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JEAN ROUCH BACK IN SCHOOL: TEACHING AND RESEARCH AS A PARALLEL PROCESS THROUGH MEDIA PROJECTS WITH ADOLESCENTS IN SWITZERLAND

ABSTRACT

Adapting Jean Rouch's concept of 'shared anthropology', developed with migrant workers in West Africa, we taught visual anthropology to adolescents in Bern, Switzerland. The article conceptualises the project's epistemological background and explores how we transferred methodological knowledge in visual anthropology to 8th and 9th graders. We first focus on how Rouch and his protagonists developed a specific form of working alliance and thereby invented a new mode of ethnographic film that mixes fact and fiction. We conceptualise this 'ethno-fiction' as a 'model' which combines the generation of knowledge with teaching and learning. Further, we describe how Rouch's 'shared anthropology' arose in our own project and how teaching and research became parallel processes. Finally, we conceptualise the method of 'shared anthropology' as a specific form of a Maussian exchange relationship and show its pedagogical implications for both teaching pupils as well as university students in media production.

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As part of an anthropological research project,[1] we taught visual anthropology to 8th and 9th graders in an ethnically mixed and socially underprivileged part of Bern, Switzerland. Adapting Jean Rouch's methodological concept of 'shared anthropology', developed with migrant workers in West Africa, we taught groups of six to ten adolescents to use camcorders as research instruments.

Like Rouch's protagonists in *Moi, un noir,* these adolescents in Bern were not interested in the theoretical differentiation between documentary and fiction films, nor were they keen on writing scripts or treatments. After some preliminary exercises in fieldwork methodology, and after having been taught basic technical skills in using camcorders and editing programs, the adolescents spontaneously started to explore their urban field with the camera, performing scenes from their everyday lives as well as acting out their dreams and fantasies.

The following article conceptualises the project's epistemological background and explores how our team transferred methodological knowledge in media anthropology to adolescents aged between 14 and 16. The project raises many questions, such as: Which teaching methods are suitable in a classroom of adolescents, and which ones are not, and for what reasons? What does it mean to adapt Jean Rouch's experimental way of cooperation and filmmaking to an educational context with its disciplining pedagogy? How did the youths react to our teaching and to the possibility of publishing their work on a website? The analysis of these questions is based on two years of teaching seven classes (accompanied by participant observation during lessons, shooting and editing, and on some seventy interviews with pupils and their teachers. Exploring the ideas of Rouch while teaching visual methods in ethnically mixed classes in Switzerland at the beginning of the 21st century, allows us to re-examine Rouch's 'performance ethnography' in a new context, half a century after its initial elaboration.

While in other publications we have focussed on the project's results concerning educational inequality in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Oester & Brunner 2015a, b), the present article concentrates on teaching media anthropology following Jean Rouch. We first examine how Rouch and his young protagonists developed a specific form of working alliance - called 'shared anthropology' - and thereby invented a new mode of ethnographic film that mixes fact and fiction. While the latter is well known today as 'ethnofiction', we will conceptualise it as a 'model' which combines the generation of knowledge with teaching and learning. Secondly, we describe how Rouch's 'shared anthropology' manifested itself in our own collaboration with adolescents in Switzerland. Thirdly, we explore the extent to which teaching and research became parallel processes in our project. Finally, in the concluding section, we conceptualise the method of 'shared anthropology' as a specific form of a Maussian exchange relationship and try to show its pedagogical implications for teaching pupils in media production.

ROUCH'S 'ETHNOFICTION'
AS AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL MODEL

For a better understanding of our teaching and research in West Bern, let us start with a short introduction to the filming of Rouch's *Moi, un noir* in the late 1950s. Before starting his project in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Jean Rouch showed parts of his unfinished film *Jaguar* (1957-1967) to a group of sociologists in West Africa. They critically remarked on the fact that the viewer could immediately see that the protagonists in Rouch's film did not really experience migration as such. This critique was Rouch's starting point for shooting *Moi, un noir* (1958).[2] His former acquaintance, Oumarou Ganda, and one of his friends introduced him to the world of migrant workers from Niger and they agreed to collaborate.

The rules were made clear from the very beginning: on the one hand, Rouch's protagonists allowed him to participate in their everyday life with the camera; on the other hand, the two protagonists should be free to express themselves in any way they liked. The three of them became a team and Rouch accompanied his friends during six months of fieldwork and shooting. In the course of events, Oumarou Ganda and his friend transformed themselves into two showbiz characters: Edward G. Robinson, a boxing champion from Harlem, and Eddie Constantine, a singer and actor. Together they started to explore the heavy work of Abidjan's dockers; their leisure time in the evenings and on weekends, their worries as well as their love stories, and the conflicts with competing suitors. What is most remarkable, however, is not the film's documentary approach, but rather the way in which the two protagonists start to improvise, to re-enact scenes from their lives, and express their feelings about the extravagant leisure activities of the white colonialists. They imagine their future and articulate their desires and fears as migrant workers, thereby revealing not only their shortcomings and lack of resources but also their overwhelming *joie de vivre*.

Once he had assembled his materials, Rouch edited the film in Paris on his own and returned to Abidjan, where he recorded Oumarou Ganda's improvised comments made while watching the film. However, Oumarou Ganda was not only an actor in the film; he also co-directed and produced it, and was therefore responsible for the final product. In doing so, he contributed to a work of art: *Moi, un noir* was shown in Parisian arthouse cinemas, it was commented on by avant-garde filmmakers such as Jean-Luc Godard and discussed in the relevant contemporary cinema journals. Rouch later called their specific form of collaboration 'anthropologie partagée' or 'shared anthropology'.[3] As both a fieldwork method *and* a representation strategy, this new approach was developed at a very specific historical moment in the late 1950s when Ivory Coast was on the verge of independence.[4]

By teaching Omarou Ganda and his friends visual methods and involving them in the filmmaking process from the very be-

[2] In his own words, Rouch states: "Un jour, j'ai projeté un film que j'avais fait au Ghana, Jaguar. (...) Donc, je montre ce film aux gens qui faisaient l'enquête sur l'immigration. Ils me disent: 'Mais c'est de la blague, on voit bien que ton héros n'a pas vraiment vécu l'immigration, qu'il ne sait pas ce que cela veut dire. Nous ici, nous savons ce que c'est... J'ai fait la guerre, je suis près à me battre avec n'importe qui. Je suis près à faire la révolution dans ce pays s'il n'avance pas'. C'était des gens très véhéments. Je leur ai proposé de faire le film" (Rouch 1999: 4).

[3] As Piault observes, shared anthropology as a method meant that Rouch was so close to the filmed subjects "que l'on ressent vivre l'Autre" (2000: 212).

[4] Ivory Coast became formally independent from France in 1960.

ginning, Rouch subverted the hierarchical relationship between researcher and the subject researched, between participant observer and 'indigenous people', who often did not know a researcher's objectives at the time. But Rouch also transgressed another boundary: while ethnographic research and shooting are considered by many scholars as two separate phases in a film project (Heider 1976), Rouch let them collapse into one. His participant observation in Abidjan *was* the film, the film itself *is* the analysis and, as an *agent provocateur,* his camera stimulated the events recorded.[5]

Fifty years later, when we ask ourselves why *Moi, un noir* has had such a long-lasting impact on both anthropologists and cineastes, methodology is only one of the reasons. The second reason is an epistemological one, and leads us back to what the improvised story - Rouch occasionally called it '*ciné-fiction',* while a French critic would call it 'ethnofiction' (cf. Sjöberg 2006: 1; Stoller 1992: 143) - meant for the empiricist discipline that was anthropology at the time. To make a clear division between fact and fiction was one of the main epistemological challenges in anthropology's formative phase in the second half of the 19th, and early 20th, century. Field anthropologists began to distance themselves from armchair anthropologists with their speculative theoretical approach. They wanted to find out, and see with their own eyes, how indigenous peoples lived and interpreted their lives, how their institutions functioned, and how these were structured beneath the visible surface (cf. MacDougall 1998: 255).

In the name of the objective fact, many empiricists fiercely distanced themselves from imagination and the image, from fantasies and very often from emotions in general, including their own. It took a long time and deep, far-reaching epistemological reflection in order to re-evaluate the image, the subject, the researcher's emotions and imagination, as well as those of the research partners, and to recognise imagination as an important part in appropriating reality.[6]

Following this new insight, the formerly clear cut boundary between subject and object was challenged, and every representation of the empirical world became at the same time a presentation. What is realised in a film or text is seen through the eyes and actualised by a desiring subject. In other words, what is revealed is not the empirical world as such, existing outside of perception, but a world existing and (re-)presented precisely *because* it is perceived - or 'actualised' in Deleuze's words (1997: 97). Rather than a mimetic copy of the 'real', the actualisation or (re-)presentation is a *model* of the world, a 'map', allowing the subject to situate him- or herself in an ever-changing world. Such a model focuses on the process of *becoming,* and rather than being defined by the two poles of reality versus imagination, its scope is the virtual along with its specific actualisations (Jäger 1997: 263).

Conceptualising 'ethnofiction' as an epistemological model, combining knowledge generation, teaching and learning, we

[5] Like Johannes Fabian (1990) forty years later, Rouch generated the ethnography he sought to present. "Performance", as Fabian says, "is not what they do and we observe; we are both engaged in it" (1990: XV). In the same sense, Victor Turner once called the ethnographer an "ethno-dramaturg" (quoted in Fabian 1990: 7).

[6] The French philosopher Gaston Bachelard emphasises the image and metaphorical language as a productive power, without which insights would not be possible at all: "Science develops much more on the basis of reverie than on the basis of experiments. [...] We have to imagine necessarily more than we know." (Bachelard in: Rötzer 1987: 718–719, translated by K.O.]. And Rötzer concludes: "The 'function of the real', embodied in science, needs to be in a dialectical relationship with the 'function of the un-real', reveries and artistic representations, generating hypotheses which exceed the known reality. Bachelard wants to develop a reverse, entwined relationship between the conceptual activity and imagination which he understands as a productive and polemic rivalry" (Rötzer 1987: 720, translated by K.O.).

have to fundamentally reconsider the film-making process with regard to perception, shooting and editing:

- Apart from Deleuze, as outlined above, we conceptualise *perception* following Christian von Ehrenfels' Gestalt theory (1890) with its focus on the phenomenological world. In such an epistemological approach, perception is not a mimetic act, copying the external world, but an active self-organising process in which the subject is involved, completing the perceived external world with his or her own imaginations and (un-)conscious intentions. The anthropologist Stefan Rieger, therefore, speaks of the subject as a phantom-generating being (*phantombildendes Wesen*) that organises the environment through the forming capability of the senses, particularly with respect to the visual recognition of figures (2003: 186-199). Perception itself is, thus, first and foremost a way of 'modelling the world'.
- Considering film as a model, perception and *shooting* are no longer successive separate activities. On the contrary, the percept *is* the concept, or as Roland Barthes states, the practice of the image is its own theory (Barthes 1990: 159). In 'shared anthropology', perceiving another reality and conceptualising a film means primarily to comprehend and reconstruct together with our research partners how they experience the world, how they perform and articulate themselves in a specific environment to which the filmmaker also belongs. In a process of mutual teaching and learning, filmmaker and protagonists develop a specific representation strategy, including a certain aesthetic style and narrative form.
- *Editing* is either done in collaboration with the research partners or by the filmmaker alone. In each case it means organising the different audio and video materials in order to give the model its final form. In the first case, the film-making process is an exchange relationship from the beginning to the end; in the second case the filmmaker steps back from the field, imposing upon the model its final form. As we have seen, Rouch practised a mixture of both in that he edited *Moi, un noir* in Paris on his own. Back in Abidjan, however, Oumarou Ganda added his own commentary to the film and had the last word.

As our processual description makes clear, 'ethnofiction' as a model differs in substantial ways from fictional films: while the author of the latter is free to re-invent reality according to his or her own imagination, the ethnographer making an 'ethnofiction' film is interested first and foremost in *how the protagonists themselves* (in dialogue with the ethnographer) construct, re-construct and de-construct reality. Ethnofiction as a model therefore means to focus on discourses in action as they are performed and interpreted by specific historical sub-

jects.[7] Such an epistemological approach - brought forward today mostly by authors of the 'performative turn' in the social sciences (Turner 1987; Fabian 1990; Schechner 1995; Denzin 2003) - privileges acts of social performance over structures and competence, and describes precisely Rouch's procedures fifty years ago.

In order to map the migrants' experiences and motivations in Abidjan, Rouch completed the objectivist sociological survey, which was common at the time, by telling a story. The story does not give a logical explanation from *without*, but describes a situation as the protagonists know it from *within*. The film contains documentary as well as fictional parts, and is driven by the migrants' own point of view: through re-enactment and fictional play, they start to reflect on their life world, and the more they express themselves on subjective grounds, the more complex the picture becomes and the closer it comes to their multi-layered, ambiguous reality.

Working together, Rouch and his protagonists created a *model,* picturing the mindset of a number of young Africans and their economic and political situation in the late 1950s. The film offers evidence of a reality in which the migrants' skills and resources, their desires and fears, shape their everyday lives as much as their experience of powerlessness, (symbolic) violence, lack of money and education in a (post-)colonial state.

Today, the multifaceted ways in which migrants live their lives, especially the potentials of their dislocation, remain a blind spot in many migration studies. In politically sensitive situations, studies often try to emphasise the violence and injustice migrants endure - victimising them - or, on the contrary, attempting to criminalise them. The model Rouch created together with his protagonists remains aloof from such simplifications. Indeed, it is so rich that we are able to watch the film fifty years later and still feel its truth and impact on the ongoing debates about migration.

Of all the media options, it was film that allowed Rouch and his protagonists to most adequately represent a migrant's complex reality. The camera allowed Rouch to gather his data on the spot, register his protagonists' performances *sur-le-vif*, accompanying them day and night. That was when Rouch's camera became an *agent provocateur* and Rouch turned ethnographic research into 'performance ethnography'.[8]

REDISCOVERING ROUCH:
THE 'JUMPCUTS' PROJECT

The 'Jumpcuts' project (as we call the project for short), grew out of a previous ethnographic study carried out by Kathrin Oester of 7th to 9th graders in a transnationalised, disadvantaged suburb of Bern, Switzerland (Oester et al. 2008). That study consisted of participant observation in classrooms, interviews with teachers, pupils and their parents, as well as the statistical exploration of the suburb. The study revealed a lot about different school structures and how teachers deal with migrant

[7] See also Sjöberg, who makes a difference between "ethnographic filmmaking", "improvisational cinema", "improvised acting", and "shared anthropology" (2006: 3), or Bill Nichols (1995: 152), who, alongside an expository, observational, interactive, and a reflexive mode, also describes a new performative mode, mixing facts and fiction. For reasons outlined above, we prefer instead to call the "performative mode" a model (Oester 2010).

[8] Today, the term 'performance ethnography' is used in many different ways. Fabian focuses on the new ethnographic insights from "'performance' is involved in creatively giving expression and meaning to experience" (1990: xv). While Fabian, along with Turner, focuses epistemologically on "poesis rather than mimesis", on "making not faking" (cf. Fabian 1990, the book's motto), Denzin stresses the ethnographer's "performed text" (2003: 42–53). Schechner, in turn, is more interested in the "points of contact" between theatre and anthropology (1985). In Moi, un noir (and some other films as La pyramide humaine, 1959, or Jaguar, 1967), Rouch stimulated his research partners to express themselves in dramatic forms of re-enactment in order to know more about their everyday lives. His procedures are therefore close to what Fabian (1990) understands by the term. Rouch thus practised performance ethnography long before the 'performative turn' in social sciences. In several of our German language publications (Oester and Brunner 2012; 2015 forthcoming), the reader can find further information on our methodological proceedings and especially on how today's performance ethnography is rooted in Jean Rouch's shared anthropology.

children, about the process of educational tracking, the population structures and residential segregation in the field. However, it did not capture the youths' everyday lives within their transnationalised peer group. Missing were the stories of their hopes, fears and motivations, which are essential in understanding the migrants' often-failing educational careers.[9]

With this in mind, we intended to grasp the youths' experience from within, making them ethnographers of their own life worlds. While giving the students video cameras and offering them basic methodological knowledge in media ethnography, as well as a platform to publish their films, we invited them to document their daily life. In return we expected new insights into their motivations and expectations concerning their educational careers. The schools involved welcomed our offer of additional media education and gave us a free hand in the running of the classes.

When we designed the project, we planned to introduce the pupils to ethnographic methods and a documentary mode of filmmaking. We started to work in the classroom in a regular semester course. First, we taught one half of a class and then the other half. The teachers gave us two to four lessons a week for our teaching purposes. From the first day on, the pupils worked in small groups of two, three or four students. They received a camcorder, a tripod and an external microphone, which they could take home after school. During the lessons, we introduced them to the technical use of the camera, to sound recording and the use of natural light; but they also were instructed in visual composition (perspective, framing) and drama (see Figure 1).

At the same time, we started to work thematically on specific life world topics. With one class, for instance, we focused

[9] Several studies document the educational disadvantage of migrant children in Switzerland, e.g. Bauer and Ramseier 2011: 54, Moser et al. 2011: 30, or SKBF 2014: 104.

FIGURE 1: EXERCISE 'FIELD SIZES': DRAWING BY A PUPIL
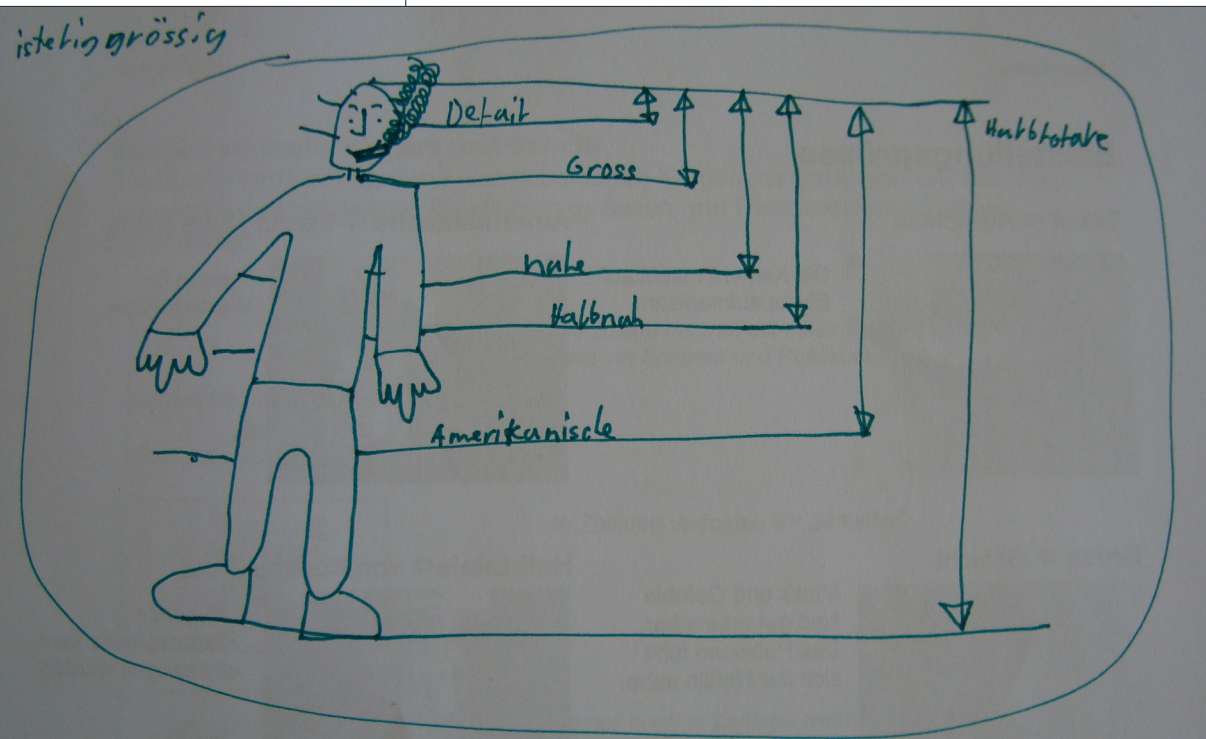
ethnographically on the suburb they live in. They reflected on its image as a ghetto, explored the places they love, described their hobbies, and introduced their friends. In a second class, we chose as a starting point the topic of what 'home' and 'homeland' meant to them, whether it was a native country, a certain language, family or friends. In a third class, we discussed the topic of living together, starting with intergenerational relationships, the relations between teachers and pupils, between friends or among different youth cultures. In a fourth class, we focused on the future and the pupils' professional and personal plans.

Regardless of the topic chosen, we avoided abstract discussion; instead, we linked the topic to exercises that stimulated - as a first step - a personal response to questions like 'Who am I? What is important to me and my group? What do we like, what not?' etc. As a second step, the pupils started to work together in small, self-chosen groups. They wrote down short stories, brought personal pictures or objects to the classroom, explained them to their classmates and, as homework, they started to record their surroundings. We taught them the basics of fieldwork with a camcorder and did exercises in accompanying and interviewing a person or a group of people with the camera. All the different approaches — writing, drawing and recording — were designed with but one purpose in mind: to enable the pupils to visualise their everyday experiences, hopes and dreams, and prepare them to find a cinematographic form in order to express their ideas.

Our first experience in the classroom already showed, however, that the adolescents did not want to limit their work to producing just documentaries. Rather, they preferred to mix fact and fiction and to express themselves in scenes of re-enactment and fictional play. Inspired by Rouch's 'ethnofiction', we therefore re-designed our project. When introducing the adolescents with preliminary exercises to a certain life world topic, we alternated now between ethnographic observational exercises, biographical exercises and theatrical performance exercises. The pupils learned to apply different representational strategies in order to express their ideas. They expressed themselves through scenes of re-enactment and fictional play, or they mixed different representational modes in their media productions. In the case of a documentary approach, they had to ask themselves what from their personal biographies, their opinions and friendships, they wanted to reveal to an unknown audience; and whether they were better served by expressing their ideas through the device of re-enactment or with an altogether fictional story. One outcome of this learning process was that many students did not publish their personal, ethnographic material on the project website (see Figure 2). They did, however, publish — and with much pride — stories of re-enactment, fictional stories and documentary films where they acted as journalists, interviewing and observing others. As one teacher observed in an interview, "They play themselves. But it seems

to them that they are playing somebody else, and that's what helps them to be themselves". What pupils liked most, however, was adding to their finished products long passages of bloopers - sometimes even longer than their actual films.

Besides adopting an 'ethnofictional' approach, we also adapted our teaching in line with Rouch's procedures: At the beginning of the project, we insisted on the writing of a treatment (see Figure 3). Visualizing by writing seemed to us a necessary conceptual step before recording. The treatment should allow the teams to develop a common idea that could be discussed with us and their peers. However, it very often happened that once an idea had taken shape it was abolished by the team in the next instant.

Many of the pupils - especially those in low-track classes - skipped the writing part altogether and started recording without communicating their ideas. Improvising, however, they were often as successful with their films as their peers.

By offering the adolescents the possibility to shoot a short film that would be shown at a premiere in presence of their parents, and published on the Internet; we confronted them with the challenge of meeting the (sometimes conflicting) expectations of different audiences. Should the film appeal to their teachers, their peers, their parents, the audience on the web or the researchers? Whose recognition did they want to gain? In some teams this question led to severe quarrels. The cooperation of Nesrin and Rebekka, aged 15, for example, was

Ich als Kind in Kosovo

(Mein älterer Bruder links, und ich)

links Mün Bruder in der mitte mein Grossvater Rechts Arlind.

made difficult by their orientation towards different audiences. Whereas Rebekka wanted to impress her parents by a serious documentary, Nesrin preferred to gain prestige among their school mates and peers. Often, we had to mediate between the girls as they blocked each other and severely disrupted production. Despite Rebekka's resistance, the resulting reportage about their neighbourhood represents the codes of adolescent 'coolness' as they are defined by the local youths: the intertitles are written in informal Bernese dialect (instead of standard German), and they use creative spelling as is common in SMS and chat communication among adolescents (see Figure 4).

A recently constructed mall - a symbol for consumption and an important meeting point - is represented, and Nesrin stages a scene where she spray paints the zip code of the urban district she lives in on a graffiti covered wall. For the soundtrack a Turkish pop song is included as well as a German rap song. Taking up these codes, their film... *3027 Bern West... Ghetto Yes or No...* (... 3027 Bern West... Ghetto Ja oder Nein??...) connects to a transnationalised youth culture, and especially to the performative practices of hip-hop, which are highly valued among local youths.

In other cases, as in the short film entitled *Quarrel between Mother and Daughter* (*Streit zwischen Mutter und Tochter*),[10] negotiations among pupils were less conflictive. From the very beginning it became clear that the film crew - consisting of three girls aged 15 - was very fond of the topic as something "that

[10] Working with these adolescents, we focused on the topic 'space' and more specifically on the suburb they live in. This example illustrates very well that the project allowed pupils to process the initial topics very freely.

bothers teenagers". Nevertheless, they considered it rather personal and delicate to talk about this in a film that was to be published on the internet. Conceptualising their video, they agreed on three strategies to distance themselves from the film's content.

First, one of the girls decided not to appear in the video at all and to do most of the camera work instead.

Second, they chose to interview other adolescents instead of including their own opinion in their film. As journalists, they took the position of the professional, neutral outsiders without revealing too much about their personal experiences.

Third, they used re-enactment. The staging of quarrels about different issues with a fictitious mother enabled the young protagonist to fight heroically against the antagonistic, rule-driven world of adults. The re-enactment permitted the fifteen-year-old to distance herself from her character's vehement behaviour; behaviour that attracted and repelled her at the same time.

Unquestionably, her role enabled her to accumulate prestige *vis-à-vis* her peers. Her character's anti-adult behaviour, taste in music, and showy red dress, convey the notion of coolness as her peers define it. The character of the strict mother, on the other hand, was far less prestigious. The girl who took on this less rewarding role agreed with her team mates that she would wear her sports clothes - including a bare midriff top - because she did not want to wear anything "strange", i.e. more mother-like, "since it will be shown on the internet!". These different, successful negotiations within the group enabled the film crew to treat a topic of great personal interest without exposing themselves in an undesired way. They used the video as a safe space to draft, test and depict possible (future) behaviour regarding their everyday lives.

In most video crews, the roles of subjects and objects of representation were interchangeable, as all crew members shot, were shot and engaged in the editing of the videos. This led to thorough negotiations about how any given team member appeared in the video and for how long. In particular, seeing themselves on the screens of the video editing computers increased the teenagers' sensitivity of self and various other issues of representation. In the case of another film crew in our project, this resulted in the decision to censor almost the entire set of interviews with the three crew members. The boys had become quite critical about their own appearance. One of them explained, for instance, that he did not wear the right clothes the day they shot the interview. He was afraid of breaking the unwritten norms and laws in force in the local peer group, and therefore of losing prestige. Accordingly, somebody would endure harsh comments by his or her peers for not fulfilling their expectations in terms of coolness, e.g. by dressing the 'wrong' way, producing a boring video or using the 'wrong' music.

As these examples show, various negotiations about the form and content of the films accompanied the production from beginning to end. These processes continued into the last stages of viewing, and appraisal of, the finished films. Other adolescents were the most important counterparts in the real and imaginary negotiations shaping the films. Nevertheless, the teachers, the teenagers' families, the imagined audience on the web, as well as we researchers were relevant others during shooting and montage, too. Ethnography triggered the participants of the 'Jumpcuts' project to reflect upon their position within these networks and the negotiation processes involved in the act of representation.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH AS A PARALLEL PROCESS

We can find differences as well as similarities with Rouch's shared anthropology when looking at the 'Jumpcuts' experiment. Unlike Rouch's *Moi, un noir*, our project was not simply completed with the youths' video productions. After having finished their films, the adolescents were interviewed with the help of the elicitation method (cf. Banks 2001: 87-99; Harper 2002) by a team member who, at the end of the project, would analytically align all the data gathered; including protocols from participant observation during lessons, interviews and video productions. Proceeding in this manner, we introduced into our work what Bourdieu describes as the "objectivist rupture" over subjectivist understanding; which in his eyes is a necessary moment in every scientific procedure (cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 11).[11]

But there were also similarities with Rouch's procedure in *Moi, un noir*. In doing research and teaching in a parallel manner, we constantly re-evaluated our methods and our teaching, and tried to refine our pedagogical procedures in light of the new insights gained. Like Rouch in his experimental way of

[11] Even for Fabian, who argues elsewhere against anthropological metadiscourse, cultural texts do not speak for themselves: "Those lasting objectifications of events that we produce through recordings, transcripts, and translations are without any doubt material for the work of interpretation." (Fabian 1990: 15).

filmmaking, we also tried to weaken the hierarchical relationship between us as ethnographers (in the role of teachers), and the adolescents (as learners). This was not only for pedagogical reasons, but also in order to obtain valuable research data. Only by giving the adolescents the freedom to express themselves in their own way could they become motivated filmmakers and performers, and we their trustworthy partners. Like for Rouch in Abidjan, for us this meant *not* intervening on moralistic grounds when pupils approached (politically) sensitive topics that are normally taboo during lessons - like violence among themselves or drug consumption as well as cursing whomever they wanted - or, when they violated every possible grammatical rule in their film texts.

Our pedagogical effort consisted in challenging them to reflect upon what it meant to violate the (school's) social rules, and with what kind of production they wanted to display themselves on the internet. Instead of moralistic intervention, it was part of our project to become sensitive to cultural trends among adolescents in transnationalised contexts, to their specific prestige systems and media aesthetics. For every participant in the project, this meant redefining formerly well-defined roles.

The pupils were challenged to accept adults who did not know what was good for them and who did not intervene on moral grounds. Classroom teachers were confronted with research ethics, which were in many respects different from their own pedagogical ethics. And as ethnographers working within a classroom, we, too, often found ourselves in the role of classroom managers disciplining our loud and unruly research partners - a taboo for every ethnographer!

But it is precisely because of these difficulties that pedagogy and 'shared anthropology' can mutually benefit each other. In the course of events, when the adolescents became aware of the fact that we took them seriously by giving them more and more responsibility, they started to identify with their projects and to invest more and more time in them. In a parallel process, the data we gathered became all the more valuable. The research process and the learning process ran in parallel and both focused on the same goal — new insights and prestige for both parties.

Rouch gave his protagonists freedom and responsibility; in return, Oumarou Ganda and his friends invested themselves personally in the project with their desires, hopes and fears. In some respects, this is also true for 'Jumpcuts' - those adolescents able to engage in a research partnership invested themselves in the project in creative ways and gave us (and themselves) new insights into their daily lives. For others, it was more difficult to cope with such a free setting. They identified less with their videos, which as a result became duller and less expressive.

We found that other similar media projects like the European project "Children in communication about migration" (CHI-

CAM), including six different European countries, the "Video-Culture" project (1997-2000), including five different countries around the world, or "www.ethnokids.net" in France (Lopez 2005), were all implemented with the goal of empowering young migrants via the means of digital media. While "www.ethnokids.net" is not linked to a research project, as far as we know, the CHICAM and "VideoCulture" projects, which are mainly based methodologically and epistemologically on action research and the theory of practice (*Praxisforschung*), have resulted in several scientific publications (Niesyto 2001; Maurer 2004; Witzke 2004; Center for the Study of Children Youth and Media 2005; Holzwarth 2008). While action research focuses strongly on the empowerment of the disadvantaged, we pursued one further goal in the 'Jumpcuts' project, as the final section will show.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH AS PART OF A MAUSSIAN EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIP

Rouch's 'shared anthropology' approach fits well into Johannes Fabian's (1990) and William J. T. Mitchell's (1994) conceptualisation of representation as an exchange relationship. In *Picture Theory* (1994), Mitchell links Mauss' theory of the gift (Mauss 1990) with representation theory, stating that there is no neutral form of representation. As a gift, representation is never free, and representing someone is always part of a relationship between giver and receiver. In the process, someone's prestige is either decreased or increased. Therefore, representation is linked, per se, to responsibility in a given power structure where the subject represented plays either an active or passive role. However, over a longer and broader historical process, the roles can become inverted; the receiver (as the former object of representation) becomes the giver (the subject of representation) and vice versa. In this sense, representation as a process is never uni-directional; it tends to be unstable and is shaped by dialectics and potential reversibility.

As mentioned earlier, it was the specific historical instability of Ivory Coast's movement towards independence that challenged Rouch's representation strategies when he started to shoot *Moi, un noir*. At the end of the 1950s, Rouch's African friends were no longer willing to play a passive role in the filmmaking process. Rouch thus immediately adapted his strategy, teaching Oumarou Ganda and offering him partnership in an important media enterprise, a role he accepted with enthusiasm and creativity. The partnership, as we know, led not only to a new genre of ethnographic film, but also to new forms of doing fieldwork, and of linking research and teaching. As Rouch states: "This type of totally participatory research, as idealistic as it may seem, appears to me to be the only morally and scientifically feasible anthropological attitude today" (2003: 44).

At the beginning of the 21st century, in a highly transnationalised world, we consider ourselves to be on a similar threshold. As established adult Swiss professionals, *we* can no longer rep-

resent *them*, migrant adolescent outsiders; rather, we have to learn from each other in mutually responsible ways - as idealistic as this may sound.

According to Claude Lévi-Strauss, we actually have no other choice. The faster the social change, the more a teacher has to turn into an 'ethnographer of his or her own society' (Lévi-Strauss 1993: 386-400). Otherwise the education system will hardly be capable of endorsing social change. One way of becoming an 'ethnographer in one's own society' is by literally introducing a research project into the classroom and making students exchange partners in that project.

Rouch's legacy is that he showed us how to exchange and share, how to teach and learn in a reciprocal exchange relationship, thereby producing new knowledge.

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