Creating Hybrid Border Spaces in the classroom through video production

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ABSTRACT: *This article explores emerging patterns of communication within a multicultural school environment. South Africa consists various and different identities all sharing overlapping living spaces. Diverse cultural identities exist in public spaces, and family units are in many cases so hybrid that very few adolescents can define themselves as originating from one single background. However, social memory within the home environment often dictates a stereotypical prejudice reflecting from the older generations down to their children. A research intervention with video production as the main focal activity is discussed, where learners were encouraged to cross identity borders and move into a Hybrid Border Space with the explicit objective of ensuring that all four participants negotiated out of the perspective of their own cultural identity and background. How each participant saw and experienced her identity, and to what extent such an individual expression formed in a group situation, shed some light on the dynamics of meaning-making in such a particular mix of respondents. Extrapolations from lessons learnt in this specific situation serve as beacons for similar initiatives in a variety of South African youth situations.*

KEYWORDS: *Hybrid Border Spaces, identity, hybridity, border crossing, politics of difference.*

South Africa consists of people with different identities, all sharing overlapping living spaces. This article theorises the concept of Hybrid Border Spaces created by adolescents, when they interact with each other in semi-formal school environments. Illustrating the fluidity and hybridity of young people living in current times, Homi Bhabha refers to them as the "Unique Hybrid" (1994). The space where they interact with their peers might be called a Hybrid Border Space, a metaphorical area where, in semi-formal educational arenas such as the space created when producing videos together, participants share, verbally as well as non-verbally, social memory and aspects particular to their respective identities.

Diverse cultural identities exist in public spaces, and family units are in many cases so hybrid that few adolescents can characterise themselves as originating from one defined background. However, social memory within the home environment often dictates a stereotypical prejudice transcribing from the older generations to their children. In many homes, children are actively discouraged from challenging stereotypes and forming new opinions (Hasseler, 2006, cited in Soudien, 2007, p. 65).

Together with globalisation came the postcolonial subject in the postcolonial world. After 1996, nationalities lost power in favour of globalised industry that is no longer state- or even continent-bound. With the global industry also came globalised individuality. A global allegiance dominates the traditional order of national importance, resulting in people who are borrowing from all available sources to suit their own identity-building. "Neither colonizer nor precolonial subject, the

postcolonial subject exists as a unique hybrid" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 53). Homi Bhabha theorises the concept of hybridity as a third space "which represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot 'in itself' be conscious" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 53).

Border crossing is hybrid in nature, "[M]arking an image of between-ness which does not construct a place or condition of its own other than the mobility, uncertainty and multiplicity of the fact of the constant border crossing itself" (Grossberg, 1996, cited in Hall & Du Gay (Eds), 1996, p. 91). As such, hybridity is taking ownership of a re-worked area, while border-crossing creates a mindset and critical thought pattern in order to be able to investigate identities other than one's own, without trying to "own" these other identities. While border-crossing pedagogy enables individuals to "visit" someone else's space metaphorically while crossing over from a personal identity in order to understand someone else's identity, the unique hybrid already co-exists in part, in some areas of identity. This area where individuals co-exist, the Hybrid Border Space, is activated by border crossing pedagogy to facilitate understanding between various identities.

THE "UNIQUE HYBRID" NEGOTIATING DIFFERENCE IN HYBRID BORDER SPACES

This paper discusses a pedagogical intervention with video production as the focal activity. The intervention, a combination of structured, open-ended discussions and video production activity, encouraged learners to cross identity borders and move into a Hybrid Border Space with the objective of ensuring that the participants negotiate perspectives on their own cultural identities and backgrounds. The activity provided detailed data regarding the type of interactions one can expect when young South Africans are working together to accomplish an expressive and creative task. Building on a critical pedagogical stance, I employed particular pedagogies of difference to activate border spaces.

The investigation refers specifically to the "politics of difference", defined by Henry Giroux as "Border Pedagogy", an educational philosophy that "both confirms and critically engages the knowledge and experience through which students author their own voices and construct their identities" (Giroux, 2006, p. 60). Giroux defines borders not only as physical borders, but also as cultural borders, which were constructed historically to privilege certain social and cultural groups and individuals (2006). These borders are created and are constantly being reaffirmed, updated and sometimes redrawn to serve the individuals and groups with standing and agency in society. In terms of pedagogy, Giroux accentuates the politics of difference and how Critical Border Pedagogy theory can be deployed to create an awareness and mental suppleness among students, while critically engaging with cultural difference. These cultural differences can be meaningfully addressed with critical pedagogy as a central point of departure.

To understand Border Pedagogy within a framework of critical pedagogy, theoretical views regarding historical divisions of race and identity, specifically looking at constructions of the "Other", need to be considered. Giroux contends that the Other

has been represented historically as "impure, evil and inferior" (Giroux & McLaren, 1994, p. 36). Whiteness represented itself as being pure, superior, the ultimate "norm", and aspirational. In these dialogues around identities, no opportunity has been created to question issues like inequality, oppression and racism. The centralised "whiteness" perspective becomes the only acceptable and plausible viewpoint to engage with race and the Other. Otherness is stripped of any voice, being diminished to a mere representation of "the Other" from the white perspective. Contrasted to the benign nature of whiteness, the Other is represented as stereotypically violent, uncontrolled, dangerous and that which is to be feared (Giroux, 1995). In South Africa, however, the "Other" is not made up of minority groups. The "Other", the majority consisting of black Africans, sometimes still seems to be disempowered because of a centralised, European, white power centre. A mere fifteen years after liberation, the Apartheid legacy remains fresh in social memory on all sides of the power divide.

It is clear that we should not underestimate the importance of identity and difference. Grossberg propagates "an alternative understanding of the relation of the modern and identity which suggests that the modern transforms all relations of identity into relations of difference. Thus, the modern constitutes not identity out of difference but difference out of identity" (Grossberg, 1996, cited in Hall & Du Gay (Eds), 1996, p. 93). In South Africa, differences might be interrogated within the context and focus of respective identities. These identities consist of many aspects overlaid on each other. Culture, race, social class, physical location and language are only a few of these aspects. An about-turn to an approach of equality in a society where differences were historically used for division, however, does not happen spontaneously. Some sort of training and education needs to steer the process. I contend that Border Pedagogy becomes an effective vehicle to explore these many facets of difference constructively. Border pedagogy seems to be particularly good at activating understanding where social and political difference is at stake.

BORDER CROSSING: FACILITATING CHANGE IN PEDAGOGICAL SPACES

Within the framework of Border Pedagogy, students learn to critically investigate in order to understand the identities of others. The pedagogical process aims to create a certain "fitness" of interrogation of ideas and issues of difference outside of an individual's cultural, racial, linguistic, gender, political and other territories with the ultimate goal of creating players in society who can interact in a non-threatening way. Giroux calls for the re-engineering of the education system, so that learners become critical architects of their own environments. This re-engineering is needed to allow and empower learners to critically engage with new issues that emerge in the globalised society. A new critical approach can only be possible if old structures of order and knowledge are set aside.

Practically in the classroom, the role of the educator would be to act as facilitator. He or she firstly has to understand individual identity by listening to students relating their histories and that memories that shape them. The second step would be to affirm and validate these backgrounds. Thirdly, educators would lead students to critically interrogate these histories and memories. Thereafter, such backgrounds need to be re-

made and re-territorialised by creating an appropriate space. From a conclusion of all the previous steps, participants create counter-memories, adjusted according to their own agencies. The counter-memory would thus be re-worked versions of the student's social memories, taking into account influences and views from other group participants. Lastly, authoritative language continually needs to be replaced by critical and affirmative ways of communication (Giroux, 2006). This process would facilitate the positive action of replacing custom with remembrance, where custom can be seen as an unquestioning, reactionary nostalgia closing up debate and memory. Remembrance on the other hand, opens up by creating counter-memory. Remembrance can actively fight against the stifling effects of custom.

Border Pedagogy aims to investigate differences instead of eradicating them. These differences can exist within the context of semi-formal social spheres like schools, workplaces and families, and also within the "discourses of history, citizenship, sex, race, gender and ethnicity" (Giroux, 2006, p. 55). These social spheres can exist where people meet outside of their familial comfort zones. Becoming comfortable with difference within the South African context might not necessarily transform society into a harmonious and homogenous unit, but might enable us to debate difference in order to understand diversity. This in turn may help to facilitate an even debate where entities or groups might cease to slip into either a subordinate or dominant position, because of previously determined and shaped social standings and perceptions.

Increasing hybridisation of culture, emerging discourses around feminism, postmodernism and postcolonialism, livelier interaction around representation and cultural differences has emerged within a context of new liberal politics (Giroux, 1995, p. 37). To my mind, this has not necessarily meant that borders and misrepresentations have ceased to exist, but merely that the discourse around difference has moved to another level. What has happened, according to Hall and Giroux (Giroux, 1995) is that the "innocent black", the modernist notion of the disenfranchised "Other", has been eradicated and, instead, replaced by a hegemonic form of the "Other".

SOCIAL MEMORY: REPLACING CUSTOM WITH REMEMBRANCE

Young people are profoundly influenced by histories of parents and elders. Social memory can cause friction which slows down the process of change, acting as a constant negative protagonist against new directions. Soudien refers to a study by Hesseler (2006) in a Durban school, where she defines the problem of discord between home and school. She talks about "ingrained stereotypes", prejudices brought over from parents, and how some learners are actively discouraged at home to challenge stereotypes. They find it difficult to form new opinions because "what their parents taught them is gospel" .. 'and then their parents tell them "I've lived through apartheid, don't try to tell me [these people] are not like what I think they are"' (Hesseler, 2006, cited in Soudien, 2007, p. 65).

Histories and collective memories like these play a key role. South Africa is a society where people have been living in parallel spheres of existence for hundreds of years. The reason and instances of interaction were artificially scripted and designed to such

an extent that even physical location had different meaning and connotations. This racially divided social memory plays an important role in the South African psyche. It made people wary of each other. An educator not only has to allow, but should actively draw out, the identity background of students and their histories. Backgrounds and "collective memories" (Giroux, 2006, p. 60) need to be unpacked to understand and critically engage with student experiences.

New avenues open when looking at social memory through the lens of Border Pedagogy in the South African situation. Giroux quotes De Lauretis who states that social memory "afford[s] both agency and sources of power or empowering", representing "a form of cultural criticism that refuses to treat democracy as merely inherited knowledge: instead, it is premised on the assumption that struggles over public life must be linked to postmodern notions of democracy" (De Lauretis, 1984, cited in Giroux, 1991, p. 25). Informal histories conveyed in society might be significantly different between socio-cultural groups. However, this awareness of social memory, its constraints and potential, needs to be actively mobilised.

Each of the four students in this study represents a unique personal history linked loosely to some perceived grouping in the South African society. Ester is from a white Afrikaans family, Tumi is black with both seSotho as well as isiXhosa roots, while Larusha's family is proudly Indian Hindu. White Amouré likes to side herself with the Italian roots of her father rather than the Afrikaner background from her mother's side.

Figure 1: So my grandparents would say: "be careful of the Hindu people, be careful of the black people, be careful of the English people".

Informal histories emerge constantly when interacting with these students. During one instance in the discussion group (Figure 1), Ester relays how her grandparents warn her of anything other than Afrikaner culture. She says: "so my grandparents are very like (.) be careful of the Indian people (.) be careful of the black people (.) be careful of the English people (.) cause (..) [my gran is like that". These preconceptions, they

agree, result because of negative histories between race groups in South Africa. Tumi affirms her point, and they both agree that they avoid conflict by omitting the truth when talking to their grandparents.

By drawing on their own experiences and opinions, young people can shape and re-build their own memories to produce what Foucault called a counter-memory (Foucault, 1977, cited in Giroux, 2006). Giroux claims that critical pedagogy can develop new "emancipatory forms of political identity" (2006, p. 56) employing the process of counter-memory through increasing awareness of victimisation and dominance. "Counter-memory represents a critical reading not only of how the past informs the present but also of how the present reads the past" (Giroux, 2006, p. 56). He emphasises the use of counter-memory as a "theoretical tool" to make new connections between official histories and personal experiences and voices. In the South African context, this means that students are empowered with skills to integrate and evaluate histories of communities and families with generally accepted public life, the aim being to validate and confirm such histories. While Border Pedagogy addresses the question of content needed to be conveyed and negotiated, educators also need a practical way of implementing these investigations.

In conclusion, Border Pedagogy is about active listening and engagement. Students need not only be trained to listen to the voices of others, but also to acquire the practice to convey their own experiences, stories and stances. In other words, they should be empowered with the knowledge and skill to convey their own familiarities, and internalise others' knowledge. As Giroux points out, "Border Pedagogy both confirms and critically engages the knowledge and experience through which students author their own voices and construct social identities" (2006, p. 60). This knowledge of self and others must form a background for students to meaningfully engage in "criticising the dominant culture" (Giroux, 2006, p. 60).

NOTES ON THE PEDAGOGICAL INTERVENTION AND RESEARCH PROCESS

In the context of the broader study, emerging discourses of identity and hybridity within a multicultural school environment were explored. Within the framework of Border Crossing pedagogy (Giroux, 2006), the study employed multimodal instruments in the production and analysis of data. The research endeavoured to answer questions regarding the affordances of digital video for designing a pedagogy of diversity, and how adolescents negotiate difference through dominant discourses by using digital video production.

The study involved four girls, each from a different cultural background, who entered into formulated discussions around identity and difference within the critical pedagogical background of Border Crossing as formulated by Henry Giroux. Ester originated from a strictly Afrikaans background. Tumi's mother had a seSotho background while her father was IsiZulu. The home environment of Amouré seemed to be Afrikaans, but her father originated from Italy, and she sided herself emotionally with her Italian roots. Amouré, as an "operant person" (Adler, 1998), chose to belong to Italian society, which would then also give her the agency to choose according to her personal taste, with which association she would like to align herself. Larusha

related that her parents were both Indian and Hindu, but that they stemmed from two different castes. The common denominator seemed to be their religion and not their Indian origin. Thus, the students seemed each to come already from some complex backgrounds into the school environment that served as the space of interaction (Massey, 1992, cited in Strelitz, 2004). They attended the same privately funded, upper-middle-class school situated in a relatively affluent neighbourhood. They shared a passion for drama and music production.

The research process naturally divided into two sections. The first section consisted of discussion group interviews, personal interviews, filling out questionnaires and symbol drawing sessions, where respondents could comment on identity and difference. For the two days, informal and formal discussions around identity and difference were conducted in a round-table situation. I also conducted personal interviews with each respectively, during which time the other three were expected to draw symbols of certain concepts. Intense group as well as personal interviews were conducted. These interrogated identity, the school environment, attitudes towards fellow learners and the state of their respective home environments.

During the second half of the contact time, these four students were tasked to produce a video where they negotiated and exposed their own identities. Each participant had to develop two characters as part of the storyline for the intended video production. The idea was that the video production would form a natural hook, or activity, where each individual could showcase her background and identity on common terrain.

Preparatory discussions around popular media, video production and soap operas made for television orientated the participants to video production. I briefed them regarding the development of a concept for television soap, and what was required from them to develop a storyline and trailer for such a series. Each was expected to contribute two characters that they personally could identify with. These characters should have been able to fit into the individual's immediate life-world. This was complicated, as South African identities have become hybridised to a large extent. Ideally speaking, a minimum total of eight characters needed to be developed, featuring in the trailer as main players in the soap. During this stage, the students were initiated into the metalanguage or "technical vocabulary" (Buckingham, 2003, p. 73) of video production. They investigated various, moving-image positions, movements, identification of types of shots, and in contexts where they were used. The last day was spent recording sound and music, and producing the video. The group performed, filmed, and edited the footage while under constant video observance.

MEDIA LITERACY AND VIDEO PRODUCTION

Media literacy can be seen as "a form of critical literacy. It involves analysis, evaluation and critical reflection. It entails the acquisition of a 'metalanguage'" (Buckingham, 2003, p. 38). Buckingham claims that metalanguage, the "technical vocabulary" of the "language" of video (the naming of various shots, how they are used as video grammar) should comprise only a minimal part of teaching in media (2003). However, for collaborative purposes, the metalanguage becomes important (Burn & Durran, 2007). This wider understanding of communication and how people

are affected by these experiences is a necessary theoretical tool for cultural analysis of identity.

Media education, the "process of teaching and learning about media", with media literacy the "outcome" (Buckingham, 2003, p. 4), teaches the analysis of media texts conveyed in all modes (still or moving visual images, audio, and written language) at popular media's disposal. "It aims to develop both critical understanding and active participation" (Buckingham, 2003, p. 4). Technological advancement enables young people to not only act as interpreters of media, but also to be producers of their own cultural media texts. Since young generations currently have so much agency and control over the production of their own expression, it becomes a natural consequence that they should articulate their equally diverse and open identities in some applicable ways.

Young people have an ever-widening array of choice where identity and cultural issues are concerned. The "increasingly heterogeneous, multicultural society, in which very different conceptions of morality and very different cultural traditions exist side-by-side" (Buckingham, 2003, p. 16) that today's youth are living in, opens up the possibility of personal choice. South African youth are readily shifting their identities, positioning themselves in the most favourable place available at that given moment (Makhalemele, 2005). However, this shifting identity and emphasis on personal choice also aligns them with the international trend of polarising societies that Buckingham describes (2003). Yet, the more things change, the more they seem to stay the same. Grace & Tobin in Buckingham (Ed), 2003) comment that it seems to be a natural phenomenon for young people to turn to parody when expressing complicated or emotional issues. This study was no exception.

THE PARODY PARADOX: UNDERMINING VERSUS PERPETUATING SOCIAL MEMORY

A significant point in the research process happened when the students started planning their characters and plot of their own soap trailer as video production. Unprompted, they turned towards parody as expression. The carnivalesque use of the parodic television soap as theme for video production becomes an impulsive and most expressive medium for discourses such as race, taste, religion and gender. Hirschkop relates Bakhtin's description of the carnivalesque as a "parlance (to) use motifs, themes and generic forms drawn from a tradition of subversive medieval popular culture, a tradition linked to a very specific festive practice and to the significance of the body in medieval and Renaissance culture" (Hirschkop & Shepherd, 1989, p. 3). The carnivalesque use of laughter and drama to "symbolically invert the usual hierarchies and imagine different roles and relationships" (Grace and Tobin, in Buckingham (Ed), 1998, p. 48) also forms the potential platform to enable teenagers to investigate identity in a safe and "removed" environment. It seems, though, that parody is usually perceived by general society as innocent and light relief.

Grace and Tobin (1998) list the functions of parody in the pedagogical use of video production as to "bolster cultural barriers as well as break them down; to release tension; offering opportunities for opposition tempered by humour", as well as "providing a space for critique and change" (cited in Buckingham (Ed), 1998, p. 48).

Parody may also provide a space to ask unsolicited questions, challenge social conventions, and investigate new possibilities. In the case of one of these students' manufactured characters, named the *Gay Afrikaner Jock* (see Figure 3), the social conventions were challenged to extend contest the limiting reaches of taboos within the Afrikaner identity that the students were part of. As in this instance, the genre of parody, however, is mostly accompanied by the stereotype, a less innocuous and more hegemonic practice of marginalisation.

Figure 3: The Gay Afrikaner Jock

Parody and stereotype usually feed on one another in order to reduce and normalise a gross simplification of some "type" of person or personality (Hall, 1997). In this unequal power relationship, the stereotyped is usually the minority, or less powerful actor in the situation. The basic act of stereotyping also serves to marginalise the powerless, strengthening the position of being the "Other". Apart from exclusion, stereotyping also serves in situations of fantasy and fetishism (Hall, 1997). Stereotyping is also an act of division, maintaining a certain social and symbolic order such as gender or race inequalities, as well as in this context, oppressive social memory. Hall quotes Foucault, defining stereotyping as "a "power/knowledge sort of game. It classifies people according to a norm, and constructs the excluded as 'Other'" (Foucault, 1977, cited in Hall, 1997, p. 59). The character of the Gay Afrikaner Jock was workshopped by all four girls who concluded that he should be a macho-looking Afrikaner boy whose athletic abilities propel him into leadership of both the soccer and rugby teams. His peers see him as a role model. Unbeknownst to the rest of the students, he is gay. When he is exposed at the reunion, his girlfriend leaves him and he is shamed in front of the whole class. The underlying message, though, is not a condemnation of his gay-ness, but his dishonesty towards his intimate friends and girlfriend. Although the message seems to be a serious one, the incident itself is shrouded in humour and a comedy of errors typical of parody.

The genre of the television soap, in relatin to Bakhtin's definition of the carnivalesque and parody, became an appropriate vehicle for the Mountain Hill School group. With the exaggeration and comic features of the parody, room was created for the group to engage more freely with the genre. It also afforded them a certain amount of agency to venture their own opinions, to bend the rules, and to express an honest opinion in an irreverent way. This masking of identity allowed for the creation of some necessary bravado in order to challenge adult opinions in situations where individuals were not necessarily brought up to challenge authority in any way. Parody also served as a helpful tool of counter-memory (Giroux, 2006) in order to upset generational differences and aid investigation towards more informed choices.

Dolby (2001) argues that gender, together with other identifications such as race, class and sexual orientation, is a matter of taste, and thus, of personal choice. These choices are not pre-ordained by environment and other forces, but by personality and personal direction. The concept of a performative self played a big part in self-actualisation for the drama students participating in this study. Such a performance accords with the definition of gender by Judith Butler, who defines the concept as a continuous performance of identity (1993).

During the initial stages of discussion on the first day of the intervention, the participants were asked to identify themselves with five individually chosen key words of their own choice. None of the four actually identified themselves in terms of gender or sex. However, when they developed their characters as part of their video production, the inclusion of gendered characters became very important to the group. Much time and emotional energy wass spent on the description of the gay Afrikaner Jock, as well as a "metrosexual guy".

Critical pedagogy prompts "new emancipatory forms of political identity" (Giroux, 2006, p. 56) by not only informing the present, but also by challenging the way that the past is read in the present (Giroux, 2006). In the student video, it became clear how the producers used their own interpretations and agency to re-shape views and stereotypes in order to take control of social perceptions and histories. This theoretical tool empowered them to re-shape and re-build histories of communities in order to build their *own* preferred futures.

These students, educated within a strict, authoritarian, pedagogical language of recitation, were afforded in this creative process – by experimenting and subverting images of gender, race, class and identity – to turn into producers of counter-memory and agents of critical thought. The previously unthinkable was now possible: they were doing memory-work (Haug, 1987, cited in Giroux, 2006, p. 62) with a number of performative practices.

THE POWER OF THE HYBRID BORDER SPACE: NOTES ON EMERGING THEMES

During this research intervention, it became apparent that South African adolescents seem to negotiate the way of least resistance between their various, contrasting home and school environments. Because of the social and class differences that sometimes exist between the bigger section of their older-generation, family set-ups (who seem

to be from a different class structure) and their immediate, close-family unit living near the school in an upper middle class environment, people like Lerato, a black girl with influential family living in the historically "black" township, follow the way of least resistance. From some of the conversation events, it is clear that they all try to avoid conflict with older generations by omission of fact rather than straightforward lying. By sometimes keeping quiet instead of confronting older people with truth, they ease their way around difficult social issues related to social memory.

Thus, the South African uniqueness and variety of identities is complicated by not only difference between cultural groups and between individuals, but also between generations. More than half of the South African population is under 25 years of age (Soudien, 2007). Taking into consideration that conflicting social memory from older generations is weighted heavily upon the young, negotiating difference becomes complex. Additionally, there are eleven official languages representing major cultural groupings. Within any one of these social groupings with similar cultural resources, various historical, language and religious affiliations can be detected. Popular and media culture, and a consistent emphasis by diverse stakeholders and leaders in society on "unity within the rainbow nation", complexify matters even further. However, with the use of the English language as common denominator, meaningful interrogation of difference can be activated.

It seems that the English classroom might be an appropriate place for interrogating difference by means of Border Pedagogy within a metaphorical Hybrid Border Space. Within this already established creative space, pedagogies of authoritarian recitation can be replaced with interrogation and sharing histories and identities.

Young people are able to create a counter-memory in the act of siding with a new "us" versus the older generations as "them". Additionally, using parody as genre when producing video opens up yet another set of new mindsets when producing counter-memory. The issue becomes complicated when analyses develop themes around the creation and use of stereotypes in the process of working with parody as genre. The students seem to, in the production of counter-memory, employ counter-intuitively the very same stereotypes entrenched within structures of the older generation and their baggage of social memory, thereby strengthening and perpetuating the stereotype which they ridicule in the process.

In hindsight, the process of employing video production to negotiate identity and difference seems to be an effective method to facilitate understanding among young people. However, if combined with discussion groups and critical pedagogical founding, the approach really appears to distinguish itself. The employment of discussion groups activates certain arguments and discourses that often remain covert within a purely video production environment. These informal discussion scenarios form the basis to create Hybrid Border Spaces. Ultimately, it is within these Hybrid Border Spaces where real negotiation takes place. It is in this space where meaningful counter-memories are created, where young people afford each other the opportunity to share and understand diversity and acceptance.

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