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CRUCIAL NARRATIVES: PERFORMANCE ART AND PEACE BUILDING

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Abstract

This is a U.S.-based study that explores and explains how performance art interventions can complement traditional and transformative interventions in the field of conflict resolution through the creation of an "alternative reality" among audience members, and through the utilization of multiple narratives and different perceptions of those narratives. Quantitative and qualitative research collected and analyzed for this study indicates and suggests how performance art, as a dialogically based intervention, can influence an individual's attitude, perception, or position about issues that are relevant to the field of conflict resolution.

There is insufficient information on how performance art interventions can support existing traditional forms of conflict resolution. The questions I address in my research include: Can performance art, as a dialogically[1] based intervention, shift an individual's attitude, perception, or position about issues relevant to the field of conflict resolution? And if so, is this done through aspects of dialogical communication within the altered reality that performance can create?

What is meant by the term "altered" or "alternative" reality is that for the process of creating to be effective, both the performer and the viewer must step outside of what he or she understands as lived reality and except the reshaped or reconsidered reality that the performance creates. In this transformed reality there is a conscious psychological altering of place, in which the individual agrees that the events and situations he or she sees have a creative or make-believe reality. By observing imaginary scenarios, the viewer can take in multiple perspectives of a conflict, and difficult issues can be discussed more freely. Storytelling used in performance art interventions utilizes dialogical communication within an imaginary environment between performer and audience. It is important not to discount this make-believe place as a useless fantasy. On the contrary, performance art can take us outside ourselves and bring us back to our real lives transformed (Jackson 2002, p. 138).

Art in general is a potent tool for communication across psychological, emotional, and physical boundaries, and artists often play the role of emancipators of conventional thinking (Finkelpearl 2001, p. xi). The artist is always a part of the social dimension, and to some degree, as the artist creates, he or she is projecting social, political, and ideological influences that reflect social conditions (Finkelpearl 2001, p. 287). Performance art in particular has helped provide a public presence for the artist. Depending on the nature of the performance, this presence can be ceremonial, provocative, instructive, entertaining, or healing. Moreover, the medium has the potential to raise the general public's awareness of the complexity surrounding conflictual events and situations within communities and within nations as a whole (Goldberg 1996, p. 184).

During the twentieth century, performance art exhibited an openness and experimental quality, bringing art directly to the people. Performance art, by its very nature, defies an easy description. It tends to utilize a great number of disciplines and media such as poetry, literature, music, theater, dance, painting, video, and architecture, and it uses them in any combination (Goldberg 1996, p. 184). With a willingness to navigate across the borders with traditional and familiar methods and techniques of art making, many performance artists have a keen understanding of and passion for improvisation and an ability to break down and reconstruct social structures and systems within their work (Birringer 2000, p. 7).

Throughout this article I will stress the centrality of the performance arts as storytelling. Visual storytelling has a unique and captivating influence over each of us and our imaginations. Narratives grab and manipulate the imagination and determine the way in which we view the world around us and outside us. New stories, if they alter us, can change the way we view and understand a person, group, culture, event, or phenomenon. In this way, performance art and its use of narrative and storytelling talks to us about natural and social phenomena and gives us a way to grasp and control it.

Moreover, performance art uses linear or nonlinear stories that can open up multiple versions of "truth." Versions of truth can be explored and expanded. Victims and perpetrators can be humanized. The world can be seen in many perspectives and re-imagined on many levels, while those who share in the story can be reunited. Narratives and storytelling can both explore the past and release us from the grip of the past as we rewrite and re-envision our history (Jackson 2002, p. 186).

Art can influence the way people interpret, perceive, and ultimately act in their communities. The empirical research for this study measured the impact that a specific kind of creative experience had on an audience in terms of its potential to shift attitudes. The study explores the issue of intentionality and how the artist's intention can influence the attitudes and perceptions of the viewer and change the way individual members of an audience perceive a group, situation, or event. It explains how creative methods can improve awareness of the importance of good communication, tolerance, and empathy[2] and can potentially decrease violence through individuals' acknowledgement of the different narratives and multiple perspectives of a given situation. Within the realm of

conflict issues, changes in attitudes, perceptions, and positions can promote understanding and empathy in the service of accepting difference and with the hope of transforming relationships between those engaged in conflict. The analysis of research data collected indicates that shifts in attitudes and perceptions of racial and ethnic groups represented in the two performance art interventions used in this study did occur. Moreover, the research results show significant evidence of increased tolerance and empathy toward these groups as a result of experiencing these performances.

The Performance Art Interventions of Suzanne Lacy and James Luna

In performance art, the artist makes decisions on the content of the performance without knowing what the interpretation or responses of the audience will be. The viewers' responses to performance art interventions illustrate how the meaning attributed to a situation can change. Artist intentionality and audience interpretation will be analyzed in a performance of James Luna and a performance of Suzanne Lacy, in collaboration with Julio Morales and Unique Holland.

James Luna is a Luiseño Indian who lives on the La Jolla Reservation in San Diego County, California. Luna uses performance art to reveal the perverse projection of admiration that whites, dissatisfied with their own historic roots and lack of culture, impose upon Native Americans. On the reservation, he has witnessed the differences between real, daily experiences of his tribal neighbors and the idealization of a culture that some consider to be "exotic," "ancient," and "indigenous." Luna's performance art is about his experience of American Indian life at the end of the twentieth century and is presented in an unsentimental and often disarming manner (Weintraub et al. 1996, p. 98).

In other performances, Luna uses interactive techniques to draw attention to the notion of "being" an Indian versus "playing" or pretending to be an Indian. Luna invites audience members up on stage with him, along with a photographer for a picture with "a real, live Indian." Luna offers a variety of outfits they can wear—clothing such as breechcloths and feather headdresses that further stereotypes American Indian life. These narrative and interactive experiences are also intended to confront Native American and other non-white audience members with accounts of suffering and grief associated with assimilation. Much of Luna's performance work brings up the ironic relationship between white people and Native Americans from mutually unsatisfying cultures and desiring to be each other (Weintraub et al. 1996, pp. 98-99).

Suzanne Lacy is creatively driven by the aesthetic and political aspects of experience. She has taken her performances to public places, such as the steps of Los Angeles's City Hall, where she performed her collaborative work *In Mourning and in Rage* in 1977. This performance confronts the viewer with the subject of violence against women, prompted in part by the murders of the Los Angeles Hillside Strangler. The performers, draped in black and red, stand ominously motionless and silent on the steps

of City Hall, posing as witnesses to crimes against the strangler's victims. Lacy's 1987 public performance project entitled *The Crystal Quilt* involved four hundred and thirty aging women who came together to talk about their triumphs and disappointments in life, and their experiences with and fears of aging. The women sat in groups of four, dressed in black in an orchestrated performance. Seventy-two of the women prerecorded a soundtrack reflecting on their life experiences and wisdom gained, and these narratives were played at a volume that the audience could hear. Lacy conceived this project as an example of the healing power of relationship and empathetic listening (Gablik 1995, pp. 81-82).

Forms of artistic expression have the ability to promote visions of an alternative reality. An individual's imaginative visioning and response is to look at the world and express what is happening within it. The process of imaginative visioning allows each of us to wonder about what we would be like given the life of someone else—a process that can potentially promote empathy and compassion. Empathy and compassion are important emotional responses that have the power to connect us intimately to another individual or group, often during what we perceive as a crisis event or situation.

Performance artists, like peace builders, can create a context that will assist disputing parties in seeing themselves, their beliefs about their adversaries, and their conflictual actions from a new perspective. Performance art, like ritual, could be viewed as a valuable technique that complements other modes of conflict resolution (Schirch 2005, p. 42). Taken a step further, performance art interventions can become a peace-building effort.

The performance work of both James Luna and Suzanne Lacy has engaged the viewer in critical discourse within areas of identity politics, looking at a variety of issues including how stereotyping, class, ethnicity, race, authority, and violence can all be deconstructed through time, space, and environment. In his performance *Petroglyphs in Motion*, 2005, James Luna reflects on everyday realities of life on the American Indian reservation and the stereotypes he experiences as a Native American man outside the reservation. The characters portrayed in this nonlinear allegory begin with Prehistoric Man and move on to include Shaman, Busker, Drunk, Disabled Chief, Rockabilly, Dominator, Deal Maker, Coyote-Trickster—each moving, running, and turning along a narrow length of space that metaphorically connotes the enduring and timeless terrain of generations of ancestors and their evolution from "ancient" to "modern" times (Swanson 2005).

Luna's work critically examines notions of what an "authentic," "real," or "live" American Indian looks, acts, and lives like and how those notions are commodified within American culture. Beyond the idealized American myths of Indian life, Luna's performance offers the viewer disturbing, proud, magical, seedy, and sometimes humorous perspectives of a Native American's life.

In much of his work, Luna uses humor to draw the audience into an otherwise uncomfortable discussion of the painful history of exploitation and identity projection

that has been imposed upon Native Americans by white European culture. Luna's work de-romanticizes the stories of Native American nations. With touches of comedic rendering, he offers a more realistic and sobering picture of colonized life on the reservation.

Through performance art, Luna uses personal narrative to reconstruct a different version of social history that expands our understanding of who an American is and what Native American culture is like, beyond a myriad of myths and clichés on this topic. By playing with dominant stories about Native cultural life being purer and more spiritual than European American culture, he explores modern Native American identity through the lens of the past, using "strategies both for getting some memories forgotten and others restored" (Blocker 2001, p. 19).

The collaborative performance by Suzanne Lacy, Julio Morales, and Unique Holland entitled *Code 33: Emergency, Clear the Air,* 1998–99, is a performance art project and documentary that is meant to show the dangers that youth and police face, and to open up possibilities for safer and more appropriate interactions between young people and police officers. Parts of the project include police and youth addressing hostility toward each other as a means of reaching a deeper understanding of youth needs in the communities of Oakland, California. *Code 33* serves as an example for how far artists can go within the civic structures of institutions (Lacy 2006). Intended to engage public debate between youth, police, the Oakland community, and communities in the United States at large, this public multimedia performance art project took almost two years to organize and implement. The project included workshops, public forums, and media appearances involving one hundred and fifty teenagers living in Oakland and one hundred local police officers. The final performance took place on October 7, 1999, lasted three hours, and was staged on the roof and inside of a parking garage in Oakland. The public at large was invited to attend. The collaborative performance had components of art, advocacy, and education. It involved institutions that significantly influence the lives of Oakland youths, including police authority and the media. Lacy, who has been practicing and writing about public art since the 1970s, is well known for her community-based performance work and its impact on the way people think about and experience their communities.

Many facilitated workshops between Oakland youths and police officers took place prior to the October 7 finale of the performance. In one meeting, students and officers wrote down questions they wanted to ask each other. These questions preceded youth/police dialogues that took place during the three-hour finale. Here, youths spoke candidly about their personal experiences with police officers. Police officers answered their questions, concerns, and frustrations with authority. Some conversations seemed confrontational and tense, but there was an overall sense that all parties wanted to talk through their differences and gain a greater understanding of each other. In addition to small group discussions between youths and police officers sitting in chairs between car headlights, there were eight videotapes made by youths that described neighborhoods in

Oakland and that played on thirty monitors spread around the roof of the parking garage where the performance took place.

Overall, Lacy's performance art projects speak to the potential of artistic expression to bring about social change. The *Code 33* performance operates to deconstruct stereotypes of young people that are further perpetuated by the media, and work to place youth in destructive situations. Excerpts from the performance were edited and made into a documentary video that was used for research in this study. As a whole, the documentary depicts the challenges and dangers that both police and youth face, exploring possibilities for more constructive relationships.

Research Analysis of Two Performances

Research for this study explores the contribution of performance art interventions in the field of conflict resolution and transformation at an individual level. Thirty-five respondents participated in a pilot study from June through July, 2006 and one hundred and sixty respondents (seventy-nine men and eighty-one women) participated in an experiment from November through December, 2006. All of the respondents who participated in the pilot study and the experiment were George Mason University students, and the studies were conducted on the George Mason University campus in Fairfax, Virginia.

The experiment took place in two stages. During the first stage there was semi-random assignment of respondents into three groups. A total of one hundred and eight respondents were in the two experimental conditions: Fifty-two respondents saw a VHS video tape of the performance entitled *Code 33: Emergency Clear the Air* (53-minute duration), fifty-six respondents saw a DVD of the performance entitled *Petroglyphs in Motion* (35-minute duration). Fifty-two respondents were in the control condition and saw a DVD of a science documentary (45-minute duration).

The two experimental conditions addressed one issue in common—that of stereotyping of certain ethnic groups. The control condition did not address any of the issues of the two experimental conditions and hence was useful to establish baselines to assess the impact of the other two conditions. *Code 33: Emergency Clear the Air* was a collaborative performance and was shot in multiple locations in and around Oakland, California, without a formal audience. *Petroglyphs in Motion* was a solo performance staged in an intimate location (Site Santa Fe gallery, Santa Fe, New Mexico) with a seated audience. The performer did not use verbal communication and acted out different characters with costumes and gestures.

In the first stage of the experiment respondents saw one of three videos/DVDs and immediately filled out a questionnaire of closed and open-ended questions. In the second stage of the experiment, 70 percent of the respondents came back to take a second questionnaire of close and open-ended questions twelve to thirty days later. Closed-ended

questions were the same on both the first and second questionnaires and were measured on a 7-point Likert scale.

Quantitative analysis from this research showed compelling evidence that performative methods of communication offer a safe venue for emotional expression within the altered reality that performance can create. This empirical finding also suggested that within this perceptually altered reality, the viewer tends to be receptive to new perceptions and unfamiliar narratives. In addition, quantitative results show a cluster of respondents who saw the *Code 33: Emergency Clear the Air* performance whose perceptions about the peacefulness and likeability of certain ethnic groups increased as compared to respondents who were in the control condition. Responses from this same cluster also suggested increased awareness of sources of conflict, as was indicated by the young people in the *Code 33* performance.

Qualitative analysis explored artists' intentions in developing performance art interventions and the influence these intentions have on the viewer's interpretation. The analysis unveiled a certain kind of intentionality, one that centers on the artist's aspiration to redress a social or political injustice and to undermine preconceived notions about certain ethnic groups. A qualitative report was developed from responses to the open-ended questions on the first and second questionnaires. The qualitative report showed persistent themes in responses from respondents who saw the *Code 33: Emergency Clear the Air* performance and respondents who saw the *Petroglyphs in Motion* performance.

The mixed methods research indicated that through the intentions of artists developing and implementing performance art interventions, the viewer's perceptions and attitudes can and do change. As discussed earlier, performance art is a dialogically based intervention, meaning that between the intentions of words spoken or gestures acted out by the performer and the interpretation of those words or gestures by the viewer, meaning is produced, altered, and reshaped through the interaction of language. This mode of meaning construction involves three aspects:

1. The intentions of people involved in a verbal or non-verbal dialogue. This includes the artist's aspirations for viewer self-reflection, and the possibility of transforming viewers' thinking concerning social and political concerns (for example, in The *Code 33: Emergency Clear the Air* performance, transforming stereotyped perceptions of inner-city youths and police officers);
2. The information that is actually interpreted by the viewer;
3. The circumstances and environment of the encounter and how these conditions influence messages conveyed by the performer and interpreted by the viewer.

The issue of intentionality speaks to the first and second aspects of how dialogically based interventions operate. As reflected in the responses of respondents who saw the *Code 33: Emergency Clear the Air* performance, there was a clear connection between the narratives and messages the performance artists intended to produce (an awareness of stereotyping of certain groups, the importance of communication between groups, empathy for inner-city youths, and so on) and the narratives and messages that

individual viewers interpreted. Qualitative analysis of data from respondents who saw the *Code 33* performance suggested that the viewers interpreted most of the messages the artists intended to convey, indicating that viewers understood and accepted many of the narratives projected during the performance art intervention.

The data from the *Petroglyphs in Motion* performance indicated that the artist focused more on the formal aspects of art-making than on transforming the viewers' thoughts about social issues. Beyond his intention to raise the issue of the stereotyping of Native peoples, James Luna stated in a phone interview in September, 2006 that his performance was scripted purely for artistic reasons, without intention to raise other issues or to change viewers' perceptions and attitudes.

Responses to the open-ended questions by respondents who saw *Petroglyphs in Motion* can be broken down into themes of confusion, stereotyping, and enacting different roles and identities. To understand why only six out of fifty-six respondents interpreted the performance to be about issues of stereotyping, one must look at Luna's intended audience. With no intention to develop his work for a non–Native American audience, he developed messages that he thought a Native American audience would understand. The ethnic background of respondents who saw the Luna performance was 98 percent non-Indian. Without intentional narratives or messages targeted for a non-Indian audience, the most common interpretive response from the largely non-Indian audience indicated a lack of understanding of what Luna's performance was about.

The third aspect concerns how performative interventions that center on circumstances and environment will affect how meaning is produced. Stated earlier was an underpinning hypothesis of this study (Hypothesis 3) that explained how, within the perceived altered reality that performance art can create, viewers will hear and consider expressions or outbursts of negative emotions differently and in a less defensive way. Additionally, the performer can effectively communicate perceptions and opinions that are different from or opposed to those of the viewer, and the viewer can more effectively absorb and process these perceptions than would be the case outside of the perceived altered reality of performance.

The quantitative data collected to prove Hypothesis 3 was from responses to question 16 and question 17.

- 16) I feel uncomfortable when a person I don't know expresses strongly negative emotions.
- 17) When watching a performance, I feel uncomfortable if an actor expresses strongly negative emotions.

Across all three conditions, the mean scores of all one hundred and sixty respondents were higher on question 16 than on question 17, providing significant evidence to support Hypothesis 3. This hypothesis argues that expressions of negative emotions can be communicated through performative methods of dialogue and heard by viewers in ways that allow for perceptual and relational changes[3].

Respondents overwhelmingly scored higher on question 16, indicating that they more strongly agreed with feeling uncomfortable in dialogical communication with a stranger expressing negative emotions. But in question 17, respondents more strongly *disagreed* with feeling discomfort in dialogical communication with an actor expressing negative emotions. This data strongly suggests that performative methods of dialogue can create a place where people feel safe to discuss uncomfortable, traumatic, or emotionally charged issues. This finding was unaffected by conditions.

Hypothesis 3 offers similar conclusions to issues discussed in the writings of Author Peter Schwartz. Schwartz addressed the topic of scenarios as stories that give meaning to events, and that can be used as a vehicle for shifting perceptions. Schwartz explains how scenarios are made up of two paradigms, one of facts and one of perceptions. By aiming at the world of perceptions one can transform the strategic significance of information and create change in individual perception (Wack in Schwartz 1991, p. 39). "The purpose of scenarios is to help yourself change your view of reality..." (Schwartz 1991, p. 9).

To prevent being overwhelmed by an overload of information in our media saturated world, many people have developed a series of filters that help them pay attention only to what they believe they need to know and learn (Schwartz 1991, p. 65). These filters can be altered or turned off when in the altered reality that storytelling can create. Moreover, storytelling helps us to better understand future possibilities through explaining why something could happen in a certain way (Schwartz 1991, p. 40).

Qualitative research collected for this study showed how creative methods, such as some types of performance art interventions, can improve awareness of the importance of good communication, increased tolerance, and empathy. Many respondents who saw the *Code 33: Emergency Clear the Air* performance claimed to have gained a better understanding of differences in worldviews between police and inner-city youths, as well as differing views of various ethnic groups. In the second questionnaire, some respondents indicated experiencing a personal transformation twelve to thirty days after seeing the *Code 33* performance. These respondents recounted occasions of self-reflection, in which they questioned why they had answered survey questions in certain ways during the first questionnaire and questioned their own beliefs concerning issues of prejudice and stereotyping. Other respondents expressed feelings of gratitude and support for those who developed and created the performance documentary and were optimistic about the filmmakers' efforts to improve relationships and interactions between young people and police officers.

Through the results of this study one can only speculate on the impact the live and videotaped youth–police workshops had on those who participated in them and those who witnessed them secondhand through the *Code 33*: *Emergency Clear the Air* performance. A variety of media outlets in northern California aired parts of the *Code 33* performance documentary, significantly broadening the audience from hundreds to thousands of people. The empirical research conducted in this study indicates that many of the

intentional messages developed by the collaborating artists were similarly interpreted by the viewers. The collaborating artist's strategies of message distribution through live public performance and televised news may have impacted the Oakland community at large by promoting greater tolerance, understanding, and empathy toward young people and greater concern about how youth and police in Oakland interact with each other, but this cannot be verified through this study. As mentioned earlier, the *Code 33* performance finale was in 1999 with subsequent television airings, and statistics show a significant decrease in youth violence in Oakland from 2000 to 2006 (Males 2002).

The empirical results of this study suggest that first questionnaire respondents who saw the *Code 33* performance had increased perceptions of peacefulness among certain ethnic groups. In addition, there was a nearly significant trend of these same respondents who found certain groups more likeable after seeing the *Code 33* performance. The findings also suggest that after seeing the *Code 33* performance, a cluster of viewers responded empathically to the sources of conflict as conveyed by the young people in the film[4]. For example, approximately twenty percent of the youths who were shown in the documentary as participants in the police-youth workshops recounted the stress of living in a broken family that was intensified by serious financial hardship. They explained how such hardship influenced their life choices as they had to choose between earning money for the family and attending school, and to justify attending classes while their families were burdened with great financial hardship. This data provides more evidence that certain types of performance art interventions could be useful in the field of conflict resolution.

To again summarize the results of the analysis of the mixed methods research used in this study: both quantitative and qualitative data analysis indicated that the intentions of artists developing and implementing performance art interventions can change a viewer's perceptions and attitudes. Quantitative results indicated increased sympathy among respondents who saw the *Code 33* performance and a heightened positive feeling toward inner-city youths among these respondents. Quantitative analysis also showed compelling evidence that performative methods of communication offer a safe venue for emotional expression within the altered reality that performance can create, and within this alternative reality, the viewer tends to be receptive to new perceptions and unfamiliar narratives. This data strongly suggests that performative methods of dialogue can create a place where people feel safe to discuss uncomfortable, traumatic, or emotionally charged issues. This finding was unaffected by conditions.

Analysis of data from respondents who saw the *Code 33* performance suggested that the viewers interpreted most of the messages the artists intended to convey, indicating that viewers understood and accepted many of the narratives projected during the performance art intervention. Quantitatively, there was no residual effect, but to some degree this condition did hold up qualitatively over time.

It is important to also mention a limitation of this study being that all 160 people who participated in the experiment were George Mason University students. It could be

argued that university students have a propensity to more open to or to provide more socially acceptable responses to performance art interventions than non-students or people who have not pursued higher education.

The Role of Art and the Place of the Artist

During our interview, Suzanne Lacy discussed the Oakland Projects, including *Code 33,* as an exercise to show how the capacity and limits of art projects can effect changes in civic institutions. She said: "It's the way in which I think art can play a significant role in social justice work, to provide a total project for young people, one [in which] they can learn specific skills while creating . . . something that is big, positive, and recognized by their community" (Lacy 2006).

Collaborating artist Julio Morales spoke of art as a catalyst for social change when it is utilized as a tool and a resource for the development of public dialogue. He explained his work on the *Code 33* performance as "a process of developing relationships, nurturing relationships, and creating art or utilizing art as a medium toward a different purpose. That maybe at the end it's not art, but sort of a social movement" (Morales 2006).

Tom Finkelpearl speaks about artists as creators of images that have public value in their ability to generate questions and inspire dialogue (Finkelpearl 2001, p. 287). Paolo Freire views the artist as inescapably working within the public domain. An artist is always part of the social dimension seeking to project his or her work into the social, political, and ideological framework (Freire 2001, p. 287). Freire understood that one of the many contributions artists make to their communities is the act of questioning. Questions help us discover and create stories that can lead to positive change.

Historically and politically, artists have been concerned with the ways in which dominant narratives embed themselves in other narratives, interweaving private lives with public events and global phenomena, and the process by which these stories can be rewritten. Stories are everywhere, and our world is made up of the stories that we digest and live by (King 2005, p. 287).

The artist's role of questioner, challenger, and creator of narratives is of great importance for conflict resolution and transformation. Storytelling mediates our relationship to and understanding of the world on a personal, social, and global level. Author Michael Jackson describes performance and storytelling as "how the line between categorically opposed domains may be understood, managed and mediated" (Jackson 2002, p. 23).

Certain types of performance art interventions have the potential to create social change through stimulating public dialogue about a dominant social, political, and ideological framework. The finale performance of *Code 33: Emergency Clear the Air* brought together hundreds of young people, police officers, community members, members of the media, and interested spectators from outside the city of Oakland. As

participants told their stories, monitors played youth-made videos that captured stories about youths' perceptions of their neighborhood. Interviewers sat down with people who volunteered to be interviewed to tell their stories. Through this diverse process, everyone had a chance to create stories that seemed to reinforce existing boundaries and stories that seemed to abolish boundaries (Jackson 2002, p. 25). Some participants and viewers indicated their journey allowed them to come back with a transformed understanding and hope for improved relationships.

Notes

1. *Dialogical communication* refers to a mode of meaning construction that centers around circumstance and what the people involved in a dialogue bring to the encounter, as well as what is informed within the encounter. In dialogue, meaning is produced, altered, and reshaped through the interaction of language.
2. *Empathy* refers to identification with or vicarious experiencing of the feelings and thoughts of another.
3. Allowing for the expression of emotions significantly factors into this study of intervention methods, because emotions contribute to strategic positioning. Emotions are persuasive, and the admittance of strong emotions into an intervention could persuade respondents or audience members to make shifts in attitudes, perceptions, or positions regarding a conflict issue (Harre and Moghaddam 2003, p. 32).
4. The physical, social, and psychological conditions that young people in *Code 33* describe speak to conditions and outcomes explained by Relative Deprivation Theory (RDT). RDT is both a macro- and a micro-level theory, and both a social and a psychological theory about individual and group conceptions of social realities. The theory cites perceptions of in-group and out-group as significantly contributing to conflict and addresses sources of conflict as perceptions of inequity that can lead to violent action. A person or group does not perceive a situation in terms of an absolute level of deprivation but rather in terms of deprivation or lack of achievement relative to some standard. From this perspective, deprivation arises from a subjective feeling of discontent based on the belief that one is getting less than one is entitled to. RDT is a helpful theory in the analysis of situations of perceived injustice and inequality. When there is a gap between what people think they deserve and what they actually have, conditions can be ripe for conflict and rebellion (Gurr 1970, pp. 24-37).

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