importantly, the order of the evidence needed to be rearranged because some responses didn't seem to fit within the context of the other responses. Specifically, the responses about personal experiences within the bowling leagues were placed after the talk of family connections, but most of the experiences dealt more with the sense of community within the leagues, a topic addressed earlier in the

film. Randy's story about his injury exemplified this problem, as he talks about how the other bowlers reacted to the injury, a topic that dealt more with community interaction than family involvement.

I returned to the paper edit and moved the responses about personal experiences with the bowling community towards the beginning of the film to go with the establishment of the community, leaving the family connections as the precursor to the conclusion that talks about the future of league bowling and the involvement of future generations, including Randy and Laurie's children. I also deleted many sentences from the text to help shorten the film and speed up the pace of the film. The final paper edit (Appendix D) seemed to tell a more fluid story and provide a better connection between many of the points.

Once I had reworked the paper edit, I returned to the editor to redo the edits and adjust for the new changes. I rearranged the footage and cleaned up many edits to speed up the flow. In order to edit out some responses I had to cut off continuing thoughts and end a shot on a filler word such as "um." In order to cut a shot where a person makes noise, I had to go into the sound editing feature and edit out specific sounds. As I cleaned up the sounds on the new edits, I worked through the entire film to help clean up each edit and eliminate the excess frames and sounds that occurred at the beginning and end of each clip.

After cleaning up the edits, I went through the project to adjust the sound of each clip to help maintain a constant volume level throughout the film. During the interviews the volume levels varied with each respondent depending on the distance of

the microphone from their mouth, the tone of their voice, the loudness of their voice and the intensity with which they answered each question. In order to adjust for each person, I adjusted the volume levels so each person reached a similar average volume level, allowing the audio levels to remain constant throughout the entire film.

Using the footage of the team bowling within the league, I added b-roll to the film. Most of the b-roll functioned as a demonstration of what was being said through the interviews, though I occasionally used the b-roll to cover up any transitions that were not very clean. When I cut out sentences in the middle of a response I was left with a jump cut that went from the person talking to the same person talking, leaving a jarring transition. In order to eliminate the jarring visual jump, I placed b-roll over the transition so the audio could be heard behind images of bowlers bowling. Randy's story about his injury presented the most prominent problem with jump cuts because I cut out several sentences in his responses and so two or three jump cuts occurred that seemed distracting to the viewer. I added footage of him bowling with his left hand over most of the story, hiding the visual jumps.

After adding in the footage I had, I felt I needed a few more specific shots to add into the film. Specifically, I wanted an external shot of the bowling center to act as an establishing shot during the narration that talks of Highland Bowl. I went to the bowling center with the camera during the day and filmed some shots of the building.

Once I added in this footage, I needed to add titles and credits to the film. I added text over the interview footage, identifying the interview subjects. For each subject I added a title to their first appearance after the title of the film and to the clip

where they talk about their initial involvement with bowling. For Bill and Gary, along with their names, I also identify them as co-owners of Highland Bowl, adding credibility and perspective to the responses they give. I chose not to add titles over the initial sequence before the first narration and film title because I wanted the words to remain the center of attention without any text or b-roll to interfere with the message or distract the audience. It was not until I introduced the characters as part of the community that I wanted to identify them and help the audience connect with the subjects.

Finally, after adding in titles and credits, I finished the editing process by using the filter tools provided within Final Cut Pro to help correct for color and exposure. Due to the difficulties with exposure throughout the filming, the footage looked dark and each person had different exposure qualities. I utilized the filters to try and even out the colors and exposure to help provide a more consistent look and feel to the film. I tried to minimize the filters I used because I noticed some image degradation with each filter, but I wanted to try for consistency in visuals. Primarily, I utilized the RGB filter and the color correction filter. Between these two filters, I could adjust the images enough to eliminate some of the drastic color and exposure shifts between shots.

At the completion of the editing, I exported the video as a Quicktime MPEG2 movie and used the DVD Studio Pro program to create a viewable DVD of the film. At this point, I kept the DVD simple, using preset menus from the DVD Studio Pro program, allowing for simple viewing without much else. In the future, I may create

specialized DVD menus and include other features on the DVD, but for now, the simple DVD serves the function of distributing the completed film for others to view.

## **Results and Conclusions**

The process of creating a documentary took me on a great journey through civility, bowling leagues, documentary theory and documentary production. I learned a great deal about the role of bowling leagues in civil society through my interviews and every step of the documentary process taught me something new about video production in general and documentary theory. Much of my learning came through the mistakes I made during the process and seeing what I could have done differently to help improve the documentary. Within this chapter I will provide my conclusions about bowling leagues and civil society, documentary production, and documentary theory that came as a result of creating *Bowling Together*.

The conclusions that will follow represent my personal insight into the process and the theory that revolves around that process, but it remains critical to realize that my experience only represents one perspective. I can apply my conclusions to my documentary and the process I went through while possibly expanding some general ideas to specific areas within the study of documentary production and theory, but since each documentary may differ on so many levels, no clear conclusions can be effectively drawn that would apply across the board to all documentaries or documentary productions.

### ***Civil Society and Bowling Leagues***

My documentary started as a look into the concepts of civil society and civic engagement brought to the forefront of discussion by Robert Putnam's book *Bowling*

*Alone* (2000). Within the text, Putnam examines the trends in civic engagement, examining the participation numbers of many different groups, paying particular attention to participation within bowling leagues. Discovering the numbers had been in a state of decline over the past few decades, Putnam looked for reasons behind the decline and the impacts of the decline. While the numbers are disputed by many, the concern over civil society as witnessed by Putnam's work is also addressed in numerous studies of civil society presented by people such as Gertrude Himmelfarb (1998), Alan Wolfe (1998), Michael Waltzer (1998), and Stephen Carter (1998). While I covered the many theories and ideas presented by the numerous writers on the subject within my literature review, I found something quite fascinating through my interviews and the creation of my documentary that many of these researchers either overlooked or did not address: the role of family within the civic associations and the role of the civic association within the family.

Family and civil society are very much connected and while many of the researchers did address the connection between them, most looked primarily at the impact of religious associations on family (Carter, 1998), the need for stronger family units (Bradley, 1998) or the role of the family in the process of moral reformation (Himmelfarb, 1998 and Carter, 1998).

Carter (1998) looked to the family in morally educating younger generations, thus helping to instill a stronger moral sense of right and wrong within society in order to help improve the state of civil society and civility. While Carter provides many ideas concerning how we can strengthen our families and help teach stronger moral

values, the primary link he identified between civic associations and stronger families revolved around religious associations. Bill Bradley (1998) also called for a stronger family unit, which he referred to as the crucible of civil society, but he tended to talk of the family as a separate entity from other aspects of civil society. Schambra (1998) looked to return the emphasis to local community instead of national community to revitalize civil society, including the foundation of the family in the community. Himmelfarb (1998) believed that a moral reformation must occur in order for civil society and the family unit to function in a positive manner because families and civic associations may be part of the problem by promoting ideals that add to the ills of society.

However, while many researchers agree that the family plays a large role in the well being of our civil society, few look to evaluate the role that many of these civic associations play within the family. For as much as Putnam (2000) looked at the trends in participation and the possible causes of the decline, he never really fully examined all of the roles that many of the civic associations play. The decline of the family unit represents one of the possible causes of the current decline in civil society that Putnam had addressed, but he came to the conclusion that the evidence did not fully support the idea that the overall decline in civic engagement can be attributed to the decline of the traditional family. It seems that in looking at the correlations between civic engagement and the traditional family however, Putnam did not fully address the connection between the civic associations and the family.

Within my interviews, I noticed that a family member introduced most of the bowlers to bowling leagues and many of them continued bowling with family. Five of the six people interviewed were initially drawn into bowling through a family member. Laurie Franklin found her involvement within the bowling leagues a good way to connect with her brother and grandfather. Randy Franklin explained that bowling in leagues functioned as a stabilizer for him and his family as they moved around when he was a child. The family connection ran so strong through the Franklin family that Randy and his father, Fran Franklin, have continued to bowl together in men's leagues for over twenty years, never bowling in a men's league without each other. While Putnam (2000) looked at the correlation between the decline of the traditional family and civic engagement, the trend among these bowlers to become involved with this particular civic association may show a strong connection between family and initial involvement.

The connection between family and civic associations did not end with the family influencing involvement. Another aspect that came to the forefront during the interviews revolved around the idea that participation within the bowling leagues functioned as a way to help keep the family strong. For instance, when Laurie mentioned that she got involved with bowling through her grandfather and it helped her bond with her brother and grandfather, this implies that the reason for the involvement was family, but also that involvement helped to strengthen the family. Randy and Laurie met while bowling at Oregon State University on the club teams and started dating a year later, eventually getting married. During my interview with

the two of them, they explained that bowling has helped keep them together because they shared the drive for it and it forced them to actually see each other one night a week. The involvement in bowling as a couple allows them to take time away from their fast paced life and spend a night out, without the kids, and keep a strong relationship. From my experiences within leagues, I can also remember many married couples bowling together on the same team. Civic associations, particularly bowling leagues, may allow the family time together in an environment outside of their day-to-day lives which may strengthen their relationship. While Putnam (2000) stressed the importance of associations such as bowling leagues because they allowed one to interact with people unlike themselves, they may also be beneficial because of their impacts on the family unit.

The idea that bowling leagues are important because they allow us to interact with people we might not normally interact with can also have a profound influence. During the interview with Randy, he explained the relationship between bowling leagues and community that he sees, but also pointed out one of the unique qualities about bowling leagues that Putnam would agree makes it an exemplary association within the realm of civil society. During my interview with Randy, he stated:

Bowling is one of those kinds of sports that you can do it, you know, whether your short or tall, fat or skinny, it doesn't matter. We get people from all walks of life. Um, we've had mayors bowl, people from the university, professors, you know, you're average guy who works at the lumber mill. I work at the university and on my team alone, you know, I bowl with a guy who fixes engines you know. I think what it does is it kind of brings people from different walks of life together doing the same thing, I think that's what sports kind of does anyways. Bowling's a little wide range because you can do it from when you're a little kid all the way up until you're older. We bowl with a guy who's

in his 90s. So there's a long time that you can do it and in that time you're going to hit people who do most anything. I do think that it shows some community spirit really. When bowling is good it seems like the community is doing better. When bowling's bad, like now, you know, not enough jobs, kind of drops off. Kind of an indicator I guess.

This echoes Putnam's idea that associations allow people to interact with others that do not share the same ideas and experiences, which helps build bridging social capital. But I also see this as a trait that makes bowling leagues a unique form of civic association. Very few civic associations seem to be able to span so large of an age range or so broad of a background amongst the participants. As Galston and Levine (1998) pointed out, not all groups are created equal. Just like groups based on group meetings provides stronger connections between the members than a mailing list association, it seems that organizations such as bowling leagues bring different characteristics and impacts on civil society than other groups might. Unions for example, which provide a strong civic association according to Galston and Levine, do not have the ability to span across the generations and backgrounds that a bowling league could because the participation within the membership revolves around work, leaving out those who are too young and may exclude those who have long since retired. Other sports based organizations, such as softball leagues, may be able to span a larger range of ages and backgrounds, but physical limitations prevent the younger and older ages from participating. Bowling may be somewhat limited for those with severe disabilities, but I have seen people bowl despite some disabilities that would hinder participation in other sports. For instance, when I bowled in a mixed league in 1997, one man in his late 80s, bowled on a team in the league despite having lost all

but his thumb and pinkie finger on his bowling hand and suffering from a severe case of Alzheimer's. According to a family member whom he bowled with, bowling provided him an activity from his past that he could enjoy. He would often have to be reminded where he was, but the disorientation apparently didn't have as big of an impact on him because he could fall back on the activity of bowling that he had done all his life.

Of all the groups and associations discussed by Putnam (2000) in his discussion on civic engagement, bowling leagues may share more qualities with religious organizations than most others because of the involvement of people ranging across the spectrum of ages and backgrounds. Religious organizations involve people throughout their lives without any real limitations due to age, socioeconomic status or background. While comparing religion with bowling leagues may seem strange because of the ideological foundation of life that comes with religion and the sport and entertainment that comes with bowling, the diversity found within each can be similar. However, bowling may have more diversity in participation because religious groups usually involve only those who believe in that religion and share similar ideals and belief structures. Bowling however requires no similarities other than an interest in the activity of bowling. As Putnam (2000) mentioned, bowling leagues and other similar organizations are important in building bridging social capital because you have to interact with others who may not share your ideals.

As mentioned before, religion and religious organizations are the primary civic associations that are specifically discussed when looking at the family and working

towards a moral reformation (Carter, 1998). The similarities between religions groups and bowling leagues in terms of the people who can get involved may also require discussion about bowling leagues and family. As I have noted the importance of family within my interviews and experiences, I began to perceive that the role of the family may play a large part in bowling leagues and bowling leagues can help play a large role in the family. Bowling may be able to help bridge generational gaps and keep families strong by helping them find time to interact outside of the normal stresses of everyday life.

All of my ideas around civil society and bowling leagues remain pure speculations, but I feel that it may be an area to look into within future research. The information and experiences I gathered from this one family may be a unique occurrence and, in fact, it's uniqueness was what really drew me to it as a story for my documentary in the first place, but without more research, it remains difficult to determine whether the family theme runs through bowling leagues or if this one family represents an anomaly within the realm of league bowling. Whatever the case, I think that my findings help show that more research should be done on determining the roles that different civic associations play because each group is not equal. That's not to say that some groups are better than others, but that different groups bring different characteristics and can have different influences on civil society. While the numbers of participants may be important, we must look inside each organization to better understand what the numbers mean within the realm of civil society and civility.

## ***Documentary Theory***

The content of *Bowling Together* helped me see an aspect of civil society that allowed me a glimpse of the connection between family and bowling leagues, leading me towards an area of research that remains sparse and could be ready to explore. But in the actual making of my documentary *Bowling Together* I have learned a great deal about documentary production and it has lead me to a much greater understanding of the documentary format. My documentary allowed me to gain a first hand perspective into some of the theories around the concept of documentary, seeing how my actions and decisions impacted the function and meaning of my final product. The process also gave me great insight into the production aspects of documentary filmmaking, allowing me to gain greater skills and better understand the process. Unfortunately, my learning often came at the expense of the production because of mistakes I made, but I would like to think that the mistakes make me a better filmmaker in the long run. I doubt that any production occurs without set backs, but hopefully they allow the filmmaker to better understand how to prevent these setbacks in the future and see how these setbacks influence the current product.

First, I needed to evaluate my final product and see where it fell in the spectrum of documentaries. Since a documentary can fall into several different designations, I first examined my documentary in terms of Nichols' modes of representation (1991). *Bowling Together* has characteristics of both the interactive mode and the expository mode, ending up as more of an expository documentary than anything else. From the beginning of the process, I leaned towards the production of

an interactive documentary, basing the bulk of my production on interviews with members of the bowling leagues as I tried to gain an inside perspective on the ideas around bowling and community. The goal for the documentary was not to observe participants within the bowling leagues, but to elicit their observations and opinions about bowling in leagues and the interaction between the participants. I felt the direct interview would be the best tool to discover their points of view and explore the possible impact their participation in the leagues has had on them. The direct interview represented an interactive mode of representation where the filmmaker goes beyond merely filming an event, but interacts with the people involved (Nichols, 1991).

As the documentary progressed however, particularly in the postproduction phase, I found it difficult to tell the full story through interviews only because the answers the participants provided often did not include enough information about the question to clearly interpret the meaning of the answer. For instance, when I asked Laurie about what initially drew her into bowling, her response was “My grandfather.” She went on to elaborate and provide some great information and insight, but the connection between her grandfather and her initial interest could not be made by her answer alone. I needed to incorporate some signals to help the audience understand the context of the answers provided by the social actors. During the interviews, I did not record myself asking the questions because I wanted to let the answers guide the documentary and did not want to deal with the addition of more microphones when I felt they were unnecessary, but this left me without the questions being asked on film.

I could have recorded the questions and added them into the video easily, but I did not want a simple question and answer format to occur. I decided to utilize a narrator and some text to help direct the documentary and allow the audience to follow the logical continuity of the argument. The incorporation of the voice-over narrative and the titles lead the documentary towards an expository documentary. Within the expository mode, more external sounds are used and an authoritative commentary is directed at the viewer to inform them about how things are (Nichols, 1991). As *Bowling Together* progressed through the postproduction it felt more and more like an expository documentary because of the structure and techniques, but still represented an interactive ideal. My final product fell somewhere between the expository and interactive modes, utilizing different techniques to tell the message and adapting the techniques to best perform the desired function.

Within the modes of representation, it seems that not only are different techniques utilized, the goals are often quite different. The expository mode often utilizes the authoritative voice to express how things are and make an argument about the truth. The interactive mode however, looks for specific information from the participants through interaction with the filmmaker to discover one version of the truth from the participants' perspectives. *Bowling Together* not only seems to fall in between the modes in terms of techniques used, but also in the general intent. The film started as an attempt to understand the perspective of the bowlers, a clear interactive mode, but finished as something that comes close to expressing a possible idea about how things are in general. The narration takes the experiences and

evidence provided by these bowlers and looks to make possible generalizations about how things are overall in regards to bowling league participation as it relates to community and family ties. I tried to keep from using the narrations to make a claim about how things are, instead I tried to create an argument about how things are for this particular group of bowlers and that a possibility exists for this to be true throughout the leagues. While the voice-over is often used as an authoritative voice of how things are, there is nothing inherently authoritative about the voice-over (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). The argument remains grounded in *a* truth instead of *the* truth, but looks to move beyond this one case into the possibilities of a greater understanding.

The idea of “truth” remains a key concept throughout documentary theory, often attempting to define and delineate the fine line between the creative treatment of actuality and actuality itself. I feel Nichols put it best when he explained that objectivity is itself a perspective (1991). Coming to *the* truth seems to be an impossible task because, like true objectivity, everything comes from a perspective. The terministic screens that influences how one sees life are unavoidable (Burke, 1966). In my case, I entered the project with a personal history of participation in bowling leagues and as I talked with the others and worked towards a coherent narrative and sound argument, I drew from my personal experiences to help me better understand and interpret the information. The experience I had in this process may be unique and more extensive than most filmmakers, but I think the idea holds true for all. Of particular note, I realized that the more I researched early on, before the filming, the more I tended to interpret the information I gathered, further tinting my

view on the subject. If one does enough research to understand the subject as best they can, they will undoubtedly start interpreting the information in one way or another and start forming a perspective on the subject before they ever start the production process. Beyond the initial research, as I filmed and tried to find the narrative within my story, I had to interpret the footage to best determine how to put the film together, adding even more perspective into the film. As much as one tries to keep the documentary as accurate to reality as possible, there will always be things that influence the filmmaker's perspective.

The decisions made about what to film, what not to film, what to utilize and what to omit are some ways that perspective manifests. The experience of creating the documentary made me realize that these decisions are not always within the control of the filmmaker. As discussed earlier, the omission of evidence can be just as powerful as the inclusion of evidence, but how does a filmmaker overcome the impacts of omitting material when they have no choice in the matter? This question haunted me throughout the production because of the circumstances surrounding the relocation of Laurie and Randy before I could get as much footage as I would have liked. While I interviewed the four members of the team, I was unable to get footage of the four team members bowling together due to unforeseen circumstances. By using the footage and not showing Laurie bowling with the others, the audience could interpret the situation in a manner that does not fit with the story being told. The omission could not be avoided unless I didn't show any footage of them bowling at all, but that would leave only interviews that provide no visual aesthetics to keep the audience interested. The

omission could lead the audience to perceive a possible problem within the group, which would not be consistent within the confines of the argument being formed, but might be accurate within the realm of the reality since the team faced the inevitability of breaking up due to the move.

This contrast between the story told and the reality of the situation became a major point of contention for me throughout the filming. This contrast made me see another aspect of truth that plays a large role in the concept of documentary, the idea that a film can never fully express the entirety of most situations because a documentary must start and end while reality continues. Walter Fisher sees the world as a set of stories (1987) and these stories are what the documentary filmmaker often looks for. If the world essentially exists as a set of stories, then in order to tell the stories effectively, it would seem necessary to determine where one story ends and another begins. I found this distinction to be critical in making my film because I had to determine whether to include Laurie and Randy's impending move within the film. While I had evidence that I omitted, the story I had to tell was that of their experiences together, which essentially ended around the time of my production. Including the move in the film would actually start telling the next story without the proper context to understand the story. The move represents the start of the next chapter of their lives, the next story to be told, but in telling stories, the story should be complete.

While I knew Laurie and Randy were going to move after that league ended, I could not fully justify including that piece of evidence within the film because it represented a new story that had not yet happened and could present an argument in

the eyes of the audience that may not be an accurate one because the full context of the evidence cannot be fully known until after the story occurs. This argument represents the key distinction between document and documentary for Rosen because “*we* now always know more than *they* did then” (1993, p 59). Laurie and Randy’s move remains somewhere between past and present and cannot fully function within the documentary because it cannot move beyond the phase of raw material and evidence into the realm of documentary without the ability to construct the narrative around it.

Overall, it seems that Grierson’s definition of documentary as the “creative treatment of actuality” (Winston, 1995) still provides a strong understanding of the concept around documentary because it allows for the diversity of styles and functions of documentary films while keeping attention on the relationship between documentary and reality without claiming pure truth. The difference between presenting actuality and being a creative treatment of actuality remains a critical distinction. As Nichols explained, it is the difference that makes a difference (1991). The documentary format can never fully present *the* truth because the full story can never truly be told from every perspective. There will always be a process of selecting what to film, what to include in the film as well as determining where the story begins and ends. These decisions may be made by the filmmaker or they may be imposed upon the film by factors outside the control of the filmmaker, but either way, they function as part of the creative treatment that represents the difference between actuality and the representation of actuality in film.

However, the documentary film, while never being able to fully reach *the* truth, differs from fiction films in its attempt to represent actuality. In essence, documentaries seem to use natural materials to try and represent the world we live in through narratives and arguments. While the arguments may vary and perspective plays a large role, this connection to actuality remains a crucial aspect within the concept of documentary.

### ***Documentary Production***

The process of creating *Bowling Together* allowed me to see many key elements of filmmaking unique to documentary production. First, documentary film production requires as much preparation as possible because of the nature of reality; a filmmaker often gets only one opportunity to get the footage. My mistakes with the exposure and white balance settings had to be adjusted for in postproduction and the resulting aesthetic impact had to be accepted because I could not go re-shoot the interviews without risk of compromising the sincerity and authenticity of the answers as the participants might have attempted to adjust their answers or try to recreate what they already said. Preparation cannot always prevent problems from occurring because the documentary filmmaker does not have much control over the subject or the participants, but it certainly helps one better adjust when problems do occur.

Secondly, the documentary filmmaker must carefully utilize their crew. I did not use a crew in an attempt to keep the documentary production small and as unobtrusive as possible when filming the bowling leagues in an attempt to minimize the disruption to the bowlers, but there were many times that another person would

have been beneficial to ensure capturing the best material possible. The filmmaker must work to balance the need for crewmembers to help with the production and the need to keep from disrupting the events.

Finally, and most prominently, the biggest difference I encountered between documentary production and other video production came during the postproduction phase as I tried to put together the footage I had. I found that my documentary relied heavily on evidentiary editing instead of continuity editing, much like Nichols noted (1991). My experience with editing revolved primarily around continuity editing to help tell a story from a script and montage editing based on images where the sound track helped enhance the video.

The materials I gathered had to be edited together in a manner that made sense of the evidence and created a logical continuity (Nichols, 1991). While I wanted to tell the story of the Franklins and reveal the possible relationship between family and bowling leagues, the editing had to revolve around a logical argument and not just telling a story. While the observational mode of documentary may focus more on continuity editing and representing the events as they occur, the interactive and expository modes of representation rely more on evidentiary editing to make sense of the materials. This shift from continuity editing to evidentiary editing presented a major obstacle for me during the process because I had to learn to edit around the evidence provided from the words spoken during the interviews instead of the around visual images I collected.

During the postproduction process of creating *Bowling Together*, I had to adjust my thought process from a visually oriented framework to a sound oriented basis. My final product came about as a result of the paper edit where the focus was put squarely on the logical construction of an argument and not on how well the images and sounds flow and tell a linear story. The fiction film relies on logical sequencing of images and sounds that make sense chronologically and spatially while the documentary film will more likely rely on logical sequencing of evidence to form a strong argument. For me, this difference required a shift in my normal approach to editing and caused many difficulties, but I now feel more comfortable in the process and the different ideas inherent in each approach.

Overall, the process of creating *Bowling Together* helped me see that not only does participation in bowling leagues help build stronger communities, it may have a strong influence on the family. While one family's experiences cannot provide conclusions about the impact participating in bowling leagues has on all families, it does provide insight into an idea that, to this point, has not directly been addressed within most of the research.

More importantly for myself, taking part in the documentary process allowed me to better understand many issues within the realm of documentary film theory and documentary production. Creating *Bowling Together* gave me my first experience in documentary production and I learned a lot about the production process and some theoretical aspects of documentary film, but I realize that this first experience represents a beginning, not an end. The conclusions I drew from this first experience

help me see one small piece of a large field because documentary film covers such a wide array of structures, functions, and subjects. This first experience provided me many insights, but these insights have only opened the door. With every documentary endeavor I take on in the future, I will be able to see new aspects of documentary theory, new production techniques to use, and new choices that occur during the production process.

## Limitations

The process of creating *Bowling Together* provided me great insight into the field of documentary production and theory as well as the idea of civil society as it relates to bowling leagues, but many things occurred throughout the process that could have been done differently and much more could have been done in general.

In terms of the relationship between family and civil society, the ideas within my documentary and my research should be taken as exploratory possibilities that are open for further research. If I were to fully explore the relationship between family and bowling league participation, I would have to secure many more interviews and travel outside of this particular community in order to assure the validity of the ideas. While these ideas may appear throughout the interviews I performed, the scope of the interviews did not include a large enough sample to make any conclusions beyond ideas possible for further research. The ideas stemming from *Bowling Together* are ones that I feel need to be explored and I hope this might allow for more steps to be taken in that direction in future research.

Along those same lines, my final product looks to educate society on the possible impacts of participation within bowling leagues and fuel further research in the field of civil society, but in order to accomplish this, I would need to focus more attention on the distribution process and getting the message out to people who can utilize the information. Throughout the process I kept in mind the audience and perceptions that may be formed by those watching the film, but I could spend more time narrowing down the audience and focusing more attention on who exactly might

be viewing this film. In order to get my ideas out to an audience and educate people about these possible ideas, I have to determine how I plan on distributing the final product and who I plan on targeting with distribution. This particular issue has been omitted from this thesis because of time limitations and difficulties finalizing a product that I felt comfortable with, not because it holds less weight than any other part of the process. With more time and a product that was not hindered by circumstances such as subjects moving from the area and being ill, I would spend more time on distribution of the final product.

While my lack of experience creating documentary films helped me view the process from a fresh perspective, it also accounted for many small problems and some decisions I would change if I were to do it all again. Personally, I am never satisfied with the videos I create, no matter what the subject matter, for there will always be something I could have done differently. I don't think I want to be completely satisfied with anything I create because I feel everything can be better and that feeling pushes people to do new things and keep working to improve their abilities. If you are satisfied, you may become complacent and stop growing as an artist, as a videographer, and as a person.

While I tried to minimize the size of the film crew because of the timing issues and desire to minimize the level of interference I would cause during filming, I could have easily had one person help during the filming and that may have allowed for better exposure during the interviews. I would either find an interviewer with more experience who could better adapt to different people throughout the interviews, a

problem I ran into during interviews with Randy and Laurie together, Bill, and Gary. A more experienced interviewer that did not have the same connection with many of the participants may have helped elicit answers that could be better utilized within the final product. Using another interviewer could also allow me to focus more attention on the filming process, allowing me to adjust for any problems that I may notice during filming. As it happened, I split my attention between filming and interviewing, possibly hindering both. I could have also incorporated another camera operator to help out with setup and camera operation during the filming, allowing me to focus on the interviews and the other operator to focus on proper composition and exposure. Another experienced camera operator would have also provided good feedback on shots and allowed me to get a different perspective throughout the process. In general, I realized that I can't always produce a documentary alone, I should rely on others to help. I may not always possess the necessary skills for every aspect of production and because of the nature of filming a documentary, you often have only one chance to capture the event, so having others to assist with the production can help ensure the event gets captured on film.

Finally, in exploring documentary theory, I focused on defining documentary film, distinguishing documentary film from both the document and ethnographic film. However, the lines between documents, ethnographic film and documentary are not that well defined. In his book, *Blurred Boundaries* (1994), Nichols looks at some of the differences between ethnographic film, reality television, and documentary film. While I narrowed my scope to include the most commonly accepted forms of

documentaries, future research would include more discussion regarding the distinctions between the documentary form and the other genres that share many characteristics. With the prominence of reality television programming over the last decade, I think much could be done to compare and contrast the concepts surrounding reality television and documentary theory and the impacts each form has on audience interpretation of the other.

Overall, my thesis represents a beginning in many respects and should be looked at as such, not as a conclusion. My research regarding civil society and group participation allowed me to uncover a possible connection between participation within bowling leagues and family unity, but in order to draw many firm conclusions, much more research must be done on a larger scale with a more appropriate sample set. My look into documentary theory helped me to better understand many functions, forms, and traits of documentary films, but really from a limited scope because I approached it from the perspective of producing a single documentary. Future research can build from this one experience and approach the theoretical concepts around documentary film from more perspectives and different production processes to provide more insight and maybe explore the boundaries between the documentary and other forms such as ethnographic film and reality television.

This thesis also represents the beginning of my exploration into documentary production from a fiction film background. While I may not have been satisfied with many of aspects of filming and believe I could have done things differently to help improve the process, in the field of documentary production it seems that you work

with what you have. There are no second takes when an event occurs. Nothing will ever go perfectly and you cannot dwell on what could have been, you must move forward with what has happened. In fiction film production, you can have the actors redo a scene if the filming does not go well the first time, but this option rarely exists within documentary production. I learned a lot from my mistakes, sometimes dwelling on them too long, but eventually I accepted the mistakes and moved on. While these mistakes may have been limitations for this production, they will act as guides for the next production.

## Conclusion

The process of creating my documentary, *Bowling Together*, helped me better understand the theories of documentary and how these theories interact with the production process. I gained first hand experience in creating a documentary and faced many of the issues that come with documentary production and I learned how every decision one makes as a documentary filmmaker impacts the structure, function and role of the documentary, the issues at the core of documentary theory.

In my attempt to better understand the documentary film through creating a documentary, I also gained insight into the world of league bowling and how this civic association within civil society interacts with the heart of civil society, the family. While my primary goal for creating my documentary centered on gaining a better understanding regarding the theories surrounding documentary film, my documentary also served its function by helping me understand the subject at hand.

I started by laying a foundation of research in the areas of civil society, documentary theory and documentary production within the literature review. This research enhanced my understanding of the process of creating a documentary from start to finish, what the finished product might look like, what function it might serve and acted as the first phase of the actual process as I started on the preproduction phase while still pursuing an understanding of the subject I planned on tackling within the documentary.

As I went through the preproduction, production and postproduction phases of the documentary creation process, I explained each step and went through each

decision I had to make and the impact each decision would have on the final product. Through the step-by-step recounting of the process, I better understood how many of the decisions impacted the process and the product and the relationships between the production of the documentary text and the interpretations and theories about the documentary text.

Interactions with the league bowlers and the research I conducted on civil society lead me to a possible connection between league bowling and the family. Bowling in leagues seems to help keep many families going strong and allow family members to bond through their time bowling together while many of the bowlers were introduced into league bowling through family members. This relationship between bowling and families represents a realm of study that could be explored further as one looks at the roles of the civic associations and how each one impacts the lives of the participants. Instead of looking at overall participation numbers and treating all civic associations as having equal impact on civil society, future research might do well to look at the different impacts individual organizations and associations have on civil society because some may have more impact than others.

As for the documentary film, it appears that John Grierson's early definition of documentary as the "creative treatment of actuality" (Watson, 1995) still provides enough leeway to accommodate all of the different modes of representations (Nichols, 1991), documentary tendencies (Renov, 1993), cinematic techniques used and overall differences between each film while maintaining the connection between the film and reality that differentiates documentary film from other fiction films. My experience

gave me insight into the expository and interactive modes of representation (Nichols, 1991) and how these particular forms of documentary film work and how any one film can utilize multiple modes. Creating *Bowling Together* gave me one experience to draw upon in my studies, but represents only one small area within documentary theory and production. I would like to go through the experience many more times and compare how the subjects, procedures, and functions of each film changes the meanings and my view on documentary theory.

This project, being my first experience with documentary production, allowed me to look at the subject from a fresh new perspective and really highlighted the differences between documentary film and fiction film in structure, meaning and production. The difference between evidentiary editing and continuity editing became a crucial factor in the process of creating my documentary and necessitated a major shift in my perspective about editing. While my inexperience in documentary production helped provide me a fresh perspective on the concepts and procedures, it also lead to many difficulties that may have been avoidable with more experience.

Overall, I found this entire process to be a valuable experience and allowed me to see the documentary theories as they apply to the production process as well as the final product. Mixing theory and production together helped me understand both more clearly, and may prove to be useful for many on both sides of the fence. I hope to continue creating documentaries and better understand how the documentary film continues to change and adjust as new technologies are introduced and new ideas are introduced within the production. Eventually, I may want to tackle the realm of

bowling leagues again and look deeper into the connections made within the leagues through another documentary. Who knows, I may revisit the Franklin family and Diane Nakashima to see how the next chapter of their story turns out.

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## **Appendix A**

### Questions for interviews of bowlers

- What is your name? Please state and spell
- How long have you been bowling?
- Are you in a league? If so, how many?
- What got you interested in bowling?
- Why did you initially join a bowling league?
- How long have you been bowling in leagues?
- Why do you continue to bowl in leagues?
- Is there a sense of community and kinship that you feel with the other bowlers in the league? If so, how would you describe it?
- Are there rituals, etiquette rules or other common behaviors that are followed by league bowlers that might not be so obvious to non-league bowlers?
- What are some interesting terms and lingo that you might hear around the leagues?
- Over the last decade or so, have you noticed any trends about league numbers or people who are joining leagues?

### Questions for interviews of owners/league officials

- What is your name? Please state and spell
- How long have you owned the bowling alley or been part of the operation of leagues?
- Are you in a league? If so, how many?
- What got you interested in bowling and this side of bowling?
- Is there a sense of community and kinship that you notice within leagues? If so, how would you describe it?
- Are there rituals, etiquette rules or other common behaviors that are followed by league bowlers that might not be so obvious to non-league bowlers?
- What are some interesting terms and lingo that you might hear around the leagues?
- About how many bowlers are currently in leagues here?
- Over the last decade or so, have you noticed any trends about league numbers or people who are joining leagues?

## **Appendix B**

# Personal Release Form

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Name (printed)

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Production Dates

## ***Bowling Together***

Highland Bowl

In consideration of my appearance in the above Program, I hereby authorize Casey Campbell to record my name, likeness, image, voice, and performance on film, tape, or otherwise for use in the above Program or parts thereof. I agree that the Program may be edited as desired and used in whole or in part for any and all broadcasting, audio/visual, and/or exhibition purposes in any manner or media, in perpetuity throughout the world. I understand that I have no rights to the Program or any benefits derived therefrom.

I consent to the use of my name, likeness, image, voice and biographical material about me in connection with the promotion of the Program

I represent that I have the right to enter into this Agreement and that my performance and the rights I have granted in this Agreement will not conflict with or violate any commitment or understanding I have with any other person or entity.

This Agreement represents the entire understanding of the parties and may not be amended unless mutually agreed to by both parties in writing.

---

Signature

Date

## Location Agreement

I hereby give permission to Casey Campbell to enter and videotape on the premises of **Highland Bowl** located at 2123 NW 9<sup>th</sup> St in Corvallis, Oregon 97330 and use all images, likenesses and names associated with said premises. I give permission for all video footage and sound recordings obtained at **Highland Bowl** to be used in the video documentary tentatively titled "Bowling Together" and the reproduction, exhibition and distribution of the finished production including, but not limited to: film festivals, broadcast and educational purposes. All video footage and sound recordings become property of Casey Campbell.

I release all persons involved from any liability connected with the taking, recording, or publication of videotapes or sound recordings obtained on the premises of **Highland Bowl**.

I declare that I have the full rights and authority to enter into this agreement and grant the rights herein granted without any further permission from other people, firms or entities. I have fully informed myself of this consent, waiver of liability, and release before signing it.

_____	_____	_____	_____
(Signature)	(Date)	(Signature)	(Date)
_____	_____	_____	_____
(Please Print Name)		(Please Print Name)	
_____	_____	_____	_____
(Title)		(Title)	
_____	_____	_____	_____
(Address)		(Address)	
_____	_____	_____	_____
(Business Phone)		(Business Phone)	

## **Appendix C**

## Interview Transcriptions

### ***DD Nakashima***

C: What is your name?

D: My name is Diane Nakashima. Most people call me DD, that's just a nickname I had growing up. It just something that uh.... usually people at work don't call me DD, but most of my friends do.

C: So you go by DD in the leagues?

D: Yeah, but when it's an official tournament I have to use my real name so I use to Diane, but most people in league know me as DD

C: How long have you been bowling?

D: I've been bowling for about 25 years. I started when I was about 8 or 9. You know, bowling junior bowlers every Saturday mom and dad would drop me off at the bowling alley and I would bowl in the morning.

C: Were your parents bowlers?

D: My mom is still bowling. My dad taught my mom how to bowl and so when I was a little kid, both of them did bowl leagues... I don't remember how many. But some time after that my dad did stop bowling and my mom continued.

C: So you are in a league right now?

D: I am actually in two leagues. Um... one is Tuesday night which is a women's league and then I bowl on Thursday night which is a mixed league.

C: And what really got you interested in bowling? Your family?

D: Yeah, I think it was one of those things where mom never brought us to the bowling alley and so it was always something that... you know, we were always curious about what mom and dad did so when they did had free time they brought us to the bowling alley and I thought it was fun.

C: And why did you initially join the leagues?

D: Well, after I left Hawaii to come up to school, I didn't bring any of my bowling stuff. I actually went up to Linnfield to swim and so there was a period of approximately 8 years or so when I didn't do any bowling at all. Then I applied for pharmacy school at Oregon State and Laurie got in touch with and she was still in this area cause Laurie and I bowled when we kids in Hawaii. She gave me a call and said "hey, why don't you come bowling" and so she kind of got me back into bowling, she and Randy did.

- C: And why do you continue to bowl in leagues? What really gets you excited to bowl in leagues?
- D: For one, it's a social activity. When you hear bowling, you spend more time socializing between your turns than you do actual bowling so you know, it's just a chance to come out and have some fun with some friends.
- C: Along the same lines, would you say there is a good sense of community and a sense of kinship amongst the bowlers in leagues?
- D: Yeah, I think so. You know, usually when you see somebody who bowls around town you say hi to them. When you're here at the bowling alley, everybody is here to have fun so it is a pretty social atmosphere.
- C: Is there a difference between the leagues?
- D: Yeah I think the mixed league is a little bit more competitive, you know, because you've got the men trying to make sure the women don't beat them. But you know, you have a little bit more interaction.
- C: When you bowl in league, do you notice any rituals or etiquette type things that happen?
- D: There are some. Um... You know, one of the biggest etiquettes is to just make sure you don't step up on other bowlers because sometimes that can distract them from what they are trying to accomplish. Another thing I have seen when somebody maybe has a string of strikes looking for a perfect game, you know, for some people you just talk up with them and try to distract them from their bowling. Others you just kind of leave them alone. It's stuff you just kind of pick up on when people are stringing strikes together. People say "oh don't talk to him cause it will make him more nervous" or "we need to talk to her because she is going to get nervous and start thinking about it." So those are some things. Sometimes, you know, when I'm on a string I try to do the same thing. Try to not pay attention to what is actually occurring because I am one of those that probably get nervous when I do start stringing some together.
- C: Have you ever bowled a 300?
- D: I have not. The highest game I have bowled is a 281.
- C: When you are league bowling, what some common lingo non league bowlers might now understand?
- D: Um... Well, there are certain types of leaves, like the big 4 or the greek church, you know, things like that. You know, certain things about the oil, is it dry? In Hawaii we use to say is it fast or is it slow? And if it was fast, there was a lot of oil, if it's slow there's not a lot of oil and it's going to hook. They don't use that here, mostly they talk about the length of the oil, that kind of thing. You know, if you have a five bagger that's five strikes in a row, that kind of thing.

- C: Through the time you have been bowling have you noticed a difference in numbers of bowlers, size of the leagues or the type of bowlers that are joining the leagues?
- D: Over the last couple years, previously there was another alley in town and when that place closed, you know, the size of the leagues got bigger. Every year we do see people who are either picking up bowling for the first time or coming back to leagues which is nice because you do see the same people over and over again, year after year, but it is nice to see new faces who are trying out bowling for the first time.

### ***Laurie Franklin***

C: Could you say your name and spell your name please.

L: Laurie Franklin

C: How long have you been bowling?

L: In leagues or all together?

C: All together?

L: Probably close to 30 years.

C: In leagues?

L: About 26 years.

C: Are you currently bowling in leagues?

L: Yeah, right now I bowl in two different leagues, one's a women's league and one's a mixed league.

C: What initially got you interested in bowling?

L: My grandfather. My grandfather started bowling when he retired and um, it was just something for him to do and something that he could go and socialize with some friends, other seniors. And he got my brother involved and I just would go down with him and enjoyed myself, and started grabbing the ball and throwing it and this was before bumpers, so the first game I ever bowled was a three. For ten frames I had three. And then when I turned eight I joined junior bowling.

C: Why did you initially join leagues?

L: Well, my brother was in it at that point and it just seemed like a lot of fun. We just figured that on Saturdays it was something for us to do, we were involved with a lot of different activities but bowling was something we really stuck with. That, I think it was a family affair since my brother and my grandfather were in it and it was a way for me to connect with both of them.

C: Why did you keep going with the leagues after you went away from your family?

- L: Why did I keep going with the leagues? I was good at it. And you like to do things that you are good at it and I wanted to hone my craft. And it was something that I enjoyed that wasn't academic. I could do that even when it was raining outside and it was cold, and when I moved here I had no plans to, when I moved here from Hawaii, I had no plans to continue bowling because I didn't know what the culture was like here. Someone approached me when I was a freshman in college and said "hey, why don't you join the team?" So, I continued to bowl with OSU and then join community leagues.
- C: Within the leagues is there a sense of community that seems to form amongst the bowlers?
- L: Definitely. That's one of the reasons I continue to bowl in leagues because of the fact that you can go and see the same people every week. I have been bowling in this town for sixteen years now, in leagues, and the least amount of leagues that I bowl, per week, for all these years have been two. So this is the least amount of leagues I have bowled in and that is simply because of the kids that we have.
- C: Is there a difference between the mixed league and the women's league?
- L: I think it's chattier with the mixed leagues. There's a variety of different levels as far as skill levels. With the women's league, there's um, it's more of older women who get together, it's three people on a team. They're really there to have fun, many of them have teams with their families, so... with me I have my two best friends that I bowl with in that league, DD and our friend Patsy Hendricks and so it's just a matter of us getting together and having fun and a girls night out. Where as the mixed league, I bowl with my husband and with my father in-law and with DD and it's more competitive. There's higher average bowlers in there, you're focused more, but it's a lot of fun because you rib people and you really get to see the people you don't get to see on a women's league obviously.
- C: Is there terminology or lingo or certain etiquettes that non-league bowlers might not understand?
- L: Non-league bowlers probably wouldn't understand all of the etiquettes such as making sure the person next to you, bowling on the next lane, isn't bowling and you just running up on them. So that's probably one of the biggest things. Taking pictures, with flash, that's one thing that league bowlers just totally despise because when you're focused and you're trying to get a strike and you see this flash out of the corner of your eye it's pretty distracting, a lot like golf I guess. So those are the two common things that non-league bowlers probably wouldn't think of.
- C: Are there common rituals or superstitions that are seen within league bowling?
- L: You know, bowling, as with any other sport is very, very superstitious. If you are bowling well and you have to go to the bathroom, you don't go until you are done with your string and you stop striking. Um... And that's something that you will

hear a lot. Or if you are bowling really well and you are using one certain bowling towel, you don't wash it until you're string is over, you know, until you are in a slump and then you go home and you wash all of that bad luck off and then you try again. So it's really dumb stuff, but it just gets in your head and its just fun.

C: What are some interesting terms or phrases that you have heard in league?

L: You mean terminology as far as when you're bowling and your ball is crossing over to the other side and you're yelling Brooklyn and people are like, what is that? Yeah there's different terminology for things we do like, crossover, carry, meaning carry the pins. Getting a Brooklyn strike. It's very vocal. It's a very vocal sport. You know people think that you just come down here and you bowl and it's quiet and you can be not very athletic and it's not very exciting, but it's very much different than that.

C: Finally, over the last few years while bowling, have you noticed any trends in the number of league bowlers, the size of the leagues or the people who are bowling in leagues?

L: Definitely. When I first started sixteen years ago in this town, they didn't have.... We had a lot more bowlers. We had, I believe, in our association, almost 400 women bowlers and that number has dwindled down to less than 250, we are struggling to keep the numbers over 200. A lot of that has to do with the age of the bowlers, many times, you know, with the soccer moms and the demographics that way, many people are dropping out of bowling to pay more attention and spend more time with their families. Many of the families now are dual career instead of one parent staying at home and taking care of the kids, which makes a huge difference demographically. There's a lot more juniors that are coming up in bowling. Soccer is huge now where it wasn't about 16, 20 years ago, 30 years ago, but the kids are really coming back and getting to know bowling a lot better and having fun with it. And a lot of it has to do with how the businesses set themselves up with the rock n' bowl, with the jazzy colors of the bowling balls and bowling shoes, with the bumper bowling, things of that sort that they really have to change to attract new bowlers because of the fact that what they have been doing for centuries basically isn't working any more to keep the bowlers interested.

C: Have you been to the rock n' bowl?

L: I would love to go, but unfortunately... fortunately or unfortunately, we have two little kids and so because of that, my husband and I don't bowl as much as we used to, we don't bowl tournaments as much. And rock n' bowl is usually at nine o'clock or ten o'clock at night and the kids have to be in bed, so, being responsible adults, we tend to stay home with them during that time.

**Randy Franklin**

C: What is your name and spell it.

R: My name is Randy Franklin.

C: How long have you been bowling?

R: Roughly 35 years.

C: Are you currently in a league?

R: Yes, two. One on Wednesday night and one on Thursday night.

C: What kind of leagues are they?

R: I bowl on a 5 man men's league on Wednesday and a four person mixed on Thursday.

C: What got you interested in bowling?

R: My dad was in the service, we moved around a lot and one of the steady things that we got to go to each time was a bowling alley. When you're kind of a military brat, it seems that you kind of look for something that's kind of consistent. Bowling tends to be that way so we all got into it... I am one of three kids, all three of us bowl and my parents bowl.

C: Why did you initially join a bowling league?

R: Competition I think. I have always been competitive. I did a lot of sports when I was a kid, football, baseball. When it kind of rains you kind of go indoors, seem like the natural thing to do. I wasn't really tall so basketball wasn't really an option, so I bowled.

C: How long have you been bowling leagues?

R: I started my first league when I was about eight, bantam league. I bowled Saturday mornings, used to be, I didn't start bowling really a whole lot of leagues until close to high school, in high school started bowling a couple of nights a week at that time.

C: Why do you continue to bowl in leagues?

R: For sure the competitive spirit in me I guess. There's a lot of bowlers. Bowling is the biggest participation sport in America. It seems like everywhere you go they have a bowling alley so it's kind of fun. And I bowl with my dad. I have bowled men's league now for over 20 years, I haven't bowled a men's league without my dad. Just something kind of father son kind of deal.

C: Could you tell us about the recent injury you've had.

R: Yeah, well, I've bowled my whole life right handed. Last year I was bowling city tournament, I drilled... sometimes I drill my own stuff, I get ideas. I drilled the

ring finger on my right hand a little long, um, ended up pulling the tendon away from the bone in my right elbow. Um, because of that I couldn't bowl right handed for the last year, so I've kind of switched hands. Never really done anything left handed, it shows in the way I've been bowling. I'm not very good, but I think it's just a matter of getting out there. A lot of people have given me encouragement that they couldn't do it, or they wouldn't want to do it. I think that really showed that I love the game instead of just going out there to beat everybody. I'm the lowest average in the leagues I bowl. It's fun. It's new... I don't know, like kind of a new frontier, kind of to bowling, I have done most everything, normal wise, right handed. So it's just different, something to do.

- C: So people around the leagues have been generally supportive? Or how has the general response been among the leagues?
- R: Yeah, uh, during the period of time that I bowled men's league, uh... I tend to always be on top. I've averaged pretty good in this town, bowled the most 300s in this town and so I've kind of been a little arrogant I think. And now that I am not up there on top I've gotten kind of that repayment back. A lot of the guys who know me, or close to me, that have been around a few years kind of give me encouragement saying hey you know what, it's really good you've done it, I couldn't do it. A lot of the guys I like to crush like a bug, I suppose, are enjoying it. They finally get a chance to kick my butt instead of the other way around. And that's ok, it's all in good fun.
- C: Would you say that there is a sense of community or kinship that develops within the leagues?
- R: Oh for sure, for sure. Bowling is one of those kinds of sports that you can do it, you know, whether your short or tall, fat or skinny, it doesn't matter. We get people from all walks of life. Um, we've had mayors bowl, people from the university, professors, you know, you're average guy who works at the lumber mill. I work at the university and on my team alone, you know, I bowl with a guy who fixes engines you know. I think what it does is it kind of brings people from different walks of life together doing the same thing, I think that's was sports kind of does anyways. Bowling's a little wide range because you can do it from when you're a little kid all the way up until you're older. We bowl with a guy who's in his 90s. So there's a long time that you can do it and in that time you're going to hit people who do most anything. I do think that it shows some community spirit really. When bowling is good it seems like the community is doing better. When bowling's bad, like now, you know, not enough jobs, kind of drops off. Kind of an indicator I guess.
- C: Do you notice a difference between the two leagues in terms of how well they get along or how close knit they are?
- R: Yeah, yeah, I really do. Uh, men's leagues tend to be a little more competitive. Course you know, you always say... more smoking, more drinking, more cussing

kind of thing in a men's league. I think guys kind of let loose a little bit, you know... politically incorrect kind of thing. Thursday night I bowl with my wife, my wife's friend, and my dad. I think because it's a mixed league it's a little more fun, people are a little more outgoing. They tend to do the cake-on-birthdays kind of thing, anniversaries, when people have kids you know, they kind of give them presents, you know that kind of thing. Yeah, overall, from competitive men's league to mixed it's a more fun-loving kind of deal.

C: Are there different rituals that happen that you have noticed throughout the leagues?

R: Yeah, yeah you do. Rituals could be a lot of things I guess. A lot of people are into luck, I know that on the guy's leagues there's a lot of luck involved. I know myself, I believe in a lot of luck. I wear a little ring on my shoe, I carry the same things in my wallet, I do the same things when I bowl. I don't see that as much in the mixed league, pretty much everybody does their own thing. Guys who go both, do men's league and the mixed, I think they kind of stick with those. You know, you wipe your ball the same amount of times, breathe the same amount of times, that kind of thing. Yeah, so there are some rituals I guess.

C: So, over the last decade or so, have you noticed different trends? Like you mentioned the indicator idea, have there been other trends that you have noticed?

R: Yeah, I think the biggest thing, uh, right now, in the 2000's, 90's, people don't want to commit to a long period of time. Years ago, people started in a league, went 33 weeks, people went ahead and did the 33 weeks. People don't want to do that, fast paced. I noticed, especially in the late 90's and now in the 2000's, people don't want to commit to that long, they want it quick, they want to go. Fast food, you know, fast cars, fast lifestyle. They don't commit, they would rather come in, bowl on a Saturday, or bowl on a Friday, do their games and have fun. That's where a lot of this cosmic bowling, black lights, big music, that kind of thing comes in. I think because of that there is a decline in league play. And, it is, it's because of their life outside of bowling, their life that they're leading during that period of time is quick.

C: Do you agree with the idea of cosmic bowling? Do you go cosmic bowling?

R: Oh, you bet. I think, personally I don't go, um, I got kids so I kind of stay home on those nights. They usually do it on a Friday, Saturday night kind of thing, but I think it keeps the kids off the streets. The biggest thing in town here, especially Corvallis, there's not much to do, for kids to go out and do. When I went to school, went to high school here, went to college here, you know, you went drinking, you went driving... parents don't want that. They're more apt to go ahead and give the kid twenty bucks and say hey, why don't you go down to the bowling alley and that brings them in... brings in a lot of open play. People come in, they do the cosmic bowling and think, hey, this is kind of fun. They then tend

to come in days other than that. You know, get their kids in it and that's kind of fun.

### ***Laurie and Randy Franklin***

C: How long have you been bowling together?

R: Uh, 88'.

L: Yeah, 1988, bout 15, 16 years.

C: Where did you two start bowling together?

R: Oregon State, we were both going to college at the time.

C: Is that how you met?

L: Yes

C: How long were you bowling together, or how long did you know each other before you got married?

L: Uh... 7 years. Something like that, 6 years or 7 years.

C: How did you initially meet? Bowling at Oregon State?

L: Yeah, we were both on the team for Oregon State and he bowled for the men and I bowled for the women obviously. And we traveled a lot together and about a year after we met is when we started dating.

C: Continuing in bowling, are you planning on bringing your children into it?

R: Actually we already have. Our oldest, Tyra, we bowled Disney league this last fall... winter, um, and she did good. She did good. It was fun, she started with a six pound ball and bowled 20 weeks, it was fun.

L: And our youngest subbed for her a couple of times.

C: How old are the children?

L: Tyra's seven and Josie's three.

C: As they get older are you going to keep encouraging bowling? Keep them involved with league bowling?

R: Yeah, I think we will. It gives them something to do. I think it's a clean sport, as far as there aren't too many outside things coming into it like some of the other sports right now. I think they'll enjoy it.

C: Do you two, as a couple that bowls together, see anything interesting or a side of the leagues that other bowlers might not?

L: Well, being competitive bowlers, both of us being competitive bowlers, I think we look at it not just as the social aspect of it but really the competitive aspect. We

really have seen people that, couples that get together, that do that for the social aspect, for something to do as a commonality. Ours is more for, to support each other, to improve our skills and I think it has really helped keep us together, you know, cause it was something we both had the drive for, it was something that was in our heads.

C: Do you see many couples that join the leagues together? How often do you see couples on the same teams?

R: Well, we see it, we bowl a mixed league on Thursday, see a lot of a man and wife, kind of pairs, or a brother and sister kind of deals. I think, as far as this town goes, we have started at a young age and kept going for a long time, that's kind of unusual a little bit I think, because bowling is hit and miss, people do it for a while and stop, do it for a while and stop. Especially when they get kids our age. We were both in the game really big so it's something that brings us together. Fast paced life I think it brings us together one night a week. And that forces us to actually see each other and do something fun without the children. So, yeah, I think that's the same as other people, it's kind of their night out without the children.

### ***Fran Franklin***

C: Could you state your name and spell your name please.

F: Well, I'm Fran Franklin as far as bowling goes. F-R-A-N F-R-A-N-K-L-I-N.

C: How long have you been bowling?

F: This type of bowling I started in about 1964.

C: You mean league bowling?

F: In league bowling, I laid off a few years because of overseas assignments, but yeah.

C: Are you in a league currently?

F: Yeah, I'm in two leagues. I'm in Wednesday night and Thursday night. I used to bowl Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday, but now it's Wednesday and Thursday.

C: What got you interested in bowling? How'd you start?

F: Well, my folks owned two bowling centers when I was a little kid, you know, I guess I always had an interest in after that.

C: What got you interested in the leagues?

F: Well, I like the competition. And I like to get together and BS with the guys and that's a good place to do that. It's better than sitting in a bar.

- C: Why have you continued bowling in leagues? What's kept you interested?
- F: Well, the last few years, it's kind of cause I am bowling with Randy, my son. But, I just kind of like to get together one night a week with the guys, and it's probably a good place because when you get together here you're with 50, 60 guys you can visit with.
- C: In the leagues that you bowl, is there a sense of community or kinship amongst all the bowlers?
- F: Oh certainly, yes. It gives you kind of a club so to speak, cause anywheres you see em, anywheres in town or anywheres, you know em because you bowl with them once or twice a year and if they're on your team, it's every week. It's kind of a nice league.
- C: Is there a noticeable difference between the two leagues that you bowl in?
- F: Big difference between the two leagues I bowl in cause Wednesday night is competitive, it's men only and you know how men are. But on Thursday night it's mixed and it's more of a... it's your turn get up and throw the ball then we go back and visit. But, yeah I have no sense of competition much on Thursday night but Wednesday is the other way around.
- C: So would you say Wednesday night is more about competition or more about social interaction?
- F: It's probably a mixture of both. Everybody likes to socialize, but they also like to win, so when you step up on the approach you're doing the very best you can.
- C: Are there rituals or such things that you would see in a league that others who aren't in leagues might not get a chance to see?
- F: Well, yeah, but it varies a little bit. There are two classes there, you got the guys who are a little higher average, they have a different ritual, they really bear down. And the guys who are just there to visit, their whole situation is I'm here to visit. So, there's a little bit different ritual.
- C: Over the last decade or so and throughout your time bowling, have you noticed a change or a shift in league bowling and how many bowlers there are?
- F: Well, I've noticed a difference in how many bowlers there are because, to me, since about 1970, we had kind of a bad time with the economy and we lost a lot of bowlers who never came back. When I retired out of the service and came here, I couldn't even get on a Wednesday night league, I had to get on a sub list and wait my turn and we had to shifts. Eventually some guys left and I got to come on, but there is a lot less bowlers now. You see a lot of leagues that aren't full like they used to be, and in the older days I call it, you know prior, in them days, I suppose we had 10 or 15 guys just standing by waiting for an opening, like I did. Yeah, there's a big difference now in bowling now. And with the equipment, it used to be you had just half a dozen different kinds of bowling balls, rubber, plastic, that

kind of thing. Now, my goodness, they come out with everything and in my impression, a lot of guys buy a lot their talent now. In the old days, if you didn't have it, you didn't make it. That's why you see the scores up there on the board that are averages over 200. When I was a youngster, if you averaged over 180, you were in the upper class. Now if you're in 180, you know, it just isn't there. Yeah, there's a big difference in bowling.

### ***Bill McNelly***

C: First off, how long have you been bowling?

B: I started in the late 60's, right after I got out of school.

C: What really got you interested in bowling?

B: Uh... family and friends,

C: You have a lot of family who bowl?

B: Yeah. Actually, I was chasing this one gal around and she bowled and that's what first got me started in the leagues.

C: Did you bowl much before the leagues or did you jump right into the leagues?

B: My family bowled a lot, so I went with them. Mostly just open bowling.

C: Why did you continue to bowl in leagues?

B: Oh, I think it's just the competition you know. Always trying to improve and do better.

C: When you bowl, how many leagues do you bowl in?

B: Right now I do three a week.

C: And what kind of leagues are the.

B: Two scratch and one mixed doubles.

C: In those leagues, is there a sense of community and kinship that everybody shares within the league?

B: Absolutely, everyone roots for one another and it's more of a big family kind of thing by the end of the season. Thirty-three weeks is a long time.

C: Is there a difference between the leagues in terms of how they interact?

B: Yes, definitely. Lot more competitive in the scratch leagues.

C: And the mixed doubles, is that more of kind of a fun league?

B: Yes, absolutely.

C: During leagues are there rituals? What kind of rituals or superstitions that you have seen within leagues?

B: Superstitions?

C: Well... does every bowler have a code or a conduct code or how they interact that other bowlers outside of leagues might not understand?

B: I suppose, but I don't know... that's not something I've never really noticed.

C: How long have you been in the bowling business?

B: I've been in the business since 78.

C: Over the last decade or last two decades or so, have you noticed a difference between the people who bowl or the number of people in the leagues?

B: Yes, there's fewer league bowlers. I, I don't think we're on a decline right now though We've sort of leveled off. If anything, we have a few more this year than we did last year. So, I'm thinking that along with the economy, the bowling will pick up. The league bowling anyway.

C: A few years ago, there was another bowling alley in Corvallis, do you know why they went out of business?

B: Oh, I think they... it was a struggle from the beginning over there and I think they had an opportunity for... someone offered them a good price for the property and so they just wanted out.

C: So after they went out, did a lot of league bowlers come over here?

B: Um, a lot of the bowlers that were over there, we already shared. I think our increase was like 10%.

C: Do you happen to know if most bowlers that bowl in league bowl in one or more than one leagues?

B: I think most bowlers bowl in multiple leagues.

C: Is there, kind of for fun, what are some of the strangest bowling lingo or terms you've heard?

B: Um, sour grapes. Ever heard that? 5-7-10, I had never, of course you never leave a 5-7-10. That's one that I had never heard. They've kind of gone away from the old terminology too, they used to call the five pin the king pin, you know, like that. Other than the ones you hear all the time, you know, the big four. Heard a lot of unrepeatable things about certain splits.

C: When you were first getting into this side of bowling, the ownership end of the business, what really drew you into it?

B: Just the sport of bowling I think is the main thing. I was really interested in the mechanics of the ball fitting and that, cause that's what I do now. Then I got into

the pin-setter repair and maintenance and I did that for quite a while. So, I guess the original thing that drew me into it was just the bowling itself. And over the years I still think that bowling is a wonderful sport that everyone can share. There's no age limits on bowling. You can certainly do it with your family any time you want to. I always made it my goal to do something for bowling everyday and I still try to do that. Whether it's getting a ball for you, or showing somebody how to throw a ball, or fixing something here that's broken that somebody else will enjoy later on.

### **Gary Haworth**

C: Are you currently in a bowling league?

G: I'm in one mixed league. Thursday night mixed league. I've been in it for 20 some years and I'm more of a social bowler than a good bowler. I'm here to have fun.

C: What got you interested in league bowling? Why did you start league bowling?

G: Well, it's just something fun to do and you socialize with a lot of people and it's fun just to come down and have something to do every Thursday night.

C: Did you bowl much before bowling in leagues?

G: I didn't bowl at all.

C: So you learned as you went?

G: Other than taking a bowling class at Oregon State, that's the only bowling I had ever done.

C: Who really introduced you to bowling? Who got you started?

G: Well, I... I bought the place before I ever started bowling in a league. So I've been here since 1979 and I started bowling in a league in 1980.

C: What got you to initially buy the bowling alley?

G: Well, I used to manage a large plywood mill. And got tired of that, figured I wanted my own business if I was going to put out that much effort I wanted it to be my own, so I started looking for a business to buy. I had a neighbor who was a realtor and he kept finding things and finally he found this and it sounded good, so.

C: When you're bowling in a league, do you notice a sense of community amongst all of the bowlers within the leagues? Do people really come together to form a community?

G: Well, I think so and I see a lot of the people who have joined leagues and I see them socializing later, you know, doing family things away from the bowling center. Which I think is kind of neat. I think they come here to find something

fun to do and it turns into more than bowling, it turns into part of their social life away from here.

C: Over the past decade or two have you noticed any trends in the numbers of bowlers who are bowling in the leagues?

G: Were... I'm seeing more of a trend, towards not so much competition type bowling but more of the social bowling, you know.... Our men's and women's scratch leagues are not as big as they used to be but our mixed leagues are becoming more popular all the time so. See it just a social thing to do. Certainly people are always competitive, but not in a scratch league like they used to be.

C: Overall, have numbers gone up or down or stayed about the same in terms of league bowling?

G: I think they've stayed just about the same for us. You know, our open play is up quite a bit, but our league bowlers are staying just about the same in numbers. We're finding, I think because of finances, a lot of families that were bowling in two or three leagues, they've all cut back to like one league a piece or something. We don't have near as many multiple league bowlers as we used to.

C: Did the closing of the other alley have an impact on your numbers? Did you get more league bowlers?

G: Not really. We may have gained 100 league bowlers, close to that. They... it wasn't a... Beaver bowl didn't have a lot of bowlers anyways, I guess, to put it bluntly. Some of them moved over here and some didn't, or some of them bowled over here already and they just dropped back and bowled one less league, so.

C: In terms of the bowling, what would you say brings in the most money, or is the biggest revenue maker within the business?

G: It, for us, it's about 50-50 league bowlers versus open play, but open play is still up from what it was 10 years ago.

C: So would you say most of the financial end comes from the bowling itself or the snack bar or...?

G: Oh the bowling itself definitely. Yeah, we couldn't survive without the snack bar and stuff, but definitely the bowling brings in the most money.

C: Finally, have you noticed trends in terms of who is bowling now or getting into bowling now? Differences in who's bowling.

G: Fortunately, we've seen a lot of younger people coming into bowling for fun. That's good, you need to have new blood coming in all the time. Our junior programs are strong, we have lots of junior bowlers. Better than it's ever been. So those are all good signs for the future for bowling, for us anyways.

C: Would you say the Friday nights, the rock n' bowl have been a good addition?

G: Oh yes, definitely. Not only was it a time slot where basically we were closing for the night, we've opened up a new form of revenue, plus we're bringing in all these people and they get interested and then they join leagues. You know, it's been a great thing.

## **Appendix D**

## Final Paper Edit

R: Yeah, I think the biggest thing, uh, right now, in the 2000's, 90's, people don't want to commit to a long period of time. Years ago, people started in a league, went 33 weeks, people went ahead and did the 33 weeks. People don't want to do that, fast paced. I noticed, especially in the late 90's and now in the 2000's, people don't want to commit to that long, they want it quick, they want to go. Fast food, you know, fast cars, fast lifestyle. They don't commit, they would rather come in, bowl on a Saturday, or bowl on a Friday, do their games and have fun.

L: When I first started sixteen years ago in this town, they didn't have.... We had a lot more bowlers. We had, I believe, in our association, almost 400 women bowlers and that number has dwindled down to less than 250, we are struggling to keep the numbers over 200.

F: Well, I've noticed a difference in how many bowlers there are because, to me, since about 1970, we had kind of a bad time with the economy and we lost a lot of bowlers who never came back. When I retired out of the service and came here, I couldn't even get on a Wednesday night league, I had to get on a sub list and wait my turn and we had to shifts. Eventually some guys left and I got to come on, but there is a lot less bowlers now. You see a lot of leagues that aren't full like they used to be, and in the older days I call it, you know prior, in them days, I suppose we had 10 or 15 guys just standing by waiting for an opening, like I did. Yeah, there's a big difference now in bowling now.

R: When bowling is good it seems like the community is doing better. When bowling's bad, like now, you know, not enough jobs, kind of drops off. Kind of an indicator I guess.

Narration : This relationship between bowling and community well being has become a point of interest to many researchers. Robert Putnam, author of *Bowling Alone*, has noted the correlation between civic engagement and the strength of community within the United States. Of particular interest was the participation within league bowling. However, while Putnam and other researchers have focused on the number of participants, it is important to look inside the leagues and see the connection between league bowling and the community. Within the town of Corvallis, Oregon, in one bowling center in particular, this connection can be seen by many of the participants as they continue bowling together.

TITLE: BOWLING TOGETHER

D: When you hear bowling, you spend more time socializing between your turns than you do actual bowling so you know, it's just a chance to come out and have some fun with some friends.

R: There's a lot of bowlers. Bowling is the biggest participation sport in America. It seems like everywhere you go they have a bowling alley so it's kind of fun.

F: It gives you kind of a club so to speak, cause anywheres you see em, anywheres in town or anywheres, you know em.

R: I think what it does is it kind of brings people from different walks of life together doing the same thing, I think that's was sports kind of does anyways. Bowling's a little wide range because you can do it from when you're a little kid all the way up until you're older. We bowl with a guy who's in his 90s. So there's a long time that you can do it and in that time you're going to hit people who do most anything. I do think that it shows some community spirit really.

G: I see a lot of the people who have joined leagues and I see them socializing later, you know, doing family things away from the bowling center. Which I think is kind of neat. I think they come here to find something fun to do and it turns into more than bowling, it turns into part of their social life away from here.

TEXT: Different leagues, competition, and community

F: Everybody likes to socialize, but they also like to win, so when you step up on the approach you're doing the very best you can.

L: Yeah, right now I bowl in two different leagues, one's a women's league and one's a mixed league.

L: With the women's league, there's um, it's more of older women who get together, it's three people on a team. They're really there to have fun, many of them have teams with their families, so... with me I have my two best friends that I bowl with in that league, DD and our friend Patsy Hendricks and so it's just a matter of us getting together and having fun and a girls night out. Where as the mixed league, I bowl with my husband and with my father in-law and with DD and it's more competitive. There's higher average bowlers in there, you're focused more, but it's a lot of fun because you rib people and you really get to see the people you don't get to see on a women's league obviously.

R: Uh, men's leagues tend to be a little more competitive. Course you know, you always say... more smoking, more drinking, more cussing kind of thing in a men's league. I think guys kind of let loose a little bit, you know... politically incorrect kind of thing.

F: Big difference between the two leagues I bowl in cause Wednesday night is competitive, it's men only and you know how men are. But on Thursday night it's mixed and it's more of a... it's your turn get up and throw the ball then we go back and visit.

R: Thursday night I bowl with my wife, my wife's friend, and my dad. I think because it's a mixed league it's a little more fun, people are a little more outgoing. They tend to do the cake-on-birthdays kind of thing, anniversaries, when people have kids you know, they kind of give them presents, you know that kind of thing. Yeah, overall, from competitive men's league to mixed it's a more fun-loving kind of deal.

TEXT: Dealing with adversity...

R: Last year I was bowling city tournament, I drilled... sometimes I drill my own stuff, I get ideas. I drilled the ring finger on my right hand a little long, um, ended up pulling the tendon away from the bone in my right elbow. Um, because of that I couldn't bowl right handed for the last year, so I've kind of switched hands. Never really done anything left handed, it shows in the way I've been bowling. I'm not very good, but I think it's just a matter of getting out there. I think that really showed that I love the game instead of just going out there to beat everybody. I'm the lowest average in the leagues I bowl.

R: Uh, during the period of time that I bowled men's league, uh... I tend to always be on top. I've averaged pretty good in this town, bowled the most 300s in this town and so I've kind of been a little arrogant I think. And now that I am not up there on top I've gotten kind of that repayment back. A lot of the guys who know me, or close to me, that have been around a few years kind of give me encouragement saying hey you know what, it's really good you've done it, I couldn't do it. A lot of the guys I like to crush like a bug, I suppose, are enjoying it. They finally get a chance to kick my butt instead of the other way around. And that's ok, it's all in good fun.

B: Absolutely, everyone roots for one another and it's more of a big family kind of thing by the end of the season. Thirty-three weeks is a long time.

NARRATION: The family you become a part of through bowling can be a figurative one, but one's actual family can play a role also. For one team in particular, bowling in leagues remains a family affair.

TEXT: How did you first get involved with bowling?

- F: Well, my folks owned two bowling centers when I was a little kid, you know, I guess I always had an interest in after that.
- R: My dad was in the service, we moved around a lot and one of the steady things that we got to go to each time was a bowling alley. When you're kind of a military brat, it seems that you kind of look for something that's kind of consistent. Bowling tends to be that way so we all got into it... I am one of three kids, all three of us bowl and my parents bowl.
- L: My grandfather. My grandfather started bowling when he retired and um, it was just something for him to do and something that he could go and socialize with some friends, other seniors. And he got my brother involved and I just would go down with him and enjoyed myself, and started grabbing the ball and throwing it and this was before bumpers, so the first game I ever bowled was a three. For ten frames I had three. And then when I turned eight I joined junior bowling.
- L: ...we were involved with a lot of different activities but bowling was something we really stuck with. That, I think it was a family affair since my brother and my grandfather were in it and it was a way for me to connect with both of them.
- D: My mom is still bowling. My dad taught my mom how to bowl and so when I was a little kid, both of them did bowl leagues... I don't remember how many.
- D: I think it was one of those things where mom never brought us to the bowling alley and so it was always something that... you know, we were always curious about what mom and dad did so when they did had free time they brought us to the bowling alley and I thought it was fun.

TEXT: Building the team...

- L: When I moved here I had no plans to, when I moved here from Hawaii, I had no plans to continue bowling because I didn't know what the culture was like here. Someone approached me when I was a freshman in college and said "hey, why don't you join the team?" So, I continued to bowl with OSU and then join community leagues.
- L: Yeah, we were both on the team for Oregon State and he bowled for the men and I bowled for the women obviously. And we traveled a lot together and about a year after we met is when we started dating.
- L: We really have seen people that, couples that get together, that do that for the social aspect, for something to do as a commonality. Ours is more for, to support

each other, to improve our skills and I think it has really helped keep us together, you know, cause it was something we both had the drive for, it was something that was in our heads.

TEXT: A family affair...

R: And I bowl with my dad. I have bowled men's league now for over 20 years, I haven't bowled a men's league without my dad. Just something kind of father son kind of deal.

F: Well, the last few years, it's kind of cause I am bowling with Randy, my son. But, I just kind of like to get together one night a week with the guys, and it's probably a good place because when you get together here you're with 50, 60 guys you can visit with.

TEXT: Family and friends...

D: Well, after I left Hawaii to come up to school, I didn't bring any of my bowling stuff. I actually went up to Linnfield to swim and so there was a period of approximately 8 years or so when I didn't do any bowling at all. Then I applied for pharmacy school at Oregon State and Laurie got in touch with and she was still in this area cause Laurie and I bowled when we kids in Hawaii. She gave me a call and said "hey, why don't you come bowling" and so she kind of got me back into bowling, she and Randy did.

NARRATION: It seems that bowling in leagues may have more to offer than just a strong community, it can help bring families together. But the question remains, what's in store for the bowling leagues, the community and the family?

R: Well, we see it, we bowl a mixed league on Thursday, see a lot of a man and wife, kind of pairs, or a brother and sister kind of deals. I think, as far as this town goes, we have started at a young age and kept going for a long time, that's kind of unusual a little bit I think, because bowling is hit and miss, people do it for a while and stop, do it for a while and stop. Especially when they get kids our age. We were both in the game really big so it's something that brings us together. Fast paced life I think it brings us together one night a week. And that forces us to

actually see each other and do something fun without the children. So, yeah, I think that's the same as other people, it's kind of their night out without the children.

TEXT: Future generations...

L: Tyra's seven and Josie's three.

R: Our oldest, Tyra, we bowled Disney league this last fall... winter, um, and she did good. She did good. It was fun, she started with a six pound ball and bowled 20 weeks, it was fun.

L: And our youngest subbed for her a couple of times.

D: Every year we do see people who are either picking up bowling for the first time or coming back to leagues which is nice because you do see the same people over and over again, year after year, but it is nice to see new faces who are trying out bowling for the first time.

B: I don't think we're on a decline right now though We've sort of leveled off. If anything, we have a few more this year than we did last year. So, I'm thinking that along with the economy, the bowling will pick up. The league bowling anyway.

B: And over the years I still think that bowling is a wonderful sport that everyone can share. There's no age limits on bowling. You can certainly do it with your family any time you want to. I always made it my goal to do something for bowling everyday and I still try to do that. Whether it's getting a ball for you, or showing somebody how to throw a ball, or fixing something here that's broken that somebody else will enjoy later on.