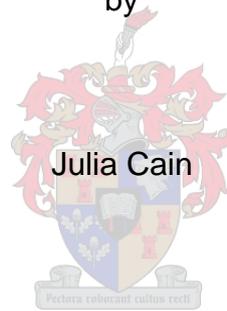


UNDERSTANDING FILM AND VIDEO AS TOOLS FOR CHANGE:

Applying Participatory Video and Video Advocacy in South Africa

by



Julia Cain

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
Opsomming	v
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Background and purpose of the study	1
1.2 Overview of the dissertation	3
1.3 Supplementary materials	10
Chapter 2: Background to Kayamandi participatory video project	11
2.1 Introduction to Kayamandi informal settlement area	11
2.2 Habitat for Humanity International	13
2.3 South African housing policy	17
2.4 Initiating the Kayamandi Participatory Video Project	21
Chapter 3: Historical context for emergence of participatory video	28
3.1 Emergence of non-fiction film as a catalyst for change (1917–pre-WWII)	32
3.1.1 Dziga Vertov and Soviet agitprop cinema	33
3.1.2 Developments in non-fiction film in the 1930s	36
3.2 New directions and issues of participation from the 1960s	50
3.2.1 Ethnographic filmmaking / visual anthropology	54
3.2.2 Cinema vérité vs. direct cinema	65
3.2.3 Social documentary / Radical documentary / Film collectives	74
3.2.4 Contributions from the Third World, particularly Latin America	79
3.2.5 Feminist filmmaking	84
Chapter 4: Participatory video:	87
The Fogo process and the South African context	87
4.1 The birth of participatory video: Challenge for Change and Fogo process	88
4.1.1 Challenge for Change	89
4.1.2 The Fogo Island Film and Community Development Project	90
4.1.3 The Fogo process	95
4.2 The South African context	99
4.2.1 Historical developments	99
4.2.2 Contemporary context	104
Chapter 5: Kayamandi Participatory Video Project	111
5.1 Context of the video project within the dissertation	111
5.2 Background to the methodology	112
5.3 Project methodology	114
5.4: Project Implementation: “The complex mechanics of collaboration”	129
Chapter 6: Key theoretical issues:	153
Participatory video and the Kayamandi Project	153
6.1 Participation / Collaboration	154
6.2 Representation / authorship	167
6.3 Reflexivity / reception	178
Chapter 7: Conclusions and recommendations	189
Bibliography	196
Filmography	213
Appendix 1: Activity Diary	218
Appendix 2: Video interviews: Questions and format	231
Appendix 3: Evaluation questionnaire (English version)	232
Appendix 4: Evaluation results summary	233

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the support and goodwill of my supervisor, Dr Edwin Hees, and particularly his assistance in facilitating the upgrade of this dissertation. Thanks also in this latter regard to Professor Hauptfleisch.

I received valuable input on the writing of this dissertation at key periods from several individuals. I would like to extend a special thanks to Susan Levine for pointing me in the direction of key authors and for overall conceptual input at the very start of this process. Big thanks to my long-time friend, Larry Swatuk, who tracked down various articles for me in Canadian universities and then read the final draft and gave his ever insightful feedback. Debbie Andrews at Memorial University library (Newfoundland, Canada) was very helpful in sending me a great deal of documentation on the Fogo process. Clemencia Rodriguez replied to my queries on her work on participatory video with various articles of her own and others that provided insight into the exciting work being done in this field in Latin America. Keyan Tomaselli responded with interest to my work and prompted me to make a presentation at the 2005 SACOMM conference where he kindly introduced me to other graduate students in his department at UKZN.

The Kayamandi video project was inspired by Mercy Ndamase and largely facilitated by her and I am indebted to her for both. Malibongwe Gwele was of great assistance in the implementation of the project and every conversation with him stimulated critical thought. I am grateful to the entire Sinomonde Committee for their collaboration on this project. I am also grateful to the Kayamandi Zone J Committee that for providing valuable insight in the initial phases of the project. Thanks also to Grant Edkins at Habitat for Humanity who supported this project from its outset.

I would also like to thank Thomas Waugh, who really inspired my interest in non-fiction film when I first went to film school many years ago. Thanks also to my friend Elizabeth Lescheid who introduced me to the Fogo process when we were both on our way to southern Africa for the first time with WUSC in 1995.

Finally, I have received support and interest in this work from my circle of friends in Stellenbosch – mostly ‘working mothers’ -- over the last four years and I am most appreciative of that. And last, but certainly not least, I am grateful to my husband, Phillip Ravenscroft, who enabled the privilege of returning to academia in mid-life in the first place; applied his formidable brain to whatever problems I presented him with; and did a great deal of parenting our beautiful boys when I needed time to write.

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine critically the phenomenon of participatory video and to situate within this the participatory video project that was initiated as part of this study in the informal settlement area of Kayamandi, South Africa. The overall objective of the dissertation is to consider the potential of participatory video within current-day South Africa towards enabling marginalised groups to represent themselves and achieve social change.

As will be shown, the term 'participatory video' has been used broadly and applied to many different types of video products and processes. For the preliminary purposes of this dissertation, participatory video is defined as any video (or film) process dedicated to achieving change through which the subject(s) has been an integral part of the planning and/or production, as well as a primary end-user or target audience. The two key elements that distinguish participatory video are thus (1) understanding video (or film) as a tool for social change; and (2) understanding participation by the subject as integral to the video process.

An historical analysis thus considers various filmmaking developments that fed into the emergence of participatory video. These include various film practices that used film as a tool for change -- from soviet agitprop through to the documentary movement of the 1930s, as well as various types of filmmaking in the 1960s that opened up questions of participation. The Fogo process, developed in the late 1960s, marked the start of participatory video and video advocacy and provided guiding principles for the Kayamandi project initiated as part of this dissertation. Practitioners of the Fogo process helped initiate participatory video practice in South Africa when they brought the process to South African anti-apartheid activists in the early 1970s. The Kayamandi Participatory Video Project draws on this background and context in its planned methodology and its implementation. Out of this, various theoretical issues arising from participatory video practice contextualise a reflection and an analysis of the Kayamandi project. Lastly, this study draws conclusions and recommendations on participatory video practice in South Africa.

Opsomming

Die doel van hierdie studie is om die verskynsel van deelnemende video krities te ondersoek en die deelnemende video projek wat in Kayamandi, 'n informele woonbuurt in Suid-Afrika, ontwikkel is by die studie te betrek. Die oorhoofse doelstelling van die tesis is om die potensiaal van deelnemende video in die hedendaagse Suid-Afrika as bemagtiging vir gemarginaliseerde groepe om hulself te verteenwoordig en sosiale verandering te bewerkstellig te bepaal.

Soos aangedui sal word, word die term 'deelnemende video' breedweg gebruik en aangewend ten opsigte van verskillende videoprodukte en -prosesse. Vir die aanvanklike doel van hierdie tesis word deelnemende video omskryf as enige video- (of film-) proses wat gemik is op verandering en waarby die betrokkes 'n integrale deel van die beplanning en/of vervaardiging is, sowel as 'n primêre eindgebruiker of die teikengehoor. Die twee kernelemente wat deelnemende video onderskei, is dus (1) 'n begrip van video (of film) as 'n middel tot sosiale verandering; en (2) 'n begrip by die berokkenes dat deelnemend essensie_1 tot die videoproses is.

In 'n historiese analises word verskeie ontwikkelinge in film waardeur die ontstaan van deelnemende video be_nvloed is, dus ondersoek. Dit sluit verskeie gebruike van film as 'n middel tot verandering in - van soviet agitasiepropoganda tot die dokumentêre beweging van die 1930's, asook verskeie films wat vroe en deelname in die 1960's bevorder het. Die Fogo proses wat in die laat-1960's ontwikkel is, was die begin van deelnemende en bepleitende video en het as riglyn gedien vir die beginsels van die Kayamandi projek wat as deel van hierdie ondersoek geloots is. Met hulp aan anti-apartheidsaktiviste in die vroe_ 1970's het praktisyns van die Fogo proses gehelp om Suid-Afrika aan deelnemende video bekend te stel. Die Kayamandi Deelnemende Video Projek maak ten opsigte van beoogde metodologie en implimentering van hierdie agtergrond en konteks gebruik. Die Kayamandi projek word aan die hand van verskeie teoretiese standpunte gekontekstualiseer en ontleed. Ten slotte word afleidings en aanbevelings omtrent die deelnemende video in Suid-Afrika gemaak.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 *Background and purpose of the study*

“Participatory video is the use of video within groups for change, whether it is individual or societal.” (Okahashi, 2000, online)

The purpose of this study is to examine critically the phenomenon of participatory video – to trace its theoretical roots and its practical development – and to situate within this the development of the participatory video project initiated as part of this dissertation in the informal settlement area of Kayamandi, South Africa. Out of this, the dissertation considers various theoretical issues arising out of participatory video practice and reflects on the Kayamandi project within this context. Lastly, this study draws conclusions and recommendations on participatory video practice in South Africa. As will be shown, the term ‘participatory video’ has been used broadly and applied to many different types of video products and processes. For the preliminary purposes of this dissertation, participatory video is defined as any video (or film) process dedicated to achieving change through which the subject(s) has been an integral part of the planning and/or production, as well as a primary end-user or target audience. The two key elements that distinguish participatory video are thus (1) understanding video (or film) as a tool for social change; and (2) understanding participation by the subject as integral to the video process¹.

In his later years, Grierson spoke about the coming of more participatory modes of filmmaking. He saw this as being linked to the cry for participatory democracy related to the “distance between local community and central governing body – the distances, the gaps presently appearing in the democratic process” (Grierson, 1979, p. 26). A practical and theoretical touchstone in this regard is the Fogo process. The Fogo process emerged in the late 1960s as the result of a film project conducted on the remote Fogo Island under the Challenge for Change programme initiated by Canada’s National Film Board in cooperation with various government departments. The project filmmaker collaborated with the local community development officer and

¹ Note that real change can also be the outcome of films that are not framed within a participatory mode, e.g. Kim Longinotto’s film *Sister in Law* is a good example.

community members to tell the stories of Fogo Islanders. An extensive screening programme was conducted on the island that catalysed inter- and intra-community discussions and ultimately consensus-building. Through this process it emerged that the islanders were scheduled for re-location to the mainland by the national government, but that they did not want to go. What developed was a process by which islanders represented their communities and their desire to stay where they were on film. A screening was then held on the mainland for government representatives so that the local Fogo islanders could address and advocate on their own behalf, through the medium of film, to these decision-makers. The end result was that the planned re-location was scrapped, and the *Fogo process* was defined. As the Fogo process was further developed and adapted for different contexts, the original Fogo process as well as broader applications of its principles became grouped together and known as *participatory video*.

Within its ambit, participatory video may include such practices known as community video, video advocacy, and indigenous media. Participatory video has been used in different parts of the world for such varied purposes as community development; training and education; therapy; community organization and mobilisation; political and social activism; advocacy; cultural preservation; mediation and conflict resolution; role-modelling; exposing social injustice; lending voice to the 'voiceless'; empowering women behind the camera; and for use by illiterate communities (Ogan 1989; White 2003). Examples of the application of participatory video range from elders using it in the Philippines to record and archive indigenous knowledge; women's collectives in India using it to lobby decision-makers; and an Oxfam video team using it to mediate between teachers and parents in Vietnam (Okahashi 2000; Satheesh 2005). In Latin America there is a rich culture of community video: housewives have used it for role-playing; Colombians have used it as a tool for peace; and Mexican Zapotec Indians have used it to look at their political process more self-consciously (Ranucci 1990; Rodriguez 2006). While I will touch on various practices and applications of participatory video, the Fogo process for community mobilisation and video advocacy will be the main focus because that is the most relevant to the Kayamandi project. I will argue that a niche for 'participatory video' in South Africa lies in using this mode of video-making as a tool for change by underrepresented groups, i.e. as a lobbying or advocacy tool as distinct from its

possible uses for entertainment, education, research, or consciousness-raising². Within the South African context, this tool appears to offer exciting possibilities for use in a wide variety of situations: “In a space of 15 minutes, the voices of the poor or marginalized can be communicated to a wider audience” (Braden, 2003, p. 27).

Implementing participatory video requires that the subject group be enabled to represent and present itself, which in turn must be based on some degree and form of participation:

People at the grassroots are at the very bottom of society's information hierarchy. They need to communicate their needs and concerns to people at all levels and to receive many kinds of information but particularly from others whose experience is relevant to their situation. This is a prerequisite to their full participation in society. (Stuart, 1989, p. 10)

While it is easy to see on paper that the *process* required for achieving this is critical, there are challenges in implementing this process by real people, in real situations, within the context of real time. An analysis of the Kayamandi participatory video project initiated as part of this dissertation within the context of both the historical tradition of non-fiction film as a catalyst for change, as well as the context of other participatory video projects undertaken in South Africa and elsewhere, is intended to provide a reference tool that will be of use to those considering their options for making their voice(s) heard. This analysis will consider issues of participation and collaboration; representation and authorship; reflexivity and reception; the challenges of practical implementation of participatory video projects; and the potential effectiveness and applicability of participatory video within the South African context as a means for effecting change by underrepresented groups.

1.2 *Overview of the dissertation*

This dissertation is based on a literature review, film and video viewings, and the development of a participatory video project in the Kayamandi informal settlement area of the Stellenbosch Municipality in South Africa.

The organization of the dissertation is based on the following sequence:

² In terms of video for change in South Africa, edutainment examples found on the national broadcaster are an important example, e.g. Soul City.

Chapter 1 introduces the concept of participatory video; the content of the dissertation; and the Kayamandi video project.

Chapter 2 identifies key subject areas that the participatory video project had to take into consideration: the Kayamandi area and its community(s); Habitat for Humanity International; and relevant housing policy. This chapter also includes an assessment of the potential and applicability of a participatory video project in Kayamandi on the issue of housing, and looks at the phenomenon of 'advocacy.'

Chapter 3 then takes a step back to look at the history of non-fiction film and video as it contributed to the emergence of participatory video: the use of film/video as a tool for change; and the development of ideas and practices around participation.

Chapter 4 goes into some detail on the birth of participatory video and the development of the Fogo process through the Challenge for Change programme, as well as an overview of participatory video developments in South Africa from the 1970s to the present.

Chapter 5 focuses on the Kayamandi Participatory Video Project specifically. It sets out the planned methodology of the Kayamandi participatory video project and notes specific influences from a variety of sources that influenced or underlay the methodology and project design. It then uses a self-reflexive diary-style to document the process and challenges of actual project implementation, which is supplemented by the Activity Diary (Appendix 1).

Chapter 6 explores various key theoretical issues that have been developed throughout this dissertation from within the context of participatory video practice. This enables a reflection and analysis of the Kayamandi project to be integrated within a consideration of these key themes.

Chapter 7 closes the dissertation with a short chapter on conclusions and recommendations.

A more detailed summary of the ensuing chapters follows below.

Chapter 2: Background to Kayamandi Participatory Video Project presents an introduction to the Kayamandi area and community; an introduction to Habitat for Humanity; an overview of relevant housing policy in South Africa; and an introduction to the participatory video project developed with Kayamandi residents around the issue of housing. The introduction to Kayamandi consists of a contemporary

description of this informal settlement area with reference to its historical context in South Africa. Following this, background information on the non-governmental housing organization, Habitat for Humanity International (HFHI) and its local Kayamandi committee (the Sinomonde committee), who collaborated on the participatory video project, is presented. An overview of relevant housing policy in South Africa, briefly set within the context of the international community, is also presented. Various definitions and forms of advocacy as relevant to participatory video are also considered. The introduction to the video project itself is confined in this chapter to a description of how the idea for the participatory video project developed through my contact with Kayamandi and several of its residents; and describing the community consultation process that took place to investigate the potential applicability of a participatory video project in the area. As part of this, the issues that the community identified to be addressed with government are also set out.

Briefly here, my initial community consultation took place in early 2005 with and through a community-based and elected group called the Zone J Committee that represents people living in the Zone J informal settlement area of Kayamandi. Like all the zone committees, their primary focus is on housing and services, and thus they were particularly well positioned to articulate the concerns and issues of people living in the informal settlement of Kayamandi. Further into the process, I was introduced to the local Habitat for Humanity committee in Kayamandi and began to collaborate with this group, the Sinomonde committee. This development was a positive one as the Sinomonde committee was specifically organized around housing issues in Kayamandi but were far less enmeshed in local politics than the Zone J committee. Around this time Habitat for Humanity International took a decision to incorporate *advocacy* as a key component into their work from head office to local committee level. This specific concern with advocacy tied in critically with the basic argument of my thesis, which is that advocacy and lobbying are particularly relevant strengths that participatory video has to offer within the current South African context.

Chapter 3: Historical Context for Emergence of Participatory Video steps back to consider the historical emergence of the two key elements that are the basis of

participatory video: (1) film or video as a tool for change; and (2) participation as integral to the video process. The first section examines films produced with the desire to raise public consciousness and catalyse social and/or political change from Dziga Vertov and soviet agitprop to the committed social documentarians of the 1930s. This section also references radical avant-garde filmmaking, and working-class cinema from within that period. Particular attention is paid to the committed filmmaking of Joris Ivens and to the more institutionalised documentary work of John Grierson to illustrate the developments and differences within the field of understanding film as a tool for change. The film, *Housing Problems*, (as well as several others) is also introduced in this section as one of the first films dealing with slum housing problems.

The next section of this chapter focuses on the new directions and issues of participation in non-fiction film that emerged during the 1960s. This discussion includes a consideration of ethnographic filmmaking and the work of Jean Rouch; 'cinéma vérité' vs. direct cinema; social documentary / radical documentary / film collectives; contributions from the Third World, particularly Latin America; and feminist filmmaking.

It is in this chapter that the key theoretical themes of the dissertation are first raised and explored: the construction of 'truth' and 'reality'; participation and collaboration; representation and authorship; and reflexivity and reception.

This chapter draws particularly from the written work of Richard Barsam, Eric Barnouw, Jacqueline Maingard, Joris Ivens, John Grierson, Jean Rouch, Julianne Burton, Julia Lesage, Barbara Halpern Martineau, Thomas Waugh and Jay Ruby, among others.

Chapter 4: Participatory Video: The Fogo process and the South African Context begins with a detailed look at the birth of participatory video through the Fogo project. The Fogo process, which essentially enables community-based advocacy, that evolved out of the Fogo project is also considered in some detail. The Fogo process uses video as a tool to develop intra- and inter-community communication and consensus to enable community(s) to represent their issues to decision-makers

for the purposes of empowering communities to effect change. It is based on a process of videotaping community members and using facilitated community screenings as a means of catalysing dialogue around issues of community concern. It is intended to lead to a consolidated and targeted video message (product) that is taken to appropriate decision-makers. Ideally, these decision-makers will in turn respond on tape for playback within the community. Integral to this are the following: an emphasis on process vs. product; community feedback throughout the process (i.e. community input throughout the production phases); community control over the audio-visual product; and facilitated group / community screenings as part of the process.

The second half of this chapter looks at participatory video in South Africa. There is a direct link between the Fogo process and South Africa as in the early 1970s a Canadian delegation involved in the promotion of the Fogo process came to South Africa to share the technique with anti-apartheid community groups. At least partially triggered by this, a range of participatory video practices developed in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, generally under the name of 'community video'. The contemporary context is then considered with specific reference to the Steps for the Future programme that addressed HIV/AIDS and used innovative techniques as part of their distribution programme.

This chapter draws on various documentation supplied from Memorial University in Newfoundland, which collects and houses all materials related to the Fogo process. It also draws on the work of Timothy Kennedy, Keyan Tomaselli, Jacqueline Maingard, and Susan Levine, among others.

Chapter 5: Kayamandi Participatory Video Project sets out the planned design and development of the Kayamandi project methodology within the context of participatory video practice and theory. It then provides a personalised account of actual project implementation.

Briefly here, the participatory video project was planned along the lines of a Fogo process. The Sinomonde committee agreed to collaborate and act as the community editing committee (CEC) from the informal settlement of Kayamandi

within the Stellenbosch municipal area of South Africa. It was envisioned that the CEC would identify issues to be addressed; identify community persons to be interviewed; view and give input on the rushes (raw footage) and the edited versions of the video; organize community screenings; and give final approval of the completed video. The focus of the project was planned as producing a 'video-letter' addressed to the Municipality on community issues and concerns around the provision of housing for those living in shacks. (The South African government has committed itself to providing free houses to the poor and delivery has been particularly problematic).

The next section of this chapter covers the process of actual project implementation, or "*the complex mechanics of collaboration*" (Ruby, 2000, p. 208) of the Kayamandi Participatory Video Project. This section is written in a distinctly less formal and less academic style than the rest of the dissertation, highlighting a self-reflective account of the project through personal experience. The emphasis of this section is on providing the 'background information' of implementation and collaboration that is seldom contained in project documentation written by practitioners, and that is otherwise not known by theorists or those not involved in on-the-ground implementation. This account of implementation uses the planned methodology as its point of reference and its focus is on the overall process as it evolved. An important supplement to this section is *Appendix 1: Activity Diary*, which sets out a detailed chronological account of project activities and related events and developments. The Activity Diary provides additional information on specific meetings and events as well as further personal reflections on project activities.

Chapter 6: Key Theoretical Issues: Participatory Video and the Kayamandi Project explores in detail three different categories of themes roughly grouped in a loose chronological order related to issues that dominate in the planning and production phase; to those that dominate during editing; to those of concern during distribution of a participatory video project. These are themes that have been developed throughout the dissertation and serve as a context from which to reflect upon and analyse the Kayamandi project. The categories are participation and collaboration; representation and authority; and reflexivity and reception. These issues are discussed within the context of participatory video theory and practice as well as

theory emanating from visual anthropology, development communication and film theory.

Participation and collaboration includes an overview of Richard Chalfen's categories of participatory video as its starting point. Concepts of collaboration developed by Sara Elder are then put forward, which resonate with the collaborative model used in the Kayamandi project. Jay Ruby's interrogations of participation and collaboration are also considered.

The section on representation and authorship begins with David MacDougall's consideration of what is lost from the filming of lived experiences to the final video product. Bill Nichols's categories of modes of representation then follow. Jay Ruby's critique on shared authorship feeds into this discussion, along with Sara Elder's ideas on 'community-collaborative' work, amongst others.

The notions of reflexivity and reception are then addressed. The various ways of understanding reflexivity, including self-reflexivity, are discussed within the context of participatory video and the Fogo process. The importance of community screenings and facilitated discussions to the objectives of participatory video are examined. Key theoreticians and projects referenced in this section include the following: Jay Ruby, Eric Michaels, Su Braden, Clemencia Rogrigues, Susan Levine, Lucinda Englehart, and the Steps for the Future project.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations draws conclusions, based on the literature review and the experiences of the Kayamandi project, on the potential of participatory video as a tool for enabling under-represented groups to build consensus and represent themselves. It also draws conclusions on the potential effectiveness of participatory video in assisting under-represented group to affect *real change* through video advocacy in their social / political / physical environment specifically within the South African environment. Out of this, recommendations for future developments are made.

Additionally, the dissertation includes further documentation. An extensive *Bibliography* that draws on literature from the fields of participatory video, visual

ethnography, film theory, and development theory is included. The *Filmography* includes films and videos that relate directly to participatory video as well as non-fiction films that provide insight into the key themes of participation / collaboration / representation / authorship / and reflexivity. The appendices include the following:

Appendix 1: Activity Diary: As described above, this is a chronological diary account of project activities and related events and developments that supplements the account of project implementation included in the body of the dissertation.

Appendix 2: Video interviews: Questions and format: This appendix includes the planned process for conducting the video interviews as well as the questions that provided the outline for the interviews.

Appendix 3: Evaluation questionnaire (English version): This is a copy of the evaluation questionnaires circulated after screenings of “Living Spaces: a video-letter to Stellenbosch Municipality” to audience members. These include a variety of screenings, from the open community screenings held at the Kayamandi community hall, to various household screenings held by committee members and subject-participants, as well as screenings held at a ‘step-down’ facility in Kayamandi for community members in the process of returning to their homes (shacks) from hospital.

Appendix 4: Evaluation results: This is a summary of the results derived to date from the evaluation forms circulated through the variety of screenings listed above. The results comment on the perceived community value of the video-letter to the cause of housing development in Kayamandi.

1.3 *Supplementary materials*

This dissertation consists of a written thesis and a DVD (enclosed). The DVD contains the ‘video-letter’ produced in collaboration with the Sinomonde committee targeted at decision-makers, as well as additional footage from the shooting of the video project; and a photo gallery.

Chapter 2: Background to Kayamandi participatory video project

2.1 Introduction to Kayamandi informal settlement area

Kayamandi is the area of Stellenbosch town designated as a 'black area' during the apartheid years in South Africa and is the location of the participatory video project set up as part of this dissertation. It lies, literally, across the railway tracks on the northwest edge of town. Stellenbosch town itself is at the heart of the mountainous Winelands and is located 48 kilometres northeast of Cape Town in the province of the Western Cape of South Africa. The population of Stellenbosch Municipality is 117,705 (2001 statistics).³ The town's establishment dates back to 1679, when the first colony of settlers, led by Simon van der Stel, Commander of the Cape, was granted land on the banks of the Eerste River (Stellenbosch Tourism Information Bureau, 2005). This historic and wealthy town is now surrounded by wine estates and is a popular destination for both national and international tourists.

Kayamandi, isiXhosa for "Sweet Home," was first developed in 1942 when the Municipality of Stellenbosch decided to build 85 housing units above the Plankenburg River for black workers who were then living in the Du Toit and Idas Valley regions surrounding the town (Perdu, 2002). Kayamandi now consists of both private and government-built houses, a large number of hostels, but primarily it is covered in shacks. Seventy percent of the surface area of Kayamandi is covered by 'informal settlements' that house 60% of the residents in approximately 2000 shacks, on average 3m X 3m in size, with an average of 5-7 persons living in each (Perdu, 2002). Also in Kayamandi are the following: one primary school, one high school, various pre-schools, one sports field, a library, a police station, and many small churches, 'spaza' shops⁴, and 'shebeens'⁵ (Ndamase, 2006). Estimates on the population of Kayamandi range from 20,000 to 29,000 people living in an area of approximately 1 square kilometre (Stellenbosch Municipality 2005; Perdu 2002). There is no running water inside the shacks – water and sanitation facilities are provided by either roadside taps and communal toilet blocks or by combined toilet /

³ The Stellenbosch municipal area includes the towns of Stellenbosch, Franschhoek, Nuweberg and Pniel.

⁴ Small informal convenience shops in 'black' townships often operated from a home.

⁵ Informal drinking venues

water facility blocks. From first-hand viewing, these are over-used and poorly maintained. The toilet facilities in particular do not cope with their numbers of users and frequently block and overflow, as do the sewerage pipes. According to Perdu, 85% of residents have access to electricity – pre-paid units have been installed in many shacks – but the frequent occurrence of shack fires, particularly during the dry and windy summer season, affects this service in particular. Malibongwe Gwele, a Kayamandi resident and young social scientist, describes the area as one of “overcrowded squalor” and notes that little has changed in Kayamandi since 1994 (the year of South Africa’s first democratic elections) in terms of housing and infrastructural development, but that since that time there has been a large influx of people from the former Transkei and Ciskei regions looking for employment and schooling (Gwele, 2005). The inadequate infrastructural development of Kayamandi has a direct impact on community health in terms of high levels of flu, respiratory illness, diarrhoea, childhood infections and tuberculosis (Perdu 2003). Obviously living with HIV/AIDS, as many South Africans do, is particularly challenging under these conditions. Environmental pollution is also a spin-off of the large informal settlement area of Kayamandi, with the Plankenburg River above which Kayamandi is built, very severely polluted with an e.coli count of 560 million (Yeld, 2007)⁶.

In terms of the social and cultural aspects of Kayamandi, Xhosa is the main language spoken in Kayamandi, but Afrikaans, Zulu and Sotho are also represented (Gwele, 2005; Perdu, 2003). Unemployment levels are high – Perdu puts it as high as 62% – and employment tends to be in lower paying sectors such as domestic workers and gardeners (Perdu, 2003). Gwele makes the point that township lifestyle and culture are different to those of the rural areas from which many of its migrants come, and that these migrants are forced to adapt. In describing this culture, he states, “. . . township culture can be said to be hybrid in that it blends both Western and African elements in higher levels than its rural counterparts” (2005, p. 26). Gwele describes township residents as “dislocated and disoriented” and states that because of this the role of the church and its impact have grown in Kayamandi. The church offers protection for women from violence, for example, when they are displaced from their traditional support systems in their rural homes to a township

⁶ Measured in February 2004 by Dr Jo Barnes, Cape Town-based epidemiologist. South Africa’s standard acceptable limit set out by the Department of Water Affairs & Forestry is 2000/100 ml water.

such as Kayamandi (Gwele, 2005). Lastly, Gwele makes the important observation, supported by his questionnaire results conducted with Kayamandi residents that, “almost all of our respondents have strong rural links and they do not regard Cape Town as their home, and yet they spend most of their lifetimes here” (2005, p. 97).

2.2 *Habitat for Humanity International*

The ultimate goal of Habitat for Humanity International is to eliminate poverty housing and homelessness from the face of the earth by constructing and building adequate and basic housing. Furthermore, all of our words and actions are for the ultimate purpose of putting shelter on the hearts and minds of people in such a powerful way that poverty housing and homelessness become socially, politically and religiously unacceptable in our nations and world.
(Habitat for Humanity Mission Focus, 12th May 2003)

Habitat for Humanity International (HFHI) is a non-profit, non-sectarian housing organization that was officially founded in 1979 by Millard and Linda Fuller after their missionary housing work in Mbandeka, Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) in the early 1970s (HFHI, FAQs, online). In the thirty years since its inception HFHI has built 200,000 houses for 1 million people (HFHI, Advocacy Report, p. 14). Habitat for Humanity International now works in 60 countries worldwide (HFHI, FAQs, online).

The Habitat for Humanity programme is one of low-cost housing – the programme facilitates and provides interest-free loans, volunteer labour (members must commit ‘sweat equity’ and work on their own homes as well as those of other local members), and low-cost local materials. HFHI is headquartered in Americus, Georgia, USA; the area office for Africa and the Middle East is located in Pretoria, South Africa. The actual work of HFHI is carried out by affiliates approved by the HFHI Board of Directors. Each Habitat affiliate has a local committee that oversees fundraising, house construction, and family selection (HFHI, FAQs, online). For example, the Kayamandi committee is one such local committee that is facilitated by the local (Western Cape) affiliate office.

The Habitat programme in South Africa is affected by the national statistics for homelessness and unemployment as well as the effect of HIV/AIDS. According to

Habitat for Humanity, there are approximately 10 million people in need of decent housing in South Africa, coupled with an unemployment rate of 35-40 percent. (Note that Statistics South Africa's 2004 mid-year estimates put official unemployment at 27.8% as cited by US State Department, 2005, online). Exacerbating this situation are the 5.6 million South Africans living with HIV or AIDS (AIDS affects more people in South Africa than any other country in the world) and the 300,000 AIDS orphans in the country (HFHI: South Africa, January 13-16, 2006, online). (This latter statistic is given within the context of the current 12 million children orphaned by AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa and HFHI's concern with supporting orphaned and vulnerable children (HFHI, Housing and Sustainable Income for Orphans and Vulnerable Children, Feb 22, 2006, online)).

In terms of HFHI projects in South Africa, they include the following: Ivory Park Township, Jo-burg; Masiphumelele Township, Cape Town; 2002 Jimmy Carter Work Project (first whole new community built on one piece of land – to be 350 houses in total), Durban; and Kwa-Ximba in the Valley of 1000 Hills, KwaZulu Natal (HFHI: South Africa, January 13-16, 2006, online), and, of course, the Kayamandi, Sinomonde, project.

Habitat for Humanity's Kayamandi programme, called Sinomonde ("We have patience"), was initiated in July 2004 by the now Rev. Thumakele. Its first committee members were Joyce Rubushe, Malibongwe Gwele, Mercy Ndamase, Noxolo Mbambalala, Mnikelo Ncama, Nolundi Mpotololok, and Mrs. Malangeni – most of whom also became the members of the community editing committee organized for the participatory video project initiated as part of this dissertation.

Habitat for Humanity International's interest in advocacy has been developed over time, but is only now being officially integrated as part of their programmes and activities as recommended by their Advocacy Management Team Report and Recommendations, October 2005. The background to these recommendations is found in HFHI's Advocacy Report, September 15, 2005. HFHI's commitment to advocacy has grown out of the overwhelming worldwide statistics for inadequate housing and from "the realisation that development and humanitarian relief projects will never, in and of themselves, bring about lasting change in the structures that

create and perpetuate poverty and injustice” (HFHI, p. 18, citing Deborah Eade, (ed), *Development and Advocacy*, 2002). The Advocacy Report cites troubling statistics from the National Low Income Housing Coalition’s book *America’s Neighbours* (2004), which states that 1.6 billion people in the world are inadequately housed and that 100 million people worldwide are completely homeless. Of relevance to the South African situation, including the peri-urban informal settlement of Kayamandi, are the findings quoted from the UN-Habitat’s Global Report on Human Settlements (2003), which states that the world’s rural population has peaked and that most additional population growth will be absorbed by urban settlements. Additionally noted is that 1 billion people (32% of the global population) live in urban slums, and that if no action is taken, the number of slum dwellers worldwide will rise over the next 30 years to nearly 2 billion.

As a prelude to developing their advocacy recommendations, the HFHI Advocacy Management Team stated the “vision and values” that would inform their report. These included the following:

HFHI believes decent housing for all is a basic opportunity all persons deserve and that housing directly affects many of the basic causes of poverty: health, education, economic development of families and nations, environmental issues, sense of dignity and well-being toward achieving human potential, etc.
(HFHI, 2005, p. 6)

Against this background, the Advocacy Report explores the concept of advocacy itself, and because of its relevance to my work, I have included it in some detail. Firstly, it states that the word “advocate” is derived from a Latin word meaning “someone called to one’s aid” (citing Eade, 2002, p. xiii). Next a variety of types of advocacy definitions are set out:

Public interest advocacy: Typically large-scale campaign-style advocacy to mobilize resources and influence in pursuit of policy reforms to serve the broad public interest.

Policy advocacy: Focuses exclusively on the policy agenda and a specific policy goal.

Social justice advocacy: Strategies involve political and policy influence around issues that directly affect people’s lives, especially the lives of the poor and marginalized.

People-centred advocacy: Aims to empower the poor to advocate themselves for their rights and interests.

Participatory advocacy: Extends beyond the boundaries of public decision-making by engaging civil society groups in policy debates. (HFHI, 2005, p. 11, citing VaneKlasen and Miller (2002) *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics*)

The latter two definitions above are the best fit in terms of participatory video and the type of participatory video advocacy that this dissertation explores. What sets these forms of advocacy apart is that they are based on groups advocating on behalf of their *own* interests, i.e. **not** based on the traditional definition or notion of advocacy being done on behalf of another. I return to an examination of this in relation to the practice of participatory video in a later chapter.

For the Habitat team, they considered the various definitions and developed an advocacy definition to suit their specific focus on housing as “changing systems, policies and attitudes to achieve decent housing for all” (2005, p. 11). The expanded version of this definition is as follows:

Habitat for Humanity’s advocacy is working to influence public opinion and decision-makers in all sectors to adopt policies and practices and transform systems that lead to the creation and preservation of housing for all, toward the goal of ending poverty worldwide. These sectors would include, but not be limited to, governments, individuals, religious communities, corporations and international financial institutions. (HFHI, 2005, p. 11)

Another interesting point that the Advocacy Report makes is that “advocacy is much broader than lobbying. Advocacy includes many activities that go beyond mere lobbying, such as raising awareness, building people’s power, building strong constituencies and coalitions, and compelling groups to speak out and take action” (HFHI Advocacy Report, p15). This emphasis on building people’s power and coalitions that enable groups to advocate for themselves is the basis for participatory video advocacy and is explored in depth in this dissertation.

Lastly, I thought it relevant to point out another aspect that HFHI identifies as part of their advocacy process: “We will begin with our most important partners – the families in need. It is their voices we want to raise to the highest levels. Their needs and wants are what bring legitimacy and urgency to our advocacy efforts” (2005, p. 15). This concept of using advocacy to enable ordinary citizens to speak directly to those in power is a critical strength of participatory video, and one that was

identified as being important in the development of the participatory video project in Kayamandi. It was also very encouraging to see how well participatory video seemed to fit the advocacy goals of Habitat for Humanity. The HFHI Regional Director, Grant Edkins, echoed my enthusiasm:

I'm sitting in a conference in Manilla dealing with all the issues you write in your report...so very exciting to see you acting on the advocacy report. . . . As I read your draft section on Habitat, I got excited about your participatory video project because you're absolutely right, Habitat in Kayamandi has to let the people in power hear the voices of the poor and what they truly need.

(Edkins, 2006, personal correspondence)

2.3 *South African housing policy*

As a result of years of apartheid planning and development, human settlements in South Africa are characterised by spatial separation of residential areas according to class and population groups, urban sprawl, a lack of access to basic services in many instances, and concentration of the poor on the urban periphery.

(UN-Habitat, 2001, p.2, online)

In 1994 the new democratically elected government of South Africa set out to redress the inequities and discriminatory practices of the country's apartheid past. Of relevance to the housing situation was firstly the introduction by the government of its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP set out a vision related to meeting the basic needs of all citizens in a variety of areas, from water and sanitation, to housing, etc. In terms of the housing sector, these RDP goals were set out in the government's housing policy White Paper, *A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa* (1994). Within this context the White Paper identified the challenge of the 13.5% of all households that lived in squatter camps (approximately 1,06 million people) at that time, and attributed the situation to "low rates of housing delivery coupled with high rates of new household formation (that) have resulted in a massive growth in the number of people housed in squatter housing" (*South African Government Information, 1994*). In *Section 4.4.6 Housing and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)*, the White Paper emphasised its link with the RDP and states the following:

The provision of housing and services is a key component of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Apart from being seen as a national priority in its own right, future housing strategy has a direct bearing on the success of all five key programmes of the RDP. These programmes are:

Meeting basic needs;
Developing human resources;
Building the economy;
Democratising the State and society; and
Implementing the RDP
(S.A. Government, online)

Also, the White Paper set out its housing vision and identified *housing as a basic human right*, a challenging undertaking that has underpinned housing policy from that time.

Government is under a duty to take steps and create conditions which will lead to an effective right to housing for all (Section 4.4.2 Housing as a Basic Human Right)
(S.A. Government, online)

Lastly, with regards the White Paper, a three-tiered system of housing subsidies was introduced to assist the poorest of the poor. This system has been in place from that time (with various updates to the criteria for the subsidies and the subsidy amounts).

Returning to the right to housing, this aspect of South African housing policy was traced by a UN-Habitat (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements) committee report (UN-Habitat, 2001). The right to housing first mentioned in the White Paper was affirmed when the current 1996 Constitution of South Africa was adopted. The constitution gives recognition to the right to basic needs, and includes the right to housing in Section 26, which states that everyone has the right to have “access to adequate housing.” It is allowed that adequate housing cannot be achieved immediately, but that it must be achieved over time. The UN-Habitat committee notes that South Africa was one of just over 30 countries that had included the right to housing in its constitution. This has had legislative impact in the country in a variety of ways, including the October 2000 Constitutional Court decision protecting the rights of people that were living in deplorable conditions while waiting to be allocated housing opportunities. This judgement advanced the right to adequate housing within the nation as well as internationally (UN-Habitat, 2001).

The UN-Habitat committee also noted that South Africa’s Housing Act (1997) echoes the calls of paragraph 61 of the Habitat Agenda by stating that housing policy and programmes should ensure:

Non-discriminatory access;
Security of tenure and equal access to all;
That housing is made accessible through a series of interventions to improve the supply of affordable housing; and
Monitoring and evaluation of homelessness and inadequate housing.
(UN-Habitat 2001, p.3)

In terms of the international context related to housing, a brief background follows. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948, and it was from that time that the right to adequate housing “has been recognized as an important part of the right to an adequate standard of living” (UN Department of Public Information, 1996, online). The adoption of the Habitat Agenda by 171 governments at Habitat II (UN Conference on Human Settlements) in Istanbul in 1996 is the most relevant and critical events since that time (European Environment Agency, 2006, online). (Habitat I was held in Vancouver in 1976.) One of the most significant outcomes of Habitat II was that agreement was reached “on the right to adequate housing, recognising the fundamental obligation of Governments to enable people to obtain shelter and to protect and improve homes and neighbourhoods” (UN Department of Public Information, 1996, online). Out of this commitment reached at Habitat II, the conference’s action plan was set out in the Habitat Agenda, which is described as follows:

. . . a global plan of action . . . that provides a blueprint for creating sustainable human settlements for the twenty-first century, taking into account their linkages with the environment, human rights, social development, women’s rights, population and other related issues. The Agenda offers a positive vision of urbanisation, one in which adequate shelter and basic services, a healthy and safe environment, and productive and freely chosen employment are the rule and not the exception.
(UN Department of Public Information, 1996, online)

As part of this, governments committed themselves to address the problems of substandard housing, unsafe water and poor sanitation in densely populated cities by undertaking the following:

Providing legal security of tenure and access to land to all people;
Promoting access for all to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation;
Promoting broad access to appropriate housing financing;
Implementing accessibility standards for disabled persons; and
Increasing the supply of affordable housing.
(UN Department of Public Information, 1996, online)

The final housing-related subject I would like to touch on is that of *People's Housing Process* (PHP). UN-Habitat, Habitat for Humanity International, and the South African government all promote and support this process. PHP also has numerous parallels with participatory video, which make it of particular relevance. People's Housing Process is defined as the following, specifically in reference to South Africa's May 1998 approved *National Housing policy: Supporting the People's Housing Process*:

This policy and programme encourages and supports individuals and communities in their efforts to fulfil their own housing needs and who wish to enhance the subsidies they receive from government by assisting them in accessing land, services and technical assistance in a way that leads to the empowerment of communities and the transfer of skills. This housing delivery approach is reliant on subsidies from government and technical, financial, logistical and administrative assistance from NGO's and support organizations.
(UN-Habitat, 2001, p.4)

This is also the basis of Habitat for Humanity's approach, including in Kayamandi. Community representatives organize themselves in order to play an active role in addressing their own housing needs. They must take an active role in assessing what their needs are; determining how they will save for and make their own financial contribution; and in contributing physical labour to the building of their own (and fellow members') houses. Out of this process of enabling those with the least resources to become active in addressing their housing needs, the abilities, knowledge, and wisdom of people living in marginalized communities is affirmed (HFHI, 2006d). As noted by UN-Habitat,

While in the process of learning to build their homes, people come to a new self awareness and begin to look critically at their social situation and often take the initiative in acting to transform their situation. . . . Furthermore, experience gained through this process encourages people to have confidence in themselves and to tackle other challenges in their neighbourhoods.
(2001, pp. 4-5)

This aspect of enabling marginalized groups to actively engage in their own development and thereby gain in confidence to engage in other areas of their social and political environment is also a vital and integral part of a participatory *video* process.

2.4 Initiating the Kayamandi Participatory Video Project

My own interest and involvement in Kayamandi developed out of a personal interest with the informal housing situation and concern with poor delivery, based on information communicated to me by my domestic worker, Mercy Ndamase, who has lived in her shack in Kayamandi since 1993 (a shack which was 'inherited' from her mother, Mrs Marta Ndamase, who had built the shack and lived in it from 1979). After Mercy gave my children and me a 'walking tour' of Kayamandi following a particularly bad shack fire in January 2005, I wrote a letter to the editor of the local paper questioning the lack of delivery to the poor in such a wealthy part of the country. More than a month later, my letter was published (Cain, 2005), and a week after that I was contacted by the communications department of Stellenbosch Municipality.

By the time the municipality contacted me about my letter, I had decided that an appropriate opportunity for a participatory video project lay just over the railroad tracks (I live on the 'right' side of the tracks in Stellenbosch). The Kayamandi situation seemed appropriate for various reasons: there was an obvious case of poor delivery to the poor despite a political mandate to deliver; there was a situation of serious distrust of and dissatisfaction with the local Municipality within the Kayamandi community; and there did not appear to be a genuine understanding of the point-of-view and concerns of Kayamandi residents by the largely white and coloured Afrikaans-speaking Municipality. While I already had some background in film and video, most of my previous 10 years' work experience in South Africa was focused on capacity-building programmes and materials development related to rural water supply and sanitation in the Eastern Cape, so both the housing and peri-urban context were new areas for me. However, as I was coming from a background of hands-on work at grass-roots level, I was committed to including a practical project as part of my dissertation on participatory video.

From the start, I envisioned working with a community-based group on a participatory video project that would address the poor communication between local government and the people living in the informal settlement area on issues of

housing and services. From February 2005 Mercy Ndamase acted as my 'local guide' (Whyte, 1984) and introduced me to members of the Zone J Committee, who represent the zone in which her shack is located. Mercy had already joined the local Habitat for Humanity committee at that time and had an obvious and keen interest in housing issues in Kayamandi. She had initially been elected chairperson of the Kayamandi Habitat committee, but stepped down when it was made clear that the chairpersons of Habitat committees were expected to wait until all their committee members had received houses first. Mercy had had her two sons join her in Kayamandi from the Transkei in January 2005 and her priorities were set on moving her family into a house as soon as possible.

At that time the obvious choice for a committee to work through seemed to me to be the Zone J Committee. This committee had been elected through a purely grassroots movement to represent the Zone J section of Kayamandi, particularly vis-à-vis the Municipality. Furthermore, Zone J had been particularly badly affected by the shack fires at the start of January 2005 and was under a sort of passive-aggressive siege by the Municipality at that time, who were refusing to re-connect services to that section of Kayamandi as a means of trying to force people not to rebuild in the area and to move to 'emergency shelters' in a new area being opened up in Kayamandi. The members of this committee were thus very focused on housing and service issues at the time and there was an understandable sense of urgency about their current situation. I had a number of meetings with the Zone J committee members, who appeared very suspicious at first; for example, I had two men come to interview me first before I was allowed to meet with the committee and I was initially not allowed to ask members their names. My introduction to housing issues from a grassroots perspective through the Zone J committee was very informative on many levels. The Zone J Committee was well versed on the issues, male, militant, political, activist-orientated and appeared to be well supported locally (for example, an open meeting they organized to introduce the video project to the community attracted hundreds of people who seemed genuinely excited about the project).

Around this same time, I met with Pieter Loftus from communication services at Stellenbosch Municipality. This meeting developed out of the phone call from Loftus following the publication of my letter to the editor. By the time I received the call, I

had initiated contact in Kayamandi about the video project and I told him about it. From that, Loftus suggested a meeting at his office. During this meeting Loftus appeared interested and supportive of the project. He offered a variety of insights from the Municipality's perspective and, most importantly, stated that any video document produced from the project would be viewed by the executive mayoral committee and the municipal directors as well – the key decision-makers of Stellenbosch Municipality. (For additional details of the aforementioned meetings and other activities, see *Appendix 3: Process Diary*, which sets out chronological notes on project activities from the inception of the project.)

By this point the issues identified by the Zone J Committee as needing to be addressed with the Municipality consisted of the following:

- a) *Re-connection of existing services to Zone J:* Since the devastating fire on 20 January 2005, essential services of water, sanitation, and electricity had not been repaired and re-connected. This affected the areas where shacks had been re-built in Zone J, as well as neighbouring informal settlement areas close to the burned area.
- b) *Relocation and housing:* People living in shacks wanted to be relocated to either government-built houses or to serviced plots. They did not want simply to be moved to other temporary informal settlement areas (the 'transfer camps' referred to by the Municipality) for an indefinite period. The critical issue coming through was *ownership of land*.
- c) *Improved access to information – Housing List:* There was a demand for community access to information at the Municipality. There was particular concern around the Housing List – the contents of which was unknown by residents in the informal settlements. There was a belief that it was not people living in the shacks in Kayamandi who were getting first access to housing in Kayamandi, for example, that people from Khayalitsha⁷ were moving into new houses in Kayamandi. Lack of information and poor communication were also critical to the remaining concerns.

⁷ Khayalitsha is a large township, including an informal settlement area, between Cape Town and Stellenbosch

- d) *R500 disaster reimbursement*: There was concern that the households affected by the fire were due to receive reimbursement from national via provincial via local government (social services) in terms of a payout of R500 per household for every area declared a disaster area, which included Kayamandi after the fire.
- e) *R800-in-kind (materials) for re-building*: The committee stated that the Municipality had a standing agreement of providing an R800-in-kind support for every household affected by fire – but in the case of the Zone J residents affected by the fire of 20th January this had not been received. There was also a demand for transparency in regard to the financial records for these materials provided in the past and that financial records should be provided in this case as well.
- f) *Kayamandi Disaster Relief Fund*: There was reportedly no community awareness of disaster relief funding coming into Kayamandi. Residents were aware that there was a relief fund and that various fund-raising efforts had been made (e.g. by the university students), but they were not aware of how much money had been raised, who controlled these funds, or how (if?) these funds had been used.
- g) *Non-support for ward councillor representatives*: Residents in the informal settlements reportedly believed that their ward councillor representatives had betrayed them. There was a claim that Councillor Mcako had falsely represented agreement by residents to re-locate to the Watergang area into ‘transfer camps’ to the Municipality. Residents stated they never agreed to do this – that they agreed to move to serviced plots of their own, or to houses, but not to another form of temporary housing smaller than many of the existing shacks in areas further away from town.
- h) *Concern re. Watergang area*: The area of Watergang, already purchased by the Municipality, for both development of “transfer camps” as well as for permanent housing, was reportedly considered ‘the danger zone’ by Kayamandi residents, for example, dangerous because it is both below and next to a dam (a claim was made that 2 children drowned in the dam the previous year), and that the area is full of snakes.
- i) *Substandard government houses*: There was dissatisfaction with some of the recent housing developments in Kayamandi, particularly the multi-story attached housing units near the entrance to the area. There were complaints of poor quality (e.g. cracks, etc.) as well as a more fundamental dissatisfaction with the

form, and lack of consultation, of that housing, for example, sharing a wall with another family is reportedly not considered appropriate in African culture.

As a reflection of the atmosphere of distrust and poor communication between Kayamandi residents, particularly those in Zone J, and the Municipality at the time, the Stellenbosch Municipality Newsletter of May 2005 published an article, "Together making progress on Emergency Housing for Kayamandi Fire Victims", in which they singled out Zone J, promoted the 'emergency housing units' and stated what would happen to these residents if they didn't move into these units: "If you don't, you will spend another wet, windy winter in an unpleasant environment" (p. 2). This message, sent via a newsletter, was not effective and, in fact, hardened the resolve of the residents in the area not to cooperate with the one-sided emergency housing unit initiative.

Meanwhile, after such a positive and productive start in initiating the participatory video project, which clearly emanated from the energy and militancy of the Zone J Committee, I was caught off-guard when that same energy became channelled internally around power struggles. As mentioned, my previous work experience had been with rural community water committees in the Eastern Cape that had been organized around government-funded water-supply projects. These committees were less complex in the sense that they were organized specifically for the purpose of enabling a community 'voice' on a particular government-approved water-supply project. The power structures within rural communities were also more traditionally based and stable (although the power dynamics between traditional structures of chiefs and headmen versus the newer powers of ward councillors and local government were increasingly being contested). Of greater relevance, in the north-eastern area of the former Transkei, where I had previously worked, party politics were relatively straightforward with the ANC having an absolute majority. In Kayamandi the party politics were not as straightforward and, in retrospect, probably contributed more to the internal power struggles that left the Zone J Committee moribund and unable to continue with the video project than I realised at the time.

After many months of waiting for internal issues to be settled within the Zone committee system without results, I approached the chairperson of the Kayamandi

Habitat for Humanity committee, Malibongwe Gwele, about becoming involved in the project, again with the assistance of Mercy Ndamase. Both Gwele and the Regional Director for the Western Cape, Grant Edkins, welcomed the project, firstly because it would potentially assist in the practical goal of supplying houses to all members of the Kayamandi committee (several members were still waiting for the Municipality to allocate them plots, including Mercy Ndamase). Additionally, Gwele was a recent MA graduate in social sciences and had an interest in such an action research project, and for Edkins, Habitat for Humanity as an organization had recently undertaken *advocacy* as a key component for its overall focus and direction and he was keen to implement that policy on the ground. Kayamandi's Sinomonde (Habitat for Humanity) committee appeared to be a far less volatile entity, with its members each individually committed to achieving housing for their families; less concerned with party or power politics; female-dominated; and united in their Christian faith. This group then took over the role of community editing committee for the participatory video project in Kayamandi.

Again, introducing the idea for the project and obtaining buy-in and support from this new committee took time. I was greatly aided in this task by Malibongwe Gwele, who continued to provide invaluable support and input throughout the project. The first task initiated by the Sinomonde Habitat for Humanity committee was to review the issues identified by the Zone J Committee and to refine them from their own perspective and the context of one year later. There was no disagreement with any of the issues identified by the previous committee, which I found affirming, but the Sinomonde committee did shift the focus away from the very specific criticisms and post-fire concerns of early 2005, for example, away from R500 disaster fund queries to broader issues affecting future development of the area. The issues identified by the Sinomonde committee to be addressed by the video project were as follows:

- Land ownership and tenure is *the* critical issue – people largely do not have land and they want land. There is broad community dissatisfaction with slow and inadequate government delivery of houses. The local community believes that the Stellenbosch Municipality is particularly unwilling to release land for future homeowners to develop by themselves or through the assistance of alternative housing NGOs.

- The development planning of the Municipality is not good. Whenever new houses are built, the Municipality takes 5 households from each zone and thus never creates the required space in existing shack areas for proper housing to be built in these areas. There is no sense of urgency in addressing outstanding housing and needs.
- There is a serious lack of community consultation and lack of consultation with future homeowners on planning and design of new houses. Households are forced to take what they get, and the new developments are often considered inappropriate (as well as of poor quality). In the example of the ‘transfer camps’ or emergency housing units built in 2005, there was no negotiation with the community of Zone J (for whom the shelters were originally intended by the Municipality), and so these people largely did not move there and simply rebuilt their shacks in Zone J. Other people then filled those shelters, with the end result that monies were spent but no new space for developing proper houses, nor any new proper housing, was created by that whole initiative and expenditure.
- There is poor communication between the Municipality and Kayamandi community. Community members are refused information on the housing list by the Municipality, i.e. residents are unable to find out if they are on the official list or not. Also, new developments start without the community being aware of what is going to be done or who is going to obtain housing.

This chapter has set out the background to the Kayamandi participatory video project by providing a description of the physical, social, organizational, and housing policy contexts and by giving an overview of the project initiation and the issues of concerns within the Kayamandi community. With this background to the specific situation of Kayamandi shack dwellers established, I will next step back to examine the long-standing tradition of using non-fiction film as a catalyst for change in order to better contextualise my own inclination to use participatory video as an advocacy tool in Kayamandi.

Chapter 3: Historical context for emergence of participatory video

From the early days of film to the present day many filmmakers from different cultures and nationalities have embraced film primarily as a powerful tool for raising awareness, and with this the possibility for change or intervention. These filmmakers have shared a common desire to reveal conditions or situations to their audience with the expectation that their films would act as a catalyst for change or intervention. It was this combination of understanding the medium of film as a socio-political tool, along with the desire to use this tool to contribute to society by effecting change, which laid the basic foundation for the emergence of participatory video at the end of the 1960s. Attempting to effect change via the mode of *raising the consciousness of the general viewer* has dominated the history of the 'social documentary' in particular, which itself developed in the 1930s and continues today. Professional 'committed filmmakers' work in this mode when they use film to express *their views and concerns* about particular issues, *on behalf of* affected people(s). I explore the historical development of the social documentary in some detail because, as one of the dominant forms in non-fiction film along with its commitment to addressing social problems, it serves to highlight various issues that feed into a better understanding of participatory video. There are also several key historical social documentary films on the subject of housing that tie in nicely with the subject of the Kayamandi participatory video project of this dissertation.

Historically, however, there are various alternative modes of production in which the film process and/or the film product emphasised *participation* by what would now be called 'subject-participants', and these are the more direct predecessors of participatory video, and hence the greater focus of this chapter. These alternative modes of production go back as far as the working class cinema movement that emerged in various parts of the world in the 1930s inspired by Dziga Vertov and the cinema of soviet agitprop, as well as to the early ethnographic filmmaking work of Robert Flaherty in the early 1920s. It was then not until the tumultuous 1960s that ethnographic filmmakers such as Jean Rouch, radical film collectives, film activists in the Third World (particularly Latin America) and feminist filmmakers, all further

explored and contributed to the development of more participatory modes of production.

Based loosely on a chronological structure, this chapter sets out an historical review of the film practice and theory that contributed to the emergence of participatory video at the end of the 1960s. For the purposes of this task, this chapter is divided into two main sections:

- a) *Emergence of non-fiction film as a catalyst for change (1917 – pre-World War II):*
The focus of this section is on the emergence of using film as a tool for change throughout a variety of different early cinema practices. I first examine the work of Dziga Vertov and Soviet agitprop, and then consider the working class cinema groups that the early Soviets inspired in different parts of the world. The influential period of the 1930s is then examined. This includes an examination of the radical documentary movement illustrated primarily by the work of Joris Ivens; the radical avant-garde filmmaking movement in Britain; the British documentary movement spearheaded by John Grierson; and developments in American non-fiction film. Part of this discussion covers the emergence of the topic of slum housing in the documentary because of its link to the practical participatory video project of this dissertation.
- b) *New directions in non-fiction film from the 1960s:* The focus of this section is on developments related to the growth of a more 'participatory cinema' within a variety of non-fiction filmmaking modes. This section first outlines some of the historical events and intellectual developments that set the scene for the 1960s. Then various developments in non-fiction film are considered from the perspective of how selected modes of filmmaking fed into the development of a practice and theory of participatory video. This begins with a look at ethnographic filmmaking and the work of Jean Rouch in particular, including his revival of participatory methods originated by Robert Flaherty. 'Cinéma vérité' and 'direct cinema' are then considered from various angles on the question of participation e.g. the participation of the filmmaker / the audience / the subjects. The discussion of cinéma vérité and direct cinema also raises relevant issues about the representation of truth and reality; ethical questions of representation; and the passive or catalytic impact of film on an audience. Next, developments in the committed social documentary are briefly observed with particular

reference to further examples on the subject of inadequate housing. The revival of radical work by film collectives in the 1960s, with its emphasis on greater inclusivity and its recognition of the importance of process, is also included. This is followed by a look at the contributions from the Third World to the development of participatory video, including Third Cinema and other innovations in Latin American non-fiction filmmaking, as well as the influences emanating from the work of Paulo Freire in the fields of education and development communication. Lastly, feminist filmmaking and the largely pioneering work it undertook with regards process and participation is considered.

I believe that most of the films considered in this chapter fulfilled their goals of raising awareness about various issues to their general audiences or did catalyse consciousness-raising amongst their subject-audiences. However, while raising awareness is a *prerequisite* for catalysing change, I would argue that this does not in and of itself necessarily *effect* change. The scope of 'change' with which this paper is concerned is confined to perceptible and practical change that can be directly linked to a film or video product and its *process*. Within this framework, I must acknowledge that it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to attempt to measure long-term societal developments that may have been influenced as a result of attitudinal change or consciousness-raising effected by a film product(s). As touched on in this chapter, film production is part of the cultural expression of a society, and as such, it is deeply embedded in the context of its time, i.e. it is a reflection of the society in which it is produced even when it may be advocating for change. While the emphasis of this chapter is on the development of participatory models, it also includes various examples of social documentaries that illustrate real change may also be an outcome of films that are not framed within a participatory mode. (As another brief aside, it is also interesting to note that there are historical examples of fiction films that both advocated for change and used participatory methods, such as Lionel Rogosin's *Come Back Africa* (1959)⁸. Thus, while the Challenge for Change programme in the late 1960s (discussed in detail in the next chapter) clearly made

⁸ Rogosin, an American filmmaker, worked with South African activists to develop his script and then shot it in South Africa using many of these activists as actors in his film in order to expose some of the atrocities of apartheid to an international audience (Barsam, 1992; Da Canha, 2003).

the link between film process (as opposed to film product) being the key towards achieving specific socio-political goals (and is broadly cited as the birth of participatory video), there were many predecessors in non-fiction work that contributed towards a development and understanding of the effective use of film as a catalyst for change, as well as towards participatory models of filmmaking.

Beyond the intention to catalyse change and to broaden participation, there are other issues that emerge from the film works discussed in this chapter that have relevance to participatory video. These issues that emerge from this chapter are carried through the rest of this dissertation where they are discussed from the points of view of both participatory video practice and theory. Firstly, in this chapter issues of 'truth' and 'reality' are addressed and this leads to a consideration of *representation*. At the heart of participatory video lies the desire to enable marginalised voices to represent themselves and to present their own realities. This presupposes an understanding that no one film is capable of providing one objective Truth or Reality for all. Thus, from this 'truth' and 'reality' are opened up for investigation around such questions as the *construction* of truth and reality, the significance of film form, and the pursuit of more profound analyses of issues. If one accepts that film truth and reality are constructed, then this raises the question of who has authored that construction, which in turn opens up questions around *authorship, collaboration and participation*. Related to this arise the concepts of *reflexivity* and the *ethics* of representation; for example, often the film works discussed in this chapter were made *by* a filmmaker, *about* 'the other' (people or groups not from the culture, socio-economic class, or nationality of the filmmaker). And last but not least of the issues raised in this chapter are those of *reception* and *distribution*. The different meanings assigned to a film product by its different audiences supports the argument that there is only subjective truth and reality. Within this, however, lies the concern about whether a film stimulates a passive or a catalytic effect on its audience. If one is making a film to catalyse change, then it is critical to fulfilling this purpose that one's audience is considered, targeted, reached and then, ideally, catalysed into action.

3.1 *Emergence of non-fiction film as a catalyst for change (1917–pre-WWII)*

How then do we talk about films whose aesthetics consist in political use-value? What does the concept of an aesthetics of political use-value mean, beyond the fact, say, that *The Spanish Earth* raised enough funds to send eighteen ambulances to the Spanish front?

(Waugh, 1984a, p. xxii)

True documentarists have a passion for what they find in images and sounds – which always seem to them more meaningful than anything they can invent. They may serve as catalysts, not as inventors.

(Barnouw, 1993, p. 348)

There is a road to freedom for all peoples in the world. The documentary film should record and assist the progress along this road.

(Ivens, 1969, p. 244)

Historically, there are a number of seminal non-fiction filmmakers that have contributed both filmically and theoretically to developing forms of catalytic cinema for change from the early years of film. This started with the contributions of Dziga Vertov and soviet agitprop cinema during the first decade after the 1917 Russian Revolution; through the working-class cinema and avant-garde movements that the Soviets inspired throughout the Western world in the 1920s-30s; to the significant documentary period of the 1930s in Britain, Europe and the United States during which filmmakers such as Joris Ivens, John Grierson, Henry Storck and Pare Lorentz made important contributions to the development of “documentaries to change the world” (Barsam, 1992, p. 89). A great enthusiasm about the still-new medium of film marks this pre-World War II period in the history of film. There was real excitement about the technology and its potential as a method of communication for reaching all sorts of audiences, whether in urban centres or those on the periphery.

The filmmakers discussed in this section all expressed a strong sense of actually participating in the events of their time by virtue of recording or examining the issues of the day using the non-fiction film mode. There was an unquestioning belief within the non-fiction film community that film could and should influence the events of the time, and this belief (with an accompanying degree of apprehension) then grew and developed within their government and state structures. What was hotly debated within various circles, was *how* these films should be used e.g. to effect radical

change / to effect moderate reform / to support and maintain the status quo / to build pro-government support. The power of the moving image as a tool for change is still recognised today, and many of the insights and lessons from the early pioneers of this filmmaking tool remain applicable to contemporary participatory video practice.

3.1.1 *Dziga Vertov and Soviet agitprop cinema*

Dziga Vertov (born Denis Arkadievich Kaufman, 1896-1954) is now generally recognised to have made various important contributions to the development of film. The nature of his work, both in his films and his writings, has made him difficult to classify easily. Barnouw classified him as a skilled, albeit unconventional, 'reporter' that "had given the reporter-as-documentarist a moment at the centre of cinema (1993, p. 66), while Barsam called him "the first great theorist and practitioner of the cinema of propaganda in documentary form" (1992, p. 66), and Waugh named him "the founding parent of radical documentary" (1984, p. 3). For the purposes of this section, Vertov is significant because he was the first to return to Lumière's cinema of real life *and* to then see film not simply as a form of entertainment, but as an interventionist tool for building a new society. Out of this, there are three aspects of his work that have a particular link to the development and understanding of participatory video:

- 1) *The significance of film form in terms of influencing social change*: "The lesson taught by Vertov's film and writings is that film form is not an arbitrary experimental pursuit. Rather, it is the repository of film's potential as a tool for understanding and influencing social change" (Feldman, 1984, p. 5).
- 2) *The truth of a film is always a constructed one*: Jean Rouch, who was greatly influenced by Vertov, believed Vertov to be concerned with the 'cinema of truth' (not the 'truth of cinema') and that Vertov was thus the first to clearly identify that the truth or the reality of a film is always a socially constructed one (Feldman, 1984, p. 14).
- 3) *Concern with alternative forms of distribution and reaching new audiences*: Vertov recognised the importance of distribution and was particularly active in pioneering activities that took films beyond the traditional Russian urban centres (Feldman, 1984; Barsam, 1992).

Vertov began his preoccupation with cinema as a young 22-year-old youth in Moscow in 1917 at the right place and the right time for his prodigious energies and talents. As detailed by Barsam, Vertov immediately began developing his film theories, writing his first cinema manifesto, “About the Disarmament of Theatrical Cinema,” in 1917 and was soon invited to join the newsreel production of *Film Weekly (Kino-nedelia)*. Vertov was prolific during this early period: producing the newsreel, which appeared in forty-three instalments between June 1918 and December 1919; making several short films; and completing 3 feature-length compilation documentaries from footage sent to him between 1919–1921. His most influential writings were done in the 1920s based on his belief in the ‘kino-eye.’ From 1922–1925 he published 23 issues of *Kinopravda* (“Film-truth”), a film newspaper series. As his writings were extensive, Barsam cites a brief compilation of these theories compiled by Vlada Petric, which he named Vertov’s “twelve commandments”. Various contemporary writers now refer to Vertov’s work as the basis for what later became known as ‘cinema vérité’. In the context of this paper, Vertov’s ‘Commandment 11’ is particularly relevant as it identified the aspect of using film as a tool for change, which fed into both the later development of cinema vérité and participatory video:

The cameraman must always take the “progressive side” of life; he is expected to support and espouse the “revolutionary attitude” toward reality, which will contribute to building “a true socialist society.”
(Petric 1978 cited in Barsam, 1992, p. 71)

By 1927 the start of Vertov’s fall from political grace had begun when he was dismissed from Sovkino (the central state cinema trust) and moved to work for VUFKU (All-Ukrainian Photo-Cinema Administration). However, it was here that he created his most important films, including the most radical expression of his ‘kino-eye’ theories, *Man with a Movie Camera*, in 1929 (Barsam, 1992). The feel of this film is ebullient – full of life and energy and enthusiasm for the city, the people (from street people to holiday-makers), the technology and the times. As Feldman notes, “Vertov’s style and formal concerns were a direct product of the needs of the post-Revolutionary situation in the Soviet Union” (1984, p. 5). While Barnouw simply notes that Vertov saw newsreels as playing a role in the struggles of building a new society (1993, p. 53), Barsam identified ‘constructivism’ as the foundation of Vertov’s

most experimental work, including *Man with a Movie Camera*, and recognised that Vertov saw the artist as engineer, i.e. a person whose main use was to construct useful objects and to play an active part in the building of the new society (1992). The participatory video practitioner of today continues that legacy of using moving images to participate in the development of society.

With reference to Vertov's ideas about kino-pravda or "film-truth," it was Vertov's uncompromising adherence to the primacy of the cinematic image from 'life caught unawares' and his belief in the unacceptability of re-enactment and staging that led to conflicts with his peers in the later 1920s. And yet within this framework Vertov's commitment to restructuring "through editing, and thus creating a new construction with its own aesthetic validity that is far more revealing than the life it represents" (Barsam 1992, p. 71) was a critical contribution towards the understanding of cinema as a constructed reality. This understanding has informed a wide range of film criticism and theory. In terms of participatory video, it has particular relevance in terms of recognising the importance of developing methods and forms by which the voices of the marginalized can be represented and presented.

Finally, the extent of Vertov's concern with distribution is reflected in the types of distribution activities he oversaw in the heyday of Soviet agitprop. During the Civil War following the 1917 Revolution, "agit-trains" and "agit-steamers" carried films to the revolutionary patriots fighting on the various fronts as well as to civilians in towns and villages (Barsam, 1992). Later, he set up mobile projectors and tried to organize clubs of cinema correspondents (Feldman, 1984). This was in line with the overall goals of the Soviet agitprop movement, which were to edit newsreels for the purposes of agitation and propaganda in order to provide the masses with both a general and a political education (Barsam, 1992). This recognition that the battle to influence hearts and minds *must be taken directly* to the most marginalised people was an important contribution and has relevance to the practice of participatory video, which emphasises screenings within the marginalised communities of its subject-participants.

3.1.2 *Developments in non-fiction film in the 1930s*

While the post-Revolution period from 1917–1929 was the critical period in the history of non-fiction film in the new Soviet Union, it was the 1930s in Europe, Britain and the United States that ushered in a profoundly influential era during which working-class cinema and the avant-garde movement emerged and the genre of ‘documentaries’ developed. Again, this prolific and important period was driven by the context and the events of its time. The primary filmic development at that time was the advent of sound at the end of the 1920s. Socio-economically, the Great Depression in the United States had set the stage for the new decade, echoed in Europe and Britain by their own growing unrest and economic instability. As described by Eric Barnouw:

. . . economic collapse brought tension and strife. Ideological combat began to dominate all media. Documentary film, acquiring the spoken word at this precise moment, was inevitably called on to join the battle. In the documentary field, the word ‘film’ became an instrument of struggle.
(1993, p. 81)

The Spanish Civil War that began in 1936 was a microcosm of the dividing factions of the world and a prelude to World War II with the rise of fascism and Nazism, on the one hand, and the Popular Front and socialism on the other. While the 1930s formed a significant part of the Studio Era and ‘dream factory’ ethos in Hollywood (characterized by institutional control by the ‘Big Five’ companies producing fiction films that were fairly standard in content and format (Nelmes 1999)), the (much smaller) world of non-fiction film engaged with the politics of the Popular Front and socialism. It was filled with debate and the pursuit of meaningful ways to present, represent and challenge the reality of the day. During this period there were a range of filmmaking activities taking place by amateur, ‘artisanal’ and professional filmmakers within the non-fiction sphere (Waugh, 1984a). Many of these filmmakers associated themselves with radical filmmaking and were primarily committed to using film as a medium to engage with the socio-political issues of the time. The three priorities for radical filmmakers established by Leo Hurwitz in 1934 give an indication of the debates in the non-fiction film world at that time (as cited in Waugh, 1984, p. 111):

1. Mass access for radical film through commercial or theatrical distribution;
2. Development of new ‘synthetic’ film forms, e.g. use of mise-en-scene;

3. More profound political analysis, e.g. newsreels of strikes and demos were deemed too 'fractional, atomic, and incomplete' and radical filmmaking required more 'inclusive and implicative comment.'

As detailed by Maingard (1998), the Soviet example had inspired 'proletarian' film groups across Europe and beyond from 1930. Hogenkamp referred to such groups as the Workers Film and Photo League as "the socialist counterpart of the bourgeois amateur film associations" (1976, p.76). Collectively referred to as the 'working-class cinema movement', these groups included the following: Workers Film and Photo Leagues in the United States and in Britain (as well as various other leftist worker-aligned film organizations); workers film collectives in Germany; a working class cinema movement associated with the Popular Front in France; and in Japan, ProKino (Maingard 1998; Hogenkamp 1976). The activities of these groups included ProKino (League for the Proletarian Cinema) in Japan having workers make their own films from 1929 to 1934 using small-format cameras (9.5mm and 16mm film) and having screenings in halls and huts beyond the control of authorities (Maingard, 1998, p. 132 citing Hogenkamp, 1977, p.14). In Germany, workers were encouraged as amateur filmmakers "to document their own experiences ... in local collectives and screen them to fellow workers at 'grass-roots' level" (Maingard, 1998, p.128 citing Murray, 1990, p.231). Activities such as these were the direct antecedents of 'community video' – a type of video practice included under the umbrella term of 'participatory video.'

Closely linked to the working-class cinema movement in Britain was the filmmaking work undertaken by radical artisanal and professional filmmakers in the worker-aligned film organizations of the time. As Maingard noted, the filmmaking in these groups appeared to be done primarily by leftist intellectuals, activists, and filmmakers rather than by workers (1998, pp. 157-58). While the work by these groups included grass-roots footage shot by workers, they primarily produced newsreel style propaganda films as well as 'story documentaries' (Maingard, 1998) that contributed to the avant-garde filmmaking movement in Britain. *Bread* (1934, silent), a story documentary, illustrates the commitment of the avant-garde movement to effecting change. Made by the London Kino Group, *Bread* tells "the story of one of those off the register"; it is the story of an unemployed man who resorts to stealing because,

while he is unemployed, he does not yet qualify for benefits. The film utilises intertitles, montage and a militant style to attack the government policies of its time. Radical independent filmmakers, fuelled by the desire to catalyse change in British society, also contributed to the avant-garde movement. The film *Hell UnLtd.* (1936, silent) is an independent avant-garde anti-war film directed and produced by professional filmmakers Norman McLaren and Helen Biggar that begins with a series of title cards stating:

This film is addressed to all who are made to pay each day for their own and other people's destruction
to all who are taxed just now to pay for the future murder of millions of men, women, and children
and especially those who sit back and say, "We can do nothing about it"
(*Hell UnLtd.*, 1936)

This film uses all sorts of techniques to develop the power of its anti-war argument including montage, animation, and intertitles. It then used intertitles at the end to suggest practical steps that each viewer could take to assist in the anti-war effort from writing letters to government, to striking, to mass resistance: "mass resistance is better than mass murder . . . no governments can contemplate war with things at a standstill" (*Hell UnLtd.*, 1936). It is this direct engagement with its viewers along with its clear aim to catalyse an active response from its audience that links such avant-garde films to participatory video and thus warrants mention in this context.

The 1930s is most clearly associated in the non-fiction world with the emergence of the 'documentary' in the west. Contributing to the development of what is now referred to as the 'social documentary' (the most relevant documentary form to participatory video), were filmmakers from continental Europe, Britain and the United States whose philosophies fell across the political spectrum. In so far as the works and theories of these filmmakers relate to participatory video, they provide insight into how the early documentarists imagined film could be used in contributing to, and intervening in, the development of their societies. Filmmaker Joris Ivens, "the dean of the socialist documentary" according to Waugh (1984, p. 105), provides a useful discussion point in light of this interest. Ivens was a great non-fiction filmmaker, born in the Netherlands, whose career spanned many decades and continents. While he experimented with different film forms in the early years of his career (influenced by the Western avant-garde movement (Barsam, p. 59)), from the early 1930s his

commitment was to the documentary and to using the documentary film to participate and make interventions in the events of his time. It was his commitment to the 'use-value' of his films (Waugh, 1984) that has a direct relationship to participatory video:

I continue to make documentary films because I know there is a unity between what I believe and what I do. If I felt I had lost that unity, I would change my profession. A documentary filmmaker has the sense of participating directly in the world's most fundamental issues . . ."
(Ivens, 1969, p. 138).

Returning briefly to the three identified priorities for radical filmmakers of the time (which seem remarkably relevant to contemporary concerns for radical film), Ivens's ideas were very much in line with the Hurwitz camp and provide useful illustrations. In terms of the concern with mass access to radical film through mainstream distribution venues, Ivens was very committed to this in the 1930s. This type of mainstream distribution that Ivens was after (but which he never achieved) reflected both the aspirations of the political left at the time as well as his own chosen methodology for catalysing change through the use of film – that of raising the consciousness of general audiences. (I will argue later in this dissertation that mass mainstream distribution (as the primary target) actually runs counter to the aims of participatory video, and that this distinction is an important one in defining the form).

The second priority identified by Hurwitz, the development of new 'synthetic' film forms, was to allow for such things as the use of *mise-en-scène*, re-enactment, and aspects of narrative. Ivens sided very clearly with the Hurwitz side of this debate and believed in 'vivification,' i.e. the need for dramatising facts. He used re-enactment in many of his films and mixed modes of filmmaking as well. For example, Waugh calls *Spanish Earth* a mixture of *mise-en-scène* style and participatory mode in the Fuenteduena village scenes; 'spontaneous' mode in the war-zone scenes (a precursor to cinema vérité); with some additional contextualising scenes done in newsreel mode (1984). Waugh also noted that *Spanish Earth* as a cinematic hybrid was actually typical of most documentaries in the 1930s, and that its *mise-en-scène* aspects reflected the "interventionist orthodoxy" of the 1930s (which preceded the "verite orthodoxy" that had become the fashion when he wrote in 1984). In terms of the concerns of this dissertation, what is relevant here is that

the debate about form was really about grappling with issues around the presentation and representation of 'truth' and 'reality'. As Waugh stated with regard to Ivens, "Truth was not to be found on the surface of reality, but in deeper social, economic and historical structures" (1984, p.118).

This leads us directly to the third priority for radical film listed by Hurwitz, that of more profound political analysis requiring more 'inclusive and implicative comment' than the newsreels of the day. Ivens provides insightful comment on this point:

The difference between newsreel and the documentary film . . . the newsreel tells us where-when-what; the documentary film tells us why, and the relationships between events . . . and provides historic perspective.
(Ivens, 1969, p. 209)

As part of this 'inclusive comment,' Ivens tended to 'personalise' his documentaries by using narrative techniques to develop characters with which his audience could identify as a means to enable the 'penetrating and interpreting of facts" (Ivens, p. 211). These insights seemed to me to be solid filmmaking advice that I tried to apply with the participatory video project for this dissertation.

An examination of Ivens as the classic documentary filmmaker committed to using his art as a catalyst for change yields many examples from which to draw. Ivens made the following assertions on the role of the documentary filmmaker in contributing to the social events of their time:

. . . our way of helping is to make a good film. To move people by its professional quality so they will feel and understand that the wounded soldier needs a good stretcher for his very life . . . Of course, objectively, it seems indiscreet and shameless to probe so deeply into sorrow and private life and emotions but in Spain, and in working with the coalminers in the Borinage we learned that this is what you have to do.
(Ivens, 1969, p. 169)

With regards to what is considered as his first 'militant' film, *Borinage (Misère au Borinage)*, 1933, co-directed with Henri Storck), about the situation of coalminers in that area of Europe, Ivens had this to say, "That is where I went to make my next film, not as a missionary to soften or treat wounds, but as a filmmaker to reveal the wounds to the rest of the world because I thought that my best way to help in their healing" (Ivens, 1969, p. 81). Later Ivens recounted the story of the French censors

reaction to his film *New Earth* (*Nieuwe gronden*, 1934), which was a film that became a protest against the process he had originally set out to record of land reclamation by the Dutch. (The difficult land reclamation process was successfully completed and the land successfully planted and harvested with wheat, but when the world market for wheat plummeted, the wheat was dumped despite hunger and economic depression in Europe at the time (Barsam, 1992, p. 118)). The French sponsors responded to the film by saying,

Mr Ivens, please consider our predicament if we allow this film to be shown in the suburbs of Paris, in Montrouge or Saint Denis. Many poor people live in those districts. After seeing this film they would get ideas and march on the city hall and ask for bread. . . . We cannot show this film, c'est trop de réalité.
(cited by Ivens, 1969, p. 99).

This was precisely the sort of thing Ivens would have hoped for, as he described the purpose of a militant documentary as the following: "After informing and moving audiences, it should agitate – mobilize them to become active in connection with the problems shown in the film" (Ivens, 1969, p. 137). Sadly, such possibilities for both *Borinage* and *New Earth* were not realised due to censorship, banning, and general reluctance by distributors to screen the films in such volatile times. Again the aspect of distribution arises, along with the added dimension of censorship issues (formal and informal). Ivens had more to say on using film as a tool for change, this time linked to the more successful reception of a slightly later film, *Spanish Earth* (1937):

Of course you must not think that you are going to change the world with a film; all the same, there have been examples in history of films that have helped the revolution, like the Soviet films at the beginning of the October Revolution. In my own life, I saw the influence of Spanish Earth also: . . . it really provided information about a problem that spectators were not very familiar with, and it helped the anti-fascist movement enormously . . . directly even. People gave money for the International Brigades. There are militant films that have enormous power, and that is linked to the moment at which they are shown."
(Ivens, 1969, p. 127)

Waugh assessed this statement of Ivens in his book *Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*.

Ivens' estimation is not unreasonable. Although his film had no impact on the League of Nations or the Western governments, it was part of the expanding cultural and political movement of the Popular Front period, providing an impetus while it was still growing in influence and expanding its base.
(Waugh, 1984, p. 128)

Waugh then looks more specifically at Spain itself, and its civil war, and effectively asks what concrete, practical *real change* did *The Spanish Earth* effect there, in the real world context of its subjects:

What of Spain? How successful were the filmmakers in their short-term pragmatic objectives?
(Waugh, 1984, p. 128)

In answering his own question, Waugh noted that the film's success funded 18 ambulances, but that the war was lost. He noted also that the film was banned in Spain until it was revived at the death of Franco decades later in 1975, whereupon it became "a monument to the struggles two generations earlier of the Popular Fronts of both the Old World and the New, inspiration and instruction for the struggles that are still ahead." When querying this aspect of 'What change? What practical effect?' precipitated by documentary films made for the alleged purpose of catalysing change, it is instructive to note that one can usually only make suggestions that awareness and consciousness were raised, but very rarely can one find examples of concrete changes effected in the lives of a documentary's subjects.

In terms of an analysis of what works within a film itself, Waugh states that, "In countering images of victimization with images of resistance and revolution, *Spanish Earth* articulates a world view that sees people as agents of history, not its casualties" (p. 123). This observation adds an understanding of what sets this type of "committed documentary" apart not just from a newsreel, or in contemporary times, from TV news coverage, but also from many other documentaries that represent their subjects as passive, with all 'agency' resting with the filmmaker. It is an observation that lends itself to defining the *subject agency* that is such a fundamental criterion for participatory video. In Waugh's book on the 'committed documentary', *Show Us Life*, he writes:

They attempt to act, to intervene . . . They are all works of art, but they are not merely works of art . . . ; they must be seen also as films made by activists speaking to specific publics to bring about specific political goals. Furthermore, a good many of the films . . . were made under an important additional assumption; if films are to be instrumental in the process of change, they must be made not only **about** people directly implicated in change, but **with** and **for** those people as well.
(Waugh, 1984, p. xiii)

With regards to Ivens' work, I argue that it was his immersion in the events and communities he represented in his films that allowed subject-agency to emerge in his films, i.e. an informal type of participation occurred behind the scenes as a result of his interaction with his subjects.

The icon of the pioneering 1930s period in British documentary, John Grierson, provides a useful comparative illustration of a documentary filmmaker and producer. A critical difference between the work of Grierson and Ivens was that, while the latter worked as an independent filmmaker, Grierson was very much a part of the state structures of his time and was indeed instrumental in the development of parastatal institutions to take on the role of documentary film both in Britain and elsewhere. (Ivens described independent filmmakers as “small artisans in a big industry” (Schaffer 1985, p. 13)). While Grierson was the driving force behind many innovations in documentary film in Britain, and in some instances challenged the system from within, during the 1930s he and his associates saw their primary role as being to “bring the Empire alive” (Grierson on Documentary, cited in Barsam, p. 89). In fact, Maingard noted that Grierson's work “bolstered the conservative government” of the time (2004, p. 22). This difference in positioning, between an independent filmmaker such as Ivens and the Grierson documentarists of the 1930s, was reflected in the films that were produced, the way the stories were told, and in the distribution that they received. As Barsam noted, because his films were financed by the establishment, “Grierson had to exercise caution in choosing their subjects and treatments” (1992, p. 98), in other words, there was a degree of self-censorship in operation. While Grierson was seen as ‘politicising documentary’ in Britain, Barnouw noted that this was part of a broader phenomenon of his time, and that Grierson built “enthusiasm for necessary, vital propaganda without ever being quite clear about its aim, other than the general idea that it was citizenship education, looking toward a better and richer life” (1993, p. 90). Barnouw described the philosophical driving force behind Grierson's work as follows:

. . . he began to feel . . . that the expectations once held for democracy were proving illusory. Problems facing society had grown beyond the comprehension of most citizens; their participation had become perfunctory, apathetic, meaningless, often non-existent.
(Barnouw, 1993, p. 85)

As Barsam noted, “Convinced that film was a medium of education and persuasion, Grierson devoted his missionary enthusiasm and energy to the task of convincing others that film could and should be used to further social progress” (1992, p. 80). This was a lesson many had taken from the earlier Russian filmmakers, who had shown that “film was a dynamic medium for educating the public” (Barsam 1992, p. 80). As part of this, Grierson also embraced Vertov’s legacy of elaborate systems of non-theatrical distribution, including travelling cinema vans. (However, the alternative distribution systems developed under Grierson did not reach a mass working class audience, but instead primarily reached film societies and intellectuals; furthermore, these cultural elites did not have any particular political power (Barsam, 1992)). Another lesson Grierson applied from the cinema of Soviet agitprop was to put British working class people on the screen and to portray them as heroes (this was considered almost revolutionary at the time (Barnouw, 1993)). Barsam further noted that Grierson had been influenced particularly by both Eisenstein, who showed that the art of cinema could be a dynamic and powerful force in the service of man and society; and by Walter Lippman who showed that motion pictures could help ordinary citizens to think about social issues and that they could also influence social reform (1992, p. 78). In the words of Grierson himself, “To command, and cumulatively command, the mind of a generation is more important than by novelty or sensation to knock a Saturday night audience cold; and the ‘hang-over’ effect of a film is everything” (cited in Barsam, 1992, p. 80). Barsam described this effect as “the lingering ideological impression that a film makes on a viewer, the effect that the filmmaker hopes will channel the viewer’s mind in the direction pointed by the film” (Barsam, 1992, p. 80).

This notion of the ‘hang-over’ effect brings us back to the closer examination of just what real, practical change in society did these films actually effect? As illustrated above, the overall aims of the Griersonian documentaries of the 1930s were about citizen education and elevating the status of the working man (the role of working women was not prioritised) in industrial Britain. This mandate did not generally give rise to issue films, but more to ‘objective’ (i.e. voice-of-God) educational and reportage films, as well as to more poetic documentaries that imbued the ordinary with beauty and a sense of something special. In other words, these films were not

made with the purpose of effecting any particular concrete change in a specific environment, but had broad goals of raising awareness and morale amongst the general population about everything from the beautiful products produced by modern factories in *Industrial Britain* (1933) to the express train that transported mail from London to Glasgow in *Night Mail* (1936), to the changing Singhalese culture of colonized Ceylon in *Song of Ceylon* (1934). Tomaselli notes that Grierson's documentary movement "positioned middle-class film-makers between conventional cinema and their working class subjects" (1989, p. 11). Furthermore, as Barsam points out,

Grierson's attempt to praise British industry and workers omits several important factors. Grierson affirms man's freedom to work, but seldom acknowledges his right to freedom of speech. This (*Industrial Britain*) is a film celebrating workers; yet they never speak directly about their work. As in many other British documentaries, *Night Mail* included, we learn about them only through the narration, and we learn about their emotions only through abstract generalizations about dedication and pride. The films that depict Grierson's Utopian vision of Great Britain share a reluctance to give voice to all who might have something valid to say about the central issues of concern.

This is a far cry from the more marginalized work of both the committed social documentary filmmakers such as Joris Ivens, as well as that of the working-class cinema movement of the same period. In actual film practice amongst the Griersonian documentarists, much energy was focused on the evolving technologies, particularly sound, and on developing the formal elements of the documentary itself. Grierson himself looked back on the 1930s British documentary movement as an "exciting time" during which he and his colleagues explored new aesthetic territory; individuals discovered themselves as artists; and the subject matters at hand were exciting (Sussex, 1972, p. 29). The emphasis, in other words, was more on developing a *form* of 'objective' social documentary, and less on developing its 'political use-value.' Brian Winston noted that Grierson and his colleagues promoted the idea of "documentary as art" and in effect placed 'documentary' in a higher category than other non-fiction forms of the time, thus relegating leftist projects such as radical newsreels of the 1920s and 30s to a lower category (cited in Maingard, 1998). This sentiment gained a strong foothold that continues to this day, the effect of which has been a tendency to dismiss alternative non-fiction film forms, and to rate aesthetic form over committed content.

One of the clear 'issue' films that did emerge out of the Grierson stable was *Housing Problems*. This was one of several important films made on housing during the 1930s period in Europe. It is interesting to trace this subject of slum dwellers from 1930s Europe, later through post-war America, right up to the concerns of this dissertation with the informal settlement dwellers of Kayamandi in present-day South Africa. In the 1930s Joris Ivens's *Borinage* (1933, co-director Henri Storck), was followed by Arthur Anstey and Edgar Elton's *Housing Problems* (1935), which was in turn followed by Belgian filmmaker, Henri Storck's, *Houses of Misery* (*Les maisons de la misère*, 1937). Of these three films, Barsam named *Les maisons de la misère* the "model social protest" film, stating that "in contrast with *Borinage*, the outrage is controlled, expressed through spoken chants and protest songs; in contrast with *Housing Problems*, the dirt and vermin seem real, not just objects for complaint in an interview" (1992, p. 120).

Housing Problems, however, is the housing film of that period most often referred to in non-fiction film literature written in English. An interesting fact about *Housing Problems* was that Grierson convinced a corporate sponsor, British Commercial Gas Association, to fund the film by persuading them that the demolition of slums and their replacement by government-financed housing would bring modernization, and hence more 'gas' customers (Barnouw, 1993, p. 95). The main reason this film has received so much attention within the history of non-fiction film, however, is that it was the first mainstream English-speaking documentary in which slum dwellers not only appeared as spokespersons and represented themselves, but that the various slum dwellers spoke directly to the camera from within the setting of their own homes while discussing their housing problems. As such, Barsam noted that it was an "enduring example of (the) power of film to encourage social reconstruction" yet also noted that this potential was mitigated by the sponsor's facile solutions to major problems (Barsam, p. 107). He raised the point, pertinent to the themes of this dissertation, that *Housing Problems* relied too much on British good cheer and optimism in terms of the conclusion, while the effect of the "continental realists" (Ivens and Storck) was to "not only bring viewers vividly in contact with degrading housing conditions, but also succeed(ed) in arousing their social consciousness through devastating pictures of the injustice of slum life" (Barsam, 1992, p. 107). As

Ivens stated about *Borinage*, “The filmmaker must be indignant and angry about the fate of people before he can find the right camera angle on the dirt and on the truth” (Ivens, p. 88). Ivens was critical of the English school of documentary as too soft. He specifically criticized *Housing Problems* by stating that the English trend was away from realism, and further noted that if the film had been “sponsored directly by social organizations fighting the bad housing conditions, instead of a gas company, they would have closed in on such dramatic reality as rent strikes and protest movements” (Ivens, 1969, p. 216). The distinction of arousing social consciousness is echoed by Waugh in his discussion specifically of Ivens: “Ivens’ primary question was not whether he had shown the ‘truth’ but whether the truth has been made convincing enough to make people want to change or emulate the situation shown to them on the screen” (1984a, p. 118).

A last observation of these three housing films is that, while they shared a common subject, the difference in their form can be linked to their placement on the political spectrum. *Borinage* would be classified as the most ‘radical;’ this is reflected by its sense of outrage, and by its resultant banning. *Les maisons de la misère*, as the ‘model social protest’ film, is less radical but still left of centre, with its strong indictment of social inequities, which is then softened by a ‘happy ending’ in which the “statement of the problem is followed by its solution, and, as the promise of new housing appears, bitter faces and songs are replaced by happiness and a choral ode at the end of the film” (Barsam, 1992, pp. 120-21). And lastly, *Housing Problems* would fall very much within a centrist liberal paradigm wherein a social problem is recognized and accorded attention, and moderate reform led by industry is the suggested solution. Brian Winston described Grierson’s work in this period in terms of its “run from social meaning” – an expression he borrowed from David Schrire in his criticism of Grierson’s work in 1955 (cited in Winston, 1995, p. 37). The critique of a “run from social meaning” is based on Grierson’s tendency to dwell on the poetic and not the political or economic context of worker’s lives. In this, Grierson liked to place the work of the British documentary movement as somewhat ‘radical,’ yet “the movement usually thus concentrates on surfaces, even while managing to run from the social meaning of those surfaces” (Winston, 1995, p.38). Winston described the “run from social meaning” as being supported by two strategies: (1) its representation of workers as victims “which allowed for the poetry of poverty and the

exoticism of the underclass to be displayed washed over with ‘social purpose’” and (2) “its ‘problem moment’ structure, where the social problem being documented is represented as a brief moment that will pass, and is passing” (Winston, 1995, pp. 42-43 cited in Maingard 1998, p. 23). These strategies were the precursors of the legacy of ‘balance’ and ‘impartiality’ in the British documentary (Maingard, 1998, p.23) that remains so strongly associated with documentary film even today.

Moving now to America in the 1930s, the development of “leftist” and “political filmmaking” there was influenced greatly by different collaborative filmmaking groups, particularly the Workers Film and Photo League, Nykino and the Frontier Film Group (Barsam, 1992, p. 146). The Workers Film and Photo League was initiated in 1930 as part of the cultural movement sponsored by the Communist International (Barsam, 1992, p. 146 citing R. Campbell, 1982, p.29). This league started in New York in 1930 and then spread into a National Film and Photo League (Barnouw, 1993, p. 111). The basis for its development was to extend activities into the *production* of working class films (i.e. not just to screen Soviet films) (Maingard, 1998, p. 168). The activities and philosophy of the group, including its aim of having ‘shock production troupes’ and training schools at every branch, were very politically committed (Maingard, 1998, p. 170). Barsam noted that the films produced were emotionally charged, as was appropriate to the period in which they were produced, but cinematically unsophisticated (1992, pp.146-147). This 1930–1932 period was one of hunger marches, “Hoover-villes”, strikes and protests in the United States (Barnouw, 1993, p. 112). By 1934, growing factionalism within the League led to the departure of one group, led primarily by Leo Hurwitz, to form Nykino. This group consisted of some of the most committed American political filmmakers of the time who wanted to develop this type of filmmaking into a more viable cinematic form by exploring greater experimentation (Barsam, 1992, p.147; Maingard, 1998, p.170). As set out previously in this chapter, it was Hurwitz’s three priorities for radical filmmaking in terms of which I illustrated the work of Joris Ivens. In fact, Joris Ivens had a direct impact on the political theory development of Nykino members when he arrived in New York in 1936 (Barsam, 1992, p.147). By 1937, however, there was a growing divide in the leftist American film movement influenced by the contradictions of organizations such as the League and Nykino doing some work for federal authorities while claiming to be leftist (Maingard, 1998, p.171), and the growing

tendency towards large-scale production (which was often government-sponsored) (Barsam, 1992, pp.147-148). Out of this, Frontier Film Group was founded by those committed to a more militant and radical stand, as well as to the ideal of cooperative filmmaking. This group did not long survive its own internal conflicts or the external pressures of wartime and closed in 1942. Barsam stated that this closure and the split that preceded it had “major consequences for the continued development of American leftist filmmaking” in terms of it marking a turning point:

. . . between films made through a group effort – committed to such leftist ideals as a Loyalist victory in Spain, a Chinese victory over Japan, the growth of trade unions, and other domestic struggles over social inequality -- and films made by individual filmmakers, committed less to those ideals, regarded by some as uncomfortably close to the Communist Party ideology, than to their own careers and, not incidentally, to profit.
(Barsam, 1992, p. 149)

In terms of the dominant direction of leftist filmmaking that emerged out of the Nykino breakdown, it was best represented by Pare Lorentz, who was the classic American example of the ‘advocate’ filmmaker of the time as categorized by Barnouw (1993, pp.113-118). Barsam examined the work and influence of Lorentz in some detail (1992, pp. 151-162). Lorentz helped found the United States Film Service and was a believer in working to change the system from within. He recognized Hollywood’s lack of interest in the social problems of the time and thought that government should take up this duty of making politically relevant films. His first films, *The Plow that Broke the Plains* (1936) and *The River* (1937), both government funded, received distribution in commercial theatres and were well received by both critics and the public. It was as a result of these successes that American public interest in non-fiction film was realised and which then prompted the development of a broader funding pool from such entities as corporations and foundations, as well as further development of government-sponsored support mechanisms. However, Barsam also noted that, while Lorentz was a great film artist, he was less of a political analyst, and suggested that Lorentz’s beautiful films fell short in terms of an understanding of the larger socio-political framework in which his specific themes were explored. In terms of the link to participatory video, the broad debates that took place at this time about whether or not large-scale production, being paid by government, and individual authorship, were compatible with an agenda for change in social inequalities was relevant.

Before closing this section on the pre-World War II period, there is a quotation by Grierson on the 'chapters of the documentary' that summarises the various stages of documentary and which leads nicely into my next section on the 1960s with its focus on 'participation.' The first four chapters Grierson identified are quoted below:

I always think of documentary as having certain fundamental chapters. The first chapter is of course the travelogue, that is, the discovery that the camera can go about: it's peripatetic. The second chapter is the discovery by Flaherty that you can make a film of people on the spot, that is, you can get an insight of a dramatic sort, a dramatic pattern, on the spot with living people. But of course he did that in respect of far-away peoples, and he was romantic in that sense. The third chapter is our chapter, which is the discovery of the working people, that is the drama on the doorstep, the drama of the ordinary.

But there is a fourth chapter that's very interesting, and that would be the chapter in which people began to talk not about making films *about* people but films *with* people. That was the beginning of *cinema-verite*, when people started going down and getting close to people, not as Flaherty did. Flaherty didn't really know what was going on among the Aran Islanders; he was too distant from them. But when the people went down and made *Housing Problems* in Stepney, they knew the people, and you could recognize right away that this was a new relationship entirely between the film-makers and the films, that they were making films with the people and that they were, well, very close to the people indeed.

(Sussex. 1972, pp. 29-30)

This quotation helps put into context the historical background and developments in non-fiction film that led to concerns with participation. As we shall now see, this critical issue of making films not *about* people but *with* them is one that was opened up for investigation and experiments in the 1960s in a variety of fields and applications, and which ultimately led to the development of participatory video at the end of that decade.

3.2 *New directions and issues of participation from the 1960s*

What, in the 1930s, John Grierson called "the documentary idea" – the use of film for reality-based didactic purposes – yielded in the 1960s to the idea of a new cinematic realism: the exploration and use of film for its own sake. This new approach evolved more from aesthetic than social, political, or moral concerns, an astonishing phenomenon considering the documentary film tradition and the social transformation that was shaping the decade.

(Barsam, 1992, p. 300)

Nothing could be done until the invention of the transistor, when sound and synchronising equipment became really portable. In 1960 we were able to make a camera which was silent, totally portable, and with sound that was separate and equally portable.

(Marcorelles, 1973, p. 48)

In his attempt to make us into witnesses, the observational filmmaker often thinks in terms of the image on the screen rather than his presence in the setting where events are occurring. He becomes no more than the eye of the audience, frozen into their passivity, unable to bridge the separation between himself and his subjects.

(MacDougall 1973, pp. 115-116)

How do we dare speak of a truth that has been chosen, edited, provoked, oriented, deformed? Where is the truth? Here again the confusion comes from those who take the term *cinéma vérité* as an affirmation, a guarantee sticker, and not as a research.

(Morin, 1960, p. 28)

As the quotations above suggest, the 1960s and 1970s were largely dominated in the non-fiction film world by a sort of inward-looking orientation with the medium of film itself. The new sync-sound capability from 1960 fuelled this love affair with the technology and the filmic opportunities that this opened up to individual filmmakers. The latest version of the seeming 'window onto reality' that the new forms of observational cinema opened up was eagerly received by general audiences who still believed that film operated as an objective recording device of reality and as an instrument to reflect back 'the truth' to its viewers. The new methodologies, however, also opened up a great deal of debate about 'truth' and 'reality' and their representation, especially amongst film theorists. While the methods and style of 'direct cinema' dominated the non-fiction film world at that time and maintained a long-lasting influence in film generally, other interesting alternative developments occurred specifically with the application of film to a range of movements for socio-political change. These included experiments in ethnographic filmmaking, particularly by Jean Rouch; the development of *cinéma vérité* (also attributed to Rouch); the re-emergence of radical work by film collectives; developments in the Third World on using film as a tool for change, particularly from Latin America; and feminist filmmaking as a powerful empowerment tool for the women's movement. While the longstanding tradition of the committed social documentary did not thrive in this period, it was influenced by both the dominant direct cinema mode as well as the exciting alternative modes of the 1960s, and maintained itself well enough to re-emerge as a reinvigorated form at a later time. The alternative movements

challenged the dominant modes of filmmaking and the *modus operandi* of mass media in general. Issues around participation, authorship, collaboration, the ethics of representation, and self-reflexivity were raised. These issues fed into two major issues of debate that have historically surrounded documentary film: 1) the representation of reality(s); and 2) questions of subjectivity / objectivity (Maingard 1998, p.9). All of this influenced the development of participatory video, which was generally deemed to have been 'born' through the Challenge for Change programme initiated by Canada's National Film Board at the end of the 1960s.

Before looking more specifically at the non-fiction film developments identified above, a more general historical overview of the time period will help put the discussion into context. The first observation to make is upon the relatively stable, and somewhat complacent, post-war period that preceded the 1960s. Those post-war years were the period of the Cold War, the rise of large corporations and the rise of mass media. During the 1950s the United States emerged as the "champion of private enterprise in the global crusade against communism" (Barnouw, 1993, p. 226). As corporate America took advantage of this period to strengthen its position, large corporations increasingly manipulated demand to meet their production, rather than sticking to the formula of production to meet demand (Barnouw, 1993, p.221). However, as Barsam noted, the politically conservative post-World War II period was also a time of social inequities, racial prejudice, economic readjustment, and a difficult period for many veterans who had trouble re-entering civilian life (Barsam, 1992, p.276). Also, the conflict in Vietnam began in 1954 (although the principal years of American involvement were still to come). The post-World War II period was also the time in which television began to replace the motion picture as the "the major communications force of the second half of the 20th century" (Barsam, 1993, p. 311). As Turner noted, the attack on the role of feature film "from new forms of entertainment, new financial constraints, and a fluctuating but generally declining audience" had begun in 1948 when the US Supreme Court outlawed vertical integration, and has continued ever since (1993, p. 17). All of this set the scene for the 1960s, when the 'cracks' in societies around the world (more easily identified in retrospect), seemed suddenly to burst apart.

The turbulent 1960s were a period of worldwide social challenge and change. There was a general upsurge of resistance to the existing power structures in the world, whether it was colonial or national governments; gender, racial or class structures; or the power of large corporations. While the Vietnam War was polarising American society and traumatising Vietnam, African independence movements set in motion events to change this continent forever. At the same time, the feminist movement of the West caused many there to question and challenge the status quo in day-to-day life, and stirred another level of debate in the 'Third world' about gender linked to racism. The discourses raised by these events and movements reverberated around the world, changing societies and impacting upon their cultural activities, including filmmaking.

Jay Ruby, a visual anthropologist, identified various intellectual developments in the 1960s and early 1970s that undermined traditional assumptions about "actuality filmmaking" (Ruby, 2000, p.201). These included the development of the following: concepts of cultural relativism; the idea that reality is a social construction; the impact of academic Marxism (e.g. the recognition of the ideological base of knowledge); a questioning of the morality and political validity of 'value-free' science; and challenges to positivist models of knowledge (for example, the reflexive approach, which suggested that producers of knowledge are responsible for the knowledge they construct). Ruby also noted the phenomenon in the 1960s/70s of 'literary journalism' or 'New Journalism', which blurred boundaries between fiction and non-fiction and also impacted on filmmaking (Ruby, 2000, p.202). Perhaps the more obvious link in this latter regard was the Italian neorealist film movement in the post-World War II period, which blurred the filmic boundaries between fiction and non-fiction by giving a 'documentary look' to films made with scripts and actors (Barsam, 1992, p. 255). The impact of television had also greatly increased by the early 1960s, particularly in North America and Britain. In America in particular, television had become a product of the Cold War and blacklists during the 1950s, and was solidly in "play-it-safe mode" with documentary production centred in network news departments (Barnouw, 1993, p. 226). Resistance to control, whether it was by corporations, networks, colonial governments, or men, thus fuelled filmmaking activities in the 1960s and set the scene for the emergence of participatory video. Barsam described the context in the following way:

The spirited revival of cinema in the 1960s resulted partly from the rise of revolutionary politics throughout the western world and partly from the dominant youth culture that understood and embraced cinema as the most political of art forms.
(Barsam, 1992, pp. 299-300)

It is against this background that I now turn to a more detailed analysis of particular filmmaking modes of the 1960s that contributed to the birth of participatory video at the end of this decade.

3.2.1 *Ethnographic filmmaking / visual anthropology*

Developments and innovations in ethnographic filmmaking provide an important and substantial part of the pre-history to participatory video. Ethnographic filmmakers and visual anthropologists have grappled with many of the key issues that inform participatory video, such as participation and 'voice', since the 1960s. As this dissertation and its participatory video project are not specifically anthropological, but because much has been drawn from the debates within visual anthropology in particular, a brief overview of these fields of study is relevant. The Oxford Student's Dictionary defines "anthropology" as "the study of humankind, especially of human societies and cultures" (R. Allen (ed.), 2002, p.39). Wikipedia defines "ethnography" as "a genre of writing that uses fieldwork to provide a descriptive study of human societies" (2008, online). From within the field of anthropology, Sarah Pink (who is a key scholar of *applied* visual anthropology), states that it is difficult to define anthropology and that because of this it is often described in terms of what anthropologists do e.g. long-term field work; applying a comparative perspective (Pink, 2006, p.9). Within this context, Kelly Askew (a leading scholar of media anthropology) describes anthropology as "a discipline devoted to the translation of cultures" (2002, p.11) and further defines visual anthropology as a discipline that "encompasses anything and everything perceived visually" (2002, p.3). While I refer to debates and practice in 'visual anthropology' and 'ethnographic filmmaking' throughout this dissertation, Askew would probably specify the later debates with which I engage as falling within the field of 'media anthropology.' She defines "media anthropology" as comprising "ethnographically informed, historically

grounded, and context-sensitive analyses of the ways in which people use and make sense of media technologies” (Askew, 2002, p.3)⁹.

Starting with Robert Flaherty in 1922, those involved in the ethnographic project have experimented with and used participatory techniques in filmmaking activities. Faye Ginsburg, a visual and cultural anthropologist who has written extensively on indigenous media / ethnographic media, referred to the development of ethnographic filmmaking during the “critical period” of the 1960s and 70s in her essay, “Indigenous Media: Faustian Contract or Global Village?” She first noted that,

Ethnographic film was originally conceived as a broad project of documenting on film the “disappearing” life-worlds of those “others” – non-western, small-scale, kinship-based societies – who had initially been the objects of anthropology as it developed in the early 20th century.
(Ginsburg, 1991, p. 95)

Ginsburg then makes the point that the genre of ethnographic filmmaking really took on definition and shape during the 1960s and 70s, during a period of ‘reinventing anthropology’ as a response to a variety of factors, including the following:

The end of the colonial era with the assertions of self-determination by native peoples.
The radicalisation of young scholars in the 1960s and the replacing of positivist models of knowledge with more interpretive and politically self-conscious approaches.
A reconceptualization of ‘the native voice’ as one that should be in more direct dialogue with anthropological interpretation.
(Ginsburg, 1991, p. 95)

While Ginsburg noted that some called this period of the 1960s–70s one of “a crisis in representation”, she emphasized that it was not sufficiently appreciated that many people working in ethnographic film had already responded to this “crisis” (Ginsburg, 1991, p. 95). Amongst the ethnographic filmmakers she cited in this regard were Jean Rouch, Tim Asch, David and Judith MacDougall, John Marshall, and Sol Worth and John Adair. The types of attacks directed at anthropology, including ethnographic filmmaking, are articulated forcefully by filmmaker and theorist, Trinh T. Minh-Ha, in her description of ‘the anthropologist’:

⁹ “Media technologies” in turn are defined as technologies that mediate *between people* (or serve as intermediaries between people) i.e. not between themselves and people (Askew, 2002, pp. 2-3).

He belongs to that fraction of humanity which for centuries has made other fractions the objects of contempt and exploitation, then, when it saw the handwriting on the wall, set about to give them back their humanity. . . . What I resent most, however, is not his inheritance of a power he so often disclaims, disengaging himself from a system he carries with him, but his ear, eye, and pen, which record in his language while pretending to speak though mine, on my behalf.
(Trinh, 1989, p. 47)

While Trinh unreservedly attacks Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), the man considered to be ‘the father of the functionalist school of anthropology’ (NNDB Tracking the World, online), in her book *Woman Native Other* (1989), she acknowledged the contribution of anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss (b. 1908). Trinh noted that Levi-Strauss both questioned the ability to be objective and the ability to encounter himself or ‘the other’ through anthropology – that instead he observed that the result of his anthropological research was “the superimposition of himself on the other” (Trinh, 1989, p. 60 citing Levi-Strauss). Trinh’s critiques cut through to the worst of what anthropology or the study of ‘the other’ has been, fuelled partly by the posthumously published diaries of Malinowski (*A Diary in the Strictest Sense of the Term*, 1962) that referred to “niggers” and how “bored he was by their boring, meaningless lives” (cited in Trinh, 1989, p. 68). Yet her statement that “anthropology is finally better defined as ‘gossip’ (we speak together about others) than as ‘conversation’ (we discuss a question) . . .” (Trinh, 1989, p. 68) makes no acknowledgement of anthropological practice and theory that *has* questioned both a positivist paradigm and racist assumptions. In the context of ethnographic film, practitioners who were in fact very interested in having ‘a conversation’ began with Jean Rouch in the 1950s and continue through to the present day. In the context of this chapter on the historical context for the development of participatory video, both the critiques of anthropology and the responses to these critiques by relevant ethnographic filmmakers, offer useful insights, analysis, theory and practical techniques to the field of participatory video.

Jean Rouch (1917–2004), an engineer, anthropologist and ethnographic filmmaker, made many contributions to both ethnographic and documentary filmmaking that ultimately fed into the development of participatory video as well. Steven Feld identified the following four key themes that ran throughout Rouch’s work in his

introduction to the collection of Rouch's (translated) writings in *Cine-Ethnography – Jean Rouch* (2003):

1. Synthesis and elaboration of the key documentary impacts of filmmakers Robert Flaherty and Dziga Vertov;
2. Refinement of the concepts of cinema vérité and direct cinema;
3. Development of the ethnographic fiction genre;
4. Preoccupation with the filmic conventions of reflexivity, authorship, autocritique, and 'shared anthropology.'

As Jay Ruby, stated, "Rouch's intention was to produce a 'shared anthropology' in which those in front of the camera shared the power with the director" (2000, p. 13). The techniques Rouch developed around 'shared anthropology' and his close collaboration with his participants bear direct relevance to the techniques of participatory video. In terms of the scope of his achievements, Susan Levine (2006, Jean Rouch Retrospective - speaker) noted that Rouch is credited with the invention of various cinematic techniques, including the hand-held camera, the voice-over, the 'ciné-trance', and the 'participating camera.' Rouch also coined the phrase 'cinéma vérité' and made the seminal cinéma vérité film, *Chronique d'un Été* (1961).

Rouch acknowledged his "debt" to filmmakers Robert Flaherty and Dziga Vertov in his essay, *The Camera and Man* (1974, p. 31). As Ruby described these influences, "Rouch . . . sees his own films as being an attempt to combine the personal and participatory concerns of Robert Flaherty with an interest in process derived from Vertov" (Ruby, 2000, p. 171). While no one would describe Flaherty as having had an interest in using cinema as a catalyst for change, Flaherty did make valuable contributions to the much later development of participatory video through several of the methods he used, and which Rouch later revived and further developed. Flaherty, best known for his film *Nanook* (1922), does not sit easily in any one category of filmmaking – Rouch claimed him as "the father of ethnographic film" (Rouch, 1961, p. 32), while Grierson called him the "father of documentary" (cited in Barnouw, 1993, p. 85). At the same time Flaherty has come under serious criticism for staging many critical events in his films, often with physical risk to his subjects, in order to suit his themes. Barsam noted that Flaherty, in the American romantic tradition, believed that "least advanced peoples are happiest and least corrupt" and

that Flaherty “did not understand that what appears outwardly as a simple, primitive society can be just as complicated and ritualistic with similar demands and anxieties as any modern day civilisation” and that this in turn led Flaherty to an “indifference to deeper social, psychological and economic realities” (Barsam, 1992, p. 51). In a similar vein, Flaherty and his film, *Man of Aran* (1934), were criticised by the Griersonians at the time of the film’s release for ignoring the social context of the islander subjects in terms of the real problems of absentee landlordism and the pressures of a worldwide economic crisis: “Surely we have the right to believe that the documentary method . . . should not ignore the vital social issues of this year of grace” (Rotha cited in Barnouw, 1993, p. 99).

Despite what has been described by some as his “exploitative approach” (Maingard, 1998, p. 17), Flaherty did pioneer new methods of working with subjects in non-fiction film that Rouch later recognised and revived. Flaherty developed these methods while filming *Nanook* in the far north with the Inuit people, driven largely by the circumstances of filming in such a remote location, but also by the level of personal involvement he developed in this remote community. This involvement is reflected in Flaherty’s diary when he wrote about the making of *Nanook*:

My work had been built up along with them; I couldn’t have done anything without them. In the end it is all a question of human relationships.
(Flaherty, Diary of 1950, cited in Ruby, 2000, p. 76)

As Rouch noted, Flaherty spent a year living in the north before he even began to start filming (1961, p.32). Flaherty thus devoted himself to studying and understanding the community and place he planned to film as well as to establishing personal relationships with members of the community for an extended period of time. Inspired by this way of working, Rouch’s fieldwork, while based on “scientific principles and intellectual problems,” was also “founded on the principle of long-term friendship and mutual respect” (Stoller, 1992, p.47).

Because of the remoteness of the location, Flaherty built a development lab and a projection room in the community. Barnouw, who classified Flaherty as an “explorer” described his approach:

The full collaboration of Eskimos had already become the key to his method. This seemed a philosophical necessity but also, in working alone, a practical necessity. (Barnouw, 1993, p. 36)

As part of implementing collaboration with the Inuit, Flaherty became the “unconscious originator of basic ethnographic field methods” including ‘participant observation’ and ‘participant feedback’ (Feld, 2003, p. 12). Flaherty held ongoing conversations with the film’s subject-participants: screening the raw footage together; and discussing and planning additional scenes (Barnouw 1993; Feld 2003; Rouch 1961). While Feld stated that Flaherty “initiated filmic feedback as a form of stimulation and rapport” (Feld, 2003, p. 13), Rouch observed that,

In doing so, he (Flaherty) invented the use of the “participating camera,” a technique that he saw not as an obstacle to communication but, on the contrary, as an indispensable part of filmmaking in the field. (Rouch, 1978, p. 99)

When Ruby writes, “The Inuit performed in front of the camera, reviewed and criticized their performance, and were able to offer suggestions for additional scenes in the film” (Ruby, 2000, p. 88), he could have been describing a contemporary participatory video project, and not an early ethnographic film released in 1922. In fact, Ruby makes a similar point when he describes Flaherty’s techniques above as, “a way of making films that, when tried today is thought to be ‘innovative and original’ and confounds the naïve assumption that ethnographic films are merely a record of what happens in front of the camera” (2000, p.89). However, instead of Flaherty’s work giving birth to a form of participatory film at the time, Rouch states that “because of Flaherty’s influence, or in spite of,” ‘exotic’ (racist) cinema was born (Rouch, 1961, p.33). Several decades later it was Rouch who recognised the potential of the ‘participating camera’ and ‘participant feedback’ methods that Flaherty had pioneered. Stoller describes the night Rouch played back his first film to its subject-audience in Ayuru, Niger in 1954 (after which the audience gave feedback that Rouch then incorporated into his final editing):

That night Rouch and the people of Ayuru witnessed the birth of “participatory cinema” in Africa, and ethnography became, for Rouch, a shared enterprise. (Stoller, 1992, p.43)

While Rouch took from Flaherty “fundamentally methodological” influences, Dziga Vertov influenced him both artistically and theoretically (Stoller, 1992, pp.101-103). In this, Rouch took Flaherty’s methods in a new direction by combining the participation of subjects with the theories of Vertov, which (as discussed earlier in this chapter) embraced using experimental methods to achieve *kino-pravda* (cinema truth) in the pursuit of catalysing revolutionary societal change. Rouch built upon Vertov’s development of a cinematic realism in which the theory of realism was not confused with ‘reality’, i.e. the truth of cinema, not the cinema of truth (Feld, 2003, p.13). Like Vertov, Rouch understood that the truth or the reality of a film is always a constructed one (Feld, 2003, p.14). As Ruby has noted, Rouch’s understanding of film realism followed in the tradition begun by Vertov and then continued by Grierson with the latter’s assertion that cinema must interpret, not just record, in its role as a “creative treatment of actuality” (cited in Ruby 2000, p.270). Vertov’s technique of including audience response to a film as part of the film’s content as he did in *Man with a Movie Camera* was also a technique that Rouch later used extensively in his films (Feldman, 1984, p.11). This is best exemplified in Rouch’s film, *Jaguar*, a work of ethno-fiction, in which the commentary was recorded after the picture edit and includes the voices of the subject-actors commenting on their performances and the story (Stoller, 1992, pp.137-138). Participatory video practitioners have also taken up the technique of including audience response within a film or video. (Following in this tradition, I included a short sequence of the Kayamandi committee watching the rushes of the Kayamandi project).

The influences of Flaherty and Vertov, in combination with the technological film developments of the time, enabled Rouch to experiment with his own original work and theories as an ethnographic filmmaker and led to his contribution to the birth of *cinéma vérité*, which he named in homage to Vertov’s *kino-pravda*. Rouch, as reflective of his historical context, was very excited about the new technologies in his time. In his essay, *The Cinema of the Future?* (1961), he discussed at length the revolutionary effects of technology, specifically the following: the change from 35 mm to 16 mm film during World War II; the development of colour film that alleviated many worries about lighting; in 1949 the manufacturer’s perfecting of autonomous tape recorders; and in 1960 the most critical development of all, that of lightweight small cameras and synchronous sound. Rouch seized upon the new sync-sound

technology immediately and made *Chronique d'un Ete* (1961) with Edgar Morin in Paris. Rouch claimed that *Chronique d'un Ete* was the first film to show that “you can film anything anywhere” (cited in Feld, 2003, p.7), while contemporary critics regard it as a “seminal work of documentary and ethnographic cinema” (Feld, 1985, p.2). In 1960 Morin described the emerging new cinema and type of filmmaker in his article, “For a New Cinema-vérité”:

There is one truth which cannot be captured by fictional films and that is the authenticity of life as it is lived. . . . The great merit of Jean Rouch is that he has defined a new type of filmmaker, the “filmmaker-diver,” who “plunges” into real-life situations. Ridding himself of the customary technical encumbrances and equipped only with a 16mm camera and a tape recorder slung across his shoulders, Rouch can then infiltrate a community as a person and not as the director of a film crew. He accepts the clumsiness, the absence of dimensional sound, the imperfection of the visual image. In accepting the loss of formal aesthetic, he discovers virgin territory, a life which possesses aesthetic secrets within itself. His ethnographer’s conscience prevents him from betraying the truth, from embellishing upon it.
(Morin, 1960, p.4)

This type of filmmaking, where a filmmaker gets *into* a community rather than standing outside it as an observer, and this type of aesthetic, where formal concerns are secondary to discovering “life as it is lived” helped set the stage for the later development of participatory video. As Rouch further developed his techniques in the late 1960s and 1970s, he began to experiment with ‘sequence shot’ (*plan séquence*) films in which he would shoot 10-minute-long takes as he walked among participants in events – this he called “ethnography in the first person” as he played the role of both participant and catalyst in his films (Feld, 2003, p.9). Another technique that Rouch employed from the time of his early work was that of recording the unscripted commentary of his participants as they watched a rough cut, and including that as the soundtrack on the finished film. In doing this, Rouch “merged filmic experimentalism with engaged anti-racist politics” (Feld, 2003, p.8). The many techniques that Rouch employed, along with his concerns around authorship, had theoretical implications for a more participatory and reflexive ethnographic cinema (Feld, 2003, p.12). His use of participant feedback in various forms enabled a sharing process to take place between filmmaker and participants, and also allowed the filmmaker to mediate openly and self-critically on his / her role (Feld, 2003, p.19). Another relevant area of study that Rouch’s work opened up through his use of filmic reflexivity and written reflections was that of what is now known as ‘reception studies’, i.e. the way in which an audience receives and understands a message. In

1985 Feld wrote in the introduction to the special issue of *Studies in Visual Communication on Chronique d'un Ete*:

... Rouch and Morin show that it is possible to be both filmically reflexive and intellectually critical of that process. In effect, the achievement of their essays and interviews here is to point to the very ways a film's meaning continually changes and develops through the interaction of its makers, its participants, and its viewers (including the makers and participants).
(Feld, 1985, p. 2)

As the reception of a video product (including product-in-process) is of critical concern to those involved in participatory video, this observation is noted.

The final theme to pick up on in this section is that of 'cinema as catalyst,' this time from an ethnographic filmmaking context in the 1960s. As Barnouw noted, at that time there was a niggling concern hanging over observer-style documentaries about the extent to which the presence of the camera might have (or had) influenced the events filmed. Whereas much of the debate centred on minimizing these influences, or were simply defences against accusations of influence, Rouch embraced the impact of the camera as "a valuable catalytic agent, a revealer of inner truth" (Barnouw, 1993, p.253). This emphasis on the camera (as opposed to film product) reflected Rouch's primary concern with catalysing events or truths within the film world (including the film itself as well as the real worlds of his film participants), and less on catalysing response or action at the level of general film audience. As Levine noted in her introductory remarks to the Jean Rouch Retrospective at the Encounters Film Festival (2006), the general reception of *Chronique d'un Ete* did not stimulate discussion about the political issues it addressed so much as it was a real catalyst for epistemological discussion about the nature of non-fiction film, i.e. raising issues such as 'reality' and 'representation'. This is interesting in relation to participatory video, where the focus is more on content (and the process of acquiring content) than form. Also, in participatory video, the focus for change can be at participant level (process focused) and / or targeted audience level (product focused).

Another interesting and relevant ethnographic filmmaking example that came out in the 1960s around using film as a catalyst was the Navajo project (1966) by Sol Worth and John Adair (Barnouw, 1993, p.258). This experiment, as Worth and Adair

described it in their book documenting the project, *Through Navajo Eyes* (1972, rev. ed. 1997), was devised to answer the question, "What would happen if someone with a culture that makes and uses motion pictures taught people who had never made or used motion pictures to do so for the first time?" (Worth and Adair, 1997, p.3). As Richard Chalfen noted in his revised introduction to the book, Worth (a communications scholar) and Adair (a cultural anthropologist) were suggesting 'action research,' which was breaking new ground at the time of the original project (1997, p. xiii). While Worth and Adair noted that participant intervention and participation were not new at the time for anthropologists, they noted that these methodologies were rare in communications studies and very rare in film research (1997, p.46).

Chalfen, again in his revised introduction, acknowledged that while Worth and Adair had pioneered new ideas on collaboration by 'handing over the camera,' the Western-oriented bias that underlay the project caused it to later come under some "philosophical and ethical fire" (1997, p. xiv). Ginsburg, in her writings on indigenous media, described this project as an early attempt to put the camera directly into native hands, and that while it was somewhat "sterile" and "patronizing" on some levels, it was prescient with regards to recognising that there were distinct indigenous concerns vis-à-vis cinematic and narrative representation (1991, p.96).

Of more direct relevance to participatory video was the idea articulated by Worth and Adair that "Many people today are seeking not only new ways in which they can know one another but new ways to *present* themselves to one another" (1997, p.7, italics added). Eric Michaels, a noted visual anthropologist involved in various action research projects in Australia with Aboriginal communities, picked up on this theme and named it an 'advocacy objective' when he quotes Worth and Adair's query, "would an oral society find audiovisual production a more suitable means of communication and participation in modern life than writing?" (cited in Michaels, 1985, p.505). Again, this is germane to participatory video, as one of its precepts is now accepted to be that audiovisual tools are indeed a more suitable communication tool for non-literate communities than the use of writing.

One of the most important issues that Worth and Adair consciously raised and brought into question at the time was how research projects do, or do not, contribute to their subject communities. This goal of integrating a contribution of some sort to subject-communities as part of social research projects has become a defining feature of what is now called 'action research.' And, of course, making a contribution to positive change in the lives of its participants is the driving force behind any participatory video project. However, at the time of the Navajo Project, these ideas were still relatively new to most practitioners and researchers in the fields of anthropology, communications and film studies (albeit not, as illustrated previously in this chapter, to committed non-fiction filmmakers). In a passage from *Through Navajo Eyes*, Worth and Adair illustrate this issue by recounting their first meeting to introduce their proposed research project to Sam Yazzie, the local Navajo community leader.

Although Sam was old, tired, and still coughing a great deal, there was no mistaking the authority in his manner. Finally Adair felt that it was time to bring up the subject of our visit. Adair explained that we wanted to teach some Navajo to make movies and mentioned Worth's part in the process several times. By the time Adair had finished, Yazzie was looking at Worth frequently, seeming for the first time to acknowledge his presence as legitimate. When Adair finished, Sam thought for a while, and then turned to Worth and asked a lengthy question which was interpreted as, "Will making movies do the sheep any harm?"

Worth was happy to explain that as far as he knew, there was no chance that making movies would harm the sheep.

Sam thought this over and then asked, "Will making movies do the sheep good?" Worth was forced to reply that as far as he knew making movies wouldn't do the sheep any good.

Sam thought this over, then, looking around at us he said, "Then why make movies?"

(Worth and Adair, 1997, p. 4)

This passage is often quoted in literature related to participatory video, and Sam Yazzie's final query, "Then why make movies?" is one that has resonated with many committed film practitioners working in a broad range of fields since that time. Chalfen returned to Yazzie's question in the Afterword of *Through Navajo Eyes*, written 25 years after the original book. In this he put forward a specific response to Yazzie's query on the Navajo project:

Clearly, empowerment comes in many varieties, in both short-term and long-term versions. Regarding the latter, we may safely assume that anyone who has shot and put together a 15-minute sequence of film over a 2-month period will never see

or 'realize' motion picture communication in the same way. This, in itself, is one model of empowerment.
(Chalfen, 1997, p.288)

Chalfen's response identifies another type of 'use-value' that may be realised through the application of film (or video) and participation. I will take up his further analysis of the different forms of participation related to film and video later in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

3.2.2 *Cinema vérité vs. direct cinema*

An examination of the filmic influences of the 1960s must include a discussion of observational cinema, or more specifically, cinema vérité and direct cinema. The development of observational styles of filmmaking that occurred during this period has had an enormous and long-term influence on both non-fiction and narrative film that continues to this day. As important as the techniques and aesthetics that were developed at that time have been the wide-ranging debates stirred around issues of 'reality' and 'truth'; ethical questions around the representation of subjects; and the reception effect of a film product (passive or catalytic) on audiences. All of these debates have fed into the development of a theory and practice of participatory video.

Barsam states that cinema vérité appeared in France in the 1950s and triggered the development of direct cinema in the United States in the early 1960s (1992). He then attributes a common desire for "a new cinematic realism" as well as the development of the equipment required to achieve this desire as the driving influences of both these methods (1992, p. 302). In terms of the historical roots of the two methodologies, Barsam traced the origins of cinema vérité back to Vertov and acknowledged Rouch as its best-known practitioner (who in turn drew on the influences of both Vertov and Flaherty). Barsam also identified the experiments of cinema vérité's practitioners with some traditional techniques such as the interview (which was first used in *Housing Problems*); the biographical format; the kaleidoscope portrayal of city life; and "the recording of ordinary people doing and saying ordinary things" (Barsam, 1992, p. 301). Both Barsam and Barnouw identified the influence of the British Free Cinema (1956 – 59) on the development of

direct cinema in particular. As a reaction against corporate power, the filmmakers who started the British Free Cinema movement rejected the idea of promoters and commercial considerations: "For many of them, a sense that their own cultures were being overwhelmed by sponsor-power was a motivating factor" (Barnouw, 1993, p. 228). Barnouw described these works as being characterized by an ambiguous, intimate feeling with a new focus on speech and talking people,

. . . talking human beings with their own, spontaneous talk were not puppets, as experiments were demonstrating. In a sense they began to take control away from the director.
(1993, p. 234-35)

These films included those such as *Every Day Except Christmas* (1957), *We are the Lambeth Boys* (1959), and *The Saturday Men* (1962).

While both *cinéma vérité* and direct cinema share some common influences and attributes that often cause the terms to be confused by non-academics, the two are not the same and have some important differences. (Note: this confusion between the terms is not helped by the fact that (largely French) Canadian *cinéma vérité* filmmakers, along with Rouch himself, later adopted the term 'cinéma direct' to describe their work to emphasize that it was not a claim to 'Truth'). The following discussion will illustrate the influence (and the link) of concerns and methodologies of *cinéma vérité* to the development of participatory video practice. On the other hand, the critiques of direct cinema illustrate how the reaction *against* the styles and methods of direct cinema fed into the development of participatory video practice. The following comparisons between the two are a useful reference point for my argument around their respective influences:

The direct cinema artist aspired to invisibility; the Rouch *cinéma vérité* artist was often an avowed participant. The direct cinema artist played the role of uninvolved bystander; the *cinéma vérité* artist espoused that of provocateur.
(Barnouw, 1993, p. 255)

Cinéma vérité filmmakers are often participants in, and commentators on, the action they record; direct cinema filmmakers always avoid narration and rarely appear, either inadvertently or as *personae*, in their films.
Barsam, 1992, p. 304)

David MacDougall, an ethnographic filmmaker and visual anthropologist that I will return to in more detail in this section, described the differences between *cinéma*

vérité and direct cinema as two aspects of the “observational approach” divided by methodology (1973, p.112). *Direct cinema* he described as “pure non-interactive observation” characteristic of the English-speaking world and influenced by classical notions of the scientific method. *Cinéma vérité* he described as “interactive”, characterized by the works of Rouch and his European contemporaries. Supporting these definitions within visual anthropology, Jay Ruby commented that direct cinema is best described as “observational style”, while cinema vérité is best described as “participatory style” (2000, p.204). Within the field of film studies, however, Nichols, dropped the use of the terms direct cinema and cinéma vérité altogether and used the terms ‘observational’ and ‘interactive’ respectively (Nichols 1991, 1994).

Turning now to a more detailed look at cinéma vérité, Steven Feld, in his introduction to the collected writings of Jean Rouch, described cinema vérité as having the following characteristics:

1. Films composed of 1st take, non-staged, non-theatrical, non-scripted material;
2. Non-actors doing what they do in natural, spontaneous settings;
3. Use of lightweight, hand-held, portable, sync-sound equipment;
4. Hand-held on-the-go interactive filming and recording techniques with little, if any, artificial lighting.

(2003, p. 7)

The following description of cinéma vérité, written by Barsam, adds to a deeper understanding of what this form was all about:

1. Cinema vérité represents an application of nouvelle vague (French New Wave) cinematographic practices to real events rather than staged ones.
2. Cinema vérité then adds to this the following conceptions: the camera as a catalyst; the filmmaker as an active participant behind and sometimes in front of the camera; the elimination of devices from fictional cinema; the shooting and recording of real events rather than staged ones; and a visual style that incorporates informality and spontaneity into its “look,” including such unconventional “mistakes” as poor lighting and the optically violent movement of the camera, which was frequently hand-held.

3. Overall, cinema vérité brought about a redefinition of film aesthetics, which in turn led to the development of a new self-reflexive cinema.

(Barsam, 1992, p. 303)

Adding another perspective on cinema vérité particularly relevant to participatory video as one of the new forms of self-reflexive cinema, Barnouw observed that it “often focused on the great and powerful, but also helped the lowly become articulate participants in society . . . the new genre had a certain democratising effect – or a disruptive one, depending on the point-of-view” (1993, p.262). Barnouw also noted that the audience appeal of cinema vérité could be limited, firstly because of its reliance on ‘talking heads,’ and secondly, because of its use of vernacular speech, which didn’t necessarily travel easily (1993, p.262). Of course both ‘talking heads’ and vernacular speech are common to participatory video, where audiences are very specifically targeted and/or local.

One of the primary concerns of cinema vérité was the pursuit of truth. This pursuit of truth from the perspective of the poor and/or marginalized underpins the concept of participatory video. Edgar Morin, the Canadian filmmaker who made *Chronique d’un Ete* with Jean Rouch, credited fiction film with attaining cinema’s “most profound truths,” but also observed that, “There is one truth which cannot be captured by fictional films and that is the authenticity of life as it is lived” (1960, p.4). He further explained, “What interests me is not a documentary which shows appearances, but an active intervention to cut across appearances and extract from them their hidden or dormant truths” (1960, p.23). This question of truth comes up time and again in the literature and practice of both cinema vérité and direct cinema. However, it is the practitioners of cinema vérité who, although deeply committed to the pursuit of truth, clearly acknowledged from the start that a film itself was not, nor ever could be, The Truth. As quoted at the beginning of this chapter section on the 1960s, Morin identified the impossibility of speaking about “a truth that has been chosen, edited, provoked, oriented, deformed” (1960, p.28). Barsam addressed this point as well, stating, “In practical terms, more often than not the “truth” is what occurs to filmmakers during the moments of observing, shooting, and editing: not *the* truth, but a filmmaker’s truth” (1992, p.304). In the case of participatory video, a key objective is that it should be the participants’ truth(s) that is represented.

The other critical concern of cinema vérité was the cinematic portrayal of 'reality'. Morin made some acute observations that fed into the debate on 'reality' as reflected in these types of films. With reference to *Chronique d'un Ete* and the 25 hours of raw footage that they cut to a 90-minute film, he stated the following:

The first contradiction holds in the changeover from real time to cinematographic time. Of course the real time is not the total time, since we were not filming all the time. In other words, there was already a sort of selection in the filming; but the editing obliges us to make a selection, a more difficult composition, more traitorous. We choose the times which we find the most significant or the most powerful; of course, this theatricalizes life. On top of that, the close-up accentuates dramatization.
(Morin, 1960, p. 26)

The recognition that cinema vérité presents a *mediated reality* is echoed by Gilles Marsolais when he describes 'cinéma direct' as follows:

. . . a cinema that records directly in the field, not the studio, words and gestures through the use of synchronous camera and tape recorder that is lightweight and easy to handle. This, in other words, is a cinema that establishes direct contact with people, trying to 'paste together reality' as best as possible while always taking into account that the enterprise is mediated.
(Marsolais (1974) cited in Feld, 2003, p. 14)

Again, in the case of participatory video the emphasis is on participants both presenting and mediating *their* reality.

Direct cinema filmmakers, on the other hand, placed more emphasis on the concept of "holding up a mirror to society" (Barsam, 1992, p.308), and the "re-presentation of reality" to audiences (Barsam, 1992, p.300), and gave far less acknowledgement to the necessarily mediated nature of their work. Direct cinema and its best-known practitioners, Robert Drew, Richard Leacock, the Maysles Brothers and Frederick Wiseman, represent a period in non-fiction film in the 1960s through to the 1970s that has had a profound and lasting effect on American filmmaking and television. It was driven, in part, by a rejection of the non-fiction tradition. In this regard Drew, the 'father of American direct cinema,' dismissed the Griersonian tradition as "little more than an illustrated lecture" (Barsam, 1992, p. 305). Direct cinema was driven by the desire to show 'truth' and 'reality' to audiences, based on the belief that it could in fact do so. It was thus *not* driven by a conscious desire to present an argument or to take a stand on an issue. 'Objectivity,' 'neutrality' and 'non-intervention' became

powerful ideals within the non-fiction world, particularly in America where direct cinema was born. Mainstream media embraced these ideals. Ultimately it meant that authorship was 'erased' and film products were offered up as objective representations of reality. Participatory video is one of the media forms that challenge this paradigm. Of course there is no such entity as a neutral, objective, edited film as many have argued; for example, Barsam noted the distinction between the uncontrolled nature of the profilmic *process* of direct cinema as opposed to the controlled direct cinema *product* (1992, pp. 302-03).

Writing from an ethnographic perspective on both direct cinema and cinéma vérité, Colin Young's seminal article, "Observational Cinema," was published in *Principles of Visual Anthropology* in 1975, a book that was itself the first comprehensive collection and articulation of the emerging field of visual anthropology in its time. In this article Young began with several important critical observations on the nature of film:

. . . film is not objective. It may OBJECTIFY, but that is a different matter. . . . To put it at its bluntest – the camera tends to lie but the audience tends to believe. . . . Film has a tendency to appear plausible, and thus to diminish the importance of what it ignores.
(Young, 1975, p. 66)

Young then moved to a critique of cinéma vérité in which he noted that, while it was "obsessed" with the idea of capturing real people and real lives (1975, p.72), ultimately it conformed to dramatic structure – a "capitulation to fiction" (1975, p.76) – in the sense that its films followed the traditional dramatic form of 'exposition–conflict structure–resolution', despite the change in "morality and tactics" during shooting (1975, p.72). He argued for a change in overall aesthetics, which he believed would come with more open-ended subjects: "The details of our films must be a substitute for dramatic tension, and the film's authenticity must be a substitute for artificial excitement" (1975, p.74). To illustrate his argument, Young used the example of European fiction filmmakers after 1963, and with reference to Truffaut, Godard and Bresson, stated the following:

Many of them, having analysed the American cinema to see how it got its effects, stopped short of the stab at the jugular vein, stopped short of making us cry, and left it to our imagination. They were not so much unconventional as restrained. They left us space to fill and we participated.

(Young, 1975, p. 69)

In summary, Young argued that new-realism had led to cinema vérité, which was in turn leading to a true “observational cinema” (i.e. direct cinema). He suggested that the way of looking at behaviour was gradually changing towards a mode where viewers were “shown rather than told” (1975, p.76) and that the shooting style required for achieving this was “observational and non-participatory” (1975, p.77). What is particularly relevant in the context of this dissertation is that Young was suggesting that an observational film, shot in a non-participatory mode, was best suited for stimulating an active, rather than a passive, reception. While Young identified a critical element of the filmmaking process – the reception of a film – his argument came under fire, as did direct cinema itself.

The criticisms levelled at direct cinema included those prompted by its claims to ‘objectivity’ ‘truth’ and ‘reality’; various ethical questions prompted by the direct cinema approach; and the reception of such observational films by audiences. These critiques fed into the development of participatory video techniques, which consciously tried to redress such issues. Barsam identified the following “serious criticisms” of direct cinema:

. . . the validity and reliability of non-fiction footage shot in compliance with the participants; the possibility that the camera exploits personalities and issues; the ethics of the direct, unedited recording of conversations . . .; and the ethics of imposing a dramatic structure on non-fiction footage.
(Barsam, 1992, p. 307)

David MacDougall was one of the first theorists to critically examine direct cinema’s claim to presenting reality:

The magical fallacy of the camera parallels the fallacy of omniscient observation. . . . A few images create a world. We ignore the images that could have been, but weren’t. In most cases we have no conception of what they might be.
(MacDougall, 1973, p. 117)

Bill Nichols also questioned the truth and reality being presented on the screen by observational films. As Nichols pointed out, these filmmakers tried to elicit naturalistic performances that gave the impression of people “being themselves.” Yet in order to achieve this, it “required a sophisticated form of non-intervention which, like the techniques of participatory observation or sociological and

anthropological techniques generally, placed considerable demands on the filmmaker to exercise a type of control that was largely unnoticeable” (Nichols, 1991, p. 13). On a somewhat lighter (or more caustic) note, Hennebelle stated, “I can’t say often enough how false it is that direct cinema restores reality without deformation of any kind. It is better to admit frankly the manipulation and make it agreeable to the eye and the ear by making use of the whole arsenal of the cinema” (cited in Marcorelles, 1973, p. 183). With regards the ethical questions raised by the practice of direct cinema, it is telling that editor Larry Gross in his book *Image Ethics* refers to one of the best-known direct cinema films in his introductory comments on the ethical questions surrounding the use of real people in documentary films: “As with *Titticut Follies*, nearly 4 decades ago, we are left wondering what sort of informed consent these patients could have given, and whether their exposure serves a purpose worth sacrificing their privacy for” (Gross, 2003, p. xxi).

In terms of the issue of audience reception, Young’s article “Observational Cinema” prompted various responses, including David MacDougall’s article, “Beyond Observational Cinema,” included in the same volume of *Principles of Visual Anthropology* (1975). MacDougall is both a respected ethnographic filmmaker and a visual anthropologist with practical and theoretical interests in participation in film. In this article MacDougall addressed the implications of observational cinema as a mode of “human enquiry” (1973, p. 109). As mentioned previously, MacDougall (1975) divided observational filmmaking into the two modes of interactive (cinema vérité) and non-interactive (direct cinema). While he described Rouch’s work, and particularly *Chronique d’un Ete*, as “extraordinary”, he suggested that the ideas presented in that film had not been pursued (e.g. Rouch’s style of “digging rather than observing” (MacDougall, 1975, p.120)). I have therefore understood his analysis and criticisms of ‘observational cinema’ to be aimed particularly at direct cinema. In this regard MacDougall discussed the relationship between the ‘observer’ and ‘observed’ and noted the cultural convention of subjects not acknowledging the camera, which in turn bestowed upon the filmmaker qualities of omniscience / omnipotence / invisibility. In this type of dynamic, MacDougall argued that the filmmaker used his energy through the camera and that by focusing his concentration in this way, “a certain passivity” was induced both upon the filmmaker and the audience (1975, pp.114-115). As MacDougall addressed these points as

part of his ultimate argument for a more *participatory cinema*, I quote him below at some length:

As members of an audience we readily accept the illusion of entering into the world of a film. But we do so in complete safety, because our own world is as close as the nearest light switch. We observe the people in the film without being seen, assured that they can make no claims upon us. The corollary of this, however, lies in our inability to reach through the screen and affect their lives. Thus our situation combines a sense of immediacy with an absolute separation. Only when we try to invade the world of the film do we discover the insubstantiality of its illusion of reality. . . . In his attempt to make us into witnesses, the observational filmmaker often thinks in terms of the image on the screen rather than his presence in the setting where events are occurring. He becomes no more than the eye of the audience, frozen into their passivity, unable to bridge the separation between himself and his subjects.
(MacDougall, 1975, pp. 115-116)

MacDougall then stated that the aforementioned separation of observer and observed “produces films that are monologues” (1975, p. 119). MacDougall’s focus at the time was on the *one-way* (non-interactive) communication between film to audience. In this regard he acknowledged observational cinema’s contribution to teaching the camera “to watch,” but noted as its failure the effect of “watching” on its audiences – an effect that induced “reticence and analytical inertia” (1975, p.119). An alternative consideration of this separation of observer and observed that “produces films that are monologues” is an emphasis on the fact that it is the voice of the observer (the filmmaker) that is the *primary voice* (despite the fact that the filmmaker tries to make him- or herself invisible) speaking to the audience. Jay Ruby picked up on this point when he re-visited Young’s early article on observational cinema. In his essay “Speaking for, Speaking about, Speaking with, or Speaking alongside,” Ruby noted Young’s claim that observational cinema provided its audience with the chance to interpret the lives of the people represented onscreen, offering “subjects a chance to be themselves without the restrictions of voice-over, on-camera experts interpreting their lives, or the artificiality of formal interviews” (Ruby, 2000, p. 204). Ruby acknowledged that “being able to hear people tell their stories and observe their lives instead of being told what they think and the meaning of their behaviour clearly offers subjects a greater say in the construction of their image” and allowed that this “represented a major shift in attitude about where one looks for authority and authenticity” (Ruby, 2000, p. 204). Ruby then named this

mode of address 'speaking with' instead of 'speaking for', but added a strongly worded caveat:

However, editorial control still remains in the hands of the filmmaker. The empowerment of the subject is therefore more illusory than actual. Although new voices are heard, traditional forms of authorship have not been significantly altered. (Ruby, 2000, p. 204)

In concluding this section on cinema vérité and cinema direct, it is relevant to note again that these modes of cinematic address that were being embraced in the 1960s by non-fiction filmmakers were the ones that really opened up questions around the ability of film to represent 'truth' and 'reality;' concepts of authorship and editorial control; and of the effect upon audiences in the reception of a film. These debates have continued to be reflected in film theory of various sorts, including the development of a theory of participatory video. These themes continue to be developed throughout this dissertation, and are re-visited in detail in Chapter 6 within the context of participatory video practice and the Kayamandi project.

3.2.3 Social documentary / Radical documentary / Film collectives

The social documentary, a strong component of non-fiction film since the 1930s, did not thrive in the 1960s. This was in part due to the wide-ranging influences of observational (direct) cinema, which promoted adherence to the (largely illusory) ideal of objectivity in its pursuit of presenting truth and reality to audiences. This in turn was supported by the 'legacy of balance' inherited particularly in the English-speaking world from the Griersonians. 'Objectivity' became a real benchmark of the worth of documentary works, and 'committed filmmaking' was relegated further to the margins. Of course, in the 1960s, there was much activity in the radical margins of society and this was largely expressed in the film world by the radical documentary and militant cinema produced primarily by film collectives. (The work by film collectives in the 1960s was in a sense a renewal of the Soviet-inspired working class cinema of the 1930s reviewed earlier.) The work of these politicised collectives in the 1960s was committed to change and to the objectives of greater inclusion and participation of marginalized voices in society. The new sound technology both stimulated and supported these objectives, which in turn gave rise to new questions about the presentation and representation of documentary subjects. Questions

around distribution were raised both by the limited access of independent social documentarians to network-controlled television in the United States, and by the deepening commitment to alternative modes of distribution and more focused target audiences by radical filmmakers.

Committed social documentary filmmakers, while few in number in the 1960s, made important contributions. Their defence of the role of the filmmaker as an active participant in the development of society helped maintain a belief in the 'use-value' of film throughout the 1960s until the birth of participatory video at the end of the decade. Filmmakers such as Emile De Antonio and Joris Ivens were not afraid to take a stand with their work despite the pressures for 'objectivity' and 'neutrality' in the documentary. For example, De Antonio's 'biased' work came under much criticism for its "wickedly manipulated" style according to Alan Rosenthal in his book, *The Documentary Conscience: A Casebook in Film Making* (cited in Barsam, 1992, p. 344). Barsam described De Antonio's *In the Year of the Pig* (1969), a film about Vietnam:

. . . it does not strive to balance arguments. De Antonio's purpose is to convince Americans that they do not understand the history of Vietnam, specifically the struggle of its people for independence, and that they therefore have no business fighting a war there. . . . No other American non-fiction film about war has ever taken such a radical stance. . . . with history now underscoring the truth of De Antonio's prophecy . . . Whatever its faults – and they are many, both scholarly and cinematic – there is no doubt that *In the Year of the Pig* is one of the most provocative and important non-fiction films ever made.
(Barsam, 1992, p. 344)

Another of the most important social documentaries made in the 1960s was David Lowe's *Harvest of Shame* (1960). Another film on housing issues, following in the footsteps of *Misery in the Borinage* (1933) and *Housing Problems* (1935), this American film exposed the living conditions of migrant workers living in the United States. In the context of this dissertation *Harvest of Shame* is relevant not only because it addressed the topic of poor housing, but also because it used the medium of non-fiction film not just to raise the consciousness of its viewers, but to specifically agitate for change by asking its audience to take action. Barsam made a number of interesting points about this film in his book, *Non-fiction Film: A Critical History* (1992). He described the film as an "outstanding CBS social documentary" that exerted a big influence on the non-fiction genre "because of its strong editorial stand

on a subject that many people would prefer to ignore” (Barsam, 1992, p.289). Commenting on the television distribution context of the time, Barsam stated:

Some of the footage that records the squalid life of migrant workers is familiar: unsanitary, rat-infested housing; unwholesome food; the lack of day care for children; and wretched travelling conditions. But, in the world of television broadcasting, this was largely unexplored territory.
(Barsam, 1992, p. 289)

In describing the reception of the film, Barsam noted that *Harvest of Shame* received much criticism *because* it took a committed and critical stand on a social issue. This criticism was a reflection of both the hold of observational cinema (with its illusion of capturing ‘reality’ by neutral observation), as well as the Griersonian legacy of ‘balance’, in the mainstream non-fiction film world of the 1960s. Barsam further noted that as television grew ever more commercial, such committed editorial statements became the rare exception and not the rule (1992, p.289). Noting that *Harvest of Shame* was broadcast during Thanksgiving week, the film reportedly “shocked viewers.” An important part of its shocking nature was its direct call for action to its television audience. Barsam described this in the following way, first noting that Edward R. Murrow narrated the film:

In his earnest voice, Murrow told the audience about pending legislation that, if passed, would alleviate many of the migrant workers’ problems. The implied suggestion here was that viewers might feel strongly enough to write to their representatives in Washington. Such a call for action on the viewers’ part was something new in the history of the non-fiction film, for even the most hard-hitting social documentaries stopped short of using such a direct tactic.
(Barsam, 1992, p. 289)

Barsam described this call for action on viewers as breaking new ground in the genre of the engaged social documentary. Certainly this direct call for action established a more concrete link between the tradition of the committed social documentary up to that time, and the emergence at the end of the 1960s of participatory film and video.

Turning now to the more radical forms of non-fiction film in the 1960s, the precedents for these had been set as far back as the early 1930s by the working class cinema inspired by Soviet agitprop. In the 1960s there was again a resurgence in collective filmmaking by those committed to political ideals and the changing of society. For example, Iskra in France was a post-May ’68 film collective set up to make political

and interventionist films – “militant cinema.” Iskra’s overall aim was to make films that would support maximum mobilisation in society led by militant activists. The films themselves were to be working tools for the militants to use, and as such, were not supposed to be dogmatic, but to rather open up issues for audiences so that militant activists could lead a process of “criticising and sensitising within their milieu” (Hennebelle, 1976, p.189). Iskra members stated that “we have the reality of struggles as a starting point, giving ourselves the tasks of popularising them, and of intensifying the movements that call into question the system in which we live” (Hennebelle, 1976, p.189).

An interesting American example of a film collective was Newsreel, a New York-based collective aligned with the New Left. Georgakas wrote about one of their projects in his essay, “*Finally Got the News – The Making of a Radical Documentary*” (1984). Georgakas called the film, *Finally Got the News*, “distinctive” for its time (it was released in 1969/70), because it was made “under the direct supervision of working-class blacks who advocated a Marxist approach to black liberation issues” (Georgakas, 1984, p.154). The project was initiated by Newsreel as a collaboration between themselves (a collective of white, male filmmakers) and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, based in Detroit. John Watson, as the leader of The League at the time, made critical inputs into the development of the project, including an emphasis on *process* as opposed to *product*. Watson insisted that the film project must have a teaching orientation for black workers. Both groups agreed that League personnel should be trained in filmmaking skills, and by the end of the project “blacks were doing some of the camerawork and other technical tasks” (Georgakas, 1984, p.157). As Georgakas noted, this “insistence that blacks be trained to make their own films was yet another trend that became dominant among minorities, women, and other groups that had traditionally been excluded from filmmaking” (Georgakas, 1984, p.165).

This emphasis on process versus product, and on participation by marginalized voices, was part of a growing trend that soon led to the practice of participatory video. A critical shortcoming, however, of the *Finally Got the News* project was that it was never formally shown to the black Detroit factory workers for whom it had originally been made because The League broke down by the time the film was

finished (Georgakas, 1984, p.164). With regards to this, Georgakas reasoned that the life of the film was longer than the organization it represented, because it presented ideas that “articulate themes that must remain relevant as long as working people do not control the basic givens of their everyday lives” (Georgakas, 1984, p.166). The project had also achieved many of its goals related to the process of making the film in the first place e.g. the training objectives. Still, the non-distribution to its primary target audience (itself the *subject* audience) was a loss to the specific goals of the project, and a lesson to be learned in the further development of participatory video. This issue of appropriate distribution is critical to participatory video because the powerful effect of a subject-audience seeing itself onscreen and engaging with that is integral to the empowerment process that participatory video promotes.

In closing this section, it is worth noting how the greater participation of marginalized voices in film began to open up and problematize issues of presentation and representation. Writing in 1969, Ivens noted that the effect of sync-sound technology (as compared to his earlier documentary work in the 1930s) “gives us the chance to hear the people *in* the film speak for themselves, and adds another dimension of physical reality to our films” (Ivens, 1969, p. 228). Again, while this recognition of the importance of people speaking for themselves on film was an important step in the development of ideas that led to participatory video, it was quickly recognized that the presentation of marginalized voices was not as straightforward as it may first have appeared. To quote Jay Ruby on this subject of ‘speaking’ again, he wrote about the movement away from voice-of-God narration towards the inclusion of subject voices onscreen that was part of the 1960s:

Although “voice of God’ narration was declared *déclassé*, often it was replaced by the talking-head “expert witnesses.” The offscreen voice of authority simply moved into the frame. Subtitled with their pedigree, authorities continued to tell audiences the “truth.” “Talking heads” became a documentary cliché – the boring mainstay of television news and television documentaries, thus dulling the impact of the method. In just a few years, the excitement of seeing slum dwellers in *Housing Problems* articulate their plight became transformed into the jaded, predictable performance of a victim of the “disaster of the day” who appears on cue for the six o’clock news. (Ruby, 2000, p. 204)

From the perspective of a committed filmmaker working in the 1960s, Joris Ivens addressed the inclusion of indigenous voices in documentary, raising issues of authenticity and audience belief:

Today many documentary films seem completely staged, in spite of the real indigenous people and the real places they show us. Neither authenticity nor the audience's belief depend on *not* interfering with the real thing in front of the camera. No film, not even a newsreel, could be made without some degree of artistic manipulation. The film's art begins when you choose where to place the camera. And staging begins when you say to the man, "Don't look at the camera."
(Ivens, 1969, p. 228)

The themes of presentation and representation continue to be developed throughout this dissertation. However, John Grierson, when interviewed in 1972, gave a colourful definition of the two terms which reflected some of the lessons learned in the 1960s:

We've got to have, not local presentation (that's to say presentation of the local case by some faraway landlord like the BBC) but local representation (that is presentation of the local story by local people), which is a very different thing. Presentation is not representation, and that's where the BBC is making the biggest mistake of its life . . . No matter how much noise you make on the BBC you're after all being edited by outsiders – just as for example I'm doing this tape, and I know that this is not me at all because you're going to edit it. I'm going to be edited by an outsider, and I will not be represented. I'll be merely presented.
(Sussex, 1972, p. 27)

3.2.4 Contributions from the Third World, particularly Latin America

The 1960s in the Third World were fundamentally characterised as a period in which anti-colonialist sentiment won the day through either revolutionary independence movements or negotiated settlement. By the end of the 1960s, "virtually every major colony in the large European overseas empires had gained its independence, and only smaller dependencies remained" (Bartleby.com, online). These new countries forged a general alliance with each other with regards to international relations to form a bloc known as the 'Third World.' Within this context, the new cinema emerging from these countries became defined as 'Third Cinema.' Maingard described the emergence of Third Cinema:

The concept was first identified in the 1960s as a means of naming cinema of the Third World that was born of, or sought to promote, political struggle for socialism. . . Third cinema was represented as a cinema that should promote the cause of socialism by representing the experiences of colonialism and its more contemporary forms.

(Maingard, 1998, p. 60)

Filmmakers Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino wrote the first 'manifesto' of Third Cinema in 1969. In this they identified the "decolonisation of culture" as "the most gigantic cultural, scientific, and artistic manifestation of our time" (cited in Maingard, 1998, p. 60). It is interesting to note that this recognition of the power of culture by Third Cinema activists was a theme that was emerging more broadly in the context of the 1960s. As one example, Mina Davis Caulfield, writing in 1969, stated that "the underlying form of exploitation under imperialism is not that of class over class, but rather culture over culture" (cited in Kuehnast, 1992, p.184). This recognition of the power of culture in terms of questioning the traditional model of the white / the Western / the male filmmaker (or ethnographer) representing the 'other' contributed to the development of alternative models, including participatory video. Two other critical aspects of Third Cinema tie in very closely with the concerns of this dissertation. This includes Third Cinema's focus on provoking change through the medium of film and its emphasis on promoting an active response from its audiences. In this regard, Thomas Waugh quoted Fernando Solanas in the introduction to his book on committed social documentary, *Show us Life* (1984): "we realised that the important thing was not the film itself but that which the film provoked" (cited by Waugh, 1984a, p.xi). Within this context Maingard also discussed how Solanas and Getino defined Third Cinema in opposition to the existing cinema of the Western world:

For them Third Cinema is the cinema of liberation concerned with the decolonisation of culture – a cinema of the masses. If 'first cinema' represents the viewer as a 'consumer of ideology' (for example Hollywood cinema) and 'second cinema' reflects the concerns of film authors (for example European 'art' cinema and some of the cinema of Godard), Third Cinema is by contrast the only cinema capable of transforming society.

(Maingard, 1991, p. 35, with reference to Chanan (1983))

Julianne Burton also picked up on similar contributions from Solanas and Getino in the introduction to her book, *The Social Documentary in Latin America* (1990). With reference to their essay, "Toward a Third Cinema", Burton discussed Solanas and Getino's statement that any innovations in the film language of Third Cinema derived

from “their desire to facilitate a more active relationship with the spectator” (Burton, 1990, p. 26). She then illustrated this point with a discussion of the film *The Hour of the Furnaces* (Argentina, 1968) by Solanas, Getino and Vallejo, which offered a Peronist perspective of the exiled leader at that time and contributed to his eventual return to Argentina and, briefly, his presidency. This film was structured in three parts, between which there were breaks when “the audience is encouraged to discuss among themselves issues raised by the film” (Burton, 1990, p. 26). The concerns with finding a form to actively engage with audiences, as well as the characteristic of facilitated screenings are key links to participatory video.

Beyond the specific phenomenon of Third Cinema, there were other developments in Latin America in the 1960s that have relevance to the themes of this dissertation. In her book’s introductory chapter, “Toward a History of Social Documentary in Latin America,” Julianne Burton made a number of observations that reflect parallel concerns to participatory video. Burton first noted that a documentary movement began in Latin America with avant-garde experimentation in the 1950s, followed by the period of *cine-urgente* of the 1960s. She then made an appealing analogy between Louis Lumière’s cinematographe and the Latin American social documentarist (Burton, 1990, p.10). In this Burton described the “artisanal paradigm” of the cinematographe -- a totally portable camera / projector / laboratory-in-one set-up -- as being very compelling to the Latin American documentary filmmaker (more so than the “industrial model” of Thomas Edison and his studio work). Practitioners of participatory video have also embraced this ‘artisanal paradigm’¹⁰.

In terms of the driving motivation behind much of Latin American social documentary, Burton quoted Uruguayan documentary filmmaker, Mario Handler: “The filmmaker inevitably begins to become politicised because the existing situation prevents him from being simply a filmmaker” (cited in Burton, 1990, p.19). Again, this commitment to social justice is a driving force behind participatory video. Burton then introduced Santiago Alvarez – the “Vertov of Latin America” – an iconic Latin American filmmaker who was committed to the use of film for socio-political

¹⁰ Waugh also uses the term ‘artisanal’ as applied to committed documentary filmmaking (1984).

revolutionary goals. John Mraz, writing specifically about Santiago Alvarez in another chapter of Burton's book, described the revolutionary 1960s period in Cuba as Alvarez's most "effervescent creative time" (Mraz, 1990, p.132). It was during this period that Alvarez exemplified *cine-urgente*, when he made a filmic funeral ode to Che Guevara in the 48 hours after Guevara's death, *Hasta la victoria siempre (Ever Forward to Victory)*, 1967, 19 min. compilation). As an interesting reflection on an earlier theme in this dissertation, Mraz quoted Alvarez's thoughts on 'objectivity': "(a) false pretext that is used to fool the people" (cited in Mraz, 1990, p. 132). Ultimately, Burton argued that Latin American social documentarists "innovated and renovated" content and form as well as the modes of production, diffusion and reception of the social documentary (Burton, 1990, p.28). While many of these Latin American innovations and renovations in the social documentary occurred in parallel to similar developments towards participatory video in the west, more direct Latin American influences on participatory video can be observed via the field of development communications.

A major Latin American influence that emerged in the 1960s that is relevant to the emergence of participatory video was the challenge to mass media and its subsequent influence on development communications that was led by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1921-1997). Freire wrote his first book, *Education as the Practice of Freedom*, in 1967, and his most famous book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in 1968 (published in English and Spanish in 1970). The first lesson drawn from Freire was his interrogation around fundamental issues of the learning process. Freire suggested there were two primary models in this regard: (1) learning that is teacher-dependent, i.e. the 'banking' approach where pupils think the teacher holds all the information; and (2) learning that is learner-centred i.e. the problem-posing approach whereby the learner should question 'how' and 'why', and which encourages a self-critical reflection of everyday lives (Odutola, 2003, online). This mode of self-critical reflection soon found expression in filmic terms through participatory video. Third World scholars and activists, led by Freire, challenged the belief that the mass media were the most appropriate communication means in processes of social change.

Clemencia Rodriguez discussed this challenge in the context of a movement from 'Mass Media to Citizens' Media': "Branded with ownership issues, the mass media privilege agendas that have little to do with the well-being of the great majorities of the Third World" (Rodriguez, 2000, p.3). Rodriguez noted that the 1950s/60s period is remembered in the field of development communication as a period of "hopeful fascination" with mass media, which was underpinned by the belief that the mass media could be used to propel 'backward' societies into modernization and the use of new technologies (Rodriguez, 2000, p. 3). As Rodriguez noted, the "unanticipated consequences" of mass media for development ranged "from whole generations of mothers shifting from breastfeeding to baby formula and the ecological devastation brought by the introduction of modern pesticides to the frustrating combination of consumerism and poverty" (Rodriguez, 2000, p. 3). As Freire wrote in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding. . . . We must realize that their view of the world, manifested variously in their action, reflects their *situation* in the world.
(Freire, 1970, pp. 84-85)

Criticisms of mass media, particularly mass media of the West used in other parts of the world, also emanated from within the West itself. For example, the Frankfurt School of Theorists believed that "the content and hegemonic control of mass media irreversibly erode traditional languages and cultures, replacing them with alien social values and an attraction to Western consumer goods" (Ginsburg, 1991, p.97). One of the results of the various challenges to the mass media instigated by Freire in the late 1960s were explorations of other possibilities in the field of development communications, which contributed to a worldwide movement toward the use of citizen's media, including participatory video. Part of the effect of this was that by the late 1960s a general expansion of production to people who were traditionally the subject of films had begun (Ruby, 2000, p.13). Again, this brings us back to the discussion of the power of culture with which I began this section. To add a few closing points on this theme, by the end of the 1960s and the start of the 1970s, the new interrogations that were surfacing about how the conventions of representation are culture-bound and tied up in 'power' raised deeper questions about who controls

the production and the distribution of imagery (Ginsburg, 1991, p.96). This helped catalyse the start of indigenous peoples making their own video products, often facilitated by sympathetic filmmakers, and which was part of a general movement towards developing the decentralisation of media (Ginsburg, 1991, p. 96). This fed into the development of participatory video, which came to be used as a tool in the field of development communication.

3.2.5 *Feminist filmmaking*

Feminist filmmaking emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s and contributed a great deal to the development of participatory and non-hierarchical methods of filmmaking as well as to the use of film as an empowerment tool by its subject-participants. The close relationship between early feminist filmmaking and participatory video is reflected in current participatory video practice – a significant amount of which is dedicated to women’s empowerment. Feminist filmmaking formed part of the general expansion of production to people who were traditionally the subject of films noted by Ruby (2000, p.13). Interestingly, feminist film theorists have also identified the following connections with regards feminist film: a link to cinema vérité; a reaction *against* direct cinema; and a close relationship to the liberation cinema of Third World activists (Lesage 1984; Halpern Martineau 1984). These connections also apply to participatory video as reflected in the historical context of participatory video set out in this chapter. Julia Lesage, a well-known feminist film theorist, identified three features that feminist filmmaking took from cinema vérité: (1) less mastery of medium required; (2) real environments valorised; (3) and film often used in a new way, for example, a collaborative process in which both filmmaker and subject shared the project’s political goals (Lesage, 1984, p.231). As a reaction against direct cinema, participatory video and feminist film shared the development of mutual non-hierarchical relationships between filmmaker and film subjects as opposed to the paradigm of the (American direct cinema) male artist “seizing” the subject and then presenting *his* “creation” (Lesage, 1984, p. 231). The close relationship to the liberation cinema of Third World activists for both feminist film and participatory video is based on the overall aims of each of these modes of filmmaking – that of challenging existing power structures and relationships within

and between societies and catalysing social change (be it on an individual or societal level).

Another shared aspect between feminist film, the liberation cinema of Third World activists, and participatory video is the emphasis on subjects (and their broader communities) as the primary audience targeted through alternative (non-mass) distribution. This in turn is closely tied up with the concept of “use-value.” Halpern Martineau raised important questions that help identify such types of filmmaking (a twist on Sam Yazzie’s question of “Will it help the sheep?” (cited in Worth and Adair, 1997, p.4)): “Whose interests are represented by a given film, and whose interests are served by it?” “Are these interests identical or different?” (Halpern Martineau, 1984, p.255).

Halpern Martineau then supported the contention of Julia Lesage that ‘realism’ as a style “could in fact be used to challenge dominant coding rather than reinforce it” (1984, p. 257). As part of explaining this, Halpern Martineau described liberation cinema, as developed by feminists and third world activists, as invigorating and transforming the use of talking heads in documentaries. Of particular relevance to participatory video is her argument that “the oppressed subject” functions as “a visual symbol of oppression and resistance, and speaking as he does from personal experience, he represents himself, and empowers himself and his colleagues by so giving voice to a perspective which had previously gone unrepresented” (Halpern Martineau, 1984, p. 257). Expanding on this transformed use of ‘talking heads,’ Halpern Martineau described “representing people who represent themselves” as an “empowering device” when set within the context of editorial manipulation that makes the audience aware that “an argument is being constructed” (as opposed to the direct cinema mode of filmmakers such as Wiseman) (1984, p. 263). In discussing ‘talking heads’ in realist feminist documentary, Lesage identified the self-conscious act of telling one’s story as a woman in a politicised yet personal way as “giving the older tool of women’s sub-cultural resistance, conversation, a new social force as a tool for liberation” (1984, p. 237). Lesage also identified a common shortcoming in these types of films that participatory video later tried to address. As she noted, the emphasis on the “experiential” could also be a weakness when a film limited itself to individual stories without offering “political analysis or a sense of collective process

leading to change” (Lesage, 1984, p. 226). A key aspect of participatory video is that a video product is intended to be contextualised within a larger process of action.

Other methods used in feminist filmmaking were of particular relevance to participatory video. In her own feminist film work Halpern Martineau took the mode of ‘talking heads’ a step further to the mode of direct address (by the subject to the camera). Direct address was adopted by participatory video in its early years, and in fact I used it in the Kayamandi participatory video project discussed in this dissertation. Direct address serves as an important device for setting up direct dialogue with the audience, and its use also signals to the audience collaboration with the film subject (Halpern Martineau, 1984, p. 265). Another relevant method employed by feminist filmmakers was for subjects of films to be present at the screenings of films – again, this promoted both dialogue between the film/subjects/filmmaker and its audience as well as a sense of collaboration between subjects and filmmakers: “Because one or more of the women (subjects) are often present when the film is shown, and because I appear in the film, audiences have explicitly commented on the sense of collaboration they feel while watching” (Halpern Martineau, 1984, p. 269). The presence of film subjects at public screenings is a powerful method that I will explore further in the next chapter wherein I discuss its use in a contemporary South African example as well as with the Kayamandi project.

Lastly, in closing this section and this chapter, the emphasis that feminist filmmaking placed on the collaborative relationship between the subject and the filmmaker highlighted the ethical considerations of this relationship in film more broadly. Certainly the collaborative model that feminist filmmakers contributed so much to, with its emphasis on trust and common goals between filmmaker and subject, was one that participatory video embraced.

Chapter 4: Participatory video: The Fogo process and the South African context

As the literature survey of the previous chapter has illustrated, there is a rich history in non-fiction film throughout which the roots of participatory video may be traced. The concerns, the methods, and the objectives were all developing in disparate film practices in dispersed parts of the world. There is broad consensus, however, that there was a definitive moment when the various elements came together and 'participatory video' was born (White, 2003; Crocker, 2003; Satheesh, 2005; Wiesner, 1992; Kennedy, 1989; Lansing, 1989; etc.). This moment occurred when Canada's NFB *Challenge for Change* programme conducted its Fogo Project in the remote Fogo Island off the northeast coast of Newfoundland in 1967. The outcome of this project was to define a filmmaking process and its principles that became known throughout such varied spheres as development communication, visual anthropology, and psychological therapy as the 'Fogo process.' Perhaps the key characteristic of the Fogo process was that it took the idea of 'film as a tool for change' one step further by identifying *process* as more important than *product*. Embedded in that process were the principles of participation, representation, reflexivity, advocacy and empowerment. The original theorising and analyses of the Fogo Project at its time were charged with keen insight and intellectual idealism tempered by grassroots input. By distilling the process out from the project, the practitioners at the time identified basic principles for broad application and not simply a prescriptive recipe for project replication. In the early days of this distillation Challenge for Change representatives came to South Africa to share the Fogo process and helped establish the Community Video Resource Association (CVRA) at the University of Cape Town, which later became the independent, and still current, Community Video Education Trust (CVET). The concepts and ideas around the Fogo process thus had a direct influence on the development of participatory video practices in South Africa from the 1970s onwards.

As the Fogo process was further developed and adapted for different contexts, the original Fogo process as well as broader applications of its principles became grouped together and known as 'participatory video.' Within its ambit, 'participatory

video' may include such practices known as community video¹¹, video advocacy and indigenous media (when participatory techniques are used). Participatory video has been used in different parts of the world for such varied purposes as community development; community organization and mobilisation; advocacy; cultural preservation; conflict resolution; and therapy. For me the Fogo process has been a touchstone for my thinking and practice with the Kayamandi Project. While I will touch on various practices and applications of participatory video drawn from the South African context, my own focus is on the Fogo process as applied to community mobilisation as well as the practice of video advocacy simply because those are the most relevant to the Kayamandi Project.

The content of this chapter will thus be organized in the following way:

1. A consideration of the Challenge for Change programme and the Fogo process that emerged from it;
2. An overview of participatory video developments within the South African context from the earlier period of the 1970s and 1980s through to more contemporary examples.

While the key themes of participation/collaboration, representation/authorship, and reflexivity and reception identified in the previous chapter continue to extend through this introduction to the Fogo process and the South African context, it is in Chapter 6 that I will return specifically to these theoretical areas for a sustained discussion within the context of participatory video. (Note also that participatory video's claims of participation and empowerment in particular are not without some level of controversy and debate, and will be part of the discussion in Chapter 6).

4.1 *The birth of participatory video: Challenge for Change and Fogo process*

... when we look at the history of cinema, we see a number of attempts to move cinema from an auteur's statement to a people's voices . . .
But the real horizontal, community-produced PV came from the initiative of the National Film Board of Canada in a project called Challenge for Change. The Fogo Experiment as it is known today . . . was a huge success and is a landmark in the history of activist cinema.

¹¹ 'Community video' became the term used in South Africa to describe participatory video practices.

(Satheesh, online)

Fogo is not a process, but an attitude or a method based on an attitude. It essentially regards silent people – the silent man, the silent majority, or the silent minorities for that matter – as worthy of the privilege of a voice-expression. (Colin Low, quoted in Memorial Extension Services, 1972, p. 13).

4.1.1 *Challenge for Change*

As is well documented in the relevant literature, the Challenge for Change programme in Canada in the late 1960s was a groundbreaking venture in terms of incorporating citizen participation into filmmaking activities. This was recognised both at the time (National Film Board, 1968; Niemi, 1971; Gwyn, 1972; Harris, 1972; Memorial University, 1972) and has continued to be acknowledged in retrospect (Williamson, 1988; Lansing, 1989; Nichols, 1991; Wiesner, 1992; Barsam, 1992; Barnouw, 1993; Ruby, 2000; Okahashi, 2000 online; Crocker, 2003; White, 2003; Maingard, 2004; Satheesh, 2005 online).

The National Film Board of Canada (NFB) initiated the Challenge for Change programme, supported by various departments and agencies of the federal government, in 1967 (NFB 1968). The NFB itself had been established under John Grierson in 1939, an achievement that Barsam identified as amongst his “most important” in his long career (Barsam, 1992, p. 323). The NFB was initially established to encourage local Canadian filmmaking as an alternative to American production, and to interpret Canada both to Canadians and the outside world during WW2. Grierson then instilled the following guiding principles: filmmakers were to focus on ordinary people; the NFB was to establish a receptive climate for non-fiction film; and the NFB was to establish a distribution network for its films across Canada (Barsam, 1992).

In the 1960s, however, there was a shift in the thinking at the NFB – the people there became convinced that it was no longer sufficient to make films *about* social problems and the poor in Canada, but that films should be *involved* in issues and that the poor should participate in the making of these films (Crocker, 2003). (This type of sentiment had developed within the context of its time as discussed in the previous chapter). Filmmakers working for the NFB thus began experimenting with ‘cinéma direct’ (the Canadian version of cinéma vérité). These experiments began

with a programme called *Faces of Canada*, followed by *Candid Eye*, and then *Challenge for Change* (Barsam, 1992). Of relevance to this discussion was the NFB film *The Things I Cannot Change* (1966), an immediate predecessor to the Fogo Project. This film, made about a poor Montreal family, was intended to show a national audience of Canadians what it meant to be caught in the poverty trap. However, the result of the film was that the family was greatly embarrassed and became the target of local ridicule. The learning gained from this experience was that, “if film were to enable a source of empowerment it would not only have to be *about* the poor but *by* them as well” (Crocker, 2003, p. 125). George Stoney¹², who was very committed to these principles, then became the executive director for the Challenge For Change programme (Ruby, 2000). The Challenge for Change programme was set up to “promote citizen participation in the solution of social problems” (Barnouw, 1993, p. 259) and was based on the idea of applying “audio-visual techniques to the task of facilitating communications in spheres where meaningful exchanges were traditionally at a minimum, notably in areas where poverty and social change were major issues” (Memorial University Extension Services, 1972a, p. 3).

4.1.2 *The Fogo Island Film and Community Development Project*

As described by Williamson (1988), Memorial Extension Services (1972) and the NFB (1968), the Fogo Island Film and Community Development Project was conceived by Colin Low, a well-known documentary filmmaker who had been sent out to Newfoundland by the NFB to investigate making a film there about rural poverty, and Donald Snowden, the Director of the Extension Services of Memorial University of Newfoundland. Together they identified Fogo Island as the location for their joint project. Fogo Island was chosen for various reasons, including its geographical isolation and economic poverty, but more importantly because of its poverty of information and community organization, and its lack of access to decision-making. The island, a 15-mile-long stretch of land off the northeast coast of Newfoundland, contained 5000 inhabitants scattered in 10 small outports (i.e. tiny villages accessible by boat only), isolated from each other physically as well as by religion and mutual suspicion. The fishing industry had gone into a major slump and

¹² Stoney made the well-known documentary, *How the Myth Was Made* (1978), about Robert Flaherty's *Man of Aran*.

60% of the population was on welfare. The national government's plan was to resettle the Fogo islanders onto the mainland. However, the communities on Fogo Island had a 300-year history and did not want to move. Two other critical factors for choosing Fogo for the Challenge for Change project were that (1) there was already the start of community mobilisation to resist resettlement; and (2) there was a community development worker, Fred Earle, well known and established in the area. Thus, in the words of Colin Low, Fogo Island was selected for a Challenge for Change project:

Because Fogo had many problems and because the policy of the government was being formulated, we felt we could play a part in its future. Also because of the work that had been done by Fred Earle and the Extension Service, we felt that the community development process had advanced to a degree where we could effect action. Furthermore, with its ten villages, Fogo Island was complex enough to offer problems in inter-community communication, in microcosm, not unlike the Newfoundland situation.
(NFB, 1968, p. 4)

The overall approach to the Fogo Island Project was defined at the start of the NFB report on the project and within it are captured the early elements of participatory video:

The Fogo Island Project was designed to investigate the reactions of a community when its people and its problems were filmed in depth and the results played back to them for discussion and criticism.
(NFB, 1968, p. 2)

The same report recounts in detail a first-hand account of the pre-production, production, editing and screening process implemented for the project (NFB, 1968). Once the decision was taken to work on Fogo Island, Colin Low went to the island for preliminary research in May 1968, then returned in late June. The film crew joined him only on 1 August, whereupon they filmed steadily for 5 weeks and accumulated over 20 hours of footage. Throughout this period, Fred Earle, the local community development worker employed by Memorial's Extension Services, assisted Low and his crew. A local Fogo Islander, Randy Coffin, was also employed as a member of the film crew to assist in interviewing and selection of subjects. He was also to acquire camera skills so that he could participate in future projects. Low described his approach to getting to know individuals, selecting individuals to

interview, and conducting the interviews. All interviewees were first asked for their permission to be filmed. Low noted various factors that had to be considered by the filmmaker in the context of small closed communities, such as protecting people whose views could damage their local positions, or who could risk losing their jobs if speaking against unethical practices within their community. He emphasised making subjects first feel comfortable, avoiding leading questions, and then stepping back and being a 'good listener':

Your motivation cannot be based only on a desire to get the information on the film. You must be patient, happy to spend time in the company of your subject without filming. Only this generosity of time and genuineness of interest can achieve significant results.
(Colin Low quoted in NFB, 1968, p. 7).

Once the filming was complete, an NFB editor did the editing off the island, with input by Colin Low and Randy Coffin. The most important editing decision they took was to cut the material 'vertically' and not 'horizontally', i.e. each film was based on a personality and not on an issue (with cutting between different voices). This was done both for reasons of time limitations and because the project leaders were aware of the need to highlight personalities so that community leaders could emerge to lead community action. Low also felt that inter-cutting different views on similar topics would risk certain people being labelled 'right' and others 'wrong.' The result was that by late November 1967 they had 23 films with a total length of 5 hours. It should be noted that the films were not finalised at this point – they were left on 2 tracks (image and audio, 16 mm) and not finished off in order to allow editing input from the Fogo Islanders during an extensive screening process.

As documented in the NFB project report (1968), there were 35 different screenings of selected films on the island that were attended by a total audience of 4,500 people. A planning process went into each screening session – importance was attached to the choice and order of films for each screening session as a factor in achieving several goals. Generally they started each session with a "light entertaining" film to set the audience at ease; they then followed this up with two more serious films that focused on a particular issue, allowing for discussion time after each one of these; and finished up the evening with another light film "because such discussion usually caused tension" (NFB, p.9). Interestingly, Low described the

nature of the discussion sessions: “Many times we endured long silences before discussion started, but once it started, everyone got into it” (NFB, p.9). An insight gained by Low in retrospect was that, while the large public screening sessions had been important for reaching the highest number of people and had created the feeling of an ‘event,’ he wrote in the report that the process would have been more effective if it had been supplemented by specialised discussions and screenings to specific interest groups (NFB, p.10).

One of the most innovative screening activities that took place was that once the films had been seen and approved by the communities for screening off the island, a selection of films was shown at Memorial University to high-level government officials, including the national Fisheries Minister. As part of this process several officials, including the Fisheries Minister, agreed to respond to the Fogo Islanders on film. This response was then screened back on the island. The intensive and innovative screening programme that was conducted as part of the Fogo Island Project, together with what was recognized to have emerged as a result of it, defined this project and made it stand apart from any previous film projects.

Emerging out of the screening process described above, various results and observations of the process were made at the time in the NFB report (1968). Firstly, the *reflexive* nature of the process was identified as a critical factor of the Fogo process when it was realised that, when the subjects in the Fogo project saw themselves onscreen, representing themselves and their community, they gained in feelings of self-worth and empowerment. Another observation was the *catalysing* effect that the process had on bringing community issues to the foreground, supporting consensus building, and building community organization and mobilisation both within individual communities and between similar communities.

It was also observed that the camera and the interview situation enabled people to speak their minds openly. This was in respect of various factors. For example, in the Fogo situation, it allowed individuals in small tightly knit communities to voice their personal opinions to the camera (as opposed to their neighbours) freely without the self-censorship that often comes with direct person-to-person engagement in such an environment. It also enabled those *not* in positions of power (i.e. fishermen)

to speak more comfortably, naturally and ultimately more powerfully and on their own terms, to those *in power* (government) through the medium of film or video. Lastly, there was also the 'feedback loop' that spontaneously resulted when the Canadian government officials responded on film back to the Fogo communities. These preliminary observations noted in the NFB's original project report were also commented upon in various other literature of the time:

It was through viewing each other and themselves that an awareness of problems emerged, that lack of organization was realised, that mistakes were recognized and that the Fogo Island community saw itself more objectively than ever before. Constructive discussion followed mass screenings and from these discussions came action. The people of Fogo Island seemed to have grasped a better understanding of themselves and their neighbours and individual communities were able to realize their common problems crystallized through film. Something of an Island community began to emerge.

(Memorial's Extension Service, 1972a, pp. 5-6)

We finally had fishermen talking to cabinet ministers. If you take fishermen to the cabinet, they won't talk about the problems of their lives the way they will among other fishermen. But if you let government people look at films of fishermen talking together, the message comes through.

(NFB official quoted in Gwyn, 1972, p. 6)

Probably the reason that the Fogo Project gained so much attention was that in real, practical terms, there were tangible effects and results attributed to the project and the process it had pioneered. This was assessed and documented by the Memorial Extension Services 5 years after the initial film project. By 1971 the island had not been resettled (and has never been). Instead, a viable economy was already being set in place, assisted by the first successful producers co-operative in Newfoundland, which had established a shipbuilding operation, upgraded the quality of fish being produced on the island, and later developed fish-processing facilities. Able-bodied relief had been reduced by 60%, and limited government assistance had been used to upgrade transport (helping to link the isolated communities to each other) and build a central high school with greater facilities. Integral to all of these tangible developments was the improved community initiative and morale that was clearly evident (Memorial Extension Services, 1972a). Evaluating the role of the film project to all these dramatic developments was difficult, as Colin Low described:

It is impossible to assess our direct effect on events. We did not create the processes, we intensified them. When we arrived Fogo was on the verge of action

in a number of areas as a result of the activities of the Improvement Committee and a community development officer. By communicating the action trends and by exposing the problems, the consensus for action was enlarged and intensified. (Quoted in NFB, 1968, p. 14)

When asked for *his* assessment of the film project on the developments on Fogo Island in 1971, a local parish priest had this to say:

I would say that the film did this. That it has done the work which the politician should have been doing for the last twenty or one hundred years. (Father Desmond McGrath, quoted in Memorial Extension Services, 1972a, p. 8)

Father McGrath's statement on the role of the politician is an interesting reflection on the closing remarks in the NFB project report of 1968. In this the project team recognised the Fogo project as a "unique venture" that had "ramifications of far-reaching significance – both national and international" as a response to the one-way mass media techniques that were failing to cope with specific localised problems and the loss of citizens' voices from the democratic process:

The technology is here . . . Democracy is based on participation and debate. The citizen must be brought back to the agora by the very technology that tends to screen him from the centre of that vital discussion involving his survival and fulfilment on this planet. (NFB, 1968, p. 19)

4.1.3 *The Fogo process*

In 1972 Memorial University of Newfoundland convened a 2-week seminar, *Film, Video-tape and Social Change*, that brought together nearly 100 participants consisting of practitioners of the Fogo process and interested observers from universities, government departments and social agencies. Described as an "unusual and unorthodox film festival", it brought people together to show and share their projects, and to "examine the philosophic basis of the Fogo process" (Gwyn, 1972, p. 2). It is clear from this conference report that the Fogo process had already spread across North America and that different groups from different fields were experimenting with applications of the process and adapting it with greater and lesser degrees of success. Many of the insights that surfaced during that conference remain pertinent today. Before examining some of these points, I have summarised the basic principles of the Fogo process for community mobilisation projects for

which there is general consensus, and which I used as an abbreviated 'checklist' for the design and implementation of the Kayamandi Project.

Basic principles of the Fogo process:

(As applied to community development projects)

- A locally based 'community animator' that has a working history and established relationship with the participant communities is critical.
- Community feedback is an integral part of the film/video-making process (i.e. community input into choices of material and editing).
- Community control of the audio-visual image is a requirement (i.e. community power to control what is included and what is not included in the final film/video product).
- Facilitated community and/or group screenings are integral to the process.
- The purpose(s) of the *process* are multi-layered:
 - To build individual and community self-awareness / self-esteem / and empowerment;
 - To develop communication within communities / between communities / and between marginalized community(s) and decision-makers;
 - To develop intra-community and inter-community consensus;
 - To enable local leaders to emerge;
 - To catalyse community mobilisation for social change.
- The primary purpose of the film/video *product(s)* is to communicate community voice directly to relevant decision-makers.
- A 'feedback loop' between communities and decision-makers, whereby the latter's response to the community feedback is also recorded and played back in communities, is part of the cycle.

As emerged from the *Film, Video-tape and Social Change* conference (Gwyn, 1972), the Fogo process had already been used by that time in the following ways: for community mobilisation in both rural and urban areas in Canada and the United States; for both consensus building processes and for supporting confrontational strategies against local government; for various experiments with community

television; and for individual and group therapy by psychologists. At the conference there was heated debate on whether the process should be used to provoke confrontation or to support a consensus-building approach. While those working in rural or semi-rural areas saw the process as a means of neutralising confrontation, those in urban areas often disagreed, stating that because of the fragmented nature of urban groupings, media bombardment and a more confrontational culture, the need was to “break the apathy by immediate action” (Gwyn, 1972, p. 17). (The two different community groups I worked with on the Kayamandi Project embodied this debate on a confrontational approach (Zone J committee) versus a consensus-building approach (Sinomonde committee)). In terms of the application of the Fogo process to cable TV, it was generally found that it didn’t transfer well as too many of the key elements of the process were lost, for example, product came to dominate process; the viewing experience of sitting home alone in one’s living room instead of being part of a facilitated screening experience elicited a passive response; and general broadcast to a broad audience did not mobilise communities nor effectively communicate community voice to decision makers. There was, however, some success in horizontal learning initiatives that used cable TV as a means of distribution. In fact, many community development workers reported using audiovisual media for adult education; some reported using them as a method to support indigenous languages and cultures; and others reported using them as a training tool:

The people in Deep Bay wanted to organize an improvement committee, but they couldn’t get anyone to stand up and speak. So they asked me to organize a five-night workshop on public speaking, and I brought along VTR. The first night only five people would stand up and say as much as, ‘I’m John Jones from Deep Bay’. I played the tape back – and I think a lot of people were ashamed to see themselves sitting there not saying anything; the reaction was, ‘if he can do it, I can’. At the end of the third night, the last people got up and said their names. On the fifth night, we organized a mock meeting. The person who had taken three nights to say his name was the one who offered to be chairman.
(Stan Kinden, quoted in Gwyn, 1972, p. 10)

The input from those using the Fogo process as a tool in psychological therapy shed particular light on the reflexive aspect (‘mirror effect’) of the process, i.e. the effect on self-image of seeing oneself on screen.

Confronting himself on camera gradually helps a person develop an internal image of himself. . . . Most individuals have difficulty communicating their emotional ‘hang-

ups' but videotaping and the playback evoke a response on the emotional level. The simple device of reflecting an image magnifies the individual's self image. The emotional dilemma induced by the gap between the image on screen and the subjective feeling of the viewers, produces a crisis in which the person attempts to bring the two aspects into harmony, thus increasing his self-knowledge. He cannot remain aloof to himself and he is caught in the conflict between actual conduct and inner fearfulness. Videotaping pinpoints the failure of the individual to recognize his own problems and difficulties. The end result is that he confronts himself . . .the videotape assist them to see themselves as others see them.
(Dr Anthony Marcus, quoted in Gwyn, 1972, p. 34)

A practical example of this effect within the context of community development was described by one of the community development workers at the conference:

Poor people all their lives have talked about things in their living rooms instead of in public. When video came to the Point, they saw their ideas collected and condensed on tape. They found out that other people had been saying the same things. Then others saw the tapes and some of the shyer people became more ready to speak up. I've seen people change overnight, once they've seen themselves on tape: "I didn't realise I was that smart." They develop confidence.
(Gwynne Basen, quoted in Gwyn, 1972, p. 18)

To finish this section on the Fogo process, I will end with a classic example of the process that was used in Alaska, which was introduced at the time by Timothy Kennedy to the 1972 conference (Gwyn, 1972; Kennedy, 1982; Whyte, 1984). One of the first areas where representatives from Memorial Extension Services had shared the Fogo process methodology was in Sky River, Alaska. Timothy Kennedy was the key local person involved there who developed the process within those specific communities. He wrote about the remarkable way that initial low-key videotaping and community discussion processes helped bring up into the local public realm the issue of local children being flown away out of their communities once they reached high school age as there were no high schools for children in Alaska (Kennedy, 1982). The trauma that this phenomenon engendered within these communities had previously been dealt with privately within families.

When it was raised during community meetings as part of the Skyriver Project, the intensity of the response was astounding even to the community itself. Individuals had not known that their feelings on the matter were shared by anyone else. Once it came out in the open, discussions were intense and prolonged, and it quickly emerged as a priority issue.
(Kennedy, 1982, p. 42)

As a result of this startling realisation, the community then chose a local fisherman, William Trader, to speak about the issue on video as a means of communicating

their concerns to government. Trader was recorded, speaking naturally and eloquently, as he mended his fishing nets. He first vetted the tape before it was shown to the broader community as a catalyst for further discussion. Then several members of the community wanted to make some additional points and so were also recorded and included and the tape was then taken to a gathering of State Department of Education officials. The effect of the tape was very powerful. The issue had never been addressed before and the officials from outside these remote communities were not aware that it was a problem. Out of this screening and the processes it set underway, the State Department of Education reversed its position on village boarding schools and announced the decision to start building area high schools. Kennedy noted that the whole process for the community, from identifying the problem to successfully lobbying for social change, had been a cumulatively empowering one, and one which continued to have spin-offs with local community development.

Now, before moving on to describe the Fogo-influenced methodology of the Kayamandi Project in the next chapter, I will end this chapter with an overview of the development of participatory video in the South African context. As will be described, there was a direct link between the developers of the Fogo process in Canada and the initiation of participatory video practices in South Africa.

4.2 *The South African context*

4.2.1 *Historical developments*

Stepping back briefly to give an indication of the film and video environment in South Africa leading up to the first experiments with participatory video in the 1970s and 1980s, one is struck by how undeveloped local filmmaking was in South Africa. The National Government was convinced of the power of audio-visual media, but *not* convinced of their ability to control it. As part of this fear of the audio-visual medium, for example, television was allowed in South Africa only from 1976 (Shepperson and Tomaselli 1997; Canha 2003). In terms of film production, the government wanted to control the representation of South Africa on film within and beyond its borders, and it was also concerned about preserving the archival footage that did exist,

particularly as it related to preserving an audiovisual record of the Afrikaner heritage (a key catalyst for this was the existence of some of the world's earliest newsreel footage that showed, among other things, Paul Kruger at home and in exile (Hees 1991, p. 1)). As part of investigating the possibilities for this, in 1949 a Cabinet decision was made to invite input from John Grierson on the establishment of a South African National Film Board (NFB) as he had already established the successful Canadian NFB (Hees, 1991). In 1954 the Grierson Report was duly submitted; however, it was ultimately rejected in favour of the De Villiers Report (1956) after years of protracted debate, at least partly because Grierson's proposals had been "devised to stimulate a vigorous political forum for the democratic discussion and dissemination of information within the body politic" (Tomaselli, 1989 cited in Hees, 1991, p. 2) rather than to focus on state policy. As recounted by Hees (1991), the South African NFB was established in 1967 and disbanded in 1979. This NFB never attained a level of successful operation due largely to flawed financial principles as well as to deep levels of suspicion from government Opposition and from the fledgling private film industry.

Taryn da Canha's video, *Redefining the Griot: A History of South African Film, Part 1* (2003), provides a comprehensive audiovisual summary and analysis of South African film history. In this, Canha noted that black unrest in the 1950s had begun to gain increasing attention outside of South Africa, helped by such films as *Come Back Africa* (1959) made by American director Lionel Rogisin¹³. As part of an effort to counteract the bad international press it was getting, the Nationalist Government supported a growing number of pro-government propaganda films in the 1960s such as *Anatomy of Apartheid* (1964), produced by the Department of Information (Canha, 2003; Hees, 1991). As *Redefining the Griot* explains, by the 1970s there was a very small but active group of independent documentary filmmakers making films in South Africa. Most of this work supported the anti-apartheid movement and, because of the political situation of the time, working conditions were dangerous and films were shot covertly and then smuggled out of the country for international audiences. For example, *Last Grave at Dimbaza* (1974), made by Nana Mahomo, attracted a large international audience. Interviewed by Canha, Lawrence Dworkin, an activist

¹³ This example was mentioned previously in this dissertation for the participatory methods Rogosin used in scripting and covertly shooting his fictional 'statement' film in South Africa.

filmmaker from that time, described 1976 as a turning point for South Africa – the year of the June uprising in Soweto, an influential time of Steve Biko’s black consciousness movement, and the recent introduction of television. Dworkin also described how aspiring black filmmakers gained experience by working for foreign media teams deployed in South Africa. The screening of *Bara* on SABC in 1978 illustrated the growing resistance to state-controlled media from within its own structures (Canha 2003). *Bara* was intended to show Baragwanath Hospital¹⁴ in a positive light. Instead, the director Kevin Harris (an employee of the SABC) decided to use the film as a mirror to show how the situation of Baragwanath patients reflected the problems of living under apartheid and edited it to serve this purpose. The film as Harris had cut it was not given approval and he was ordered to make edits. Harris then reported to the SABC that he had made the requested edits (without actually making them) and the tape was aired. Within a few minutes into the broadcast the SABC realised the cuts had not been made and stopped the tape – then fired Harris the next day.

It was into this context that Challenge for Change delegates came to South Africa in the late 1970s and met with anti-apartheid community activists and leaders to promote their approach to filmmaking. As recounted by Maingard, this visit “had a significant impact on the development of South African documentary filmmaking” (1998, p. 35) and resulted in Canadian funds being given to initiate the Community Video Resource Association (CVRA) at the University of Cape Town, which later became independent and was re-named Community Video Education Trust (CVET), still in operation today. When it was first initiated under the directorship of Mark Kaplan, CVET focused on training community-based activists so that they could represent themselves and their community’s struggles. When Kaplan was deported to Zimbabwe (because he was perceived as a threat to the state), Liz Fish became the director. She learned on the job and became “the people’s video camera” (quoted in Maingard 1998, p. 35) by making herself available to community groups and activists to film whatever they wanted filmed. Maingard noted that much of this work was never edited into final products and ultimately stored as ‘record footage’ (1998). Later in the 1980s the focus returned to training community activists.

¹⁴ Baragwanath is a large state hospital in Johannesburg serving the residents of the sprawling black township of Soweto.

Parallel initiatives to this were described by Maingard (1998) and included the establishment of the Film and Allied Workers' Organization (FAWO) in the 1980s, which was concerned with providing video training opportunities to workers and members of community-based organizations. Two of its members essentially initiated what is now the Newtown Film and Television School, when they started up a training project in Alexandra Township, training workers identified by COSATU. Also active at the time were the Video News Service (VNS) and Free Filmmakers, both of which also established trainee programmes. As covered by Canha in *Redefining the Griot*, VNS was established in 1985 by filmmakers Tilley, Molete and Dworkin, and operated for 8 years before changing its name to Afravision to reflect a change to more traditional documentary and fiction filmmaking. Nyana Molete described the original purpose of VNS as being to produce and distribute internally for local audiences and to the ANC in exile in order to provide a South African point of view on its own stories, such as worker's struggles, that were not being represented by other media. The VNS founders acknowledged that ideology was a driving force for their oppositional filmmaking and that they were a "propaganda-type unit" for the anti-apartheid movement. (This mode of South African filmmaking followed in the tradition of Soviet agitprop reviewed earlier in this dissertation). Asked retrospectively by Canha whether or not they believed that VNS films had helped to bring about change in South Africa, Tilley replied:

I do think we like to presume that our films helped the whole movement for change. But whether they actually caused change . . . they helped with a lot of other things.
(Tilley, in *Redefining the Griot, Part 1*, 2003)

Dworkin's response was that at that time it had been important for people to see themselves represented on film (as the real lives of black people were not represented in the state-controlled media of the time), and that that representation had been empowering. And Molete's response was that it was "too ambitious to say we helped bring about change." The three different responses indicate the difficulty of assessing the effect of films produced for the purpose of change – a point to which I will return in the next chapter.

Examples of more distinctly participatory video initiatives from that time include those covered by Tomaselli (1985) in his review of progressive film and video in South Africa, and a case study reported by Lazerus and Tomaselli (1989). These examples provide a glimpse of the actual video content from the time:

- *Passing the Message*: This was an experiment in using video as a tool for direct communication between workers from the SA Food and Canning Workers' Union who were on strike in Cape Town, and their families in the Ciskei, and vice versa (Tomaselli, 1985);
- *Afrscope*: This organization focused on using film as an educational tool. Educational activities included 'viewing nights' with community and youth organizations with facilitated discussions around particular films. Afrscope also developed 'media workshops', for which they videotaped the teaching of certain skills (e.g. poster-making), and made the tapes available to interested groups. Afrscope also used video as a training tool in the lead up to the tricameral parliament elections in 1984 by recording role-plays of trainees discouraging people from voting, and then replaying these role-plays for critical assessment (Tomaselli; 1985);
- *Lamontville Unity for Cultural Activities (LAUCA) video project*: This project began with LAUCA requesting that their Cultural Day planned for July 17 1988 be videotaped. This community of 30,000 Zulu speakers supported the UDF (i.e. it was anti-Inkatha) and had a history of political activism. The Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit (CCSU) became involved as 'co-workers' on the project and provided training to several young activists in a severely strained context of political unrest and violence. The Cultural Day was taped and the trainees largely edited the rough cut, after which it was screened to the larger organization for input on the final edit. In the disjointed atmosphere of the time, other screenings of the rough cut took place at a meeting venue as well as in private houses before one of the trainees was brutally murdered (Lazerus and Tomaselli, 1989).

As Tomaselli noted when interviewed by Canha in *Redefining the Griot, Part 1* (date 2003), the introduction of camcorders into South Africa in the tension-filled 1980s "changed everything" in terms of what was possible for audio-visual production in the South African environment. It certainly contributed to the scope of participatory

video activities that were possible in the South African context, where financial resources were a constraint; portable and inconspicuous equipment was an asset; and more accessible technology an advantage.

As is evident from this short list of South African examples, the ways in which video was being used as a tool for social change and as a tool for participatory communication had already become very diverse in terms of approaches and applications by the 1980s. Certainly the terms 'Fogo process' and 'participatory video' could no longer be used interchangeably. In fact, the term used in the South African context in the 1980s to describe participatory work done with video was most often 'community video' (Tomaselli, 1989), a term which rooted it in the grassroots anti-apartheid movement and which indicated its separation from approved, state-controlled production of the time – "Community video is the community speaking to itself" (Tomaselli and Prinsloo, 1990). Maingard offered a detailed definition of the term:

'Community video' refers to video, usually documentary, that represents the perspective of a particular community. The community perspective is defined not only, or necessarily, by the extent of the community's participation in its representation on video but also by the extent to which it is represented in its own ideological terms. It is also video that emerges from and is attached to community struggles that oppose apartheid and seek to redress the imbalance of socio-economic and political power in South Africa. It is concerned with issues that affect groups of people that may be identified as a 'community' rather than with issues that are not commonly experienced and that are individual in nature. Video that is not community-based – engaged in fulfilling the articulated needs of a specific community – is not community video.
(Maingard, 1991, p. 38)

4.2.2 *Contemporary context*

In the broad field of community development today, the term 'participatory' is used so widely and broadly that it threatens to lose all meaning whatsoever. With these thoughts in mind, I include the definition of participatory video that is offered by Shirley White in her recent and comprehensive book, *Participatory Video: Images that Transform and Empower* (2003):

Participatory video as a process is a tool for individual, group, and community development. It can serve as a powerful force for people to see themselves in relation to the community and become conscientized about personal and community needs. It brings about a critical awareness that forms the foundation for creativity

and communication. Thus it has the potential to bring about personal, social political and cultural change. That's what video power is all about. (White, 2003, p. 64)

In terms of this updated definition of 'participatory video', there have been some interesting examples of applying video as a participatory tool for change in contemporary post-apartheid South Africa:

- The *Ghetto Diaries* series undertaken by the South African production company Mail & Guardian TV, was a relatively large-scale video-making project using participatory methods in which people living in the townships were trained to use cameras to tell their own stories. This was part of a broad activist approach to try and bring prevailing but excluded views into the mainstream (Shepperson & Tomaselli 1997);
- Search for Common Ground, a South African non-governmental organization (NGO), conducted a project dedicated to using citizen's media as facilitators of communication among parties in conflict. For example, in Thokosa township, southeast of Johannesburg, two commanders from the ANC and from Inkatha were given 6 months to make a collaborative video on local killings (Rodriguez 2000);
- Media Peace Centre, another South African NGO, undertook a project called Video Dialogues in which communities in conflict engaged in processes of communication and humanizing the other, again as part of a process of conflict resolution (Rodriguez 2000);
- *Facing the Truth: Talking to Youth about AIDS* was a project set up by a researcher from McGill University in Canada, Shannon Walsh. Walsh had initially done a film of her own on AIDS youth activists in Khayelitsha, *Fire and Hope*. She then followed this up with a collaborative research project with the group of activists and a local facilitator. The group wanted to explore some of the "invisible social and political realities around HIV/AIDS in young people's lives" (Walsh, p. 3), by conducting video interviews of students in various schools. The group chose to include a reversal of the norm of white researchers in black communities by including white students at 'white' schools, a process described by Walsh as 'researching up' (i.e. researching above your own social class). The group primarily planned the project through a series of workshops, and then shot the video; Walsh did the editing; the group kept the video to

screen as a tool for their activist work. The process provided insight into the contribution of video ethnography as a tool for collaboration with young people, and as a creative social intervention. It enabled a type of peer education in the field. Ultimately, Walsh suggested the video objects that remained with the group for their own use led towards a version of “*arts-informed social change / research*” (p. 12).

- *Ochre and Water* (2001) is a documentary film directed by Craig Matthew and Joelle Chesselet and can be considered an example of video activism similar to the more (internationally) well known Kayapo project referred to in the next chapter of this dissertation. The filmmakers document the struggle of the Himba people of northern Namibia over a period of 6 years to resist the development of a large hydroelectric dam that will change their way of life. As part of this, the Himba begin to use media activism to represent and advocate on their own behalf.
- *Shamiela's House* (2008) is a recent documentary film by Robyn Rorke that covers very similar subject material to the Kayamandi project. Rorke follows the story of the Eastridge Housing Scheme in Mitchell's Plain (Cape Town) primarily through the narrative of the main character, Shamiela. Rorke brings in aspects of investigative journalism and produces with *Shamiela's House* a very good contemporary South African example of a committed social documentary. In this, she is clearly dedicated to the principle of using video as a tool for change. While *Shamiela's House* won the audience award at the Encounters Documentary Festival (South Africa, 2008), it was also screened in Parliament as part of an initiative to spearhead greater action on the housing delivery (and housing quality) crisis in this country (Levine 2008, Examiner's Report).

One of the most exciting contemporary South African examples of using video as a tool for change has been the innovative *Steps for the Future* documentary film project initiated in 2000. The series producers, Don Edkins (from South Africa) and Iikka Vehkalahti (from Finland), tell the behind-the-scenes story of this worldwide project in their book, *steps by steps* (2008), and Susan Levine from the University of Cape Town authored an Impact Study on the project in 2003. The Steps project consists of a collection of 35 documentaries and short films made by various filmmakers from Southern Africa. Proposals were selected from over 200

submissions from around the sub-continent for films dealing with the subject of living positively with HIV/AIDS. International support teams were organized to assist in developing and producing the various films. The completed films, while being sold to 20 different countries for broadcast, were also distributed to more than 600 organizations across the Southern African region as part of an AIDS-awareness initiative. The tapes were accompanied by a 'facilitator's guide' that assisted with the non-broadcast media advocacy aspect of the distribution.

It was the innovative distribution processes of *Steps* that set it apart as a large-scale exercise in participatory video. In a programme reminiscent of the soviet 'agit-trains' and 'agit-steamers' of old (as well as the more recent African example of mobile cinema units used by Samora Michel in Mozambique to take news to rural areas), distribution included road shows to remote villages as well as urban centres in Southern Africa. Furthermore, these screenings were always hosted by trained facilitators who then lead group discussions following each film(s). Even more unusually, the *characters* from *within* some of these films also participated in these road shows, meeting people and discussing the issues with the audience. This was groundbreaking indeed, particularly because of the taboos and discrimination against making public one's HIV-positive status. The example of the pilot project for the Johannesburg area, conducted in Alexandra Township, is very inspiring. Here the team held screenings in "locations as diverse as police stations, churches, clinics, schools, restaurants, and within the hostels that house the thousands of men and women who come to the township in search of work" (Levine (citing Englehart), 2003a, p. 34). Different films were selected for different audiences and venues.

At the maternity wing of the Alexandra clinic the film *Mother to Child* was used extensively, played for those in the waiting room. This film follows the real-life stories of two young women, Pinkie and Patience, who choose to test their status once they become pregnant (both are HIV positive), tell their partners, and take nevirapine treatment before the birth of their babies. Key to these screenings is that they did not play in isolation – Pinkie and Patience were also present in person at this clinic waiting room – to answer questions, to support the women there, and to provide one-on-one counselling as far as they were able.

A palpable tension fills the waiting room. Everyone waits for the film to reveal whether the virus has been passed on to the babies. Many women in the audience know that they are also HIV positive and that a similar trial lies ahead. Others, too fearful of the result, have refused to be tested. Pinkie and Patience need the film to speak to all these women and there is a definite urgency: some of the women will give birth any day. If they do not know their status, they will not be provided with Nevirapine treatment to be taken at the onset of labour pains. This simple measure will reduce the chances of the virus being passed to their babies in nine out of ten cases. On a normal weekday morning, this is not a case of another educational video screening; it is actually a matter of saving the lives of unborn babies. (Englehart, 2003, p. 77)

The impact of this film's facilitated screenings has been very powerful for all concerned. The clinic sisters state that it has had a profound effect on previously high levels of denial and refusal to test of pregnant mothers (Levine, 2003). The strength of the impact is based on the cumulative effect of the specific distribution design which includes the following: (1) the identification of its target audience of pregnant women; (2) the selection of the maternity waiting room as a screening location – a 'safe space' which enables the film to reach its target audience *at a critical time period* for choosing to act; and (3) ensuring the presence of the film's real-life characters at the screening sessions, which further stimulates an active response to the film and facilitates further practical actions by the viewers.

For me, the example of the work that has been done around the *Steps* films reaffirms both the power and the potential for participatory video in South Africa today. While participatory video examples and approaches have proliferated around the world, some with direct roots to the Fogo process and others not, it seems to me that the methodology of participatory video still remains remarkably under-utilised in the South African context. Here the technology is both accessible and affordable to the great majority of organizations working in community development, not to mention to government departments. While lack of electricity remains a challenge in many rural villages in the former homeland areas, it is not an insurmountable one.

The small company that I had with a partner based in the Matatiele area of the Eastern Cape for 10 years used video quite extensively as part of our capacity-building work for rural water-supply and sanitation projects. Our video equipment consisted simply of a domestic-level camcorder and a car battery-operated TV/VCR unit that were regularly taken out to very isolated communities and operated

competently by our locally employed and trained field workers. We used video role-play exercises primarily for practising meeting skills and community report-back sessions when we first started out. While I had very little knowledge of the theory of participatory video at that time, in retrospect it is interesting to note how powerful those exercises were, and how the aspect of 'self-reflection', or seeing oneself on screen, was not just entertaining and educational, but also empowering and motivating for participants.

Later we produced a training video in which we tried to incorporate participation on a variety of levels. The video itself consisted of the community-based chairpersons of 3 different types of rural water supply projects sharing their experiences and knowledge based on the three different phases of a project, i.e. planning, construction, and operation and maintenance. The final segment of the video then consisted of bringing these three spokespersons together and filming a facilitated group discussion with them on common problems and challenges that they had faced and dealt with in their communities. The completed video was accompanied by a lesson plan and group discussion points for facilitators to use when working with communities on new water supply projects. This video process and product worked well on several different levels. For the video participants themselves the process was an empowering experience that allowed them to speak knowledgeably from their own experience and then to engage and share with other people involved in similar work and facing similar challenges. For the project communities the video clearly showed how impressive were their achievements and provided motivation for continued commitment and responsibility at the three participant projects. For community audiences at new projects the video worked well as a training tool. It showed people, places and problems that they could relate to and with which they could identify and recognize. Ultimately, however, the lifespan of this particular video was limited as a result of dramatic changes in the implementation of community water-supply projects and the government's move away from the community management model that the video illustrated and supported.

Within this context of South African participatory video practice, including historical and contemporary practice as well as my own early experiences, the following

chapter provides an account of the Kayamandi Participatory Video Project of this dissertation.

Chapter 5: Kayamandi Participatory Video Project

As I gained experience in a wider range of research situations, I found myself gradually abandoning the idea that there must be a strict separation between scientific research and action projects.

(Whyte, 1984, pp. 19-20)

It is now recognized that it is important to understand not only the film or photograph but the maker, the conditions of production, and the conditions of consumption if the construction of meaning is to be comprehended.

(Ruby, 2000, p. 68)

5.1 *Context of the video project within the dissertation*

The Kayamandi Participatory Video Project is an ongoing process occurring within the dynamic, complex, interacting contexts of the local Kayamandi political situation, local social development processes, national housing policy, and participatory video advocacy. As an introduction to this chapter, it seems an appropriate moment to contextualise the Kayamandi Project within this dissertation by means of a brief chapter review. Chapter 1 introduced the concept of participatory video, the content of the dissertation, and introduced the video project. Chapter 2 identified key subject areas that this participatory video project had to take into consideration: the Kayamandi area and its community(s); Habitat for Humanity International; and relevant housing policy. This early chapter also included an assessment of the potential and applicability of a participatory video project in Kayamandi on the issue of housing. Chapter 3 then took a step back to look at the history of non-fiction film and video as it contributed to the emergence of participatory video: the use of film/video as a tool for change (including within the specific context of slum housing); and the development of ideas and practices around participation. Chapter 4 followed by going into some detail on the birth of participatory video and the development of the Fogo process through the Challenge for Change programme because the Fogo process underpins the Kayamandi project. Chapter 4 then continued to provide an overview of participatory video developments in South Africa from the 1970s to the present in order to contextualise the implementation of this dissertation's participatory video project.

Situated within all of this is the Kayamandi Participatory Video Project – this chapter, Chapter 5, first sets out the planned methodology of the project and notes specific

influences from a variety of sources that influenced or underlay the methodology and project design. The challenges of actual project implementation then follow. While this chapter is more self-reflexive and personalised generally because of the nature of the content, I made a conscious decision to write the account of project implementation in a diary-style that embraces these characteristics fully. While I preface the section on implementation with a detailed explanation for this choice, suffice it to say here that this was done as a response in the literature to a noted lack of information and even a lack of transparency with regards the 'background' details of how these types of collaborations develop and unfold. An important supplement to this chapter is Appendix 1: Activity Diary, which provides a chronological listing of events and activities that either influenced or were part of the Kayamandi project, as well as more detail on certain project activities than is contained within this chapter under implementation.

Proceeding from this, Chapter 6 offers a focused discussion on various key theoretical issues arising from participatory video that run throughout this dissertation. While these themes were developed primarily in Chapter 3 through the examination of the influences that led to the emergence of participatory video, Chapter 6 looks at these themes from within the context of participatory video practice and integrates a reflection and analysis of the Kayamandi project within this. Lastly, the dissertation closes with a short chapter on conclusions and recommendations in Chapter 7.

5.2 Background to the methodology

Video has the potential to retrieve the experiences and reflect back the voices of under-represented people. It can provide an accessible record of testimony, discussions and activities. Groups and individual participants can use these audio-visual records to discuss and reorganize their opinions and concerns, and they can re-record and add information. When they are satisfied that they have represented what they want to say and show, they can take their information and re-present it to others. Video tapes can act as a conduit for communication between grass-roots communities and those whom under-represented groups would not normally be able to address.

(Braden, 1998, p. 13)

Before starting this video project, I had had an introduction to participatory video many years ago through a photocopied essay handed to me by a Canadian friend when I first came to South Africa in 1995. It was an account of the original Fogo project and it made a big impression on me. That essay, lost in the passage of time, prompted me to later purchase a small book by Su Braden, *Video for Development: A Casebook from Vietnam* (1998), a seminal account of a participatory video project conducted under the auspices of Oxfam. Braden's work in Vietnam was strongly influenced by the Fogo process. Thus from the outset of this dissertation, my conceptual framework for the Kayamandi Participatory Video Project was very much based on the Fogo process and I kept finding myself coming back to the basics established almost 40 years ago on Fogo Island. Having grown up on the east coast of Canada myself, this process, developed in that part of the world, resonated deeply for me. The Kayamandi project, at its most basic, was thus conceived as one that would assist a community-based committee develop a 'video letter' to the Stellenbosch Municipality, raising concerns and providing input related to housing development from the perspective of those living in the informal settlement area of the town. I also had hopes that it would be an iterative process in the sense that the Municipality would agree to respond to the initial video letter on tape for playback in the community. In general, I planned a fairly classic process for a participatory video project based upon establishing a community editing committee that would direct the content and editing of the video letter. I envisioned my role in the Kayamandi community to be one of 'social animator' (Kennedy, 1982) in which I would introduce the idea for the project to community stakeholders, provide the technical skills and equipment required, and assist in liaising with local government and obtaining their buy-in. My role of social animator was to be contained within the broader framework of participatory action research conducted for the purpose of my dissertation – which was, in a nutshell, to test the claims set out in the quotation above, i.e. I wanted to see how appropriate and how effective participatory video techniques based on the Fogo process would be in assisting marginalized groups in South Africa, such as shack-dwellers in Kayamandi, to advocate for themselves to local government decision-makers.

5.3 *Project methodology*

The following steps and methods set out below are those that I *planned* in the early phases of initiating and designing the project:

- i. Initial liason and research
- ii. Establish working relationship with Community Editing Committee (CEC)
- iii. Involve the broader community
- iv. Identify key issues to be addressed / identify interviewees
- v. Video recording: First round of interviews and site visits
- vi. Screen rushes for participant feedback
- vii. First edit
- viii. Screen rough cut for participant feedback
- ix. Additional video and sound recording as required / final cut
- x. Approval screening
- xi. Community screening
- xii. Municipality screening and videotaped response
- xiii. Community report-back sessions

Within this I include references to methodologies and approaches gained from my literature survey that influenced this project design. (Note that a description of what *actually* happened during project implementation follows).

- i. **Initial liaison and research:** This initial phase was to include several aspects. I needed to identify an appropriate community-based group to approach and to then present to them the concept of a participatory video project. Out of this, I needed to end up with a group that would commit itself to actively working on the project. I also needed to introduce the concept to Stellenbosch Municipality to get their buy-in and commitment to both viewing the video letter and, ideally, responding to it. In order to achieve these objectives, I needed to identify appropriate 'gatekeepers' to both the Kayamandi community and the Stellenbosch Municipality who would be able to facilitate my entry into each entity (Whyte, 1984).

As part of this initial phase I envisioned making visits to the Kayamandi area as part of a limited process of 'participant observation,' a term and a technique borrowed from social researchers, in order to better familiarize myself with the people, place and social and political dynamics. As reviewed previously in this dissertation, visual anthropologists and ethnographic filmmakers credit documentary filmmaker Robert Flaherty as the "unconscious originator" of 'participant observation' (Feld, 2003 p. 12). Feld describes Flaherty's film *Nanook* as showing "familiarity that accrues from observation with sense of contact and spontaneity that comes from rapport and participation" (Feld, 2003, p. 12).

With regards the Kayamandi project, while I had spent 6 months living in a rural Xhosa village in the former Transkei (and a further 9 years working in rural communities), I was aware that I was not particularly familiar with peri-urban Xhosa township culture, and that I had limited knowledge of Kayamandi itself. While I was unable to immerse myself in a process of full-time participant observation in Kayamandi, I believed I would be able to usefully apply the technique of participant observation on a limited basis in order to better inform the intended video process and product (Whyte, 1984). Associated with this, I was also aware of the importance of language – I spoke neither the Xhosa of the Kayamandi community nor the Afrikaans of the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking Municipality. In order to mediate this gap to some degree, I planned to undertake some formal language training in Xhosa. I was also aware of my very limited knowledge around housing issues and South African housing policy, particularly within a peri-urban informal housing context and planned to address these gaps by including these topics as part of my literature survey.

- ii. **Establish working relationship with Community Editing Committee (CEC):** Once I had identified an appropriate community group with whom to work, I planned to structure our process for working together in such a way that my role would be along the lines of a 'social animator' and not one of 'liberal advocate' or 'power broker' (Kennedy, 1982). In his article "Beyond Advocacy: A Facilitative Approach to Public Participation" (1982) Timothy Kennedy identified important distinctions between these different types of 'change agent roles' that can be

played by outsiders in marginalized communities and this greatly informed my thinking on this facet of the project.¹⁵ In this article Kennedy described the ‘power broker’ as an outdated model based on the colonial approach whereby the outsider held power over a local community and, as part of this, had absolute control over the information flow into and out of that community. More interesting and challenging was Kennedy’s critique of the seemingly more progressive ‘liberal advocate’ model, where a concerned outsider individual or organization, such as a non-governmental organization (NGO), becomes a ‘spokesperson’ on behalf of a community and its interests. In questioning this model, Kennedy stated that “the major frustration of poor people is not that they do not have enough programs or that no one cares about them, but that they have no control over decisions affecting their lives” (1982, p. 35). Here Kennedy identified an inherent weakness in the act of advocating on behalf of another, suggesting that it leaves unchanged the underlying dynamic of community dependency upon external representation such that the “fundamental structural issue of transfer of power and decision-making to the poor gets lost in the shuffle” (1982, p. 36). He then suggested that the poor lose out further when advocacy is done on behalf of a community by an outsider:

Advocates frequently act as a buffer between community members and decision-makers. In so doing they unwittingly protect officials from being directly accountable to constituents, thus making it easier for them to ignore the consequences of their actions.
(Kennedy, 1982, p. 36)

Kennedy’s own epiphany of sorts on this subject was to reframe the way he understood ‘change’, as well as to draw distinctions between product and process and their relative importance – concepts that also became pivotal to my own understanding of both community development and participatory video work:

I began to see change as an ongoing process rather than as a product of a particular program or policy. I also began to see the successful resolution of particular problems or issues only as a means to the more important end of attaining long-term behavioural changes within the community.

¹⁵ Kennedy was the self-named ‘social animator’ for the successful Sky River Project discussed previously in this dissertation.

(Kennedy, 1982, p. 37)

From this, Kennedy described his own process of developing a ‘facilitative approach.’ In this he acknowledged the influence of the Fogo Island project and how he applied it to his own work in Alaska as part of the Sky River Project. In terms of assisting me to clarify my own role in Kayamandi, several of Kennedy’s insights were of particular relevance. In keeping with the theme of change and process, he stated that, “Unlike advocacy, facilitation focuses on the process of change, on organizing and mobilizing the competencies of citizens, instead of resolution of an issue as an end in and of itself” (1982, p. 46). For me, this offered validation in terms of initiating a project without a specific predetermined outcomes-based agenda beyond mobilising community voice on the issue of housing.

Kennedy also provided useful guidance by clarifying the role of a social animator as that of a *resource person* that enables a target community to express itself and its own agendas, as well as bolstering community self-confidence by focusing on *their* competencies. As with the Fogo process, Kennedy emphasized community control at all phases to encourage the development of a sense of collective power, but developed this further by acknowledging the need of sensitive use of film or video in order to compensate for the “inequities of social and economic status, and cultural differences” that exist between an external facilitator and a marginalized community (1982, p. 46). Finally on this topic, Kennedy’s model also specified that a facilitative approach allowed for formal leaders at local community level not to be ignored or circumvented, while at the same time allowed for using the input of specialised expertise from “researchers, technicians, advocates, and professionals without them ‘driving the system’” (1982, p. 46). This model assisted me to envision a process in which professional input could be used to complement, and not undermine, a community-driven process.

- iii. **Involve the broader community:** As Kayamandi is itself a large and relatively fractured peri-urban community, I had decided to align myself first with a community organization that in turn could call an open meeting and introduce the

participatory video project to the broader community. I believed that a group's ability to organize such a meeting would be an indicator of its relative position and representivity within Kayamandi. Beyond that, it was fundamental to the goals of the project that the participatory video project should be about community voice, and not simply the voice of a particular small group and thus community awareness and broad-based support would be critical before moving forward.

- iv. **Identify key issues to be addressed / identify interviewees:** Once general community support for the project was established, the next task I envisioned with the CEC was to assist them to identify key issues related to the current housing situation in Kayamandi and to elicit 'local theories' (Max Elden (1979) cited in Whyte, 1984, p.171) on why certain problems existed. Operating from the position of supporting long-term community development, mobilization and improved self-confidence, it would be vital to initiate not just a list of complaints but thoughtful local analysis of why such problems existed in Kayamandi. At this stage I also wanted to be able to fulfil my role as a useful resource person by being able to provide relevant information related to housing rights and the responsibilities of local government. Once key issues were identified and consensus reached on the priorities, the CEC would need to identify appropriate people to be interviewed and relevant sites to be visited and recorded.

- v. **Video recording: First round of interviews and site visits:** Based on the input of the CEC, I anticipated a first round of videotaped interviews with pre-selected individuals who would represent a range of people living in Kayamandi. Because of the size and complexity of Kayamandi, I did not expect a single spokesperson to be identified to represent the community's case(s) to the Municipality (as has sometimes been the choice with Fogo process projects). I planned for the criteria for this selection of interviewees to be discussed with the committee and confirmed at the community meeting. As part of these interviews, I wanted interviewees to also 'show' (on videotape) that which related to their concerns about living in informal housing, for example, take us to the water and sanitation facilities that they used. I planned to give this input as part of my role as a technical resource person, believing that a combination of 'talking heads'

with relevant cutaway shots would be the most effective use of video targeted at the local Municipality. I also believed that the telling of personal stories by interviewees set in their own homes in the informal settlement area would be the most effective basis of the planned 'video letter'. This was in line with past participatory video practice along the lines of the Fogo process, which emphasized direct address by community representatives speaking from within the physical context of their own environment.

I did have an ongoing dilemma about whether or not to do the technical aspects of shooting myself, or whether I should be training someone from Kayamandi to do the camera work. In terms of this, I felt constrained both by time and by finances, i.e. doing the technical work myself was the most effective choice in terms of time and cost. However, I needed to find a position on this that I felt was ethically sound in terms of participatory video practice. While admittedly looking for evidence to support my preferred choice, I found much to support this option. Adair and Worth's Navajo Project (1966) was the first experiment in 'handing over the camera,' as described briefly in Section 3.2.1 of this dissertation. While this initial experiment opened up enquiry into collaboration and authorship and helped bring 'handing over the camera' into vogue, various critiques on this have emerged over the years. For myself, I came to the conclusion that simply handing over a camera does not necessarily add value to a participatory video project such as the Kayamandi project, where video is being used primarily as a tool to communicate community voice to decision-makers (even with an emphasis on the process of developing that communication). In this, Kennedy's observation that a facilitative approach allows for specialized input while maintaining community control is relevant (1984). While amateur footage and editing may be perfectly acceptable and useful for catalysing intra-community dialogue (as well as a whole range of other activities), it is less effective in communicating to time-pressed external decision-makers¹⁶. I found further support for this from Julia Lesage, who commented:

. . . giving a camera to "the people" does not necessarily ensure that underrepresented groups of women would be accurately and effectively depicted

¹⁶ My own technical input could probably best be described as *artisanal* (a term used by both Lesage 1990 and Waugh 1984) – a level between that of amateur and professional.

. . . For that, not only are adequate expressive means required, but also a political analysis and an analysis of dominant media forms. Otherwise, “Homemade” media replicates the most common forms that people know, such as the educational documentary with its patriarchal, controlling, voice-over narration.
(Lesage, 1990, p. 342)

Terence Turner, an indigenous media activist, has identified another issue that emerges with the practice of handing over the camera, that of the outsider **not** escaping “the invidious implications and responsibilities of ‘intervention’ simply through handing over the camera to ‘them’” (1992, p. 7). Turner identifies the “touchy question” of who exactly to turn the camera over to and the potential consequences of that action in terms of how it can begin “to ‘mediate’ a variety of social and political relationships within the indigenous community in a way that has no exact parallel when the video maker is an outsider” (Turner, 1992, p. 7). As will become clearer in the following account of project implementation, Kayamandi is politically volatile and divided, and in retrospect I was relieved to have worked with an apolitical community development group that was able to use me as a technical resource. This arrangement helped ensure that the video project did not contribute to community tension by becoming aligned with one or another faction, and instead helped to build upon community consensus. Lastly on this point, the long-term experience with handing-over-the-camera projects in a variety of settings has shown that there is a real danger that once such projects reach their end, and the subject-participants no longer have access to cameras and editing facilities, the disappointment and disillusionment that result can offset any positive effects from the initial excitement of ‘making movies’ (Ruby, 2000, p. 212). As I had no means to provide a locally trained person with long-term involvement in video, trying to hand over the camera seemed increasingly like an attempt at a sort of ‘window-dressing’ and not something that would provide added value to the objectives of the project.

In terms of actually conducting the interviews, I planned to work with a committee representative. I envisioned developing a simple format on the process to be followed with interviewees as well as a basic list of open-ended questions, which would be checked and revised as necessary with the editing committee before commencing. Regarding interviewing methodologies, Manjira

Datta, an Indian documentary filmmaker about whom I had co-directed a documentary video when I was at film school,¹⁷ influenced me. In *A Portrait of Manjira* (1993), Datta spoke at length about her research and production processes, including how she worked with her subjects and conducted her interviews. Datta's films had impressed me in many ways (her work is very beautiful and evocative), and her interviews have a real sense of intimacy and personal warmth. She ascribed this to spending a great deal of time in her subject communities, respecting local customs and formalities, developing relationships with her subjects, and doing preliminary interviews with subjects with only a tape recorder by herself before going back to do filmed interviews with the assistance of a cameraperson (and occasionally also a sound recordist). As Colin Louw had described with regards his work with the Fogo Islanders – that it was “generosity of time and genuineness of interest” that was required to achieve significant results with interviews (NFB, 1968, p. 7) – Datta also immersed herself in real conversations with her interviewees.

This ability to make people feel comfortable and open in front of the camera was something I wanted to strive towards both as a filmmaker as well as a ‘social animator.’ While I did not expect to have the luxury of conducting pre-interviews, I was very conscious of creating an informal, conversational atmosphere for the interviews. Several points raised by Whyte (1984) on interviewing strategies and tactics for social research also helped to inform my interviewing process. For example, he described ‘nondirective’ interviewing, a type of interviewing where standard order and wording of questions are not adhered to, as something of a ‘misnomer’ in the sense that a good research interview **is** structured in terms of the research problem, for example, in this case developing community voice on housing issues including a way forward. Whyte also gave a good overview of very basic tips: listen more than talk; listen with interest and sympathy; occasionally reflect back to ensure your own understanding; avoid giving advice or passing moral judgements; don't interrupt accidentally; probe for reports of experience; get feedback on who else should be interviewed; interview a range

¹⁷ Concordia University, Montreal, 1992-1994

of community representatives; and interview people in their natural settings (Whyte, 1984, p. 109).

I was also interested in providing space for a strong voice from women to emerge and, based on personal experience as well as the basics of feminist film theory, believed that my presence as a woman would enable female interviewees to feel more comfortable and speak more freely on a personal level about such issues as the conditions of running a household and raising children within an informal settlement.

- vi) **Screen rushes for participant feedback:** Once the preliminary round of interviews and additional footage was shot, I planned to screen all the uncut footage that had been shot (i.e. 'rushes') for the participants¹⁸ in order to get their input into what should be included and emphasized, and what should be excluded in the edited version. This initial screening would also be part of the broader process of catalyzing discussion, analysis and consensus-building. While facilitated screenings are key components to participatory video, it is also accepted practice, though less common, amongst some visual anthropologists and ethnographic filmmakers engaged in 'reflexive anthropology'.

In the case of 'rushes,' this type of screening is generally not appropriate for an external audience, but it is valuable as part of developing the 'feedback process' of a project with its participants, including in some cases the broader community. This technique has been used since Flaherty when he screened rushes, developed on-site, for *Nanook* with participants; it was further developed by Rouch in a variety of directions; and has since been adapted for participatory video by practitioners such as Kennedy and Braden. Seeing footage in its entirety at this early stage assists participants to clarify and refine their ideas and the representations that they wish to put forward to other audiences and can be described as a form of 'film elicitation' (Liebenburg, 2005). Being privy to the behind-the-scenes process of making an audio-visual communication has also been considered a method of 'empowerment' (Chalfen, 1997). This seemed

¹⁸ "Participants" refers to both the members of the editing committee as well as the people who had been interviewed on tape.

particularly apt for peri-urban residents in current-day South Africa, who are bombarded with audio-visual messages in their daily life.

- vii) **First edit:** With the first edit (rough cut), I planned to start structuring the material into a form that would work as a 'video letter' to the Municipality. I was conscious of Colin Low's concern from the Fogo project that different personalities should not be set against each other in a way that encouraged comparisons of 'right', 'less right' and 'wrong', but wanted to use various people's inputs to build a strong and supported community argument to the Municipality.

- vi. **Screen rough cut for participant feedback:** Very similar to the first screening of the rushes in format and purpose, I planned to screen the rough cut to participants to check that they felt that their messages and issues were coming through as they wanted. This would assist in stimulating further debate as well as identifying any gaps.

- vii. **Additional video and sound recording as required / Final cut:** Based on input by the participants, I planned for an additional period of shooting to cover any gaps and then to put together a final cut of the video letter.

- viii. **Approval screening:** In keeping with accepted participatory video practice, it was important to plan for a final screening for participant approval before taking the video product beyond the confines of the group itself. Ensuring participant control over their own images and representations is integral to the participatory video process (Memorial University Extension Services, 1972a; Gwyn, 1972; Williamson, 1988; Kennedy, 1982, 1989; Lansing, 1989; Wiesner, 1992; Elder, 1995; Braden, 1998, 2003; Garthwaite, 2000; White, 2003; Crocker, 2003; etc.). As participants would be quite familiar with the material by this stage, I did not expect any major changes to be required, but rather that this screening would act primarily to formalize participant control.

- ix. **Community Screening(s):** A key activity in the overall process would be to take the video to the broader community for feedback and approval before taking it to the Municipality. Ideally the facilitated screening(s) for the community would

work to stimulate debate and consensus-building in terms of addressing community voice on housing to the local Municipality. The importance of public screening spaces and process is emphasized in the literature on participatory video (Memorial University Extension Services, 1972a; Gwyn, 1972; Ryan, 1985; Williamson, 1988; Kennedy, 1982, 1989; Stuart, 1989; Tomaselli & Prinsloo, 1990; Wiesner, 1992; Elder, 1995; Braden, 1998, 2003; White, 2003; Crocker, 2003; etc.) as well as from in related literature from development communications / (indigenous) media for change / visual anthropology: (Rodriguez, 2004; Magallanes-Blanco, 2005; Asch, 1993; Aufderheide, 1995; Levine, 2003a, 2003b; Englehart, 2003). I will return to this discussion in more detail in the following chapter as part of the discussion on reception.

Because of the size and complexity of Kayamandi, I spent some time considering the most effective mechanism for implementing public screening. I had practical concerns around the logistics, costs and potential for politicised conflict of large-scale screenings. Thus my original plan was to rent a community venue and have the video playing at regular intervals so that people could come in as they were able throughout the course of a day. I planned to be there myself for the duration, accompanied to the extent possible by various members of the committee and/or participants in the actual video. I wanted to incorporate a period of facilitated audience discussion after each screening and to make a space that allowed for informal discussion to occur after that on a more individual level between interested viewers and myself and/or other project participants. I also envisioned having very short evaluation questionnaires for all audience members to fill in (with assistance as required), supplemented with more detailed interviews with selected individuals to try and get a measure of impact and response at community reception level. The Steps for the Future programme and its innovative distribution methods of including video characters during screenings made me aware of how powerful a method this could be (Levine, 2003a, 2003b; Englehart, 2003). I wanted to ensure that the onscreen characters were available during the screenings to help maximise the impact of the screening sessions.

- x. **Municipality screening and videotaped response:** As stated previously, the classic Fogo process is one in which a video product is produced out of a community-driven video process to convey community voice direct to decision-makers. While I understood this as a key component for the type of participatory video advocacy process I was hoping to facilitate, I was frankly uncertain as to how viable this would be in the South African context. In terms of this step in the process – the Municipality screening and the videotaped response – I was concerned about how open the local Municipality would be to viewing the ‘video letter’ in the first place, and particularly whether or not the local Municipality would agree to respond back to the community on tape. Beyond the implementation of these practical process steps, I was also uncertain as to what, if any, actions might be catalysed from within the Municipality as a result; even if the step-by-step process was carried out, would it ultimately effect any real change? Establishing this essential link between the community and decision-makers thus raised many questions for me, and seemed to present a decisive point for assessing the potential and applicability of participatory video advocacy in the South African context. Thus at this juncture of the planning stage I gave considerable thought to the assumptions that underlie the Fogo process.

It seemed to me that in order for a Fogo process to have the potential to effect change, it required the target audience of decision-makers to have (1) the *political will* to engage with marginalized communities; and (2) the *capacity and resources* (human, technical, and financial) to respond. These criteria existed with the early success stories in North America such as Challenge for Change and Sky River where relevant government decision-makers were both genuinely committed to serving their constituents, including minority groups, and where the capacity and resources existed to respond effectively and to implement change. However, even in the United States there were questions raised about the usefulness of the Fogo process beyond the specific borders of rural Canada (the Sky River project in Alaska was considered to be an exceptional case). Peter Wiesner documented and elaborated on some of these concerns in his examination of the “Canadian experiments with film and video in community development” (1992, p. 65). For example, he noted Ann Michaels’s description of “crazy idealistic Canadians” who understood neither the confrontational style

of American politics nor “the extent of the distrust of government at grassroots level” and her assessment that it was impossible to replicate the Fogo process as part of her Office of Economic Opportunity projects in the United States (Wiesner, 1992, p. 88). Wiesner also referred to the critique raised by George Stoney after Stoney had moved from heading up Challenge for Change in Canada to the Alternate Media Centre in New York. There Stoney had also found it “impossible to replicate the Fogo process in the United States” (Wiesner, 1992, p. 88). Stoney underscored the confrontational nature of American politics as a limiting factor and also noted a higher quality of civil service in Canada, and officials who “really mean it when they say they want to hear from the poor . . . and don’t take criticism of their programs personally” (Stoney cited in Wiesner, 1992, p. 89). Wiesner then went on to question the feasibility of utilising the Fogo process in the developing world:

The process worked in Canada because government was willing, at least to some extent, to risk social and political instability and unrest to bring about social change. However, given the political instability of many developing countries, one may wonder whether the Fogo process is a uniquely Canadian solution inappropriate for Third World community-development problems. (1992, p. 93).

The preceding critiques raise questions to be asked of the post-apartheid South African context. To what degree are politics here based on confrontation versus consensus-building? What is the level of grassroots (dis)trust of government? Does the civil service in South Africa really want to hear from the poor and, if so, is it open to constructive criticism? Is South African society stable enough for government to risk open debate and engagement in order to bring about change? Taking these questions into consideration, the next query for me was: how can the Fogo process be effectively applied and adapted in the post-apartheid South African context?¹⁹ Within the African context, Su Braden’s recent participatory video work in Malawi and Sierra Leone has confirmed the viability of the Fogo process on this continent (2003, 2004). Her experience has been that video is particularly useful in two key areas: (1) Alliance building and advocacy; and (2) people-to-people learning (2004, p. 8). The process she

¹⁹ While the previous section of this chapter set out a history of participatory video in South Africa, the use of participatory video *advocacy* along the lines of the Fogo process is not well established here.

facilitates and teaches for alliance building and advocacy is based on the Fogo process and is what is relevant to the concerns of this dissertation. Her emphasis on alliance building is a useful enhancement of the process within the African context where mobilising large numbers of marginalized and resource-poor people to put pressure on the state may be a prerequisite for such groups to gain the attention of decision-makers. Kennedy (1989) also noted the power of alliances, suggesting the potential for building alliances with decision-makers who are supportive but not able to help directly, for example, aligning with local government to influence national decision-makers, or vice versa as the case may be.

Currently in South Africa there is pronounced civil unrest around poor housing and service delivery. As I write today, community demonstrators from the Joe Slovo informal settlement are blockading the national highway that is used to connect Stellenbosch and Cape Town (N2), in protest over lack of delivery of houses and services. The protestors have been stoning cars and the police have already retaliated with rubber bullets ('567 Radio', 10 September 2007). Community protestors have taken to the streets because of both poor delivery and because they feel their voices are not being heard or taken seriously by government. Protest and demonstration have a long history in South Africa. While this type of confrontational-style politics would raise concerns amongst many 'First World' advocates of the Fogo process, Clemencia Rodriguez, a practitioner from, and practising in, the Third World argues for the usefulness of participatory video or 'citizen's media' specifically *in* situations of conflict (2000). Rodriguez's work is situated within the rich history of cinema for change in Latin America (reviewed in section 3.2.4), which offers a relevant opportunity for South-to-South learning. The role participatory video has to play in conflict resolution is discussed in more detail in the following chapter under section 6.3.

- xi. **Community report-back sessions:** These open public sessions were ideally to be organized around screenings of the Municipality's videotaped response to the community's video letter (assuming the Municipality agreed to respond and to have their response videotaped). Facilitation by an appropriate individual or group was envisioned as critical in order to ensure that an *ongoing process* of

engagement and action be set in place. The key points to highlight here are that (1) this ongoing process that a video tape is intended to catalyse is what serves the overall purpose of a participatory video advocacy project, and this goal should not be lost sight of in the excitement of producing a video; and (2) in order to ensure this ongoing process, there must be an entrenched and long-term social facilitator and/or community organization that has been involved and will stay involved to carry this forward. The first point reflects one of the earliest critiques that emerged on the use of video for social change, which was based on the concern that video was being embraced as a panacea for solving social ills in and of itself:

One of the sad things I have seen in Canada, as video became more and more common across the country, was people trying to gain changes only through using video. Video or cable became their main aim, and they failed miserably at both video and social action . . . No amount of video can replace a good community organizer, no amount of video can make fuzzy thinking turn into clear social and political analysis.

(Dorothy Henaut (1975) quoted in Wiesner, 1992, p. 74)

The second point, which touches on both the long-term nature of the process as well as the importance to that process of an entrenched community development organizer, is emphasized throughout the literature, particularly in terms of how these aspects set this type of work apart from traditional media work:

Professional media makers' work is done when they file the story or when they hand over the finished edited tape. In contrast, the work is barely beginning for the participatory video maker. He or she will be involved in facilitating playbacks of the tape, in building on the insight, motivation and understanding the tape creates, and in continuing working toward the long-term goals that the tape is serving.

(Stuart, 1989, p. 8)

The form that long-term involvement with a community may take varies somewhat. The original Fogo Project was based at community level on the collaboration between an outside filmmaker and an established community development officer (CDO) based in the area (NFB, 1968). The filmmaker was actively involved for approximately the one-year project period from initial research to the community screening of the videotaped response from government representatives. The CDO had been established in the area for years before the project and remained in the area for years afterwards as a

permanent employee of a community extension organization. The long-term institutionalised nature of the CDO's presence in the Fogo communities was a key criterion for the filmmaker in choosing that area. Alternatively, Timothy Kennedy initiated the 3-year Sky River pilot project to develop a facilitative approach to community organization using video and film as organizational tools (Kennedy, 1982). One of his most important objectives was to start an organizational process that the community could build on itself, and thus grow beyond the need for facilitation by an outsider. As part of implementing this project, Kennedy did train a local facilitator to take over his role for reasons of continuity, accountability, and responsibility, as well as to provide an ongoing resource person within the community after the project had formally ended. In the case of the Kayamandi project, I envisioned my own involvement to include the period of project implementation as well as a more long-term involvement with whatever developments might arise as a result. This seemed a realistic intention, as I am a resident of Stellenbosch town. However, in terms of the goals and vision of the project, the intention was that the long-term developments that might be catalyzed by the video process would be driven by the local organization constituting the project's community editing committee and/or other community leaders that might have emerged from the process. This was in line with the role of 'social animator' that I previously defined -- a model that seeks to avoid the 'burn-out' phenomenon of liberal advocates -- and which is founded on the goal of developing community-driven development (and **not** building dependency) (Kennedy, 1982).

And so, with the above-mentioned notions of methodology in mind, the implementation of the project was underway.

5.4: Project Implementation: "The complex mechanics of collaboration"

Cooperative ventures turn into collaborations when filmmakers and subjects mutually determine the content and shape of the film. Although the idea of a film in which the authority is shared might have a certain appeal, there are few documented cases. Films labelled in this fashion seldom contain descriptions of the interaction between the filmer and the filmed, nor have people associated with the production written about the *complex mechanics of collaborations*.

(Ruby, 2000, p.208, italics added)

In terms of integrating the Kayamandi participatory video project into this written dissertation, I have set out the background to the project in Chapter 2, including a section on investigating the potential for a participatory video project in the Kayamandi area. This included an overview of the early stages of the project in terms of the liaison and research in the area; setting up a relationship with a local community group with which to work; and with them, identifying the issues with which to engage. Following this, Chapter 5 has thus far set out the planned methodology for the participatory video project in Kayamandi. What follows now is an account of actual implementation. While the previous account of planned methodology was self-reflexive to some degree (e.g. I discussed my concerns about actual application of the theory within the South African context), the emphasis was on “objectified information” (Tomaselli, 2005, p. 6) drawn from an existing body of literature on participatory video theory and practice. This section, however, emphasizes the on-the-ground experiences and challenges that arose through the process of implementation from a frankly personalized perspective. In this I was influenced by Tomaselli’s recent book, *Where Global Contradictions are Sharpest* (2005), which he framed within the context of giving “attention to the often overlooked aspects of power, communication, symbolism and fieldwork experience that are usually backgrounded” (p. 6). It is also a response to the challenge Ruby raised when he noted that the “complex mechanics of collaborations” are seldom documented (2000, p. 208).

Stylistically, this section is distinctly different from the rest of the dissertation, reflecting the personalised point-of-view grounded in the lived experience of project implementation, and in this I was also influenced by Tomaselli’s writing style in the book noted above (2005). As I consider myself primarily a practitioner and less an academic, this type of focus appeals to me – I often found myself looking for clues as to ‘what had actually happened’ when reading accounts of practice as part of my literature survey – and I thus wanted to provide some insight into my own experience for the reader’s, or practitioner’s, interest. This sharing of experience is intended to make a small contribution to ‘horizontal learning’ (or ‘peer-to-peer learning’) within the relatively small field of participatory video, particularly within the African context.

The following personalized account also serves as a process of self-reflection on my own practice. In this I was influenced by my consultancy involvement with Community Development Resource Association (CDRA), a Cape Town-based NGO that supports a process of self-reflection for development practitioners through their Biennial Practice conferences for the purpose of improving practice in the development sector. A similar argument for this type of approach includes that of 'cooperative inquiry,' which is founded on the principle of researching something through your own experience of it (as opposed to extracting information from subjects ('others') and then using that information as the researcher decides (i.e. 'extractive research')) (Hill, 2007). In a discussion with Sandra Hill, a researcher based at CDRA, she made the point that cooperative inquiry, at the high end of the scale of participatory research, would seem to be a very good match to the value-base of participatory video. She also noted that cooperative inquiry is more appropriate when there is an intention to enhance practice rather than to build theory, that is, when there is more of a *transformational* agenda rather than an *informational* agenda (which complements the purposes of the Kayamandi project). Lastly, Sandra noted that cooperative inquiry supports 'intuitive knowing' or 'knowing as a whole' (a form of knowledge that continues to gain increasing recognition), as a complement to the 'analytical knowing' typical of conventional practice or research, which is based on a belief that by breaking a thing down into its parts, one can thereby understand the whole (Hill, 2007).

What follows is thus my account of the implementation of this project with an emphasis on overall process – it is loosely structured along similar lines as the planned methodology, but the messiness of real life meant that it didn't unfold as a step-by-step plan. In something of a diary-style, the writing often moves into present-tense mode. An important supplement to this section is the chronological account contained in Appendix 1: Activity Diary that lists *all* project activities and related events and developments. The Activity Diary provides additional detail on certain activities that do not necessarily contribute directly to a consideration of overall process and so were not included in this section. Also note that *Attachment 1: Living Space* (DVD) contains the video product produced as part of the participatory

video process of the Kayamandi project as well as additional background visual material.

- i. **Liaison and research:** As noted in Chapter 2, my initial research in Kayamandi began almost accidentally, prior to deciding to try and implement a participatory video project there. The shack fires in Kayamandi during early 2005 had virtually reached the doorstep of Mercy Ndamase, my family's domestic worker, and I had become drawn into what was happening there as a result ... as a result of Mercy's formidable force of character as well as her active involvement with housing issues, primarily as a member of the local Habitat for Humanity group. Interestingly, when I eventually broached the proposal to Mercy of trying to conduct a participatory video project in Kayamandi around housing issues, she decided to first introduce me to the Zone J committee (and not her Habitat committee).

Before going any further, I must acknowledge the relationship between Mercy and myself. I found myself privately thinking of the two of us as an unusual postmodern twist on the cartoon characters of Madam and Eve – who are the symbols of a classic and (for me) a peculiarly South African relationship, that of the white 'madam' and the black domestic worker – an employer-employee relationship set in the private domestic space of the former's house, which involves a complex and sometimes contradictory dynamic related to power and knowledge of the other²⁰. For me it also raised questions of another classic South African expression – that of 'white guilt'. The common expression of this term here seems to spring from the particular circumstances of South Africa, with its history of institutionalised racism and discrimination based on colour, as well as the close proximity (including the domestic space) of rich and poor. It is an expression that describes a type of personal, and in a sense, "local" reaction to the reality of structural inequality that is so glaring in the microcosm of South Africa compared to the relative insulation of the West from the poverty of the

²⁰ This has always seemed to me a "South African" situation as I had never encountered anyone with a 'maid' or 'domestic worker' while growing up in eastern Canada, while here amongst the more affluent in South Africa (across racial lines) it is very common. However it is worth noting that it is more common now, particularly in the larger Canadian urban centres, for wealthy families to have domestic workers or nannies (who are often first-generation immigrants from poorer countries).

'developing world'. Certainly the more involved I became in Mercy's home turf, the more glaring became our different living standards on the two different sides of the track in Stellenbosch.

This kind of close engagement with contradiction and inequality stirred up a fair amount of emotional turmoil, everything from guilt, anger and angst, to relief at being able to come home to my own clean (thanks to Mercy) spacious house and garden. Sometimes this helped fuel my focus and activities with regards the Kayamandi project, and other times it made me want to avoid it and forget about it for a while. I thought a lot about Kennedy's (1982) distinctions between 'liberal advocate' and 'social animator.' Having been involved with community development in South Africa since 1995, I had long passed through my initial phase of the young idealistic Canadian NGO worker. To some extent I thus justified periods of my own inactivity in Kayamandi on the basis that the community group needed time to organize itself around the project and that if it was just me driving it, it lessened the validity of the project. I think that this was right to some extent, as well as simply a self-justification as I struggled to balance my goals of 'action research' with the practical demands of working from home with young children along with the reading and writing requirements of straightforward academic research. I also made a start at studying Xhosa with a private tutor once a week and kept it up for about a year. This helped me make sense of what Xhosa I had learned informally from living in a village in the former Transkei for 6 months in 1995, and I made some progress but not as much as I had wanted.

As I recounted in Chapter 2 and detail in the Activity Diary (Appendix 1), my early liaison and research included a series of meetings with the Zone J committee in Kayamandi as well as a positive meeting at Stellenbosch Municipality so that in the first quarter of 2005 I felt a promising start was really underway.

- ii. **Establish working relationship with Community Editing Committee (CEC):** It didn't take long, however, before the seemingly auspicious start to the project ground to a standstill. Again, as noted in Chapter 2, the Zone J committee

became caught up in its own internal politics as well as local political power struggles, leaving the project hanging. As time went on I gained some more insight into Kayamandi politics. One of the key people in the Zone J committee at that time later became a United Democratic Movement (UDM) political party candidate in a largely ANC-dominated community. In local elections in March 2006 he was elected and became the Deputy-Mayor of Stellenbosch in coalition with a DA mayor to the apparent fury of the ANC representatives from the area. By September 2007, after various threats on his life, there was an attempted assassination, which he escaped with his life but with bullet wounds. This was followed by much speculation as to who had hired the 'hit man' – the ANC or a dissatisfied UDM faction. (Eventually an ANC supporter was tried and charged with attempted murder.)

My point in all this is that local politics can be rather scary here, and while I had no idea at the start that things would become as volatile as they did, the failure to move forward with the politicised Zone J committee served as a big warning bell for me. Local politics were so dynamic and charged that there was a big risk in terms of being seen to align the project with any particular political group. The existing Kayamandi ward councillors in the early phase of the project were either very unpopular and/or feared and certainly appeared to have no interest in anything but their own power, with rumours of at least one taking bribes for housing access and another apparently being a convicted murderer. So, from a personal level, I was not interested in becoming embroiled in Kayamandi party politics. At the same time I did not want to alienate any community groups, including the Zone J committee, and so I had to think carefully about how to officially end the relationship with them and find another group to move forward with the project. Again I took my time in waiting to see if they were going to sort themselves out or not. Eventually, in June 2005 I sent a letter to the Zone J committee asking them to suggest another community group with which to work, if they were unable to continue with the project and again left it for awhile.

In the last quarter of 2005 I established contact with Habitat for Humanity's local committee chairperson, Malibongwe Gwele, again through the assistance of Mercy. Malibongwe is an experienced community development activist who at

that time had recently finished his MA at the University of Cape Town, which included a minor dissertation on the topic of health and religion in Kayamandi. He was an extremely helpful connection to make, having many years of lived experience in Kayamandi himself; specific knowledge and experience on housing issues from his link to Habitat for Humanity; and an academic background that enabled him to clearly understand my research goals and to engage with them and add value. He appeared to me to be Kayamandi's 'Fred Earle' (the community development worker based in Fogo who collaborated with the NFB filmmaker). After discussions with Malibongwe, and on his advice, I put in a proposal to Habitat for Humanity's Cape Town office to work with the local Habitat for Humanity committee in Kayamandi. Once I had Habitat's official approval to work with their Kayamandi committee, I then presented the project to the committee in Kayamandi with Malibongwe so that they could decide for themselves whether they wanted to become involved. Again, I waited, but only for a week or two, before I received an affirmative response via Malibongwe. Thus, the Community Editing Committee for the Kayamandi participatory video project was finally officially established in February 2006.

- iii. **Involve the broader community:** As noted in Chapter 2 and documented in Appendix 1: Activity Diary, I presented the proposed video project to a mass community meeting in Kayamandi with hundreds of people attending – organized by the Zone J committee – one evening in March 2005. I was there with Mercy, my kids (as my husband was away) and my Xhosa teacher, Catherine (who was both a friend and a community development practitioner herself). Catherine came to help by shooting some video footage while I spoke during the meeting and also to help by giving me her opinion on community response to the project (both spoken and unspoken). That evening was the pinnacle of the great start-up period of the project – in retrospect, the success of that evening and the interest generated by the project presentation probably exacerbated the internal power struggles within the Zone J committee.

Community response to the project itself was extremely positive and the appreciation extended to me personally was both wonderful but a source of some concern. I worried that expectations were very high and that the camera

and the idea of video had people thinking that I was some well-connected media person who was going to put Kayamandi on the evening news – *despite* my efforts to set out very clearly who I was and what the project was about. At the same time I could see that people there were genuinely intrigued by the project and by this white Canadian woman in their midst who had brought her own children into their community. However, it was after this that the committee apparently became divided on the project – certain individuals had organized community people to be interviewed, but the committee members who were supposed to take me to the interviewees did not pitch up – apparently (my information through the rumour mill) there was a power struggle taking place within the committee as well as between the different Zone committees within Kayamandi. One of the questions during the big community meeting was whether the video would represent just Zone J or all of Kayamandi. It had been resolved at that meeting that the video would represent all of Kayamandi, with the Zone J committee choosing people to be interviewed from throughout the community based on input from the other zone committees. Too many committees . . .

All this to say is that once I began working with the local Habitat for Humanity committee, I decided not to ask them to call a community meeting at the onset. I felt, I think fairly reasonably, that there was very little to be gained from another community meeting at that stage as the community had already given their public approval and support for a participatory video project to develop a video letter to the Municipality. I was also concerned that another public meeting at that point would just open up the change of committee issue and distract from the work of the project.

- iv. **Identify key issues to be addressed / identify interviewees:** Again, as reviewed in Chapter 2, the Zone J committee had developed a list of issues to address, and then the Habitat for Humanity committee revisited that list and revised it somewhat. The first list had reflected a more political agenda, while the revised list, largely due to Malibongwe's input, took a broader and more developmental perspective. It was also a less confrontational agenda and, I felt, one that would be easier to work with through using a Fogo process-type form of

participatory video. I suspect my Canadian roots explain my own dislike of confrontation and my preference for a consensus-building approach. For Malibongwe and the Habitat committee, their allegiance was much more to God and the greater good than to party politics. However, despite the fact that both the committee and I were naturally disposed to being cautious about conflict and politics, both of these phenomena were clearly part of the situation in Kayamandi and were going to have to be faced.

As described in more detail in Chapter 2, the key issues to be addressed that were identified by the Habitat group consisted of the following:

- 1) Land ownership and tenure is the critical issue;
- 2) The development and housing planning by the Municipality is not good;
- 3) There is a lack of community consultation generally, including no consultation with future homeowners on housing planning and house design;
- 4) There is poor communication between the Municipality and the Kayamandi community.

Once we were clear on what issues should be highlighted by the video, different committee members suggested interviewees. The range of people we were looking to represent was based on the criteria that had been discussed with the Zone J committee and confirmed at the community meeting. This ideal list included the following: a mother; a father; an employed person; an unemployed person; a youth; a child; an elderly person; and a chronically sick person (e.g. a person with TB – because no one in Kayamandi is public about their HIV-positive status).

(Note: Around the same time as this was happening, I submitted a request for limited funding to Habitat based on discussions with Grant Edkins, their regional director. A critical component to this proposal was trying to get some financial support for translations and subtitling, so that we wouldn't have to limit ourselves to English-speaking interviewees. Habitat agreed to provide support, primarily through providing their own staff to assist).

- v. **Video recording: First round of interviews and site visits:** Malibongwe and I conducted interviews together during March and April of 2006. The interviewees

were all fascinating characters, each articulate and expressive in their own way. I was mindful of what seemed to me to be Joris Ivens's timeless hints on working with non-actors: a relaxed atmosphere is of the utmost importance; and take as few takes as possible as "repetition seems to have a deadening effect on the non-actor" (Ivens, 1969, pp. 218-219). The interviewing went well – Malibongwe and I found an easy and natural way of working together very quickly and the atmosphere was always relaxed and conversational. (See *Appendix 2: Video Interviews* for the list of questions we took with us to each of the interviews. This document also set out a guideline for the process of each interview). Essentially, the process we followed was to cover introductions and an overview to the video project first; to then have an informal conversation about the topics to be covered in the actual interview; to select an interview spot; conduct the interview; and then have the interviewee 'show' what they would like, e.g. water and sanitation facilities for their household. (These walking tours with the camera on became what I called the 'Toilet Tours')²¹. The overall aim of the interviews was to raise and illustrate the issues of concern that had been identified by the committee through the telling of personal stories by the video participants. A brief overview of each of the interviewees follows here (for additional details and personal responses, see Appendix 1: Activity Diary):

Our first interviewee is Nombulelo Baduza, a new Habitat member who volunteered herself for interviewing. She is 33 years old, a single (widowed) mother with 3 children, the youngest of which has epilepsy. She works as a domestic worker in Cape Town and lives in a shack with 2 of her 3 children. Nombulelo articulates her hardships simply and directly and holds the municipality to account for its poor performance. Her personal story and the 'toilet tour' she takes us on really illustrate the day-to-day struggles she faces in raising her children on her own and commuting for work while living in the shacks.

²¹ These walkabouts provided fascinating insight into the day-to-day reality of living in a shack. Because it seemed so interesting and pertinent to me, I included this unedited footage – "Toilet Tours" – as an extra on the project DVD. It also brought to mind David MacDougall's article "When Less is Less" (1992) – where he spoke about the 'alive' quality of raw footage that can often be lost in the cutting to produce a smoothly edited piece. I hoped that including the Toilet Tours would add another dimension to the final DVD product.

Our next interviewee, Katie Mdale, is another single mother who is 46 years old at the time of the interview. Joyce Rubushe (a committee member) had identified Katie as a spokesperson as Katie is someone who is not afraid 'to tell it like it is'. Katie's force of character comes through in her interview and in her 'toilet tour'. Her personal experience with a shack fire (in which she had lost everything) really illustrated one of the greatest hazards of living in an informal settlement. As well, because the municipality had done so little to address the devastation by the fire in her area one year previously, there were shocking images to tape. Katie was also very angry and did not self-censure herself in her descriptions of the 'human shit' that was all around.

A few days later we interviewed Zibezezenkosi Ithebani, a 26-year-old young man, and a friend of Malibongwe's. Zibe is another interesting character – an unemployed hip-hop artist involved in community counselling for youth and HIV-positive people. Zibe has some university education and lives in one room attached to the shack where his brother and his family (wife and 4 kids) live. Including the perspective of a(n) (articulate) single male youth helped broaden the input into the video-letter. As well, because of Zibe's experience in community development, he was able to incorporate an informed critique on the municipality's community development process into his feedback.

A week later, we interview Mzukhova Melitafa, a relative of Malibongwe's. He is a 46-year-old man who works as a security officer for the social development office of the Municipality and lives with his wife and their 3 kids in a fairly large and extended shack in a seemingly better part of the settlement. Again, Mzukhova brought a different perspective to the video – that of an employed middle-aged man trying to support his family and raise children within the harsh environment of the shacks. I felt it was important to include Mzukhova because he counters a predominant stereotype of the 'African man' as 'absent father.' His concerns about the challenges of providing a safe environment for his children seemed to me universal concerns that decision-makers within the municipality would be able to relate to directly. As well, he had considered opinions on the development of housing and the clearing of shack areas that supported the viewpoint of the committee.

I also need to mention that I interviewed Mercy Ndamase (my key contact in all of this) and her mother in Mercy's shack in December 2005, when her mother came to visit her from the former Transkei. At that time I was still trying to finalize arrangements with the Habitat for Humanity committee to work on the participatory video project, so the video had not officially started. However, I knew that Mercy had 'inherited' her shack from her mother – Marta Ndamase had lived in that shack from 1979 until she passed it on to Mercy in 1993 when she left to retire back to her home in the Transkei. It was a powerful story for me and I wanted to record it while Marta was actually back at that same shack visiting. (At that time we also thought that such an opportunity might never happen again as we had high hopes that Mercy would be getting a house soon through Habitat for Humanity).

- vi. **Screen rushes for participant feedback:** It is a full year later before the screening of the rushes takes place in March 2007. There are various reasons for this. Firstly, it takes time to organize with Habitat for someone to do the transcription of the tapes and the English translations. This takes the form of Zimkitha, from Habitat's Nyanga office, being allocated to the task in August 2006. This becomes a rather painful process. Zimkitha has never done this before and it is very difficult to explain to someone unfamiliar with the way video is put together, and who can understand both Xhosa and English herself, that the instructions for transcription of writing down *every word*, really means just that, *every word*. It is a daunting task all round. Eventually, after many a written *synopsis* of the various interviews that in and of themselves are useless to me for actual editing, we sit together listening, bit by bit – Zimkitha translating while I write down content in point form with time code. From this I then identified the exact bits to be transcribed and translated based on time code in and out points. Zimkitha transcribes these precise sections and there is a sense that we are making progress. I realise that my limited Xhosa is enough to enable me to recognize the sentences being spoken from Zimkitha's transcriptions so that I can start to work with the soundbites independently. This whole process is incredibly drawn out. The one positive aspect of it all was that, while going through all the tapes as meticulously as we ended up doing, I realised what good

stories there were to work with, and how well people had spoken and articulated their points of view. I found myself repeatedly moved by the images and voices of the people on the screen and that was affirming from a filmmaking perspective.

So, finally, late in March 2007, after various delays of one kind and another, there is suddenly a date and a time for which (almost) everyone (committee members and interviewees) is available to get together at Joyce's house to watch the rushes²². I screen everything on a laptop and two connected speakers, fast-forwarding through only general shots in Kayamandi and some repeated questions in the interviews. This process takes several hours. The committee members and participants respond favourably, enjoying seeing themselves and their friends on tape in particular, but also showing appreciation for each of the participants. There are many chuckles during Kate's interviews as she does not mince her words; nods of empathy for the younger single mothers; murmurs of respect for Mzukhova; and interest in Zibe, the young hip-hop artist. While the discussions are short because of time constraints, they are useful. There is firm agreement that the content is good and that the issues are coming across. There is some discussion on the fact that there is a lot of repetition with what people are saying, i.e. common points raised by all. There is concern that what is missing is more specific input on exactly what the community proposes for solutions. We thus agree that I will work with the footage to make a rough copy, screen it with Malibongwe, and then interview him so that he can fill in the gaps and be a link between the other community speakers and the intended Municipality viewers. I am to incorporate this footage and then come back to the committee with a fine-cut edit for their input.

Shortly after this official screening meeting, I lend Mercy the DVDs of all the raw footage as she had missed the meeting. She recounts her own viewing evenings – one DVD for each night (there are 3 DVDs). Her family, plus occasionally an extra or two, sit down together and watch. The tapes stimulate discussion within the family and she returns the tapes very impressed with what

²² These delays included a rather alarming number of rumours on internal problems with Habitat for Humanity that seemed to leave the committee in a state of limbo.

they contain and animated about the process. It occurs to me that this has great potential as a means of distribution in Kayamandi more widely. I think of 'Nollywood' and the culture in Nigeria of house-to-house distribution of tapes being distributed informally on a large scale for at-home entertainment. I resolve to make more copies of the DVD raw footage and put them into distribution within the settlement if the committee and participants approve.

vii. **First edit:**

It is not until early 2008 that I start with revisiting the Kayamandi footage and trying to get a time with Malibongwe to conduct the interview with him that we had identified as necessary. This is not easy as Malibongwe continues to be exceptionally busy, working in Cape Town during the week, and dealing with one commitment after another during the weekends²³.

A critical factor in the development of the video at this time is the fact that the Habitat for Humanity committee members I have been working with have still not received their houses – six years after joining Habitat. Disillusionment and distrust of both Habitat for Humanity (HFH) and Stellenbosch Municipality have set in. The committee members decide to take matters into their own hands and request a meeting with the Municipality (this is quite a step for them as they had always allowed HFH representatives to mediate on their behalf, call meetings, etc. and their representative in all of this had always been Malibongwe.). I ask via Mercy if they would like me to come and bring my camera to this meeting. This elicits a positive response and they seem very happy to have me there with camera in hand. While I don't even turn my camera on during this meeting, its presence is certainly noted by the Municipality, and I spend some time thinking about the use of video as an advocacy tool in these circumstances. The mere presence of a video camera seems to add weight and importance to the group's concerns. The inferred threat of bad publicity (which we consciously tried to put across) garners attention, and the Head of New Housing for the Municipality undertakes to convene a meeting with the Municipality, the Kayamandi

²³ Malibongwe had also stepped down as the chairperson of the Kayamandi Habitat for Humanity committee by this time as well.

committee members, and Habitat for Humanity representatives in order to get things on track within the next 2 weeks.

After this meeting I videotape the response to the meeting from the committee members in front of the municipal buildings. They are feeling positive about the response they received from the Municipality and pleased with themselves for initiating the meeting in the first place, but cautious about getting too excited. Certainly what the Municipality has presented indicates that, while they have had a number of time-consuming hurdles to overcome in terms of housing delivery over the last few years, the Municipality is now on track and wanting the 6 designated Habitat houses to go forward. The group is keen for Habitat to also come to the next talks in the hope that the process can finally go forward. In this interview they make it clear that they are holding both the Municipality and Habitat for Humanity accountable for the slow delivery up to this point. It appears to me that while some trust in the Municipality has actually been gained as a result of this meeting, it has deepened suspicion of HFH.

It takes almost a month before the follow-up meeting does take place, but on 29 July 2008 all the stakeholders come together at the Municipality offices and I record it on video. Again the aim behind using the camera is based more on the camera as a 'stick' / weapon / pressure tactic upon both Stellenbosch Municipality and HFH and not particularly on getting footage for the video-letter. The meeting goes well. Again the Municipality presents itself well – their representatives seem to have a clear understanding of why the process had been bogged down previously, as well as being clear on what is currently required to move forward. Furthermore, the Head of New Housing offers to assist personally in taking the updated applications to Province with Habitat, to facilitate their fast tracking. Habitat seems concerned to alleviate the concerns of the committee and gives some explanations for the lack of progress from their side. I sense they are not that happy for the camera to be there as they realise that the committee is not just pressuring the Municipality for delivery, but also HFH as well.

Following this meeting, I again interview the committee outside the municipal buildings. They are feeling very good about having got the attention of both the Municipality and HFH, and cautiously optimistic that there might finally be some results. I ask specifically if they think the camera played a role in this and record their spontaneous and very positive response on this point. (I start to feel concerned that the camera intervention is getting everyone's hopes up – and hope it doesn't all become a big let-down).

It is all of this context that I sit with when I finally start trying to edit together all the video material I have. While the concept of the video-letter had always been based on giving feedback and input from Kayamandi residents on community-wide housing developments and planning, it seemed that the specific housing plight of the video committee members should not be ignored. It also felt as if there was the potential for some targeted video advocacy to make a very real impact on housing delivery for the six committee members and their families and that we should use the opportunity. And so the specific needs of the Habitat group had to be incorporated into a video that would still have something to say on a broader level about living conditions in Kayamandi and housing development within the community. This was a critical turning point in the process. Part of the implications of this was that the primary, or at least initial, target audience shifted from being the Municipality to being Habitat for Humanity.

For me, my 'in-point' to making a video happens when I can see the opening segment in my mind – once I am past that point and have physically started working with the material in a meaningful way, then the rest flows much more easily. This moment happened for this project when I heard (in my head) Mercy's voice telling her story over still images of herself and mother at her shack. It was a way of 'book-ending' the broader community input on housing issues in Kayamandi with the specific housing dilemma of the video committee members involved. I thought it might also make an interesting aesthetic contrast to start with a series of stills and then switch to moving video images as the main content of the video started.

The editing takes time as this is my first actual project using my new Final Cut Pro software. However, the longer I bumble along, the easier the manipulation of the software becomes and the more I can concentrate on content. I realise that not having had a microphone for any of the original interviews is my biggest shortcoming on the technical side of my footage (I had tried to rent one at the time, but was unable to find one that would work with my old camcorder). While I obviously want the video to look as good as possible, I think repeatedly of the 'artisanal' category of filmmaker that Waugh identified (1984) – someone between a professional and an amateur – and hope that this will be a good example of that type of filmmaking! It also seems to me that if one is going to promote participatory video making as a viable method for interventions in South Africa, then one has to show that a less than professionally finished product can still be effective. And so the editing progresses and the structure develops.

Keeping in mind both what the committee had previously identified as the key points they wanted to highlight as well as what came out in the actual interviews, I identify 4 key themes and use each of the 4 different interviewees to introduce each new theme section. I then add a secondary voice to each section (except the first one) from a character the viewer has already met onscreen to add emphasis or a slightly different take on the identified issue. With reference to an agitprop style that dates back to the Soviet agitprop of the late 1910s and continues up to recent times in South Africa in such examples as *Inkani* (2006), I make use of inter-titles to emphasise the key issues – giving them an updated look by having them zoom out of the screen:

- Transparency!
- Kayamandi is Dirty!
- Health & Safety Hazards!
- NEGOTIATE to clear the shacks!

I like the militant sensibility that this style suggests in juxtaposition with the very reasoned voices of the characters that then follow. I also hope that it supports our now conscious approach of implying that stronger action is to follow should the Municipality (and Habitat for Humanity) not engage actively with the content of the video (i.e. that the video will be sent out beyond the offices of the

Municipality and HFH in an attempt to gain attention – from either the media or higher levels of office).

I end the first rough cut with a ‘postscript’ type inter-title that follows the credits, stating that five years after joining Habitat for Humanity, the Kayamandi group is still waiting for their long-promised houses. It is this version that I take to the committee for screening.

- viii. **Screen rough cut for participant feedback:** The screening of the rough cut takes place in Mercy’s shack with the committee members on the evening of 20 August 2008. The meeting has been called both for the purposes of the screening as well as to meet with Patrick Shivure, the Habitat for Humanity representative. The committee is concerned that there has been no feedback from Habitat since the last (promising) meeting held at the Municipality. I had written an email on their behalf asking for an update and stating that the non-delivery of houses for the group had become part of the video – this had elicited a response and the request for a meeting with the committee in order to give feedback.

While the committee and I had gathered together to watch the video before the scheduled start of the meeting with HFH, the DVD wouldn’t play in Mercy’s DVD player. And so when Patrick arrived and the meeting began, no one had yet seen it. Again Patrick explained previous delays on HFH’s side and also gave information on a Stellenbosch church group that was interested in supporting the Kayamandi HFH group with their houses. (A key obstacle with providing housing in the area for both the Municipality as well as HFH has been the need for a higher than normal subsidy from government (that requires approval through provincial level to national level) because of the difficult building conditions in the area (e.g. the land bought for new housing areas in Kayamandi was previously agricultural land and in this case necessitates higher foundation requirements)²⁴. However, it eventually emerges that HFH has not yet submitted the group’s updated subsidy forms to Province (that will have to go to national level), nor has

²⁴ Lester van Stavel, during meeting of 29 July 2008.

HFH taken up the offer from van Stavel at the Municipality to assist in fast-tracking the group's applications.

After Patrick promises to follow-up with the Municipality on this last point, we then screen the video for the whole group on Patrick's laptop. Low sound levels in some sections make it difficult to hear some of the interviewees, especially when played on a laptop. Despite this, the video gets a positive response from the committee members and Patrick seems both impressed and slightly nervous. After Patrick leaves, the committee requests one addition – that their current situation be highlighted more strongly at the end of the video. We also agree to try and cut down the overall time of the video from its current 20 minutes and I commit to trying to improve the sound.

Following this meeting, a copy of the video gets delivered to Malibongwe (who was unable to attend the screening meeting). By this time I had pretty much given up on including him in the video (various interview dates hadn't worked out), and thought that the video put across the issues strongly enough to get by without including him. However, he immediately got back to me and we set an evening date for the following week.

- ix. **Additional video and sound recording as required / Final cut:** I spend the next week on further refining the edit as well as developing a more substantial 'postscript' to the video letter on the situation of the Habitat committee. I do this by changing the one inter-title to two and adding in a clip that I shot of the committee after the recent first meeting they initiated with the Municipality. One of the committee members, Unathi Tshangane, gave a strong statement on the frustration with the long history of broken promises: "They promised us in April ... as we all know, there are many Aprils in this century. We are still waiting."

I also make progress on the sub-titling with Mercy's assistance on the Xhosa translations.

On the evening of Malibongwe's interview, I pick him up in Kayamandi with a friend and bring them back to my place. He had suggested doing the interview

at my house and I thought it might add an interesting contrast to the rest of the interviews which had been shot in Kayamandi shacks – the visual difference would assist in identifying his section as different from the other interviews – his role was to tie the themes together and speak to the Municipality from a position of expertise in the field of both housing and community development about a way forward on the issues. The interview goes well – Malibongwe has obviously given thought as to what points he wants to make – and he is an articulate and clear speaker. His image is slightly ‘soft’ due to the low light of shooting at night – I don’t have any proper lighting equipment – but in retrospect I should have tried to bring in more light with whatever I could find in the house.

- x. **Approval screening:** With the pressure to finish off the video letter both because of the apropos timing for pressurising both the Municipality and Habitat for Humanity, and because of my own looming deadline for submitting my dissertation, we decide there isn’t a need for another screening session. I simply make copies of the latest version of the video-letter and send it out with Mercy to Kayamandi for dissemination. At the same time I make arrangements for the community screening. Based on Malibongwe’s advice, I book the Kayamandi Community Hall next to Kayamandi High School for the following week.
- xi. **Community Screenings:** There is not a culture of going out to watch films in Kayamandi and it is difficult to decide on a screening time. Eventually I decide simply to be in the venue and screen the video-letter every half an hour from 3 pm to 7 pm. The committee members disseminate notices, which Malibongwe has translated to Xhosa, mostly through church meetings on the preceding Sunday morning. Malibongwe has also translated an evaluation form that I plan to hand out to all who watch the video.

The morning of the screening Mercy is concerned that the cold wet weather is going to impact on how many people will make an effort to come to the venue. By 2:30 she and I are at the venue and meeting the audio-visual equipment guy who sets up a screen, digital projector, and speakers. It is very cold inside the venue – and quite light – so that even with the lights off, the projected image is very light on the screen. We make an effort to cover the windows where

possible with dark garbage bags and this helps a bit. By 3 pm there are only a few people that have arrived but we go ahead and screen. By 3:30 a few more people have arrived and no one has left. This remains the pattern of the afternoon – people dribble in, but then stay for at least 2 screenings, often more. In between the screenings there is some discussion between members of the audience with committee members and a few people comfortable in English speak to me directly.

Everyone dutifully fills in their evaluation form²⁵ at length – and I realise that despite trying to keep it short and straightforward, it is still work to fill in as most of the people are not used to writing and reading despite it having been translated into Xhosa. (I had decided, after much deliberation that the trade-off for having multiple screenings would be not to attempt facilitated discussion in the short periods between screenings).

I am surprised at how few people there are on the street and realise that I had made some assumptions based on my previous work experience in rural areas – I had assumed that by simply having the event within a community venue, people would come in out of curiosity and because of immediate word-of-mouth (as would have happened in a rural community). However, no one pops in out of curiosity (except for lots of young children) – every person who comes has specifically decided in advance to attend the screening and walk to the venue. I realise that to draw in a bigger audience I should have invested more effort in advertising the screening (and that a summer screening would have helped too). However, despite the low numbers, I am genuinely heartened by the positive response and support from the people who do see it. By the time we pack up just before 7 pm, it is pouring with rain, dark, and the committee members who have stuck it out with me are as frozen as I am.

In the days after the screening, I again think about the Nollywood model of DVD distribution at household level. In the peri-urban / township areas of South Africa this type of model makes sense: there are generally no facilities for movie-going

²⁵ The findings from the evaluation forms are contained in Appendix 4: Evaluation Results Summary.

in these areas; most people wouldn't choose to spend what little, if any, disposable income they have on movies anyway; it is often dangerous to go out at night; and there is a culture of watching television at home in the evenings (many shacks have televisions in them, although far fewer have DVD players). And so I make copies of the final version of the video-letter for every committee member and participant and distribute them with the leftover copies of the evaluation forms to see what kind of feedback I get from this approach.

I also give a copy of the DVD to a friend who is a nurse and volunteers at a 'step-down' community home in Kyaamandi for sick people who are moving out of hospital and are being prepared for returning to their own homes (shacks). The Home holds a screening of the video and the group fills in the evaluation forms. (They also request to keep a copy of the video for further screenings). Appendix 4: Evaluation Report Summary includes this feedback.

- xii. **Municipality screening and videotaped response:** Since my initial meeting with Stellenbosch Municipality in March 2005 with their Head of Communications (at which time I was assured of a screening session with the highest levels of their elected representatives and their officials), no one at the Municipality, including the communications person who made these promises in the first place, has ever responded to my follow-up emails and telephone calls regarding a screening. When it had become clear to me that their communications official was never going to assist with setting up a screening (I never could work out whether he had never intended to from the start, or whether his apparent enthusiasm was never equalled by anyone else at the Municipality), I had thought that I could depend on the video-letter eventually being submitted under the auspices of Habitat for Humanity. However, as the project developments described above reflect, relations between the local Habitat for Humanity group in Kayamandi and the offices of Habitat for Humanity itself had become increasingly strained. The final video-letter not only puts pressure on Stellenbosch Municipality, but HFH as well. It was clear that we could not expect HFH to submit the video-letter to the Municipality. After the community screening of the final video-letter, my own emails to both Stellenbosch Municipality and Habitat for Humanity about handing copies of the video-letter

over to them are met with resounding silence. I then resort to advising them of my upcoming presentations at 2 different Canadian universities where I plan to screen the video²⁶ – and suggest that it would be “wonderful” if I could give positive progress updates at those events. Still – no response.

In the meantime, the new community television station for Cape Town, CTV, expresses interest in the video-letter. We have to decide whether to keep pushing for Stellenbosch Municipality (and the Western Cape office of Habitat for Humanity) to engage with the video-letter, or whether to go the route of broader exposure. In this I feel genuinely torn. I have become genuinely frustrated with our intended target audiences and their stonewalling. At the same time, taking a more confrontational approach is less in tune with the spirit of the original Fogo process than I would like and just not the scenario for which I had hoped. I am also concerned about potentially damaging the reputation of Habitat for Humanity (despite the fact that there is either a serious lack of capacity or even more unsavoury problems within their local structures). The committee decides to meet with Malibongwe to discuss what to do with the video-letter.

Out of these discussions, the committee decides to first target Habitat for Humanity with the video as a means of lobbying for delivery of their own houses. They are convinced that Habitat is now the stakeholder that is holding up delivery of the 6 long-approved Habitat houses and do not want to alienate the Municipality. We discuss taking out the video ‘postscript’ that describes the lack of delivery to the Sinomonde committee before we do send the video to the municipality so that the video-letter to the Municipality retains a sense of being general community input into housing development and policy. We agree to hold back on sending the video letter to the Municipality, while we target Habitat for Humanity with more specific video advocacy around delivery of the group’s houses. It is also agreed that we will not put the video out for broader distribution at this early stage (e.g. we will not send it to the local community television station), but to hold onto this potential pressure tactic. We thus

²⁶ 23 October 2008 – Department of International Development Studies – Global Development Speaker Series, Dalhousie University; 27 October 2008 – Department of Political Science, Acadia University.

undertake the first step of sending the video to the Western Cape office of Habitat for Humanity with an accompanying written letter asking for a response and stating that if we do not receive one, we will send the video to a higher level within Habitat for Humanity.

This brings us to the present where we now await the next move in the engagement that has been catalysed by the participatory video process. While the profound refusal to engage with the completed video-letter by either Stellenbosch Municipality or Habitat for Humanity thus far is certainly disturbing, this step in the process is still in its early phases. The committee is clear that various options are still available to them in terms of the use of the video-letter. At each development, we strategise our next move. There is no guarantee on what the outcomes will ultimately be, but there is a sense of power in feeling that the committee, and the Kayamandi community, have represented themselves and their concerns and are advocating on their own behalf to decision-makers. There is also a sense of power in the ownership of the video-letter; a belief that the video-letter has something to say; as well as a belief that the video-letter must reach decision-makers in a position to make a difference.

Chapter 6: Key theoretical issues: Participatory video and the Kayamandi Project

Throughout this dissertation, certain theoretical considerations or themes have surfaced based on considering participatory video from the perspective of its two key elements: (1) film/video as a tool for change; and (2) participation in film/video process. Chapter 3 of this dissertation dealt with various theoretical considerations in some depth from the perspective of their emergence from early film history through to the 1960s, and looked at how they contributed to the *development* of participatory video practice. This included a consideration of the construction of 'truth' and 'reality' in non-fiction film; questions around who has authored that construction; issues of participation and collaboration; ethical questions around representation; the significance of film form and reflexivity; and the importance of reception and distribution and their link to facilitating a catalytic effect on an audience. This chapter extends these theoretical discussions to within the more contemporary context of actual participatory video practice and includes analysis of the Kayamandi video project as part of this. These themes connect to, and intersect with, each other to such a degree that one must acknowledge that a separation of them into categories for discussion is useful for analytical purposes only. To try and make some sense of it, I have grouped the themes roughly along a chronological line, from issues that dominate during the planning and shooting phases of a participatory video process; to those that dominate at the time of editing; and then to those that surface primarily at the reception phase. The themes for discussion are thus grouped together as follows:

- i. Participation / collaboration
- ii. Representation / authorship
- iii. Reflexivity / reception

Following this, Chapter 7 attempts to evaluate and draw conclusions on participatory video and video advocacy within the South African context based on the literature study and the Kayamandi video project.

6.1 *Participation / Collaboration*

Participation is now such an over-used word that like 'development', it is becoming a rubric or jargon, losing any specific meaning. . . . Participation is not a binary attribute. It exists in many forms and shades along a grand continuum running from inactivity / passivity / manipulation to responsible concerted action / empowered participation / grassroots movement.
(Stuart, 1989, p. 8)

As discussed in Chapter 3, it was during the period of the 1960s that issues of participation within the context of film and video first came to the foreground for debate and consideration. Four decades later 'participation' permeates the discourse in a vast array of fields, including video for change, video advocacy, visual ethnography and development communications. A critical factor that underlies this interest in participation in video has been the development of the ever-increasing accessibility of video technology itself. By its very nature, video technology supports the decentralisation of both audiovisual creation and distribution and allows "control over the creation and distribution of programming to be taken away from a centralised authority and placed in the hands of the people" (Ogan, 1989, p. 2). In the current digital age, which now includes cell phones with video capability and the ability of millions to post video to the worldwide web, this has never been more true.

In anticipation of the further development of participatory practice, visual anthropologist David MacDougall identified 'Participatory Cinema' as the next step in participation whereby a filmmaker would put himself at the disposal of his subjects and, with them, invent the film (1973, p. 122). Around this same time, and near the end of his life, John Grierson set out his hypothesis on the 'final chapter' in the evolution of documentary film; this he envisaged as the making of films "really locally" when local film people would make films "to state their case politically or otherwise, to express themselves whether it's in journalistic or other terms" (Sussex, 1972, p. 30). Barsam described this as Grierson's ultimate rejection of government-sponsored film and also quoted Jack Ellis's analysis of these late comments as Grierson's "anarchical conception of films of the people and for the people being made by the people" (cited in Barsam, 1992, p. 99). These two visions for future development, connected but different, foresaw the development of both *collaborative film and video*, and *indigenous media*. While the broad term *participatory video*

encompasses both of these modes, the main focus of this dissertation is on the collaborative model.

In his Afterword to *Through Navajo Eyes* (1997) Richard Chalfen defined categories of participatory video that reflected the range of models within the context of visual anthropology. Using Chalfen's categories as my starting point, I have adapted them with different examples to reflect the more relevant context (to this dissertation) of participatory video categories within community development and/or video for social change:

- i) Flaherty's early work with the Inuit for *Nanook of the North*, in which members of his subject-community assisted by giving participant feedback on the rushes as well as contributing to technical aspects of the process (e.g. processing footage²⁷). This first category, clearly relevant to the ethnographic project, is still important here because so much of participatory video practice has included amongst its goals that of the preservation of indigenous languages and/or cultural and traditional practice.
- ii) Projects in which the subject-community gives input into the editing of a film or video project. An example of this was the project initiated by Asen Balikci (1966) in documenting on film the Netsilik Eskimos of Central Canadian Arctic. As Asen's project developed, the interest and passion of the older generation of Netsilik in preserving their culture turned the project into a collaboration (Asch, 1975, p. 402).
- iii) (a) Projects in which subject-communities are asked to select topics for a particular film and then work with an outsider filmmaker to make a film e.g. Challenge for Change as discussed in detail in this dissertation;
(b) Those instances whereby subject-communities request a filmmaker's or media organization's assistance to follow their choices and decisions and produce films on topics that they have identified. This occurs primarily in situations in which there is an institutionalised community video organization in existence. A South African example would be the model CVET was run on while Liz Fish was the director in the 1980s, during which time she made

²⁷ Note that Ruby (2000) refutes the claim that the Inuit provided technical assistance, stating he did not find any evidence of this in his research from original documentation, including Flaherty's personal diaries. Ruby's emphasis is on the *participant feedback* and *participant observation* techniques that Flaherty pioneered.

herself available as “the people’s video camera” (quoted in Maingard, 1998, p.35). Another example is the Video in the Villages project founded in 1987 in Brazil by activist Vincent Carelli. The project, established under the long-standing non-governmental organization Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI) both initiates its own video projects and also makes its resources available to communities, who may approach the centre for assistance in making films on issues of concern that they have identified at a grassroots level (Aufderheide, 1995).

- iv) Situations in which subject communities see and discuss films made about them such that the films become community property (i.e. there is an emphasis on *subject-audience* which engenders ‘community ownership’). For example, the screening sessions of Joris Ivens’s documentary film *Indonesia Calling* (1946): “Night after night the film was shown in the open air to tens of thousands of Indonesians and became a direct weapon in their fight for independence” (Ivens, 1969, p. 245). A South African example in this context are the Steps for the Future films and videos discussed previously, which integrated facilitated screenings in subject-communities as a key aspect of their distribution programme.
- v) Films based on filming subject(s) watching the first film made about them. More clearly relevant to ethnographic filmmaking, this technique, first used by Vertov and then further developed by Rouch, has also been used as part of participatory video *process* for community development and social change. For example, Su Braden integrated this technique into her Vietnam project – during the shooting phase of this project, nightly community screenings of the day’s rushes were held outside in a public space and the discussions that followed the screenings were then videotaped (Braden, 1998).
- vi) (a) Situations in which people from a subject-community are asked to ‘make a movie on anything of your own choosing’. Chalfen’s example here is the Navajo project of Worth and Adair, also discussed in this dissertation. Another relevant example would be Timothy Kennedy’s application of this technique as part of the process in the Sky River project (Kennedy, 1982). At the start of the project, community members were given cameras to make videos on their own subjects of interest as a means of bringing to the surface

community issues to be taken up in a more formalised video advocacy product.

(b) Situations in which people from a subject-community are asked to make a film on a specific subject. A South African example would be the *Ghetto Diaries* series for which individuals living in townships were trained and asked to make a video about their own lives.

(c) Situations in which a final film includes footage produced by both a filmmaker and members of a subject-community.

- vii) The *indigenous media* model whereby subject-communities initiate their own film project without (or with minimal) outside assistance. Chalfen's example of Turner and the Kayapo Indians of Brazil is also relevant here. The Kayapo Video Project (KVP) is based on a 'handing over of the camera' project first initiated by anthropologist Terence Turner (Turner, 1991, 1992). From its inception the Kayapo have successfully used video for cultural preservation as well as a means of political engagement. In terms of the latter, the Kayapo have used video as a tool for advocacy; conflict resolution; and as a method for a non-literate society to document and record political processes, decisions and outcomes. The landmark video example by the Kayapo was its use in their successful stand against the Brazilian government to stop the development of a huge dam that would have covered traditional burial grounds. As part of this, the Kayapo videotaped the huge demonstration they had organized; the foreign media that was covering the demonstration; and themselves videotaping the demonstration (dressed in full traditional dress). Part of the effectiveness of this campaign was the foreign media's coverage of the Kayapo cameramen and the international attention that this garnered (which was a conscious goal of the Kayapo's video campaign).

As illustrated by Chalfen's categorization, the range of models of participation in video production includes various forms of collaboration through to indigenous media. Before moving on to a consideration of some of the critiques and debates around issues of participation, I will first examine in more detail the model of *lateral collaboration* set out by Sara Elder (1995), which resonates more clearly with the model used for the Kayamandi Video project. Elder, a visual anthropologist,

examined collaboration based on her work with fellow anthropologist Hammerling in Alaska while working with Inupiaq and Yup'ik Eskimo communities (Elder, 1995):

With very little regard for differing levels of control, the term collaboration has long served as a politically acceptable catch-all description of most joint efforts. In documentary the term is tossed around to mean anything from the subject as informant to the sharing of differing skills to the subject introducing the crew into a community to the subject as co-producer. The type of *lateral collaboration* I'm proposing creates an open space for dialogue: a space for filmmakers to learn to pose the questions they do not originally know to ask, a place where film subjects select the fragments of their reality they deem significant to document, and a moral place where subjects and image makers can mediate their own representation. (Elder, 1995, p.94, italics added)

Elder described her interest in understanding the “collaborative space” between image maker and media subject: “I wanted to position myself in an equal place of power where the subject and I could provide certain knowledge, skills, and access that the other wanted” (1995, p.96). In her own work she described the phenomenon of “dual audiences” (i.e. the filmmakers and the community each have their own different target audience), and noted that each collaborator must be satisfied that their own goals have been met in order to make the films valuable to each collaborating partner. This is another perspective on the notion of *use-value*, a concept that has surfaced throughout this dissertation. Elder thus identified *use-value for each collaborator* as a key criterion for identifying genuine collaborations. I think this is a very useful point.

Sarah Pink's work as an *applied* visual anthropologist should also be noted within a discussion of the use-value of media technologies. Pink makes the following claims:

... video images can act as a force that has a transformative potential for modern thought, culture and society, self-identity and memory and social science itself. Therefore by paying attention to images in ethnographic research and representation it is possible that new ways of understanding individuals, cultures and research materials may emerge. (Pink, 2001, p.13)

Pink is interested in how the skills and training of anthropology can be usefully applied to bring added value to practice in other fields. In this, she notes specifically the link of applied anthropology to development, wherein anthropology can bring indigenous knowledge to development projects (Pink, 2006, p.18). As this dissertation should have demonstrated, the skills, methods, and critical modes of

understanding problems that visual (or media) anthropology provides, can also be very usefully applied to the practice of participatory video.

It may be very tempting for all involved in a participatory video project to state that it is for the 'common good' or 'for the community', etc. Tomaselli and Prinsloo, for example, in their consideration of community video within the South African context, identified a successful collaboration as occurring "when the crew enters into 'comradeship' with the subject community through empathising with its ideology and struggle for survival" (1990, p. 6). While that may be so, it is somewhat disingenuous. In the case of the Kayamandi project, I think it would be fair to say that all the collaborators genuinely did want to make a contribution to the Kayamandi community by advocating for improved housing delivery. But beyond that we all had personal agendas of our own: I initiated it in the first place because I thought it would be a good project on which to base a dissertation, and at the same time that it could be a useful way to assist Mercy with her housing needs; the committee had a pressing need to advocate for the delivery of their own houses through Habitat for Humanity and the Stellenbosch Municipality; and the participants and interviewees hoped that by appearing in the video they might improve their personal chances of getting out of their shacks. I think that recognising the different agendas of the collaborators and acknowledging them helped to improve the overall use-value of the video project and process. It certainly had a direct effect on the addition of the whole closing section of the video, which highlighted the lack of housing delivery from both Habitat for Humanity and Stellenbosch Municipality that the committee members were experiencing.

Jay Ruby devoted a chapter in his book to "Speaking for, Speaking about, Speaking with, or Speaking Alongside" (2000). Noting that "cooperative ventures turn into collaborations when filmmakers and subjects mutually determine the content and shape of the film" (2000, p. 208), Ruby then articulated questions to be asked when querying whether or not a video or film project qualifies as a true collaboration. These questions included the following: Was there an equitable division of labour? Was decision-making shared? Was there collaboration at all stages? Was there technical involvement by the subject-community? Who initiated? Who raised and controlled funds? Who operated the equipment? Who was concerned with

completion? Who controlled distribution? Who travelled with the film for screenings? (2000, pp. 208-209). With regards to this, he highlighted the lack of documentation on “the complex mechanics of collaborations” (2000, p.208) while noting Sarah Elder’s writings on the topic as an exception.

As noted previously, it is partly in response to Ruby’s concern over a general lack of disclosure with regards to these questions that I provided a self-reflexive account of the collaborative implementation of the Kayamandi project in the previous chapter. In this account of implementation, I tried to provide the background details of collaboration that address Ruby’s questions as they related to the Kayamandi project. While some of his specific questions do not perhaps get the answers he might have been looking for in order to define it as a collaboration (e.g. I operated the equipment), I think the account of implementation shows that the content of the film was very much mutually determined (while the “shape” of the film perhaps less so as I was primarily involved in the editing – albeit subject to committee approval of each cut and responding to feedback).

Eric Michaels, a visual ethnographer who was deeply involved in action research on indigenous media with the Aboriginal community(s) in Australia, added a slightly different take on collaboration, stating that the new generation of filmmakers, acting on criticisms of appropriation, were developing new forms of collaborative work in which they saw their role as primarily that of ‘catalyst’ – “providing conduits through which a more indigenous representation is possible” (1991, p. 290). The Kayamandi project fits less neatly into this definition of collaboration. On the one hand, the *process* of the participatory video project was very much focused on acting as a catalyst for community organisation and catalysing change, as well as on enabling local participants to represent themselves and their issues. However, in the visual anthropologist’s sense of enabling ‘indigenous representation’, (i.e. an aesthetic and mode of representation that is distinct to a particular community and distinct *from* western modes of filmic representation)²⁸, the Kayamandi project does not make a particular contribution.

²⁸ This notion of ‘indigenous representation’ is explored in depth in Sol Worth and John Adair’s *Through Navajo Eyes* (1997).

I will now turn to some of the critiques and debates that have been raised in the discourse around participation in participatory film and video. The first issue that rises immediately to the foreground is the big question of *power*. Su Braden delivered a cutting critique of the language of development in her essay, *Participation – A promise unfulfilled?* (2004). In this she defined ‘participation’ as used in ‘development-speak’ (i.e. development jargon) as the masking of the real conflicts between the poor and those in power (p. 5). As such, token participation by the poor in development activities *defined* by those in power serves only to mask the fact that structural inequities are never challenged. Or, as stated by VeneKlasen and Miller, “Participation is empowering only when those who participate make decisions and choices” (2002, p. 86). And another perspective: “How long can development workers continue to talk about participation and empowerment without allowing people to speak for themselves?” (Sateesh, 2005, online). Linked to these critiques of superficial participation that is ultimately meaningless, Ruby raises the question of subject capacity for genuine participation in the video process (albeit with more relevance to documentary filmmaking than participatory video practice):

Asking subjects to become cooperatively involved by seeking their advice and consent at the onset seems quite sound at 1st glance, but laypeople tend to respond uncritically when they see themselves on the silver screen. Most lack the sophistication to grasp the implications of camera angles, lighting, pacing, and so forth.
(Ruby, 2000, p. 206)

While a founding principle of participatory video is genuine control and decision-making power of subject-participants, and as such is an attempt to respond to the above-stated critiques, questions of power still remain. These include power relationships *between filmmakers and subject-participants* (covered extensively in the literature including: Tomaselli & Prinsloo 1990; Elder, 1995; Asch, 1991; Ruby, 2000; etc.), as well as power relations *within subject-communities* affected by the use of video (a topic that has received far less attention but which has been addressed by Tomaselli & Prinsloo, 1990; Turner, 1991; Michaels, 1985; and Aufderheide, 1995).

Regarding the power relations within a genuine collaboration between filmmakers and subject-participants, Timothy Asch has perceptively noted:

Your have to take your ego and just put it in the wastebasket because it is not going to serve you very well in a collaboration. And that is probably why few of my students collaborate.

(Asch quoted in Ruby, 2000, p. 123)

The difficulty that traditional filmmakers have in relinquishing control over the filmic process has been noted as a challenge to implementing participatory video models from the time of the Fogo Project in 1968. By 1991 Tomaselli and Prinsloo articulated this concern as it related to community video in South Africa as a question of how to ensure (film) crew accountability to subject-communities. In the same year Asch wrote that it was still “new” and “different” for filmmakers to give up filmic control and instead to understand their work as being that of a catalyst (1991).

For myself, a critical moment in this regard was when the local Cape Town community television station expressed interest in airing the video-letter. As a filmmaker, this offered an opportunity to get some exposure and I felt the disappointment when the committee decided it was too risky to their objectives to go this route (i.e. they were worried about alienating the Municipality). However, I also realised that the decision was the best one in terms of the objectives of the participatory video project. Although nothing explicit was ever said, I sensed the tension from the committee when they told me their decision (i.e. they must have realised I would be disappointed on a certain level), and I also sensed their relief when I immediately agreed with their choice. I also felt that it was from this moment that the committee really began to act as if they were the ‘owners’ of the video. Elder, in addressing the issue of power as part of her analysis of collaboration, stated that “I wanted to position myself in an equal place of power where the subject and I could provide certain knowledge, skills, and access that the other wanted” (1995, p. 96). She further noted that once communities have power and control over a film, they open up access rather than close it down:

Relinquishing control is a challenge to western filmmakers. People can't believe that by giving up control, there is something greater to be gained.
(Elder, 1995, p. 96)

Again my own experiences on the Kayamandi project resonate with what Elder has stated. On the one hand, perhaps this point identifies the underlying reason why the project did not move forward as a collaboration between myself and the Zone J committee – my reluctance to let the project become embroiled in party politics and to be based on a model of confrontation rather than consensus-building would have made it difficult for me to give up power and control over the film – this was probably sensed if not articulated by that group, and lessened their drive to push forward with the project. On the other hand, the Sinomonde committee was keen to use my skills (and what they hoped was my access to decision-makers) for their own purposes (lobbying for housing delivery). In exchange, they provided me with access to people and places and information for video content. It is also interesting to recall that in its initial stages Habitat for Humanity International (HFHI) also pushed for and supported this collaboration as it fell in line with their recent broad organizational decision to make advocacy one of their key priorities. The fact that the committee ended up targeting HFHI through its video advocacy process (something that was never anticipated), reflects the power the committee has had as part of our collaboration; for example, the Sinomonde committee have been able to direct the distribution of the video-letter into a phased and multi-targeted approach, with the first phase of its use being targeted at advocating on behalf of their own housing crisis situation. Braden added further insight on this question of power when she stated, “Suffering as a result of the mistakes of others causes real disempowerment” and added that letting people make their own mistakes must be part of the process of participatory video as “learning through error requires access to the power of decision-making” (2003, p. 29). There is no way of knowing whether the approach we are now following is the best route or not, but it is being driven by the committee, and they continue to put a great deal of thought into the distribution strategy. Whatever happens, they will ‘own’ the outcomes and the learning that will come with them.

In terms of addressing power issues raised by the practice of participatory video *within* communities, I touched on this as one of my arguments for not ‘handing over the camera’ as part of the Kayamandi project in the previous chapter. Terence Turner highlighted the implications of introducing video technology into communities, specifically the struggles for control that it may trigger over its use and products, and

noted that these struggles become intensified as video assumes greater political and cultural importance (Turner, 1991, 1992). Tomaselli and Prinsloo also noted the concern of empowering one community faction over another as part of their discussion of power relationships within the context of community video in South Africa (1990). As has been discussed, the existence of highly politicised community factions in Kayamandi was a factor around which we had to negotiate. Both the Sinomonde committee and I were conscious of maintaining a neutral party political approach in both our process (e.g. identification of interviewees) and in the video product. While we should have been able to find a suitable candidate for technical training with some effort, these concerns made it easier to decide not to go that route. The primary reason for not handing over the camera, however, was that that was not what the Sinomonde committee wanted – they wanted to take advantage of my existing skills for their own purposes.

Adding another perspective on this issue of power relations within communities is Michaels's critique of Marshall McLuhan's (1962) well-known theories of communication media. McLuhan suggested that primitive cultures shared information, and that this paradigm could be replicated in the new 'global village' that was being created through modern communication technology. Michaels stated that he had found "little evidence of this egalitarianism of knowledge" (Michaels 1985, p. 505). This romantic notion of the egalitarian nature of indigenous societies has also been debunked by Carelli, the activist founder of the Video in the Villages project in Brazil. Carelli has stated that the "indigenist's dream of having Indians share video knowledge throughout their community is 'utopian'" and, "the one in charge never relinquishes his privilege and doesn't cede the camera to anyone" (quoted by Aufderheide 1995, p. 90). For Carelli, this did not pose an ideological dilemma as his agenda was to strengthen existing indigenous communities, and as part of this, to support strong (traditional) leadership structures (Aufderheide, 1995). Aufderheide made the observation that the consequence of working closely with existing political leadership was that women's perspectives virtually disappeared. Again, to reflect on the Kayamandi Project, the Zone J committee is widely regarded as the local leadership of that area of Kayamandi and it is completely male dominated. The much more peripheral Sinomonde committee that I ended up

collaborating with is female dominated and the resulting video has strong representation of women's perspectives.

Another debate that has characterised the discourse on participatory video, specifically that of indigenous media, has been one referred to by Ginsburg as a "Faustian dilemma" (1991). Ginsburg described this as the trade-off between accessing new media technologies for expressing identity and serving an indigenous community's own needs, on the one side, and the fear that the introduction of so-called 'Western technology' will act as a "final assault" on traditional cultures/language/imagery and knowledge, on the other (1991). The latter concern was strongly articulated by Faris (1992), when he took issue with the "inflated claims that the medium of film offers an escape from dilemmas of power, objectification, and 'conceptual imposition" (Crawford and Turton, 1992, p. 165). The editors of *Film as Ethnography*, in which Faris's article appeared, described his argument as follows:

What matters is not who is holding the camera but who is doing the viewing: whose 'desire' is being satisfied. Ethnographic film, even when the camera is 'in their hands' is a Western 'project' – something we do to them.
(Crawford and Turton, 1992, p. 165)

Faris's argument that 'western technologies' contaminate traditional cultures was attacked or dismissed by those involved in indigenous media projects, such as Turner (1992) and Carelli (Aufderheide, 1995). As Carelli argued, exposure to Western media is widespread throughout the world and that in his experience indigenous groups wanted control over their own image. Faris's statement that "There has never been, to my knowledge, a film of them by them (or by us) *for* them" (1992, p. 174) is pertinent in that it raises use-value again as being a measurement of participation, but as this dissertation hopes to have demonstrated, an integral part of participatory video is that the participant is both subject and audience, and there are many examples from which to draw. In response to Turner's attacks on his initial critique, Faris responded that his main point was that Western technologies are "not benign" despite the 'current rage' being indigenous media (Faris, 1993, p. 12). While I disagree with Faris's conclusions on indigenous media, his work made an important contribution to bringing forward questions and pointing out the complexity of

participation. The last word on this particular point must go to Mokuka, a Kayapo videographer:

Just because I hold a white man's camera, that doesn't make me a white man. If you were to hold one of our head-dresses, would that make you an Indian?
(Mokuka quoted by Chalfen, 1997, p. 333)

Other concerns raised about participation in film and video include a cautionary note on the danger of sparking a temporary awareness within a subject-community that is not followed through as part of a structured process for change, leaving nothing changed but resulting in a heightened sense of subordination and helplessness (Tomaselli & Prinsloo, 1990). This is a real concern with participatory video projects, where the inclination of a filmmaker is to consider a project complete once there is an edited video project. The long-term commitment required for a participatory video project must be considered at project inception. In the case of the Kayamandi project, while this dissertation is being prepared for submission, the project itself is obviously still ongoing and is in fact in a critical phase. While the committee would probably continue to use the video-letter to advocate on its own behalf at this stage were I to suddenly stop my involvement, this would create both disappointment and a distrust that would extend both personally to me as well as more broadly to future 'development projects.' Another form of this pitfall of leaving subject-participants ultimately demoralised is that of providing video technical training to members of subject-communities without any long-term support plan in place (Chalfen, 1997). Based on my experience with training in the field of community development, I was certainly conscious with the Kayamandi project that I did not have the capacity to train anyone well enough to make them commercially viable, nor did I have the connections to place them in a position of ongoing training or support. Ultimately, the effort of 'handing over the camera' for this project would have felt largely like participation 'public relations.'

In closing, this section has attempted to take cognizance of the fact that 'participation' in and of itself is not a panacea. The observations on power make problematic the 'participation' in participatory video. Power relations between a filmmaker and participants are critical to understanding the nature of the participation. Furthermore, communities are not monolithic homogeneous non-

hierarchical entities – and so *who* is participating within a community must be interrogated closely, to ascertain whether it is an example of a collaboration or an indigenous media product. The introduction of video technology to communities that do not have a history of control over their own media image is another aspect for consideration, and yet again taking account of ‘use-value’ comes into play. And lastly, the long-term implications of participatory projects are a vital consideration. Ultimately, understanding the potential weaknesses of applying participation contributes to the potential for meaningful participatory video practice.

6.2 *Representation / authorship*

Who has the responsibility and legitimacy (or power and authority) to represent others, not only in the sense of rendering likenesses but also in the sense of “speaking for” and “presenting a case”? ... An unasked but crucial question is, In what way does this representation matter to those it represents?
(Nichols, 1994, pp. 64-65)

Finding one person or even a small group of people to represent accurately or fairly a community or a culture is difficult, perhaps impossible.
(Ruby, 2000, p. 208)

Representation is a complex concept in postmodern theorising. As discussed in some detail in Chapter 3 with regard to cinema vérité and cinema direct, questions about representation in non-fiction film really came to the forefront for the first time in the 1960s. Since that time the notion of the camera as an objective observer of reality has been seriously undermined; issues of power arising from the act of representing an other, but particularly ‘the Other’, have been opened up; and alternative modes of authorship have been explored.

I like the way MacDougall described the ‘crisis of representation’ – that discrepancy between experience and the existing paradigms representing it: “when filmmakers measure their films against their experience of the world they often find them lacking” (1992, p. 40). He identified “what is lost” between that lived experience of the world and a finished film product:

- 1) excess meaning (i.e. the material found in the original rushes (raw footage) of a film that may suggest other subjects / interpretations / meanings / etc that is ‘lost’ through the process of editing and the “economy of signification”);

- 2) interpretive space (i.e. the loss of the “background” through the process of shaping a film to focus on its selected subject);
- 3) a sense of encounter (i.e. that quality of ‘encounter immediacy’ as seen in the rushes that gradually disappears); and
- 4) the loss of internal contextualization (i.e. the loss of additional material that would extend meaning to that which is left in the final film).

(MacDougall, 1992, p. 41).

As mentioned previously, MacDougall’s articulation of these losses as summarised in his article’s title, “When Less is Less,” made an impression on me, and so I have included a consideration of them in this section, though these ‘losses’ apply generally to most types of non-fiction filmmaking and certainly not just to participatory video. Perhaps, however, the nature of these ‘losses’ is of greater concern to those involved in participatory video as the emphasis is on consciously opening up participation and representation and working against closing it down.

When I watched the unedited tapes of all I had shot on the Kayamandi project, I was struck at how much walking through the streets and alleys with the interviewees gave me that feeling of being there that I had had at the time of shooting. Walking the actual route from each person’s shack to where they had to go to get water and to reach toilet facilities was a powerful way to gain an understanding of their daily lives. These rushes, with the interaction between the ‘filmer’ and the ‘filmed’ part of it as well, seemed like such a ‘full’ picture (dare I say ‘representation’?) of those shooting days (I wouldn’t claim that they were a ‘full’ picture of those people or their lives), and yet I knew that the fullness of just those few moments would pretty much be lost in the shaping of a video-letter out of all the material. This little example opens the door to the minefield that is representation. I have written it as I felt it, but am conscious that even the little claim I have made is open to critical scrutiny. For example, I should instead have said that that footage gave a relatively full representation of *my* experience of those shooting days. As Sarah Elder has put it, “My experience of you is primarily authored by me. We see what we know how to see, what we’ve learned to see” (1995, p. 96).

As discussed in Chapter 3, postmodern critiques of positivist notions of representation have a particularly strong history in visual anthropology. (Early ethnographic filmmaking posed a particularly obvious target for these critiques with its overt assumptions and claims to represent ‘the Other’ (or ‘the Native’ in the terms of its day)). Jay Ruby has a particular penchant for this type of critique:

More and more people understand the technologically produced image as a construction – as the interpretive act of someone who has a culture, an ideology, who comes from a particular socio-economic class, is identified with a gender, and often has a conscious POV, all of which causes the image to convey a certain kind of knowledge in a particular way. Image-makers display their view of the world whether they mean to or not. No matter how much people may feel the need for an objective witness of reality, image-producing technologies will not provide it.
(Ruby, 2000, pp. 139-140)

Because participatory video collaborations often involve an outsider filmmaker working with a particular community, further questions are raised in the already daunting challenge of representation. Again, the issue of power arises:

The problem of representation lies not only in the identity of filmmaker as outsider, but in the power dynamics between any filmmaker and her subjects.
(Elder, 1995, p.96)

This power dynamic is particularly loaded when it involves a ‘Western’ filmmaker and a ‘non-Western’ community, which is often the case in participatory video projects. This relationship has been the subject of much discussion within visual ethnographic circles both in how it applies to participatory video in that field as well as more broadly. While this dynamic is far more laden with the weight of early ethnographic filmmaking and its colonialist paradigm in visual anthropological practice than outside of it, there are cautionary notes to be taken.

Asch states, “Now we don’t talk about the ‘native.’ We refer to the ‘other’” (1993, p. 6). He then notes that “Frequently ‘the Other’ is used as a synonym for ‘the Native’ and implies the same colonialist perspective” (1993, p. 6). American author, feminist and social activist, bell hooks, critiques the “new jargon about the Other,” calling it a “new form of colonizing language” (1989, p. 15). She suggests that this new relationship can be reduced to something along the lines of “(You) tell me your sad stories and I’ll re-tell them (author them) for you” (1989, p. 15). Minh-ha states

similar concerns: “Has anything changed since ‘indigenous’ took over, rendering ‘native’ obsolete?” (1989, pp. 52-53). She is sharply critical of new methodologies that claim to shift the act of representation to the Other:

Natives must be taught in order to be anti-colonialist and de-westernised; they are indeed, in this world of inequity, the handicapped who cannot represent themselves and have to either be represented or learn how to represent themselves. Whatever the issue, they are entrapped in a circular dance where they always find themselves a pace behind their white saviours.
(Minh-ha, 1989, p. 59)

Stephen Lansing, in his seminal article, “The Decolonization of Ethnographic Film” (1989), described the development from positivist notions of anthropology as a silent recording device, to visual anthropologists associating themselves more with documentary film, to the use of the Fogo process in Newfoundland and Nepal as marking a key shift in the nature of ethnographic filmmaking (1989, p. 11). He identified the fact that the Fogo process was effective in attaining the goals of its participants, and that it was designed as a catalyst for discussion, which thus allowed for the emergence of reflexivity (through community screenings) as the characteristics that set it apart (Lansing, 1989, pp.11-12). Once again, the ‘use-value’ for the participants seems to play a key role in countering the pitfalls identified above by Asch, hooks and Minh-ha.

This key aspect of use-value has underpinned the Kayamandi project throughout its various phases. The development of this video process provides evidence of the intrinsic use-value of this project to its subject-participants as will now be described. Community ‘burn-out’ around development projects is quite palpable in Kayamandi. As a small ‘manageable’ township, I know that Kayamandi has been the subject of numerous research projects emanating from the water and sanitation sector through my contacts in this field and I know that researchers have found a growing and marked disinterest by community members there in participating in any new ‘projects.’ For me a clear indication of this is that many development projects in South Africa require a budget for ‘reimbursing’ participants for their time (i.e. it is not permissible to ‘pay’ people for their time and effort). This phenomenon is not new or restricted to South Africa (see Lansing 1989). Lansing suggested that if there was a truly *reciprocal* benefit from a research project to both researchers and ‘subjects’,

than the issue of monetary payments to participants would fall away. He suggested that this could in fact be an indicator as to whether or not an action-research project was genuinely in the interest of its subject-community or not (Lansing 1989). Having worked in the development sector for over 10 years, I was very conscious that the issue of payments of any kind has never arisen over the course of the Kayamandi project with any of the committee members, participants, and/or audience members, e.g. participants, have attended and organised various meetings and screenings; participated in interviews; assisted with translations; and facilitated private screenings and evaluation processes without any kind of reimbursement beyond their own invested interest.

Moving on to a discussion of different modes of representation, there are authors from a variety of fields who have made a contribution in this area that are relevant to an account of participatory video. Bill Nichols, a film theorist, provides a useful starting point regarding categories of representation in non-fiction film (1991, 1994). Nichols initially identified four modes of representation in *Representing Reality* (1991) and then added a fifth in *Blurred Boundaries* (1994). He acknowledged that the different modes overlap and interact in actual films. I include a short summary table drawn from Nichols to provide a useful starting point to considering modes of representation (1994, p. 95):

	Mode:	Description:	Deficiencies:
1	Expository (developed 1930s)	Directly addresses the real;	Overly didactic
2	Observational (developed 1960s)	Eschews commentary; observes things as they happen;	Lack of history and context
3	Interactive (developed 1960s-70s)	Interview; retrieve history;	Excessive faith in witnesses; naïve history
4	Reflexive (developed	Questions documentary form; defamiliarises the other modes;	Too abstract; loses sight of actual issues

	1980s)		
5	Performative (developed 1980s – 90s)	Stresses subjective aspects of a classically objective discourse;	Loss of referential emphasis may relegate such films to the avant- garde; ‘excessive’ use of style

I found Nichols’ categories useful during the conceptualisation and editing of the Kayamandi project in terms of thinking about representation. He made various observations that enabled a clearer understanding of the deeper impact of practical choices such as interviewing and revealing the making of the film within the film. He deconstructed modes of representation in order to query where real authorship lay. For example, Nichols noted that the expository mode of representation has “witnesses give their testimony within a frame they cannot control and may not understand . . . their task is to contribute evidence to someone else’s argument” (1991, p. 37). He had little respect for the observational mode stating, “What authority legitimates the appropriation of the images of others in the absence of an acknowledged human relation?” (1991, p. 92). He described some interactive films as using the low-key presence of the filmmaker to give the impression that the argument is the witnesses’ and that the filmmaker merely presents and illustrates it, calling this a shift from “author-centered voice of authority to witnessed-centered voice of testimony” (1991, p. 48). In developing this concept further Nichols observed that when filmmaker and social actor coexist within the historical world but only one has the power to represent it, the other becomes the subject of the film and experiences a displacement:

Though bodily and ethically absented, the filmmaker retains the controlling voice, and the subject of the film becomes displaced into a mythic realm of reductive, essentialized stereotype, most commonly romantic hero or powerless victim.
(1991, p. 91)

With reference to a film discussed earlier in this thesis, Nichols noted that even with *Housing Problems*, which tried to assist the working class to find their own voice, the “convention of speaking for others regained primacy” (1991, p. 91). Strongly related to this dissertation’s concern with using film as a tool for change (or ‘praxis’ as Nichols would call it), Nichols described reflexivity and consciousness-raising as

going hand-in-hand. He argued that the act of making an audience aware of form and structure and its determining effects raised the potential for new structures to be brought into being – not just in theory but in practice socially (1991, p. 73). He identified the reflexive mode and the interactive mode as having the most potential for consciousness-raising and thus the potential to catalyse change (1991, p. 73). Nichols was obviously not directly familiar with participatory video examples himself, but he was impressed with the Fogo process model that Lansing documented in “The Decolonization of Ethnographic Film” and cited the worth of “works structured for use-value for their subjects rather than for their informational or affective value to others” (1991, p.86). Or as Wiesner put it, the Fogo process marked an ethical shift away from ‘using’ communities as material and making the filmmaker accountable to the people he or she is filming so that they engage as partners (1992, p. 70, citing Henaut (1975)).

Building on the basis of the modes of representation set out by Nichols, various other authors have commented more specifically on the question of representation within participatory modes. Ruby, citing “questions of voice, authority, and authorship” as characterising the postmodern era (2000, p. 196), states that “The subjects’ demand for some control over how they are represented can be heard almost everywhere in the world” (2000, p. 198). Ruby cites various participatory video projects as models of collaborations, starting with Challenge for Change (2000, p. 209). With regards the Fogo project, he notes the effectiveness of this project in actually achieving social change within the lives of the subject-community (again ‘use-value’ is understood to be important) (2000, p. 209). In his consideration of indigenous media Ruby notes that this form does not necessarily challenge old forms of representation (from a *process* perspective) if a previous elite is simply substituted for a new elite, for example, if the relationship between filmmaker and subjects remains that of the director maintaining control as author and the subject remaining passively cooperative (2000, p. 214). Ruby notes another cautionary example, originally identified by Sol Worth, of one of the Challenge for Change films, *You are on Indian Land* (2000, p. 209). Worth criticised this film because, although Native Americans had made it, they had been trained by the NFB and he felt that the finished film reflected ‘white, middle-class values of how information films bring about gradual and democratic change’ (cited in Ruby, 2000, p. 209). This provides an example of

indigenous media that mimics traditional modes of representation within the film *product*. Eric Michaels, a visual anthropologist who was involved with indigenous media work with Aboriginal communities in Australia, made a similar point, noting that handing over the camera “does not automatically restore the subject and convert the process into a transparent act of auto-inscription” (1991, p. 290). His main concern was that the training and professionalising of emergent filmmakers from non-Western communities (by Western filmmakers) could serve to subvert the emergence of indigenous forms (Michaels, 1991, p. 290). However, it is also a comment on the complexity of representation.

Returning to collaborative models, Ruby offers no easy models for ‘sharing authority’. With reference to this, Ruby gives brief attention to the concept of the Third Voice developed by Barbara Meyerhoff, describing it as a complex idea that suggests a “3rd voice” emerges as a result of a collaboration between an investigator (filmmaker) and the person portrayed (2000, p. 247). Ruby makes the observation that, while the concept of a third voice as an amalgam of the maker’s voice and the subject’s voice may be appealing, the “authority for the blend remains in the hands of the researcher” (2000, p. 212). As described in the previous section on participation in this chapter, Ruby sees knowledgeable involvement of subjects (in terms of filmmaking) with filmmakers as a pre-requisite to a true collaboration. He then queries why such subjects would need an outsider filmmaker: “Wouldn’t they want to make their own films?” (2000, p. 212), and concludes that “The notion of shared authority remains more of a politically correct fantasy than a field-tested actuality” (2000, p. 212). Ruby also notes the following:

Although a multivocal approach to the documentary does empower subjects, it will not absolve the filmmaker from the ethical and intellectual responsibility for the film. (Ruby, 2000, p. 207)

As someone involved in actual participatory video practice, Sara Elder offers sound insight on this point. She states that she and her filmmaking partner used to call their work “community-determined” – but realised they (the filmmakers) were still the ones authoring the film products and that communities were ‘collaborating’ more than ‘determining’ – thus they began to use the term ‘community-collaborative’ to

describe their work (1995, p. 96). This term seems to me an appropriate description of the way the Sinomonde committee and I worked together on the Kayamandi project. Certainly I authored the video-letter in the sense that I decided on how to structure the video product and put the audiovisual pieces together. The input I received from the committee on the edited versions was based solely on content – what information should be there / added / deleted – and did not touch on more subtle aspects of editing and representation. Despite this, I argue that the Sinomonde committee shares ownership of the video-product; that they have represented themselves and their issues within the video; and that the video is the result of a genuine collaboration with the potential to effect real change. However, it would be somewhat equivocal for me to claim that the video is an example of shared authorship when I was the only one who knew how to put a film together. Ruby is correct in the sense that, if a subject-community knew how to make films themselves, there wouldn't be a role for an outsider filmmaker. But the reality is that most marginalized communities do not have the ability to make films to advocate on their own behalf and/or tell their own stories and that is why the model of participatory collaboration (or community-collaborative as Elder would put it) is such a useful and practical one.²⁹

Another interesting take on this idea of the distinction between authorship and collaboration comes from Pamela Klassen, who wrote about her work documenting on video the stories of two Russian Mennonite women who fled to Canada during World War II:

Despite our power sharing . . . the women in the video agreed that the project is ultimately my work, even saying to me, "It's your thesis!" when we differed. In some ways my authorship freed them of responsibility for what they said, allowing them to voice critical opinions they might not otherwise. They could remain appropriately modest, attributing the audacity of telling their stories to me.
(1993, p. 38)

While accepting that sharing authorship is perhaps idealistic, participatory video practice should enable subject-participants to represent themselves: "Power, or

²⁹ S. Levine suggests that most people in the world, irrespective of class, lack the ability to make films -- due largely to the highly specialised nature of the practice, but also due to the less tangible 'mystical' nature of filmmaking (2008, Examiner's Report).

empowerment, comes through effective representation, as everyone who has lobbied knows” (Braden, p.1, 2004).

The basic steps and methods identified as part of the Fogo process still hold up in this regard. Lansing analysed the Fogo process in terms of how it demonstrated that “there are many ways to restructure the filming process to shift a measure of editorial control to the people in the film, and to engage them not as passive objects but as active collaborators in every phase” (1989, p. 14). In this context he emphasized the importance of giving attention to methodology (and noted the ‘Approval Screening’ as a key component of this) and to accepting principles of reciprocity and exchange; in other words, there must be use-value of the film process and / or product to the subjects (1989, p. 15).

Another point worth noting is Kennedy’s observation on his work with the Fogo process – that community representatives were able to speak to him articulately about community issues in informal settings, but in the formal setting of a meeting with outsider decision-makers, they often did not speak at all and were unable to represent their issues and concerns (1982, p. 36). This is an important element of participatory video – it allows community representatives to speak comfortably from within their own context or environment, through the medium of video, directly to decision-makers, thereby utilising the opportunity to represent themselves and their community effectively.

In the case of the Kayamandi situation, communication between the Municipality and the community generally revolved around infrequent mass meetings that more often than not end badly, with one or the other storming out. It is virtually impossible for real communication and exchange to occur within this context, nor is it easy for community members to represent themselves beyond polemic. Using participatory video thus allows community members to represent themselves in a calm and rational manner, and works against the taking up of adversarial positions in conflict situations. This enables a starting point for real communication and negotiation.

Adding another angle on representation within participatory video, Maingard (with reference to Nichols) wrote about strategizing against ‘containment’ and that

community video need not be contained – that it has the capacity to explore and represent the broadest connections possible between the issues it has identified and the conditions that gave rise to these issues (1991, p. 40).

From a more technical point-of-view on representation, feminist filmmaker Halpern Martineau wrote about using direct address (i.e. filming a subject speaking directly to the camera as opposed to using a more traditional interview). Direct address seems to be used more often in participatory video than in other forms of non-fiction filmmaking – it promotes the sense that the subject is taking on “more apparent responsibility for her presentation in the film” (Martineau, p. 258) – and sets up a more direct and engaged relationship between the subject and the viewer. I used this approach when shooting the interviews for the Kayamandi project. I sat at the camera so that the interviewees could feel like they were speaking to someone during the shooting (i.e. not just talking to a camera), but the way Malibongwe and I directed the interviews was to explain the project as a video-letter and the opportunity for people to speak directly to the Municipality; our questions were also intended to promote the sense of direct address (e.g. “This video letter is a chance for you to speak directly to decision-makers at the Municipality -- what would you like to say to them?”).

In concluding this discussion on representation and authorship, I would like to add a few final points. While participatory video practices, and particularly something quite specific such as the Fogo process, have in a sense an in-built ethical framework, it is worth noting that the ethics of representation should always be considered independently for every project. John Stuart Katz noted the disturbing trend in documentary filmmaking that dates back to Flaherty’s *Nanook*, in which filmmakers ask their subjects to change their behaviour (2003, p. 334). He notes the ethical responsibilities of filmmakers as including those to yourself as a filmmaker; those to your profession; to your audience; and to your subjects (Katz, 2003, p. 334). In the case of participatory video, all of these apply, but the responsibility to the subject-participant must be highlighted.

As the filmmaker in a collaborative video, one must be wary of taking on the role of advocate (as defined by Kennedy earlier in this dissertation), and advocating *on*

behalf of the subject-participants. While it is deceptively easy to fall into this trap (one is after all trying to ‘help’ the subjects), it negates the whole point of enabling communities to represent themselves and thus take on the responsibility for moving forward with their issues. As noted previously, this may entail taking on responsibility for both success and failure (Braden, 2004), for as Ruby cautions in his inimitable way, yes, victims of Western oppression should represent themselves, but “it should not be assumed that any one group has a privileged insight into its own history. People seldom understand their own motivation” (2000, p. 205).

I’ll leave the last word on representation to Faye Ginsburg, because it steps back from the theorising and allows us to move forward in the complicated real world in which we work:

Filming others and filming one’s own group are related but distinct parts of a larger project of reflecting upon the particulars of the human condition, and therefore each approach raises its own sets of issues regarding ethics, social and power relations. In fact, much of current post-modern theory, while raising important points about the politics of representation, is so critical of all “gazes” at the so-called “other” that to follow the program set forth by some, we would all be paralysed into an alienated universe, with no engagement across the boundaries of difference that for better or worse exist.
(1991, p. 103)

6.3 *Reflexivity / reception*

For communities which lack cohesion, self-esteem and even visibility, the experience of seeing their area and/or issues portrayed constructively and with dignity on screen can bring about a profound change in consciousness and confidence. Watching videos illustrating people with whom they identify suggesting or taking action to improve their lives moves an audience from passive complaint to active engagement and involvement in change.
(Garthwaite, 2000, p. 63)

Public screenings are the best example of the use of video technology as an alternative medium and an empowering tool. They are organized by networks of people who are linked through video technology and their appreciation of the critical content the videos reflect. Screenings provide spaces for dialogue and encounter, binding people from diverse backgrounds together, and opening up the possibility of media, social, humanitarian and/or political action. Public screenings are limited in the number of people they can reach but they are successful in engaging with audiences at a direct and more personal level.
(Magallanes, 2005, p. 17)

Thus far this chapter has dealt with the themes of participation and collaboration, and then with the complex issues of representation and authorship. This last section of the chapter now deals with issues that dominate at the latter stages of a participatory video process related to the screening and reception of the video product, including the key aspect of reflexivity. The act of screening and all that it encompasses is critical to the participatory video process – screening a ‘local’ video product for its subject-audience community is a distinctive experience from the mass distribution screening of films or videos made for a general audience. The self-reflexive and engaged relationship that is intended to develop between the film and the subject-audience is what sets the reception of participatory video products apart from the passive consumption of most film products. In fact this is such a key component that utilising facilitated screenings with a more traditionally produced film or video product can result in a participatory screening process that yields many of the same benefits as those produced by a more fully participative process.

As noted, reflexivity is a key component of the reception of a participatory video process. However, reflexivity can be understood in a variety of ways. Ruby has stated that to be reflexive means to conceive of the production of communicative statements as having four components: producer – process – product – reader/viewer. Some knowledge of each of these components is necessary for a “critical and sophisticated understanding” (Ruby, 2000, p. 154). The most common way reflexivity is understood in film theory is based on the practices developed in cinema vérité whereby filmmakers drew attention to the fact that their film was a constructed entity within the film itself, for example, by revealing the filmmaker and/or the cinema apparatus. Reflexivity thus “offers a means of encoding crew assumptions into the film or video text which alerts both subject-community and audiences as to how meanings have been constructed” (Tomaselli, 1989, p. 14). The reason for incorporating reflexivity into non-fiction filmmaking according to Ruby, is that audiences tend to believe certain types of stories are objective and true, and so “filmmakers must remind viewers that they are telling them their stories, not revealing the truth” (2000, p. 101). In the case of participatory video, emphasizing the subjective voice of the subject-participant seems to me an appropriate technique, as its corollary is that the mainstream viewpoint the participants are challenging is undermined in its claim to objective truth.

A slightly different take on the “subjective voice” is described by David MacDougall (1995). He describes those moments in a film when the “coolly disengaged stance of the camera . . . is violated. As people look into the lens, the viewer suddenly has the sense of being looked at” (1995, p. 224). He describes these moments as evoking a primal experience of daily life – “of look returned by look” – and states that it is the look of exchange that says, “At this moment, we see ourselves through one another” (1995, pp. 224-225). This direct gaze into the camera disturbs the passive observation of the viewer and demands engagement. As mentioned in the previous section, I used direct address in the Kayamandi video because it supported self-representation by the participants, but another key aspect to direct address within the context of a video-letter is that it helps elicit direct engagement from its target audience.

There is another type of reflexivity, that of *self-reflexivity*, which is fundamental to understanding participatory video. Shirley White, in her book “Participatory Video,” states that the essence of “video power” is seeing one’s own image – that it is an “instrument for self-definition and empowerment (2003, p. 66). There is something about seeing oneself onscreen that allows a person or group ‘to see yourself as others see you’. And what has been found time and again is that this process is ultimately an empowering one, which engenders objective self-criticism and analysis, as well as affirmation of one’s right to speak and one’s ability to do so (improves self-confidence and self-image (Crocker, 2003, p. 130)). Gwyn described “this mysterious capability of the media” as the “essence of the Fogo process” (1972, p.34). Tony Williamson described the self-reflexive phenomenon in the Fogo process as follows:

People viewing themselves or their friends and relatives for the first time saw themselves in a new light, as others might see them. Many saw, for the first time that they in fact had knowledge, skills, strengths, and a lifestyle which were of value, and which, moreover they and their friends were expressing articulately.”
(Williamson, 1988, p. 5)

The simple but powerful process of “video feedback” achieves this phenomenon of ‘self-reflexivity’ (White, 2003, p. 98), for example, playback of both rushes (unedited material) and/or edited material. The most critical attribute of self-reflexivity is that it

catalyses a response in the subject-viewer that can lead to change. As White described it, the “video presence conscientizes personal behaviours” so that during viewing, evaluative responses are triggered within individuals – and this is the element that can alter behaviours (2003, p. 98). Susan Levine describes a South African example of this in the Impact Study she authored on the STEPS films, which have been discussed previously in this dissertation:

A major finding . . . is that viewers throughout the region empathize with the characters in the STEPS film collection. The films give people a chance to look inside themselves, and then to look at one another in a new light. Confronting the indifference, irresponsibility, and stigma that surrounds HIV/AIDS is the first step towards taking responsibility for ourselves and for one another.” (2003a, p. 4).

Beyond the impact on a personal level, self-reflexivity works on a broader scale, particularly when used consciously as part of a participatory video process. It can be used to develop a collective sense of community between individuals and/or between people living in isolated geographical areas that share common problems but who previously did not have that recognition. Su Braden’s more recent work with Actionaid in Africa has really focused on this aspect of using participatory video as a means of building community consensus and then broadening it out to build coalitions or alliances between resource-poor communities so that they may more effectively represent their common needs to government and decision-makers (Braden, 2004). Part of what underlies this development is that participatory video can catalyse conversations between people who don’t ordinarily speak to each other; and because the process of videotaping increases individuals’ observation of the event, for example, the presence of the camera makes the event or person seem worthy (White, 2003, p. 98).

I must admit that while this process of building community consensus and alliances was one of my ideal goals for the Kayamandi project, it is not a goal that has been met except on a very small scale. The video process has helped consolidate and catalyse the Sinomonde committee’s efforts to advocate on their own behalf to Habitat for Humanity and Stellenbosch Municipality for their long-promised houses, but it has not yet had any marked effect thus far on building broader community alliances around housing policy advocacy. While the Kayamandi context is a

challenging one because it is so highly politicised and divided, the screening of the video has not yet attained the degree of critical momentum that would be required for it to enable such processes.

Before moving on to a specific discussion of screenings and the important role they play in a participatory video process, I will first examine different types of discourses as they relate to the reception of a video product. Kelly Askew provides an overview to the development of media anthropology and the theoretical history of what is now known as 'reception studies' in her introduction to *The Anthropology of Media* (Askew, 2002, pp. 1-15). In this she notes Hortense Powdermaker's pioneering work in Hollywood in the late 1940s at the time of the studio system and Powdermaker's assessment that "Hollywood represents totalitarianism" (Powdermaker, 1950, p.327 cited in Askew, 2002, p.4). Askew described this early period of media anthropology as one in which the audience was understood to be "passive" and where "the basic freedom of being able to choose between alternatives is absent" (2002, p.4). In this she noted that the Frankfurt School of theorists had drawn parallel conclusions (2002, p.4). In the 1970s, however, there was a shift from prioritising the *production* of media images, to considering the *reception* of media images. Leading this, cultural studies theorists problematised the assumptions of "uncomplicated, unilinear transmission" from producer to consumer and attributed power to the acts of viewing and listening (Askew, 2002, p.5). As part of this, media audiences went from "passive receptacles" or "consumers", to "*producers* of meanings" (Askew, 2002, p.5). This swing to an emphasis on the power of the audience countered the Frankfurt School's pessimistic belief in the unassailable power of cultural imperialism and the previous belief first articulated by Marshall McLuhan that "the medium is the message" (cited in Askew, 2002, p.6). Within this, however, there was a recognition that many "representational strategies" (such as stereotyping; essentialising; reductionism; etc) were used by media producers to privilege certain readings i.e. produce "preferred readings" particularly with regards race, gender, class, etc. (Askew, 2002, p.5). Out of this, postmodernism posited the existence of multiple subjectivities and reinvigorated interest in context (Askew, 2002, p.8). From within a contemporary perspective of "liberal pluralism," media technologies are now seen as tools available to the disenfranchised and as having the potential to be used for the betterment of society (Askew, 2002, p.8).

Against this background, it is useful to consider more specifically a comparison between mass media and community media (within which participatory video can be classified). Authoritarian discourse can be understood as the discourse of the mass media. It is one-way discourse that emanates from an official source. The more powerful the ideology, the more totalitarian (monologic) will be the claims of its language (Holquist, 2002, pg. 53 cited in Magallanes-Blanco, 2005, p. 4). Internally persuasive discourses on the other hand (Bakhtin cited in Magallanes-Blanco, 2005, p. 3) enable people to engage with both content (discourse) and the medium (video) and open access to different interpretations and meanings, thereby facilitating the development of a personal viewpoint that is formed through engagement (Magallanes-Blanco, 2005, p. 13).

Along somewhat similar lines, Rodriguez identified two different approaches in communication for social change initiatives (particularly from the context of conflict situations): the epidemiology approach vs the social fabric approach (2004). The epidemiology approach is based largely on the entertainment-education model in which the message is essentially a didactic one-way communication in which raising awareness is expected to persuade individuals to change their behaviour. The social fabric approach, on the other hand, is based on an understanding of communication for social change as based on complex, multi-directional, and long-term collective processes (Rodriguez, 2004, pp. 2-3).

Participatory video, by its nature, is aligned with 'internally persuasive discourses' and the 'social fabric approach.' Lansing, in his analysis of the Fogo process stated that the great innovation of Fogo was that it moved from self-exploration of communities to a critical juxtaposition of different modes of understanding. He believed the videos produced as part of the Fogo project and the facilitated community screening programme that followed helped create conditions for "true discourse" (with reference to Habermas), "in which the validity claims of systems of knowledge are subjected to free critical evaluation" and which in turn strengthens its claims for legitimacy (Lansing, 1989, p. 12).

Adding to this discussion, Magallanes-Blanco identifies the attribute of video-technology as a medium (and not just video content) as also contributing to consciousness raising and promoting dialogue:

Video technology and video productions make possible discourses that simultaneously challenge media institutions and their relations with hegemonic power. They challenge the media networks' authoritative discourses and the networks' role as agenda setters and as models for media production. (Magallanes-Blanco, 2005, pp. 18-19)

This is a point supported by many from the early days of video, when the new technology allowed access to production to those outside of the elite world of technologically intensive and expensive film production, and has been noted at various points within this dissertation. While it has been exploited to greater and lesser degrees since its emergence in various parts of the world, the ever-increasing accessibility of video and now digital technologies opens up access to production on an ever-increasing scale and by its very nature undermines authoritarian discourses.

Various authors have written about reception theory from the perspective of understanding audiences as active agents in the process of constructing meaning from films, particularly from within the context of alternative distribution processes such as community screenings and/or facilitated screenings (Levine, 2003a; Magallanes, 2005; Engelhart, 2003, Lansing, 1989). Engelhart emphasized the way screenings are set up to be as vital as film content, describing the understanding of films as being shaped through "situated interactions" (2003, p. 76). She also identified "speaking back" by audience members to a film through screening discussions as an empowering act and noted that the "shared experience of viewing . . . can create a bond, a sense of solidarity and a new courage which together often lead to action" (Engelhart, 2003, p. 83). Levine identified the crucial role of facilitated screening discussions in negotiating and contesting meaning through discussion and opinion sharing. The facilitator plays an important role in this: generating and answering questions from the audience; and orchestrating discussion between participants (Levine, 2003b, p. 59).

In the particular example of the STEPS screenings, surveys were used before screenings to get a baseline on audience awareness and knowledge about

HIV/AIDS in order to identify gaps for the discussion period. The other really interesting tactic that was employed as part of the STEPS distribution programme was the use of characters from within the films as facilitators at the screenings. Levine described this as a “maverick initiative in film advocacy” that enabled film characters “to speak beyond the borders of the films in which they appear” (2003b, p. 62). Levine also raised the issue of the ‘after-life’ of a film, that is, how the discussion of a film continues beyond its screening audience through the number of people each audience member speaks to about the film and its issues (2003b, p. 15).

For the Kayamandi project the Sinomonde committee and I had some exchange on the best way to screen the video-letter within the community. Besides identifying a venue, the big question for me was whether to try and organize a once-off ‘event’-type screening or to spend most of a day at the venue, playing the 15-minute video-letter every half an hour. In the end we opted for the latter – I thought the increased chances for higher audience numbers was more a priority in this case than a formal facilitated discussion session. My reasons for this were that no one thought that the content of the video-letter would be controversial within Kayamandi; in other words, developing consensus around the content of the video was not an issue. But trying to gain as much support as possible for the video-letter through sheer numbers of viewers did seem to be the priority. I also thought that the film would stimulate discussion between audience members and then outside of the venue without the need for facilitation. While turnout for the screenings was low (bad weather; not enough advertising; and the absence of a local culture of going out to see films), the response was very positive. Almost everyone stayed for at least 2 screenings and informal discussions took place between audience members, as well as with committee members (who attended and introduced the film each time), and with me. Audience members were emphatic that ‘their’ story was being told.

Because of the set-up of the screenings, I decided to use evaluation forms to gain as much feedback as possible within the short time between screenings. These were useful in terms of getting a sense of who was interested in the video-letter from a demographic point of view; how audience members rated the accuracy / relevance / usefulness of the video-letter; to what extent audience members agreed with the

content; and to whom the video-letter should be sent. I also gather quite a bit of qualitative feedback through the 'additional comments' section. As written on one of the evaluation forms, "This video is a true story happening at Kayamandi. There's nothing less or added here, it is what is happening here." Appendix 6 provides a summary of the information gathered from the evaluation forms. However, it's worth noting that the approval of the accuracy / relevance / usefulness and content of the video-letter was 100% during the community screening³⁰. It was also interesting that feedback on who the video-letter should be sent to was mixed. Some felt it should be sent to every level of government; a distinct percentage felt that it should not be sent to the local councillors but to the local officials (reflecting a real dissatisfaction and distrust of local councillors); others felt that the local Municipality should be bypassed and the video-letter sent to provincial government.

While community or group screenings by their nature tend to catalyze discussions and debates, another distribution option that is less well understood for this purpose but may be appropriate to many situations is that of house-to-house distribution of videos and DVDs. Local production for this type of distribution is "relatively inexpensive, very decentralized, and almost impossible to control" (Ruby, 2000, p. 237). Ogan draws a comparison between video versus TV, noting that VCRs are both widespread even in poor countries and can receive any type of content, as opposed to TVs, which provide a mass medium for a mass audience (1989, p. 2). From the time of Vertov and Grierson, there has been an interest in the potential of alternative distribution circuits. Nigeria today provides a thriving African example of this type of informal unregulated distribution circuit (Haynes, 2005). The feedback I have received on using this type of distribution with the Kayamandi project is that the people living in Kayamandi are very keen to see their neighbours and their community onscreen; that small groups of people watch together; and that out of these screenings informal discussions and debates are stimulated. I put this type of distribution in place by giving each committee member and each participant in the video a copy of the DVD (accompanied with evaluation forms on the video).

³⁰ Note that additional screening activities took place later through household distribution of DVDs by the committee members, and through screenings at a community health care facility in Kayamandi. The results from these screenings are also contained in Appendix 6.

Another type of distribution with participatory video, particularly in the case of the Fogo process or in other forms of video advocacy, is that targeted at the level of decision-makers outside of the subject-community. Setting up “expedient, sensitive, and perceptive distribution” has been a key consideration of participatory video projects since the time of the Fogo project in order to reach “those individuals with the resources and potential for solution of a particular problem” (Memorial Extension Services, 1972, p. 3). This is an aspect of distribution where an outsider filmmaker / ‘social animator’ can make a contribution based on knowledge and experience of the broader political environment. In the case of the Kayamandi project, the community-based committee, Malibongwe (community animator), and I (outsider filmmaker), discussed the options. Each of us brought a different understanding to the strategizing. Certainly there is not one distribution route for this phase of a participatory video process. Stuart gives an example of a successful Fogo process video-letter in India that had a target audience of one:

The tape helped a leader listen to and understand the vendors in a way he could never have in a face-to-face confrontation. The vendors spoke in a way they would never have spoken to representatives of the Municipality.
(Stuart, 1989, p. 11)

Using video as the format for communication allows opposing sides to hear each other without direct confrontation and gives space for groups to look at themselves and assess their own position as well (Memorial Extension Services, 1972). This is very useful in situations of direct conflict, or as is more the case when video advocacy is being used, situations where communication has broken down between various groups, or where there is little or no communication. Participatory video enables groups in conflict to separately state their point-of-view directly in a less emotive environment through a ‘neutral’ camera, and in turn, watch the statements of their opponents without being in a position that requires immediate response, posturing, or argument with them (Gwyn, 1972; Braden, 2005; etc.).

One of the reasons participatory video seemed an appropriate tool for use in conveying messages from the Kayamandi community to the Stellenbosch Municipality was because of the breakdown in communication between these two groups. With the Kayamandi project, our intended target audience shifted over the

course of the project and is still ongoing. Rather than sending the video directly to the Municipality initially, we decided to first target Habitat for Humanity with the full video-letter, which includes specific complaints related to the lack of housing delivery to the Sinomonde committee (because it was felt that the Municipality had finally got its side organized, and the problem lay with Habitat). Part of this first distribution action was to send an accompanying letter that stated the time period for an expected response before sending another copy to a higher level of Habitat for Humanity International. In this type of missive we are all conscious of the power of video. Wiesner describes the “trappings” and status of film as “ironically essential” to this aspect of the Fogo process (although he notes that it is the filmmaker’s technical, not interpretive, skills that are required for the process) (1992, p. 98). As Kennedy notes, the use of video media enhances the feeling of collective power within a community, and gives a heightened sense of importance to a community’s issues and opinions (1989, p. 6). On the reception side, government decision-makers tend to pay more attention when video is used as an advocacy tool because of its “aura of power and mystique” (Kennedy, 1989, p.6). It is a powerful tool and one that the Sinomonde committee is now pinning its hopes upon.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and recommendations

From the standpoint of change, the most important characteristic of video is its potential to have a profound, positive and lasting impact. In my opinion this distinguishes it from most mass, non-participatory media which have the marvellous ability to reach millions, to raise issues, to create awareness on topics and to disseminate information with great efficiency. But, there is no way to alter the passivity of the mass media receiver nor the central structures which control these media. In contrast, participatory video can lead to action and assist change. (Stuart, 1989, p. 11)

If people are given the right tools and shown how to use them they can help themselves better than anyone else can, will make wiser decisions for themselves than others can make for them, and make important contributions to society in so doing. (Don Snowden, quoted in Williamson, 1988, p. 26)

In closing this dissertation, I will now draw conclusions and make recommendations regarding the practice of participatory video generally, and the implementation of Fogo process-based practice more specifically within the South African context. These conclusions and recommendations are based on the literature review as well as the experience gained through setting up the Kayamandi project as part of this dissertation. The conclusions and recommendations are organized around two key assessments: (1) the potential of participatory video to enable marginalised groups in South Africa to build consensus and represent themselves; and (2) the potential effectiveness of participatory video to assist these marginalised groups to effect real change through video advocacy in their social / political / physical environment within South Africa.

With regards the potential of participatory video to enable marginalized groups to build consensus and represent themselves, there is evidence of the effectiveness of participatory video to achieve these aims from a wide variety of examples throughout different parts of the world including South Africa. The benefits ascribed to a participatory video process have been discussed throughout this dissertation, including such aspects as building self-esteem and sustaining interest, as well as enhancing awareness, confidence, analytical ability and group cohesiveness (Braden 2003). The Fogo process in particular really supports the development of these outcomes. The elements and steps of the Fogo process provide an in-built method for ensuring participation and subject control over their own representation.

With the Kayamandi project, I was struck by the way the Sinomonde committee took ownership of the video product and its dissemination, and thus control over the representation of themselves and their interests. Every act and level of participation built and developed further acts and levels of participation. The sense of ownership grew during the course of the project. While I initiated the project, a sense of collaboration developed during the planning process and the shooting stage. During these stages, however, I was definitely 'driving' the project – if, for example, I had decided not to continue with the project, I am quite sure it would have ended and never gone any further. In fact, this would probably have been the case right up to the time an edited video product was produced, as I was the one with the relevant technical skills. However, before the video was finished, the committee was initiating meetings with decision-makers and had begun to use my presence (with the camera) as part of that. Now that the video is complete, the committee has completely taken over control of its dissemination. Their discussions on its distribution cover to whom it should be sent and when, as well as specific changes to the video itself depending on its target audience. Their sense of ownership has developed as far as it has because of their ultimate and genuine control over the product and process of dissemination i.e. their control over their own representation to decision-makers. While the expression has become a terrible cliché, I could not help thinking how *empowered* the group seemed through their internal negotiation on the strategic use of the video. The video is clearly deemed to be a powerful negotiating tool, and they are very concerned firstly not to squander the opportunity, and secondly, to use it carefully so that it works to their advantage and does not have an adverse effect by threatening or putting decision-makers on the defensive.

While this dissertation should have demonstrated the great potential of participatory video to enable marginalized groups to represent themselves, there are cautionary notes to be made on the implementation of the process to ensure achieving these objectives, as well as the need to take a step backwards and ask how feasible it is to use participatory video in the South African context for the pursuit of these goals. The first point in this is to return again to the importance of process versus product, the "emphasis is on a continuing process; the product is the vehicle facilitating that process" (Tomaselli & Prinsloo, 1990, p. 6). While something like the Fogo process offers guidelines and even something of a map to follow, each participatory video

process is unique and requires its own navigation. In this, the role of facilitation is a crucial one. As discussed in the dissertation, the role of the facilitator (or 'community animator') may be played by the filmmaker and/or by a locally based community development representative. In participatory video projects, facilitation is complex. It requires a different type of literacy that enables facilitators to make explicit the bigger problems underlying those issues spoken about by participants at the outset of a project (Braden, 2003, p. 35). A community animation process should foster the development of solutions, not just the descriptions of problems (Kennedy, 1989). It also demands guidance through a varied process that uses media technology and engages with decision-makers from outside a community. The sustainability of process-orientated projects often depends on continuity within the institutional base that fosters it – if a key person leaves, such projects are often dropped (Williamson, 1988). Initiating a participatory video project is a long-term commitment and this must be acknowledged. The "general feeling of helplessness" (Kennedy, 1989, p. 34) that characterises so many marginalized groups and communities, including the Sinomonde committee at the start of Kayamandi project and the Kayamandi community in general, is often largely the result of endless strings of broken and empty promises from outside agencies or government. Certainly one doesn't want to contribute to that sense of helplessness by not seeing through a project after raising hopes and using people's time and effort. So then, when is a participatory video process a feasible option in the South African context when the objective is to enable a group or community to build consensus and represent themselves? As identified above, it requires a community animator(s) with technical video capacity as well as sophisticated facilitation skills and a long-term commitment to seeing through a process that goes beyond the production of a video product. And of course, all this normally demands a budget, although the Kayamandi project has shown that a small project can be implemented with virtually no external budget whatsoever by being based on the volunteerism of all involved. (I will return to a more detailed consideration of the time and budget implications of participatory video after assessing participatory video from the perspective of its ability to bring about real change). For now, I think it is fair to claim that, should the required elements of skills, time, and budget be available, participatory video offers a valuable tool for building consensus and enabling marginalized groups to represent themselves. In terms of the Fogo process specifically, it has been found time and again that the

process is ultimately an empowering one, which engenders objective self-criticism and analysis, as well as affirmation of one's right to speak and one's ability to do so. Furthermore, it assists in developing a collective sense of community between individuals and/or between people that share common problems but who previously did not have that recognition.

A far more difficult exercise is to assess participatory video in terms of its ability to bring about real change. Firstly it is difficult to actually bring about real change that favours marginalized people and communities, and secondly, it is difficult to measure societal change and link it as a direct result to a development process:

So much of community development in the sense of human resource development is difficult to measure because it comes about through attitude change, or an enhanced sense of confidence which is reflected only indirectly through subsequent action.

(Williamson, 1988, p. 23)

White notes that the power of video to transform behaviour is not yet fully explored; that it is not adequately theorized; nor have informed links been made between theory and practice (2003, p. 29). The bottom-line however is that if concrete outcomes are not achieved by participatory video practice, participants ultimately become disempowered and feel they have wasted their time (Braden, 1998, p. 80). I think one can say that broadly speaking participatory video does provide greater potential for achieving change than a traditionally produced and distributed social documentary for example (i.e. a documentary made by an outside film crew that has little contact with its subjects and no ongoing relationship or follow-up once shooting is complete). The belief that a political film made with good intentions will somehow automatically change or improve the lives of its subjects has come under critical attack (Winston, 1988; Ruby, 2000; Kleinhans, 1984):

If all the money expended on all the images of the plight of migrant laborers since Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly's *Harvest of Shame* (1960) television program had been used for day-care centers and the improvement of these workers' living conditions their plight would be significantly improved. But instead, the migrant workers' camp in Belle Glade, Florida, which is shown in *Harvest of Shame*, has remained virtually unchanged since Murrow and Friendly filmed it. I doubt that the professional sympathizers who produced all this work can defend it with much tangible evidence. The vast majority spend a few weeks on location and then never see the people they film again. Few revolutions were won in a movie house, on a television screen, or on the six o'clock news.

(Ruby, 2000, p. 149)

Kleinhans notes that in order for radical documentary to contribute to change, filmmakers must think like 'political organisers' regarding short and long-term tactics and strategies (1984, p. 319). This is also key for the community animators involved in participatory video projects. They must facilitate various analyses of political forces; changing conditions; target audience; distribution methods; and facilitate discussion on how video can be used most effectively (Kleinhans, 1984). Despite the difficulties in measuring social change and attributing direct cause, there are many documented cases where participatory video advocacy has clearly been a critical factor in catalysing real change. These range from relatively 'big stories' such as the "Take-Over" project in which 40 video makers in eight cities documented homeless people taking over empty government-owned houses in the United States. The presence of the video-makers provided protection for the take-overs and lead to engaged discussion between the homeless and authorities (Barnouw, 1993, p. 341). This is a good example of the type of video advocacy the organisation Witness supports:

Videos targeted specifically at decision- makers can be very effective. . . . They may outline possible solutions, with specific policy recommendations or suggestions, and bring personal human experience directly into the boardrooms or committee rooms full of people with the power to make a difference.
(Witness, date, p. 101).

One of the 'small' stories is the way in which a community development organisation in Bangladesh used video to deter the abuse and abandonment of women by videotaping the testimony of these women. Confronted and exposed by these testimonies, the men involved often changed their behaviour, while the women were empowered through the process of giving their testimony to realise they both had and could exercise their fundamental rights (Bery, 2003, p. 114).

Underlying the phenomenon of change are issues of power and conflict: "no change is possible without conflict – the greater the change, the greater the conflict" (White, 2003, p. 58). Rather than ignoring power and conflict, "citizen participation and advocacy work must begin with learning how to address these realities if real change is to occur" (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002, p. xiii). One of the advantages of participatory video in this context is that it provides a relatively 'neutral space' for

participants to state their case. As demonstrated as far back as the Fogo project, video “de-identified the speaker, removed the inherent threat of confrontation, and enabled a dialogue which might otherwise never have taken place” (Williamson, 1988, p. 12). In the current South African context this is vitally important – but may still not be enough. The biggest challenge for participatory video practice in South Africa in achieving real change is *political will*, or perhaps more to the point, the lack thereof. This is followed closely by the challenge of *capacity*, or again, the lack thereof. As White notes, facilitators of a participatory video project that advocates for change need to establish trust not just with the project participants, but with the target decision-makers: political will and space on the part of local authorities is needed (White, 2003). And as Wiesner cautions, if participatory video is to work, it requires a willingness by those in power “to solicit the views of the powerless and to use mediation,” otherwise it is just a public relations exercise (1992, p. 97). At this stage, it is still too early to assess whether the Stellenbosch Municipality has the political will to hear the voices from Kayamandi contained in the video letter³¹. Over the course of the project, the responses from the Municipality have been mixed – periods of seemingly enthusiastic and open engagement, followed by periods of complete non-responsiveness.

This brings me to the question of why participatory video techniques are under-utilised as an advocacy tool in South Africa. One of the key reasons must surely be *time*. It takes time to conduct genuinely participatory processes: it takes time to get people onboard; it takes time keeping them onboard. And during all this time, the situation is ever changing. In South Africa particularly, because it is such a new democracy, the policy environment can change quite radically from one year to the next. And if one is trying to use video as a lobbying tool, it is quite important to reflect accurately the current policy context relevant to your issue. But by the time one has worked through what a participatory video project is meant to address and how, that particular moment may have passed! The funding aspect has its own time constraints. One must assume that it takes time to find and organize funding for *ad hoc* participatory video projects. Most funders want to know what the key performance indicators will be as well as a list of quantifiable outcomes. In the case

³¹ For now, the Sinomonde committee is focusing its video advocacy efforts on Habitat for Humanity.

of a participatory video proposal, this forces an emphasis on product and away from process, which runs directly counter to the very point of using participatory video in the first place. Furthermore, the cost of taking so much time to make a video product, if charging hourly rates as most NGOs and consultants do these days, can push the budget out of all reasonable boundaries. Another more fundamental concern is that the dramatic successes of the early participatory video experiments were based on situations where decision-makers were genuinely unaware of their citizens' perspectives in geographically isolated communities. At the same time, once they were made aware, they had both the *political will* and the *capacity* (skills and financial) to address their citizens' concerns. With the current crises in local government in South Africa in terms of capacity of all sorts, including public accountability and moral leadership, one has to question whether participatory video is feasible in the current South African context. Is it even a worthwhile pursuit? Wiesner argues that while the Fogo process aids empowerment of local communities, it is questionable if it is effective for change i.e. he points out that generally speaking, less expensive media has played a much larger role than video in advocating for social change (1992). This must be a consideration in the context of South Africa as a country with high levels of poverty.

Yet despite all the challenges identified above, I would say that the potential of this powerful media tool for communication and advocacy is ripe for further exploration and utilization in South Africa. The more ways participatory video is tried and the greater the number of applications it is brought to bear upon, the further it will develop in a way that best suits the local context i.e. participatory video is not a 'one size fits all' approach – it can and should be adapted to fit particular situations. There are not just many international examples from which to draw, but also a local history of committed media practice upon which to build. The constraints identified can be used constructively to guide the development of project planning and conceptualising. As media practitioners, we have the potential to pioneer further applications of participatory video to ever-wider subjects and activities, and to share skills and technology with organizations working directly with marginalized communities. It would be a lost opportunity not to take on the challenge of further developing participatory video in South Africa.

Bibliography

- ADAMS, S., 2004. Highway shacks will be history soon. *Cape Times* [online]. 19th August 2004, Available from: http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20040819070232689C409587 [Accessed 28 April 2006].
- ALLEN, R., ed., 2002. *Oxford Student's Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- THE ART OF DOCUMENTARY FILM, 2006. In: *Durban International Film Festival*. Durban, 20 June 2006.
- ASCH, P. and CONNOR, L., 1993. A Visual Dialogic: Contexts of cross-cultural speaking in our films. In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 19-30.
- ASCH, T., 1993. Does the Native Still Exist? In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 3-9.
- ASCH, T., 1992. The Ethics of Ethnographic Filmmaking. In: P. I. Crawford and D. Turton, eds. *Film as Ethnography*. New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 196-204.
- ASCH, T., 1991. The Story We Now Want to Hear Is Not Ours to Tell: Relinquishing control over representation. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 7(2), pp. 102-106.
- ASCH, T., 1975. Using Film in Teaching Anthropology: One Pedagogical Approach. In: P. Hockings, ed. *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975, pp 385-430.
- ASKEW, K., ed., 2002. *The Anthropology of Media*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 1-15.
- AUGDERHEIDE, P., 1995. The Video in the Villages Project: Videomaking with and by Brazilian Indians. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 2(2), pp. 83-93.
- AZZIZ, L., 2002. *A Self-Reflexive Account of 'Women on the Beat,' a 56 min Documentary Produced for E-TV, Feb 2000*. Honours (Level 4) paper [online], Culture, Communication and Media Studies (CCMS), University of Natal. Available from: www.ukzn.ac.za/ccms/anthropology/visualanthropology.asp?ID [Accessed 19 May 2005].
- BARNOUW, E., 1993. *Documentary: A History of the Non-fiction Film*. 2nd revised ed. Cape Town: Oxford and University Press.
- BARSAM, R.M., 1992. *Non-Fiction Film: A Critical History: Revised and expanded*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

BARTLEBY.COM – GREAT BOOKS ONLINE, 2001. *The Encyclopedia of World History* [online]. Available from: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/2636.html> [Accessed 22 November 2006].

BERRY, R., 2003. Participatory Video that Empowers. In: S. White, ed., *Participatory Video: Images that Transform and Empower*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 102 - 121.

BOONZAJER, R. M. and FLAES, D. H., eds., 1993. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

BRADEN, S., 2003. 'Whose Media?' Action Research for Participatory Representation: Some Thoughts on Work in Progress [online]. © Su Braden. Available from: www.tv.oneworld.net/section/communityinitiatives [Accessed 19 May 2005].

BRADEN, S., 2004. *Participation – A promise unfulfilled? Building Alliance between people and government: Action Research for Participatory Representation* [online]. © Su Braden. Available from: www.tv.oneworld.net/section/communityinitiatives [Accessed 19 May 2005].

BRADEN, S., 1998. *Video for Development: A Casebook from Vietnam*. Oxford: Oxfam UK and Ireland.

BRINK, M. Shubani at court-house. *Stellenbosch Gazette*. Tuesday, 11 September 2007, p.1.

BRINK, M. 'Hit man' in custody. *Stellenbosch Gazette*. Tuesday, 4 September 2007, p.1.

BRINK, M. Squatters demand houses. *Stellenbosch Gazette*. Tuesday, 17 July 2007, p.1.

BRUNI, B., 2002. Jean Rouch: Cinema-verite, Chronicle of a Summer and The Human Pyramid [online]. Senses of Cinema. Available from: www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/01/19/rouch.html [Accessed 17 September 2007].

BUCHETTI, A., 2006. *Encounters South African International Documentary Festival – Master Class, Cape Town*, 29 July 2006.

BURTON, J., ed., 1990. *The Social Documentary in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburg Press.

BURTON, J., 1990. Toward a History of Social Documentary in Latin America. In: J. Burton, ed., *The Social Documentary in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 3-30.

CAIN, J. 2005. Living Conditions in Kayamandi (Letters to the Editor). *Eikestad Nuus*, 25 February 2005, p. 8.

- CAIN, J., 2000. *Managing Rural Water Supply in South Africa: Guidelines and Recommendations on Institutional Arrangements*. Pretoria: Water Research Commission.
- CAIN, J., 1999a. Case Study of Institutional Arrangements in the Eastern Cape (Plenary Speaker). In: *Appropriate Practice Conference, East London, South Africa, 1999*.
- CAIN, J., 1999b. New Water Schemes - the Transfer Process (Capacity Building and Training Discussion Group). In: *Appropriate Practice Conference, East London, South Africa, 1999*.
- CAIN, J., 1999c. Rural Water Supply & Your Community: Background Notes for the Trainer / Facilitator. In: *Mvula Trust-EU Programme, 1999*.
- CAIN, J., RAVENSCROFT, P. and PALMER, I., 1999. *Case Study of Management System for Rural Water Supply: Matatiele District*. Pretoria: Water Research Commission.
- CAIN, J. and ILLING, L.H., 1997a. *Developing Capacity through Participation: Local Government and Rural Water Supply*. In: 9th ITN Africa Conference, Pretoria, 1997.
- CAIN, J. and ILLING, L.H., 1997b. *Laying Foundations for Involving Local Government*. In: WEDC Conference, Durban, 1997.
- CAIN, J., and RAVENSCROFT, P., 1997. *Working Towards Sustainable Operation and Maintenance*. In: WEDC Conference, Durban, 1997.
- CHALFEN, R., 1997. *Through Navajo Eyes*. (Afterword and Foreword to revised version). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- CIZEK, K., 2005 [online]. Storytelling for Advocacy: Conceptualization and Pre-Production. In: S. Gregory, G. Caldwell, R. Avni and T. Harding, eds. *Video for Change: A Guide for Advocacy and Activism*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 74-83. Available from www.witness.org [Accessed 11 November 2006].
- CLOETE, L., 2006a. Deputy mayor firm against ANC march. *Eikestadnuus*. 24 March, p. 4.
- CLOETE, L., 2006b. March against Shubani condemned. *Eikestadnuus*. 24 March, p. 4.
- COHEN, H. Moral Copyright: Indigenous People and Contemporary Film. In: L. Gross, J.S. Katz, and J. Ruby, eds. *Image Ethics in the Digital Age*. London: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 313-326.
- COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT RESOURCE ASSOCIATION (CDRA). *Personal correspondence*. 2007.

CRAWFORD, P. I. and TURTON, D., eds, 1992. *Film as Ethnography*. New York: Manchester University Press.

CROCKER, S., 2003. The Fogo Process: Participatory Communication in a Globalizing World. In: S. White, ed. *Participatory Video: Images that Transform and Empower*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 122-141.

DECKS AWASH, 1970. Fogo Film Process at Work in Alaska. *Decks Awash*. Vol. 1 (4), p. 11.

DECKS AWASH, 1968. Fogo Island in the Movies: People take a fresh look at themselves. *Decks Awash*. Vol. 1 (1), pp. 5 -6.

DEVEREAUX, L. and HILLMAN, R. ed's, 1995. *Fields of Visions: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology, and Photography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

DEVEREAUX, L., 1995. In: L. Devereaux and R. Hillman, ed's, *Fields of Visions: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology, and Photography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-18.

DURBAN INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL, 2006. The Art of Documentary Film (Workshop). 20 June 2006.

DURBAN INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL, 2006. Making Art that Counts (Workshop). 20 June 2006.

EDKINS, D. and VEHKALAHTI, I., 2008. *Steps by Steps*. Auckland Park: Fanele Press.

EDKINS, G., (grant@habitat.org.za), 25 April 2006. *Re. section review*. Email to Julia Cain (juliacain@futurenet.co.za).

ELDER, S., 1995. Collaborative Filmmaking: An Open Space for Making Meaning, A Moral Ground for Ethnographic Film. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 11 (2), pp. 94-101.

ENCOUNTERS DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL, 2006. Master Class – Kim Longinotto. 30 July 2005.

ENCOUNTERS DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL, 2006. Master Class – Francois Kohler. 30 July 2005.

ENCOUNTERS DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL, 2006. Anna Bushcotti Workshop.

ENCOUNTERS DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL, 2006. Erik Gandini Workshop.

ENCOUNTERS DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL, 2006. SABC Workshop 1. 5 August 2006

ENCOUNTERS DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL, 2006. SABC Workshop 2. 5 August 2006

ENGLEHART, L., 2003. Media Activism in the Screening Room: The Significance of Viewing Locations, Facilitation and Audience Dynamics in the Reception of HIV/AIDS Films in South Africa. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 19 (1 and 2), pp. 73-85.

EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENT AGENCY, 2006. Glossary [online]. Available from: http://glossary.eea.eu.int/EEAGlossary/H/Habitat_Agenda [Accessed 25 April 2006].

FARIS, J. C. 1993. A Response to Terence Turner. *Anthropology Today*, 9(1), February, pp. 12-13.

FARIS, J., 1992. Anthropological Transparency: Film, Representation and Politics. In: P. I. Crawford and D. Turton, eds. *Film as Ethnography*. New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 171-179.

FELD, S. (ed), 2003. *Cine-Ethnography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

FELD, S. (ed), 1985. Chronicle of a Summer (Special Issue). *Studies in Visual Communication*, 11 (1), Winter.

FELDMAN, S., 1984. "Cinema Weekly" and "Cinema Truth": Dziga Vertov and the Leninist Proportion. In: T. Waugh, ed. *Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, pp. 3-19.

GANDINI, E., 2006. *Encounters South African International Documentary Festival – Master Class, Cape Town, 29 July 2006*.

GARTHWAITE, A., 2000. Community documentaries and participatory video. *PLA Notes* 38 (June 2000). One World TV [online]. Available from: www.tv.oneworld.net/section/communityinitiatives [Accessed 17 May 2005].

GEORGAKAS, D., 1984. Finally Got the News: The Making of a Radical Documentary. In: T. Waugh, ed. *Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, pp. 154-167.

GINSBURG, F., 2003. Indigenous Media: Negotiating Control over Images. In: L. Gross, J.S. Katz, and J. Ruby, eds. *Image Ethics in the Digital Age*. London: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 295-311.

GINSBURG, F., 1991. Indigenous Media: Faustian Contract or Global Village? *Cultural Anthropology*, 6 (1), pp. 92-112.

GORDON, R., 2002. *The Dream of Abraham & his Sons (and Daughters)* [online]. Department of Anthropology, University of Vermont. Available from: www.ukzn.ac.za/ccms/anthropology/visualanthropology.asp?ID=29 [Accessed 19 May 2005].

GRIERSON, J., 1979. F. Hardy, ed., *Grierson on Documentary*. London: Faber and Faber.

GROSS, L., KATZ, J. S. and Ruby, J., eds., 2003. *Image Ethics in the Digital Age*. London: University of Minnesota Press.

GWELE, M., 2005. Health and Religion: A Study of Health-seeking behaviour in Kayamandi, Western Cape in the Context of "Medical Pluralism". MA minor dissertation, University of Cape Town.

GWYN, S., 1972. Film, video-tape and social change: A report on the seminar organized by the Extension Service, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St John's, Newfoundland, March 13-24, 1972.

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, 2006a. Housing and Sustainable Income for Orphans and Vulnerable Children [online]. Available from: http://www.habitat.org/ame/stories/hiv_oi_article.aspx [Accessed 31 March 2006].

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, 2006b. South Africa, January 13-16, 2006 [online]. Available from: http://www.habitat.org/ame/stories/reckford_journal_south_africa_1_13.aspx [Accessed 31 March 2006].

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, 2006c. Habitat for Humanity in Africa and the Middle East [online]. Available from: <http://www.habitat.org/ame/learn/about.aspx> [Accessed 31 March 2006].

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, 2006d. Frequently Asked Questions [online]. Available from: <http://www.habitat.org/ame/learn/faq.aspx> [Accessed 31 March 2006].

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, October 2005. Advocacy Management Team Report and Recommendations.

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, 12 May 2003. *Habitat for Humanity Mission Focus*. Habitat for Humanity.

HAFFNER, C., Speaker, 2006. Jean Rouch Retrospective. *In: Encounters, 8th South African International Documentary Festival. Cape Town, 21 July 2006 – 6 August 2006*.

HALPERN MARTINEAU, B., 1984. Talking about our Lives and Experiences: Some Thoughts about Feminism, Documentary and "Talking Heads" *In: T. Waugh, ed. Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, pp. 252-273.

HARRIS, E., 1972. Fogo Island: Birthplace of a communication process. *University Affairs*. Vol. 13 (3), pp. 6-7.

HARRIS, E., 1972. The 'New' Medial at M.U.N.: Film and Community Development on Fogo Island. *Luminus*. Vol. 2 (2), pp. 16-18.

HAYNES, J. [online], 2005. Nollywood: What's in a Name? *The Guardian*, Sunday, July 3rd.

HAYWARD, P., 1989. Video, democracy and independence. *Media Development*, Vol.4, pp. 5-7.

HEES, E., 1991. *The National Film Board of South Africa: A Short History*. Annale series. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

HENLEY, P., 1993. Session Report: Does the Native Still Exist? In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 179-181.

HENNEBELLE, G. (translated by T. Waugh), 1976. French Radical Documentary after May 1968. In: T. Waugh, ed. *Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, 1984, pp. 168-191.

HILL, S. *Personal correspondence*. 2007.

HOCKINGS, P., ed., 1975. *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

HOCKINGS, P., 1975. Educational Uses of Videotape. In: P. Hockings, ed. *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975, pp 383-384.

HOGENKAMP, B., 1976. Film and the Workers' Movement in Britatin, 1929-39. *Sight and Sound*, 45(2), pp. 69-76.

HOLADAY, D., 1989. Adjusting Media: a new perspective on the diffusion of communication technology. *Media Asia*, 16 (4), pp. 198-205.

hooks, b., 1989. Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness. *Framework*. Vol. 36, pp. 14-23.

INFED [online], 2006. Paulo Freire. Available from: <http://www.infed.org/thinkers/et-freir.htm> [Accessed 22 November 2006].

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AND RED CRESCENT MOVEMENT, 2005. Moving pictures: Humanitarian Action and Cinema. *Red Cross Red Crescent*, Issue 2, pp. 26-27.

IVENS, J., 1969. *The Camera and I*. New York: International Publishers.

JABLONKO, A., 1993. Session Report: Image Democracy: Ramifications of the video Splash. In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 181-182.

JEAN ROUCH RETROSPECTIVE, 2006. In: *Encounters, 8th South African International Documentary Festival. Cape Town, 21 July 2006-6 August 2006.*

KAPLAN, E. A., 1984. Theory and Practice of the Realist Documentary Form in Harlan County USA. In: T. Waugh, ed. *Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, pp. 212-222.

KENNEDY, T., 1989. Community Animation: An Open Ended Process. *Media Development*, Vol. 3, pp. 5-7.

KENNEDY, T., Summer 1982. Beyond Advocacy: A Facilitative Approach to Public Participation. *The Journal of the University Film and Video Association*, 34(3), pp. 33-46.

KLASSEN, P., 1993. Feminist Practice in Visual Ethnography. In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 37-45.

KLEINHANS, C., 1984. Forms, Politics, Makers, and Contexts: Basic Issues for a Theory of Radical Political Documentary. In: T. Waugh, ed. *Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, pp. 318-342.

KOHLER, F., *The Best Laid Plans . . .* In: Encounters and SABC Master Class Workshop, Cape Town, 30 July 2005.

KUEHNAST, K., 1992. Visual Imperialism and the Export of Prejudice: An Exploration of Ethnographic Film. In: P. I. Crawford and D. Turton, eds. *Film as Ethnography*. New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 183-191.

LANSING, J. S., 1989. The Decolonization of Ethnographic Film. In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 10-17.

LARSON, H. J., 1993. Session Report: Visual Documentation as Mediator, Recent Directions in Visual Research. In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 211-214.

LAZERUS, A. and TOMASELLI, K., 1989. Participatory Video: Problems, Prospects and a Case Study. *Group Media Journal* [online] VIII (1), pp 10-15. Available from: www.ukzn.ac.za/ccms/mediacommunication/partcommunication.asp?ID=1 [Accessed 19 May 2005].

LESAGE, J., 1990. Women Make Media: Three Modes of Production. In: J. Burton, ed., *The Social Documentary in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 315-347.

LESAGE, J., 1984. Feminist Documentary: Aesthetics and Politics. *In: T. Waugh, ed. Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary.* Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, pp. 223-251.

LEVINE, S., 2008. Examiner's Report (this dissertation).

LEVINE, S., 2007. Documentary film matters: the steps for the future media advocacy project in Southern Africa. *In: Critical Arts 21:2* (November 2007), p.234 [Available from *Literature Resource Centre*. Gale. University of Stellenbosch: <http://go.galegroup.com.ez.sun.ac.za/ps/i.do?action=interpret&id=GALE%7CA179694219&v=2.1&u=27uos&it=r&p=LitRC&sw=w&authCount=1> [Accessed 11 Feb 2009].

LEVINE, S., 2006. Jean Rouch Retrospective (Speaker). *In: Encounters, 8th South African International Documentary Festival.* Cape Town, 21 July 2006-6 August 2006.

LEVINE, S., 2003a. *STEPS for the Future: Impact Study 2003.* Amsterdam: Nederlands Instituut Voor Zuidelijk Afrika.

LEVINE, S., 2003b. Documentary Film and HIV/AIDS: New Directions for Applied Visual Anthropology in Southern Africa. *Visual Anthropology Review, 19* (1 and 2), pp. 57-72.

LIEBENBURG, L., 2005. The Use of Visual Research Methods in the South African Research Context; Ph.D. thesis, University of Stellenbosch.

LONGINOTTO, K., 2005. Discreet Direction. *In: Encounters and SABC Master Class Workshop,* Cape Town, 30 July 2005.

MACDOUGALL, D., 1995. The Subjective Voice in Ethnographic Film. *In: L. Devereaux and R. Hillman, ed's, Fields of Visions: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology, and Photography.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, pp. 217-255.

MACDOUGALL, D., 1992. When Less is Less: The Long Take in Documentary. *Film Quarterly, 46* (2); pp 36-46.

MACDOUGALL, D., 1975. Beyond Observational Cinema. *In: P. Hockings, ed. Principles of Visual Anthropology.* The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975, pp 109-124.

MAGALLANES-BLANCO, C., 2005. *Challenging the Authoritarian Voice of the Official Discourse: The indigenous video-making experiences of the "Promedios de Comunicacion Comunitaria" project.* Departamento de Ciencias de la Comunicacion. Universidad de las Americas, Pueblo, Mexico.

MAINGARD, J., 1998. Strategies of Representation in South African Anti-Apartheid Documentary Film and Video from 1976-1995. Ph.D. thesis, Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrands.

MAINGARD, J., 1991. Education for a Third Cinema in South Africa: Reflections on a Community Video Education Project in Alexandra, Johannesburg. *South African Theatre Journal*, 5 (1), May, pp 35-45.

MAKING ART THAT COUNTS, 2006. *In: Durban International Film Festival*. Durban, 21 June 2006.

MARCORELLES, L. 1973. Direct Cinema. *Living Cinema*. London, Allen & Unwin, pp. 25-63.

MCANANY, E. G., 1989. Common Identity is Key to Community. *Media Development*, Vol. 3, p. 7.

MCKENZIE, A. and LUNNEY, M., 2004. "Doc Speak" Hot Docs Canadian International Documentary Festival.

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERVICE, 1972a. Fogo Process in Communication: A reflection on the use of film and video-tape in community development. St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERVICE, 1972b. Film, Video-Tape & Social Change: Seminar Information Guide. St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

MICHAELS, E., 1991a. Aboriginal Content: Who's Got it – Who needs it? *Visual Anthropology*, 4(3-4), pp. 277-300.

MICHAELS, E., 1991b. A Primer of Restrictions on Picture Taking in Traditional Areas of Aboriginal Australia. *Visual Anthropology*, 4 (3-4), pp. 259-275.

MICHAELS, E., 1985. Constraints on Knowledge in an Economy of Oral Information. *Current Anthropology*, 26(4), August-October, pp. 505-510.

MORIN, E., 1985. Chronicle of a Film. *Studies in Visual Communication*, 11 (1), Winter, pp. 4-29.

MRAZ, J., 1990. Santiago Alvarez: From Dramatic Form to Direct Cinema. *In: J. Burton, ed., The Social Documentary in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 131-149.

NATIONAL FILM BOARD OF CANADA (NFB), 1968. Fogo Island Film and Community Development Project.

NDAMASE, MARTA. December 2005. Personal interview.

NDAMASE, MERCY. 2005-2007. Personal communication.

NELMES, J., ed., 1999. *An Introduction to Film Studies*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

NICHOLS, B., 1994. *Blurred Boundaries: Questions of Meaning in Contemporary History*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

NICHOLS, B., 1991. *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

NICHOLS, B., 1983. The Voice of the Documentary. *Film Quarterly*, 36 (3), pp. 17-29.

NIEMI, J.A., (ed.), 1971. The Media: Powerful Catalyst for Community Change. In: J.A. Niemi, ed., *Mass Media and Adult Education*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Educational Technology Publications, pp. 108-113.

NNDB TRACKING THE WORLD. 2006. Bronislaw Malinowski. *NNDB Tracking the World* [online]. Available from: www.nndb.com/people/320/000099023 [Accessed 18 Sept 2006].

ODUTOLA, K.A., 2003. Participatory Uses of Video: A case study of community involvement in Story Construction. *Global Media Journal* [online] 2(2) (Spring 2003). Available from: <http://lass.calumet.purdue.edu/cca/gmj/SubmittedDocuments/archivedpapers/Spring2003/kole.htm> [Accessed 17 May 2005].

OGAN, C., 1989. Video's great advantage: decentralised control of technology. *Media Development*, Vol. 4, pp. 2-5.

OKAHASHI, P., The Potential of Participatory Video. *Rehabilitation Review* [online], 11:1 (January 2000). Available from: www.vrri.org/rhb0100.htm [Accessed 17 May 2005].

OPERTI, L., 1993. Visual Communication and multi-ethnic society. In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 125-131.

PATON, C. Municipal Management: Rusting Republics. *Financial Mail* 9 September 2005 [online].

PERDU, B., 2002. Kayamandi: a Township as a Social, Economic Entity. Unpublished research, The South African Economy and Developmental Problems, University of Stellenbosch.

PINK, S., 2006. *Applications of Anthropology: Professional Anthropology in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 1-26.

PINK, S., 2001. *Doing Visual Ethnography*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 1-15.

RAMIREZ, J., 1990. Nicaraguan Reconstruction Documentary: Toward a Theory and Praxis of Participatory Cinema and Dialogic Address. In: J. Burton, ed., *The Social Documentary in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 289-314.

RANUCCI, K., (with J. Burton), 1990. On the Trail of Independent Video. *In: J. Burton, ed., The Social Documentary in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 193-215.

RAYMOND, L., 2005. Protesters block N2 over housing. *Cape Times*. Tuesday, July 12, pp. 3, 5.

RED CROSS RED CRESCENT MAGAZINE. Moving Pictures: Humanitarian Action and Cinema. (2) 2005, pp. 26-27.

RODRIGUEZ, C., 2000. Civil Society and Citizen's Media: Peace Architects for the New Millennium. *In: K. Wilkins, ed. Redeveloping Communication for Social Change: Theory, Practice, Power*. Boulder, CO, Rowman & Littlefield, 2000, pp. 147-160.

RODRIGUEZ, C., Drum Beat opinion piece. 6 December 2004.

RODRIGUEZ, C., 2006. *Qualitative Evaluation of Citizens Radio in War Zones, Magdalena Medio, Colombia*. Associate Professor; Department of Communication; University of Oklahoma.

ROUCH, J., 1961. The Cinema of the Future? *Studies in Visual Communication*, 11 (1), Winter 1985, pp. 30-37.

ROUCH, J., 1974. The Camera and Man. *In: S. Feld, ed. and translator, Cine-Ethnography*, 2003. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 29-46.

ROUCH, J., 1975. The Situation and Tendencies of the Cinema in Africa. *In: S. Feld, ed. and translator, Cine-Ethnography*, 2003. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 47- 64.

ROUCH, J., 1978. On the Vicissitudes of the Self: The Possessed Dancer, the Magician, the Sorcerer, the Filmmaker, and the Ethnographer. *In: S. Feld, ed. and translator, Cine-Ethnography*, 2003. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 87-99.

ROUCH, J., 1978. The Mad Fox and the Pale Master. *In: S. Feld, ed. and translator, Cine-Ethnography*, 2003. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 102-136.

ROUCH, J., with L. Taylor, 1990. A Life on the Edge of Film and Anthropology. *In: S. Feld, ed. and translator, Cine-Ethnography*, 2003. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 137-144.

ROUCH, J., 1985 (original English translation). Chronicle of a Summer: The Film. *In: S. Feld, ed. and translator, Cine-Ethnography*, 2003. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 275-329.

RUBY, J., 2000. *Picturing Culture: Explorations of Film and Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

RYAN, S., 1985. Behind Rebel Lines: Filming in Revolutionary El Salvador: Interviews with Paolo Martin of the Radio Venceremos Film Collective and Jose Ponce of the Film Institute of Revolutionary El Salvador. *Cineaste*, 14(1), pp. 16–21.

Sachs, J., 2005. *The End of Poverty: How we can make it happen in our Lifetime*. Penguin Press.

SATHEESH, P.V., 2005. Participation and Beyond: Handing Over the Camera. India: Deccan Development Society. *One World TV* [online]. Available from: www.ddsindia.com/ppvideo.htm [Accessed 17 May 2005].

SHAFFER, D., 1985. Fifty Years of Political Filmmaking: An Interview with Joris Ivens. *Cineaste*, 14(1), pp. 12–15, 21.

SHEPPERSON, A. and TOMASELLI, K., 1997. *Prime Time South Africa* [online]. Durban. Available from: <http://www.nu.ac.za/ccms/amp/projectarticles.asp?ID=8> [Accessed 6 July 2005].

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION. 1994. *A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa* (Housing White Paper) [online]. Available from: <http://www.info.gov.za/whitepapers/1994/housing.htm> [Accessed 6 April 2006].

SOUTH AFRICA ALIVE WITH POSSIBILITY. 2004. *New Housing Policy Unveiled* [online]. Available from: <http://www.southafrica.info/news/housing-policy.htm> [Accessed 6 April 2006].

SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING DEPT., 2006. *Breaking New Ground in Housing Delivery: Houses Security and Comfort for All* [online]. Available from: <http://www.housing.gov.za> [Accessed 6 April 2006].

SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING DEPT., 2006. *Keynote Address by LN Sisulu Minister of Housing at the Ceremony to Launch the Solomon Mahlangu Housing Project, 21 February 2006, Uitenhage* [online]. Available from: <http://www.housing.gov.za/Content/Media%20Desk/Speeches/2006/21%20February%202006.htm> [Accessed 7 April 2006].

STELLENBOSCH GAZETTE. Protest against eviction. Tuesday, 24 July 2007, p.1.

STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY, 2008. Happiness is . . . an own home. *Stellenbosch Municipality Newsletter*. March, p.1.

STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY, 2005. Help for fire victims of Kayamandi. *Stellenbosch Municipality Newsletter*. June, p. 6.

STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY, 2004. Sanitation and Pollution Control to Save Plankenburg. *Stellenbosch Municipality Newsletter*. July, pp. 5-6.

STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY, 2005. Together making progress on Emergency Housing for Kayamandi fire victims. *Stellenbosch Municipality Newsletter*. May, p 2.

STELLENBOSCH TOURISM INFORMATION BUREAU, 2005. *Stellenbosch and its Wine Routes 2005*; Cape Town: Cadek International.

STEVENSON, M. and GRAHAM-STEWART, M., 2001. *Surviving the Lens: Photographic Studies of South and East African People, 1870-1920*. Vlaeberg: Fernwood Press.

STOLLER, P., 1992. *The Cinematic Griot: The Ethnography of Jean Rouch*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

STUART, S., 1989. Access to Media: placing video in the hands of the People. *Media Development*, Vol. 4, pp . 4-11.

SURUGUE, B., Speaker, 2006. Jean Rouch Retrospective. In: *Encounters, 8th South African International Documentary Festival. Cape Town, 21 July 2006-6 August 2006*.

SUSSEX, E., 1972. Grierson on Documentary: The Last Interview. *Film Quarterly*, Fall, pp. 24-30.

THIPANYANE, T., 1998. Housing for the Poor: Constitutional Court Judgement on the Grootboom Complaint [online]. Pretoria: South African Human Rights Commission. Available from: www.sahrc.org.za/housing_for_the_poor.htm [Accessed 7 April 2006].

TOMASELLI, K. G., 2005. *Where Global Contradictions are Sharpest: Research Stories from the Kalahari*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers.

TOMASELLI, K., 1999. Conference Report: Breaking the Boundaries. *The Stirling Documentary Conference. University of Stirling, Scotland, 28-31 January 1999* [online]. Available from: www.ukzn.ac.za/ccms/anthropology/visualanthropology.asp?ID=27 [Accessed 19 May 2005].

TOMASELLI, K. G., 1996. *Appropriating Images: The Semiotics of Visual Representation*. Højbjerg: Intervention Press.

TOMASELLI, K. and HUGHES-FREELAND, F., 1993. Session Report: Asia by Asia, Africa by Africa. In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 173-178.

TOMASELLI, K., 1993. Session Report: The Social Construction of Photographic Meaning. In: R. M. Boonzajer and D. H. Flaes, eds. *Eyes Across the Water II*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 210-211.

TOMASELLI, K., 1992a. Myths, Racism and Opportunism: Film and TV Representations of the San. In: P. I. Crawford and D. Turton, eds. *Film as Ethnography*. New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 205-211.

TOMASELLI, K., 1992b. Conference Report: Eyes Across the Water. 2nd Amsterdam Conference on Visual Sociology & Anthropology, 24-27 June 1992, Centre for Visual Anthropology, University of Amsterdam [online]. Available from: www.ukzn.ac.za/ccms/anthropology/visualanthropology.asp?ID [Accessed 19 May 2005].

TOMASELLI, K. G. and PRINSLOO, J., 1990. Video, realism and class struggle: theoretical lacunae and the problem of power (Communication and Tradition: Essays after Eric Michaels). *The Australian Journal of Media & Culture* [online], 3(2). Available from: <http://www.mcc.murdoch.edu.au/ReadingRoom/3.2/Tomaselli.html> [Accessed 3 February 2006].

TOMASELLI, K., 1989. Transferring Video Skills to the Community: The Problem of Power. *Media Development*, Vol. 4, pp 11-15.

TOMASELLI, K., 1985. Progressive Film & Video in South Africa. *Media Development* [online], 3, pp 15-17. Available from: www.ukzn.ac.za/ccms/mediacommunication/partcommunication.asp?ID=2 [Accessed 19 May 2005].

TREFFRY-GOATLEY, A., 30 May 2008. South African Cinema: Representation, creativity and commercialism in the post-apartheid film industry. Symposium, University of Cape Town.

TRINH, T. M., 1989. *Woman Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

TURNER, G., 1993. *Film as Social Practice*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

TURNER, T., 1992. Defiant Images: The Kayapo appropriation of video. *Anthropology Today*, 8(6), pp. 5-16.

TURNER, T., 1991. The Social Dynamics of Video: Media in an Indigenous Society: The Cultural Meaning and the Personal Politics of Video-making in Kayapo Communities. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 7(2), pp. 68-76.

UN-HABITAT (Istanbul+5: Thematic Committee), June 2001. *The South African Housing Policy: operationalizing the right to adequate housing* [online]. Available from: <http://www.unhabitat.org/Istanbul+5/1-southafrica.PDF> [Accessed 7 April 2006].

UN-HABITAT, 2003. *The Challenge of Slums – UN-Habitat's new Global Report on Human Settlements* [online]. Available from http://www.unhabitat.org/global_report.asp [Accessed 25 April 2006].

UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION, 1996. *Habitat Agenda and Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements: Summary* [online]. Available from <http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/hbagenda.htm> [Accessed 24 April 2006].

US DEPT. OF STATE. Feb 28, 2005. *South Africa: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2004* [online]. Available from <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41627.htm> [Accessed 7 April 2006].

VENEKLASSEN, L. and MILLER, V., eds. 2002. *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*. Oklahoma: World Neighbours.

Video for animation and conscientisation (Editorial) 1989. *Media Development*, 4, p.1.

WALSH, S., 2005. *Facing the Truth: Race relations, AIDS, Youth and Collaborative Video for Social Change in Khayelitsha, South Africa*. Montreal: McGill University.

WAUGH, T., ed., 1984a. *Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press.

WAUGH, T., 1984b. Joris Ivens' The Spanish Earth: Committed Documentary and the Popular Front. In: T. Waugh, ed. *Show us Life: Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary*. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, pp. 105-131.

WESSELS, E. 1989. The Role of the Independent Alternative Grassroots Media in South Africa: A Personal Perspective. *Development Dialogue*, Vol. 2.

WHITE, S., ed., 2003. *Participatory Video: Images that Transform and Empower*. London: SAGE Publications.

WHYTE, W. F. (with K.K. White), 1984. *Learning from the Field: A Guide from Experience*. London: Sage Publications.

WIESNER, P., 1992. Media for the People: The Canadian Experiments with Film and Video in Community Development. *American Review of Canadian Studies*. Vol. 22 (1), pp. 65-99.

WIKIPEDIA [online], 2007. Stellenbosch Local Municipality. Available from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stellenbosch_Local_Municipality [Accessed 19 September 2007].

WIKIPEDIA [online], 2006. Paulo Freire. Available from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paulo_Freire [Accessed 22 November 2006].

WILLIAMSON, T., 1988. *The Fogo Process: Development Support Communications in Canada & the Developing World*. St John's, Newfoundland: the author (Don Snowden Centre for Development Support Communications, Memorial University of Newfoundland).

WINSTON, B., 2000. *Lies, Damn Lies and Documentary*. London: British Film Institute.

WINSTON, B., 1995. *Claiming the Real: The Documentary Film Revisited*. London: British Film Institute, pp. 35-39.

WINSTON, B., 1988. The Tradition of the Victim in Griersonian Documentary. *In*: L. Gross, J.S. Katz and J. Ruby, ed's *Image Ethics*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 34-57.

WITNESS [online], 2006. What is Video Advocacy? Available from: http://www.witness.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=28&... [Accessed 16 November 2006].

WITNESS [online], 2005. Video for Change: A guide for Advocacy and Activism. London: Pluto Press.

WORTH, S. and ADAIR, J., 1997. *Through Navajo Eyes*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

YELD, J., 2007. Scientist Warns of Typhoid Time-Bomb. *Cape Argus*. 27 August (online).

YOUNG, C., 1975. Observational Cinema. *In*: P. Hockings, ed. *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975, pp 65–79.

Filmography

Ashley Kaimovitz's Story (Carte Blanche; South Africa; 2005) 12 mins.

Ask me I'm Positive [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. T. Edkins; Lesotho; 2001) 48 mins.

Avenge but one of my two eyes (d. Mograbi; France/Israel; 2005) 100 mins.

The Ball [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. O. Mesquita; Mozambique; 2001) 5 mins.

Beauty and the Beast (d. Streak; SA; 2006) 70 mins.

Beethoven's Hair (d. Weinstein; Canada; 2006) 84 mins.

Before We Knew Nothing (d. Kitchen; USA; 1988) 63 mins.

51 Birch Street (d. Block; USA; 2005) 90 mins.

The Birth of the Robot (d. Lye; p. Jennings; 1935) 6 mins.

Bloodlettes (d. Bekolo; France/Cameroon; 2005) 92 mins.

Bread (d. Kino Production Group; London Kino Group; 1934) 11 mins.

Bride Kidnapping in Kyrgyzstan (d. Lom; Canada / Kyrgystan; 2004) 50 min.

Bushman's Secrets (d. Desai, South Africa; 2006) 64 mins.

Cannibal Tours (d. and p. O'Rourke; Australia; 1987) 70 mins.

Carmen in Khayelitsha (d. Dornford-May; SA; 2005) 126 mins.

The Children of Leningradsky (d. Polak; Poland; 2004) 35 mins.

Chronique d'un Ete (d. Rouch and Morin; France; 1961) 90 mins.

The Life and Times of Sara Baartman: The Hottentot Venus (d. Maseko; p. Gavshon / Brooks; 1998) 52 mins.

City of Dreams [*Ordinary People* series] (d. Bestall; p. Gavshon; Weekly Mail Television; 1993) 27 mins.

Coal Face (d. Cavalcanti; p. Grierson; UK; 1935) 11 mins.

A Colour Box (d. Lye; p. Grierson; GPO Film Unit; 1935) 3 mins.

Come Back Africa (d. Rogosin; USA; 1959) 95 mins.

Conflict Tiger (d. Snow; UK; 2005) 60 mins.

Conversations in the Development Sector (d. Cain; South Africa; 2007) 36 mins.

A Day with the President [special episode in the *Ordinary People* series] (d. Hofmeyr; South Africa; 1995) 27 mins.

Desert Wind (d. Kohler; Switzerland / Canada; 2005) 80 min.

Development in the Former Transkei (d. Cain; Environmental and Development Agency; 1995) 8 mins.

Dreams of the Good Life [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. B. Pickering; South Africa; 2001) 15 mins.

The Education of Shelby Knox (d. Lipschutz & Rosenblatt; USA; 2004) 75 mins.

Every Day Except Christmas (d. Anderson; UK; 1957) 37 mins.

Favela Rising (d. Mochary & Zimbalist; USA/Brazil; 2005) 80 mins.

Hard Ball (d. Arraf; Palestine/Israel; 2006) 52 mins.

Heaven's Herds – Nguni Cattle, Nguni People (d. Hersov; SA; 2005) 75 mins.

Hell Unltd (d. and p. McLaren and Biggar; UK; 1936) 19 mins.

Housing Problems (d. Elton and Anstey; p. British Commercial Gas Association; UK; 1935) 15 mins.

The Hunters (d. Marshall; USA; 1958) 72 mins.

An Inconvenient Truth (d. D. Guggenheim; USA; 2006) 90 mins.

Imiti Ikula [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. S. Kanga and S. Wilkie; Zambia; 2001) 26 mins.

Inkani (d. Walsh and Bohmke ; South Africa; 2006) 13 mins.

It's My Life, [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. Tilley; p. Big World Cinema; 2001) 74 mins.

The Kayapo: Indians of the Brazilian Rain Forest [*Disappearing World* series] (d. Beckham; UK; 1987) 53 mins.

Les Maitres Fous (d. Rouch; France; 1955) 30 mins.

Let's Talk About It [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. S. Gece; South Africa; 2001) 8 mins.

Liberace of Baghdad (d. McAllister; UK; 2005) 70 mins.

Living Space (d. Cain; South Africa; 2008) 15 mins.

Long nights journey into Day (d. Reid and Hoffman; USA; 2000)

Looking for Busi [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. and p. Hofmeyr; South Africa; 2001) 55 mins.

Love on the Wing (d. McLaren; p. Cavalcanti; UK;) 5 mins.

Lucky (d. Luthra; South Africa/UK; 2005) 25 mins.

A Luta Continua [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. Lewis; South Africa; 2001) 26 mins.

Les Maitres Fous (d. Rouch; France; 1955) 36 mins.

The Man of Aran (d. Flaherty; USA; 1934) 75 mins.

The Man of Aran: How the Myth was Made (d. Stoney; USA; 1978) 56 mins.

The Man with a Movie Camera (d. Vertov; p.VUFKU; USSR; 1929) 68 mins.

Manufacturing Dissent (d. Melnyk and Caine; Canada; 2007) 74 mins.

March of the Penguins (d. Jacquet; France; 2005) 85 mins.

A Miner's Tale [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. N. Hofmeyer and G. Mondlane; Mozambique / South Africa; 2001) 40 mins.

Mother to Child [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. J. Lipman; p. B. Lipman; South Africa; 2001) 44 mins.

My Cultural Divide (d. Lutchmedial; Canada; 2006) 75 mins.

Nanook of the North (d. Flaherty, USA; 1922) 65mins.

No! (d. Simmons; USA; 2005) 94 mins.

Ochre and Water (d. C. Matthew and J. Chesselet; South Africa; 2001) 53 mins.

Offside (d. Sivan & Tadir; Palestine/Israel; 2005) 15 mins.

a part of it, a (d. Cain; Canada; 1997) 22 mins.

Petit a Petit (d. Rouch; France / Niger; 1971) 90 mins.

Photo Wallahs (d. D. & J. MacDougall; Oxford Film Productions, 1991) 60 mins.

Portrait of Manjira, A (d. Cain, Canada; 1993) 45 mins.

Reassemblage (d. Trinh; Senegal; 1982)

Redefining the Griot: A History of South African Film, Part 1 (d. Da Canha; South Africa; 2003) 65 mins.

Redefining the Griot: A History of South African Film, Part 2 (d. Da Canha; South Africa; 2003) 65 mins.

A Red Ribbon Around My House [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. P. Rankoane; South Africa; 2001) 26 mins.

Research Methods for the Social Sciences (d. Fortunato; p. Lary; Promedion Production; 1997) 33 min.

Rural Water Supply: You & Your Community (d. Cain and Schofield; South Africa; 1999) 27 mins.

Rwanda – The Hills Speak (d. Bellefroid; Belgium; 2005) 50 mins.

The Saturday Men. (d. Fletcher; UK; 1962) 29 mins.

Search For Answers: Cuba – CT Connection, [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. Davidow; p. Pardo; Filmitakomo; 2002) 56 mins.

Shape of the Moon (d. Helmrich; Holland; 2004) 92 mins.

Shamiela's House (d. Rorke; South Africa; 2008) 52 mins.

Sisters in Law (d. Longinotto & Ayisi; UK/Cameroon; 2005) 104 mins.

Song of Ceylon (d. Wright; John Grierson Productions; UK; 1934) 38 mins.

Spare Time (d. Jennings; p. Cavalcanti; GPO Film Unit; UK; 1939) 14 mins.

The Story of the Weeping Camel (d. Davaa and Falorni; Germany; 2003) 87 mins.

The Take (d. Lewis & Klein; Canada; 2004) 87 mins.

Taking Stock: What can we claim? (d. Cain; South Africa; 2007) 7 mins.

The Tap (d. Strasbourg; Big World Cinema; 2003) 50 mins.

The Unfolding of Sky [*Landscape of Memory* series] (d. Krog and Loots; p. Edkins; South Africa; 1998) 26 mins.

Uthando Labatwana (d. Kaimovitz; South Africa; 2003) 23 mins.

Wa 'N Wina [*Steps for the Future* series] (d. D. Phakathi; South Africa; 2001) 52 mins.

We are the Lambeth Boys (d. Reisz; UK; 1958) 53 mins.

What the Bleep Do We Know?!; (d. Arntz, Chasse, Vicente; USA; 2004) 108 mins.

Appendix 1: Activity Diary

2005:

- 21 Jan I visit Kayamandi post-fire (20 Jan) with Mercy and my 2 boys.
- 22 Jan I write a letter to *Eikestad News* (published 25 February) under the heading *Living Conditions in Kayamandi*
- 10 Feb Start Xhosa lessons
- 16 Feb Site visit – broken toilets, broken water pipes, no electricity. Shot some video footage. Telephonic liaison at night with Mercy – a large ‘toyi toyi’ (demonstration) is taking place and rubbish is being dumped on the sports field where Desmond Tutu is to arrive the next day for the opening ceremony of the Desmond Tutu TB Centre. (The demonstration is not against Tutu, but rather to show him the filth of the township in an attempt to get his, and the Municipality’s, attention.
- 17 Feb I go on an early morning visit well before the opening is planned to start – Municipality employees have worked through much of the night and are already finishing up a clean-up of the sports field. Later in the morning, after a long delay, I attend the opening event of the Desmond Tutu TB Centre. I later hear rumours that local protestors have managed to speak with him. Tutu is later quoted on the news as expressing concern that there is “no democracy” in Stellenbosch.
- 18 Feb Meet with Edwin (my supervisor) to discuss the dissertation and project.
- 28 Feb My 1st meeting with the Zone J Committee takes place in Kayamandi. I am first met by 2 men who ask me some questions before introducing me to the committee and then leaving (I am later told that they are ANC people from Cape Town). I then introduce the idea for participatory video project to the committee..
- 1 March I meet with Susan Levine, UCT, in Cape Town to discuss my dissertation proposal as she has been recommended as someone with expertise in this field.
- 2 March I receive a call from Pieter Loftus at Stellenbosch Municipality regarding my letter that had finally been published in the local Stellenbosch paper. When I say I have started the video project, he asks for me to come in and meet with him, which I am happy to do.
- 3 March 2nd Meeting with Zone J Committee: We reviewed our previous discussions and I checked my understanding of their issues. We confirmed the issues of importance to address (Note: these issues are specified in Chapter 2 of the dissertation). We discussed the way forward: planned an open community meeting to introduce the video project; and discussed how to choose interviewees.
- 3 March Ward 10 Community Meeting, Kayamandi: I attend the first half of this large community meeting called by Stellenbosch Municipality. It is conducted by ANC local ward Councillors Ngcofe and Mncako. The purpose of the meeting is to inform the community about new housing plans for Kayamandi. The Councillors state bluntly that “Zone J will not be discussed”. They state their first priority of housing to be people from the (mythical?) Housing List living in Zones O, L, M, N, and people living in shacks at the back of existing houses. There is a very hostile reaction by the audience – particularly to the news that the ‘backyard people’ will be getting houses as it is alleged that people living in shacks at backs of

houses are the children of those who already have houses (many of whom are councillors). Councillors Mncako and Ngcofe reportedly needed a police escort to leave the meeting, which had descended into chaos by the end.

- 8 March Open (outside) Community Meeting for Zone J to introduce the Video Project: Large turn-out (estimate several hundred) and very enthusiastic response. The Zone J committee introduced me and then I introduced the idea of the video project to the community. We discussed the video project as a 'video letter' to the Municipality. We also discussed the selection of individuals to participate in the video and to be representative of a range of people (i.e. young / old / employed / unemployed / sick / etc). It was agreed that the video would focus on the problems of Zone J. It was agreed that the video would be screened in Kayamandi before taking it to the Municipality for their response. We discussed the constraint of using English-speaking participants.
- 9 March I met with Pieter Loftus, Head of Communications, at Stellenbosch Municipality to discuss the video project. I gave an overview of activities-to-date and discussed the use of participatory video. Mr Loftus gave an overview of the changing structure of Stellenbosch Municipality, and noted a change of emphasis with local government between pre- and post- 2001 (e.g. post-2001: Municipal Areas created; bigger pool of resources; 'seamless government' from national – provincial – local; big projects paid for by government e.g. housing).

In terms of Stellenbosch Municipality, Mr Loftus explained the following:

- There is a Council and from this, the Executive Mayoral Committee (EMC) of 8 people is appointed by the ruling party;
- There are 8 Directors and their departments, which are linked to the 8 EMC members and paid as permanent employees (the 'implementers'). These consist of the following: Public Safety; Finance; Corporate Services; Community Services (very large department that includes community development); Technical Services: Electro Technical Services; Strategic Services; and Planning. (Note: this structure is in process).
- The Municipal Manager oversees the work of the 8 directors.
- The ward councillors are elected at each ward.
- There is also a locally based volunteer ward committee of 10 people who each have their own portfolio designation and are to be linked to their ward councillor.
- There are to be new Community Development Workers initiated by national government who will be the 'eyes and ears' of government at community level – these CDWs are to identify issues at community level and take them directly to the appropriate level of government.

The following points were also discussed:

- If there is a problem with an individual ward councillor, the system of 'seamless government' breaks down and a particular area's concerns do not move up through government. (The CDWs are an attempt to address this).

- Only 3 councillors out of 34 in Stellenbosch come from the Kayamandi area. Most councillors are thus not familiar with the problems and living conditions in this area of the Municipality, nor is there a high level of understanding or communication.
- There is a new committee with representatives from the Municipality and Stellenbosch University to promote linkages. This committee meets once per month and this video project could be of interest to them.
- Mr Loftus expressed concern that limiting participation in the video to those who speak English only will limit the representivity of the video. He suggested the Municipality might be able to fund subtitling and requested a costing for this.

Mr Loftus also gave 2 maps that showed the long-term development plans for Kayamandi, including housing and community facilities.

Out of this meeting, I identified the following points as important to understanding the point-of-view of the Municipality:

- The Municipality believes that at least some of the fires in Kayamandi were purposefully set as per analysis received by the fire department.
- The Municipality sees overall town planning and the development of community facilities as more important than individual housing for improving the quality of life in Kayamandi.
- There is a belief that the people in Kayamandi do not want (or are unable to take on) the responsibility of house ownership.
- There is a direct link between the Municipality and the local newspaper, The Eikestad News. According to Loftus, it was the new municipal manager who directed the editor to print my letter (there was quite a delay between my submission and it being printed). I am left wondering why did they print the letter? There was obviously a discussion about it. Did they (the Municipality) want to sound out broader community interest and support for dealing with the problems in Kayamandi? If yes, were they hoping for little support or was the new municipal manager trying to push an ANC development agenda based on genuine interest?

17 March 3rd meeting with Zone J committee in Kayamandi. I report back about my meeting with the Municipality and we discuss the logistics for starting the video interviews.

24 March Failed interview day in Kayamandi (no Zone J committee members meet me and so there is no one to take me to the interviewees). Apparently there were people organized and waiting for me to interview them and they were upset when they heard the committee members didn't pitch to assist me. I realise only in retrospect that there is actually a problem and that it was not simply an oversight.

22 April: Meeting with Edwin (my supervisor) to discuss the dissertation and project.

May: Based on my current readings, I spend time debating whether I should re-think my planned methodology and train a Kayamandi participant to videotape the interviews, or stick with my plan and videotape them myself.

Xhosa, xhosa, xhosa! (I continue to struggle along)

May 2005 Stellenbosch Municipality Newsletter publishes an article promoting the 'Emergency Housing Units' and singling out Zone J, stating the consequences for those who don't move, "If you don't you will spend another wet, windy winter in an unpleasant environment."

April / June 2005: I send 2 letters to the Zone J Committee to request getting the project going. In the June letter I request them to suggest an alternative group with which to work if they are unable to continue with the project. No response. The rumour is that there is a problem with one of the key people – that the other zone committees are unhappy with him. He says the problem is that the different zone committees cannot agree to work together. The people organized for the failed first day of videotaping are apparently not happy with the Zone J leaders who did not pitch to take me to them.

24 June Meet with Edwin to discuss the dissertation and project.

July Phillip suggests sending my previously made "Rural Water Supply" video for the committee to view so that they have a better sense of what is possible. Mercy continues to make repeated enquiries for the 'inside' story on why there is no progress with the Zone J committee. They assure her they are just finishing up sorting out their problems and want to all work together.

29 Oct My husband and I and our 2 boys are invited by Mercy to the celebration for Habitat for Humanity's (HFH) first completed houses in Kayamandi. It is held at the new house of Joyce Rubushe. These 5 new houses have been built for local Habitat members who already owned their own plot in Kayamandi. While the houses have not been finished off inside (not the norm for Habitat for Humanity houses), the overall structures are better than those of the typical government RDP houses. At this event, I meet Malibongwe Gwele, the chairperson of the Kayamandi Habitat for Humanity committee, and discuss my proposed participatory video project with him. He is an MA student at UCT, and also has an interest in video (he has recently been involved with a video put together for a Dutch funding proposal for pre-schooler care). He has lived in Kayamandi for 12 years himself (his father had been working in Stellenbosch as a labourer for decades). His family home is in the Eastern Cape. Malibongwe suggests that I put together a short proposal for him to discuss with the HFH office in Cape Town.

11 Nov Today's *Eikestad News* has front-page stories of a recent fire in Kayamandi, and a story on ANC Councillor Mncako attacking my main Zone J committee contact person in a public meeting. Mncako is does not

come off well in the story and he is also the target of the local political cartoon in the paper that week as well.

- 17 Nov I decide to write a proposal for Malibongwe to take to Habitat for Humanity and include my RWS video for him to view.
- Nov Malibongwe is positive about the proposal, and suggests I send it directly to Grant Edkins, Regional Director of HFH in Cape Town.
- Nov I receive a phone call from Glyn Williams, an advocate in Stellenbosch re. Botmanskop (because of my involvement in a letter-writing campaign against the development of a nearby nature reserve). He is a possible person to try and involve in Kayamandi.
- Dec Grant Edkins from HFH is very keen on my proposal and wants Malibongwe and his committee to support it. The proposed video project is in line with Habitat for Humanity's new emphasis on taking up an advocacy role with regards housing (from international level down).

2006

- 17 Jan Meeting with Malibongwe at Neelsie. We review the proposed video project / process / etc.
- 17 Jan (evening): Meeting in Kayamandi at Noxolo's house with the Sinomonde committee (the name the local Habitat for Humanity committee has given itself), including Malibongwe. Malibongwe and I present the proposed video project. They are cautiously interested but want to discuss it with the rest of their members who are missing from the meeting. There is a completely different vibe here compared to the Zone J committee – these are primarily hard working 'church ladies' that are focused on saving and working to get their own houses for themselves and their children -- compared to the previous Zone J committee profile of highly politicised community activists / militants / male dominated. Not quite as exciting, but probably more productive and effective in the end. . . . Malibongwe is very insightful and knowledgeable, being from the area as well as now a recent MA graduate in social sciences.
- 8 Feb Notice received from Malibongwe that full committee has approved
- 15 Feb Meet with SUN honours student interested in writing about participatory video
- 16 Feb Meeting with partial committee (Malibongwe; Noxolo; Joyce) to define issues that should inform interview questions
- 18 Feb Dropped off interview questions with Malibongwe
- 24 Feb Email to ask Habitat for funding possibilities.

- 27 Feb Funding proposal to Municipality (never any response from Municipality to any correspondence I ever send them).
- 1 Mar Local elections held – no clear majority in Stellenbosch . . .
- 2 Mar Meet with Edwin to discuss submitted first draft of dissertation.
- 2 Mar Receive response from Habitat that they will fund Malibongwe’s time spent on the video project, and a request for a proposal for any additional costs.
- 8 Mar Send in a proposal / budget to Habitat for Humanity.
- 29 Mar Interview Nombulelo Baduza with Malibongwe: I am most struck by Nombulelo, a new Habitat member who volunteered herself for interviewing. She is 33 years old, a single (widowed) mother with 3 children, the youngest of which has epilepsy. She works as a domestic worker in Cape Town and lives in a shack with 2 of her 3 children (I assumed the third was with her own mother or another relative as is common in South Africa). Her youngest child requires a lot of extra care. Nombulelo is vibrant and strong and I was struck by how hard her life is on so many levels – physically exhausting with all her care-giving responsibilities and commuting time; and the emotional toll of looking after her children by herself, losing her husband in a car accident, and the special care of her epileptic child (my own child has chronic eczema and I was acutely aware of how much extra care it required to look after a child with only minor special needs). Nombulelo took us to see the toilets and washing areas she used – the reality of raising children in such an environment weighed heavily on me. It is dangerous to go out to the toilets at night as well – adding yet another hardship to negotiate and plan around in day-to-day living. As our first interviewee, Nombulelo was the most nervous at first (as was I). In retrospect I realise she would have been more comfortable if she had been sitting down (as the others were). However, she relaxed as we went along, and I thought the footage shot on the street with her looked especially good. Plus her personal story was an incredibly powerful one.
- 1 Apr Interview Katie Mdala with Malibongwe: 46-year-old woman born in Stellenbosch – her parents are farmworkers. Husband left her with the kids but still lives in Kayamandi. Katie is outspoken and brash, and made all around listening shake their heads with a smile as she ‘told it like it is’. She had come home from work one day to find her shack burnt to the ground and everything but literally the clothes on her back gone. She had a few incredible black and white photographs that had been taken by a ‘foreign white guy’ who was there with a camera that day and who had brought her copies afterwards. One photo in particular showed her with her daughter in front of the burnt shack at the moment of realization that they had lost everything. The communal facilities in this area of Kayamandi were in very poor condition, never having been properly repaired after the fire. The

toilets were disgusting and many unusable³². Her current shack is on the outer edge of the township with open fields above which are used as open toilets by many. The filth is palpable.

While on our 'toilet tour' with Katie, I meet another woman, Nokwanda Stamba, whom I am so struck by that I ask if I can interview her too. We do so adopting a 'vox populi' approach, interviewing her on the street on the spot. She is on crutches, having sustained burns on both her feet from the same fire that had burned down Katie's shack, and is accompanied by her little son, Jomo, who is obviously mentally handicapped. Nokwanda's story is almost unbearable. At one point she gets down on her knees to show me the only way she is able to use the 'open toilet' because of her injuries, and I keep shooting, not knowing if this is voyeuristic and exploitative, if my middle-class sensibilities are simply being challenged, or if it is right that these are the kinds of stories that need to be given voice. It's not polite to think about the nuts and bolts of individuals peeing and shitting – I feel mortified that this poor woman has to live like this.

- 3 Apr Interview Zibezezenkosi Ithebani – a friend of Malibongwe's (Malibongwe takes me there): 26-year-old man; some university education; unemployed hiphop artist involved in community counselling for youth / HIV positive people; lives in one room attached to shack of his brother and brother's family (wife and 4 kids). Zibe speaks English and so Malibongwe wanders off while we do the interview – trying to find a sound gap from the hammering just outside his door where a neighbour is repairing his shack. Zibe is seated in front of his computer with his sound-mixing programme open and does a mini hip-hop performance for me at the end of the interview, which I also tape (and later use as the music for the video credits). He is very cool and I feel a bit like an aging groupie!
- 12 Apr Interview Mzukhova Melithafa with Malibongwe: 46-year-old man; has lived in shack since 1994 (previously lived in a hostel in Kayamandi without his family); works as a security officer for social development office at the Municipality; lives with his wife and their 3 kids. Mzukhova has a quiet and understated air of authority about him. He has a long history of living in Kayamandi, originally living in a hostel and then clearing land to build his present shack so that his family could come and live with him many years ago. He has much information on the history of Kayamandi, the different areas, hostel life as opposed to shack life, and clear and insightful commentary on the difficulties of living in an informal settlement. He also commented on the way that Kayamandi had changed over the years as a community.

³² When showing my draft video letter to my previous work partner, Cindy Illing, she added a useful insight. Her current research in Khayelitsha (the biggest informal settlement of the Cape Town area) has identified the need for facilities to dump 'night buckets' – i.e. because of the inconvenience and potential danger of using communal toilets far from one's shack at night, many people use a bucket within their shack. The content of the buckets is then dumped in the toilets the next day (which often causes blockages). This explained both the dirtiness of the toilets near Katie's, as well as how people managed to get by with only filthy communal toilets without doors on them.

1 Aug Meeting with Grant Edkins at Habitat regional office in Cape Town. Zimkitha Ngqabe from Nyanga is to be assigned to me to assist with transcriptions and translations. Cynthia in Joburg handles finances and will reimburse me for expenses based on my submitted budget upon invoicing. We set goals in terms of project activities including having a feedback session with the committee and Malibongwe by the end of August and a community screening by end of October. We are keen to have the video feed into the Stellenbosch Municipality's Re-location Strategy. Grant updates me on what is happening with regards housing at the Municipality. There are 570 units planned for building between January to June 2007. Phase 2 will follow. There will be a total of 2500 units built in Watergang area. The plot sizes are 75 square meters allowing for a 48 square meter house (this is small!). There is much discontent amongst committee members and community people generally about the Municipality's plan to build attached housing units. (It has been described to me as "unAfrican" to share a wall with another family).

11 Aug Grant brings Zimkitha to my house for her first session of transcribing.

Aug/Sept: I work with Zimkitha on the tape transcriptions and translations – a long and drawn out process.

Sept 07 – Jan 08: There is a lull in activities for the Kayamandi video project. The rest of 2007 is taken up for me with working on the writing of my dissertation as well as learning to use digital editing software – Adobe Premiere (when I studied filmmaking in Canada I learned on 16 mm film!). Two different opportunities to do interesting video projects also come up (paid work) – and I can't say 'no'. I also initiate a request for my dissertation to be upgraded from an MA to a PhD and this process takes many months. The combination of all this becomes quite frenetic and I go on a steep learning curve in terms of video production. I end up investing in a 'real' camera and some basic equipment beyond the camcorder I had previously used to shoot all my Kayamandi footage. The limits of my PC are stretched almost beyond capacity – so that by early 2008 I take a further plunge and buy a (second-hand) Mac Pro computer and the Final Cut Studio software package. For me – a 'techno-peasant' at heart – it is all genuinely overwhelming and I feel time passing me by as I try and get a grip on the basic operation of a Mac, firstly, and then come to terms with yet another video editing package (albeit a much improved one!).

28–29 Sept: I attend SACOMM conference held locally at Spier and present my paper on "Participatory Video: Product vs Process" and discuss my in-process Kayamandi project.

14 Dec: Meeting with Edwin to discuss my dissertation.

2007

18 Jan Meeting with Edwin.

- Feb: Telephone conversation with Grant Edkins, Habitat. He calls to tell me he is taking a 6-month leave of absence from Habitat. Thembi Sithole is the decision-maker at the office and Malibongwe is the person to speak with on the ground. (This is the last time I have contact with Grant. Any momentum there may have been with the Kayamandi project from HFH offices seems to grind to a stop).
- 2 Feb: Malibongwe and I meet to re-connect and get momentum on project going again. Mali reports that the Municipality says (1) they are awaiting monies to be released by province, and (2) that they have spent their allocated monies on servicing the Watergang area. Also, the Municipality has still not come up with a re-location strategy. We discuss the need to keep advocating for land for Phase 2 developments in Watergang; for developing process; for continuity in terms of Habitat processes i.e. planning and servicing Phase 2 while building of Phase 1 goes on. Aim must be to try and avoid the same problems that have been experienced with Phase 1 by being vigilant with planning; going on site early; consolidating agreement between Habitat and Municipality for future. I also query him on the rumours I have been hearing about problems with Habitat – there are reports of inconsistencies between the types of housing provided in different areas and grassroots suspicions around financial management. We plan a screening meeting to view the rushes with all the participants.
- 25 Mar The screening of the rushes is held at Joyce's house in Kayamandi. Attendees: Joyce Rubushe (committee member); Zibelezenkosi Ithebani (interviewee); Noxolo Mbambalala (committee member); Nosakele Mangcunyana (committee member); Malibongwe Gwele (committee chairperson); Lungelo Gwele (committee member). Missing: Katie Mdala (interviewee); Nombulelo Baduza (interviewee), Mzukhova Melithafa (interviewee).
Discussion outputs: There are many similarities between interviewees – all want houses (Zib). A key point is that the Municipality's re-location strategy (if there is one) is poor – the Municipality is not making space in the areas where the existing shacks are built. The health implications and sanitation problems of poor housing and over-crowding are clear from the footage (Mali). The local Municipality needs to encourage community housing.
- August: I start learning Adobe Premiere digital editing software.
- 22 Aug Meeting with Edwin on dissertation.
- 29 Aug There is an attempted assassination of Councillor Khulile Shubani (Deputy-mayor of Stellenbosch and member of the UDM). He had been one of the key players in the Zone J committee with which I had initially worked.
- 9 Oct Meet with Edwin and Head of Dept. to discuss upgrading my MA to a PhD. They are both supportive of doing this and we discuss initiating the process.

2008

- 18 April Attended the opening of the Watergang Housing Project in Kayamandi. Met up with a community development worker who then showed me around new houses, buildings under construction, as well as inside some of the older (built about 2003) flats that I have heard various complaints about. Shot footage of all of the above.
- 22 May Meeting with Edwin on dissertation / upgrade.
- June Purchase Apple Mac computer and Final Cut Studio – start learning new computer system and new digital editing software.
- 25 Jun Receive official notification that the upgrade has been approved.
- 2 Jul I attend a meeting at Stellenbosch Municipality requested by the Sinomonde committee members with Lester van Stavel, Head of New Housing. Van Stavel confirms that there are still 6 serviced plots allocated to Habitat for Humanity under the Municipality's Phase 1 Watergang development that are being held for HFH to build upon. Five of the 6 Sinomonde committee members that have been allocated these plots by HFH are in attendance: Mercy Ndamase; Noxolo Bambalala; Mdoda Mdoda; Unathi Tshabane; Nosakhele Magcunyane; Lungelo Gwele (absent). I carry my camera with me but do not use it in the meeting. After the meeting, I record the committee's reaction to the meeting.
- 29 Jul I attend a follow-up meeting at Stellenbosch Municipality that includes Habitat for Humanity representatives, Thembi Sithole and Patrick Shivure. Lester van Stavel from the Municipality chairs the meeting and introduces a new woman (?) from his department. All 6 of the Sinomonde committee members that have been allocated plots for housing in Phase 1 of the Watergang development are there: Mercy Ndamase; Noxolo Bambalala; Mdoda Mdoda; Unathi Tshabane; Nosakhele Magcunyane; Lungelo Gwele.

It is clarified that HFH must assist the Sinomonde members to update their housing subsidy forms so that they can be submitted to Province (who will then send them on to National as they require an above normal subsidy because of the environmental conditions of the land in the Watergang area). Van Stavel offers to assist in submitting these forms with HFH within the next 2 weeks. At the end of the meeting, the Sinomonde representatives stay on with HFH to further discuss the housing design / costs / subsidies.

I tape large segments of this meeting and also tape the committee's analysis after the meeting is over. They are pleased with the Municipality's seeming forthrightness, detailed explanations, and their offer of assistance. They believe the ball rests with HFH and they are concerned as to whether HFH will perform or not. (The committee members have become increasingly suspicious of HFH – because they are unable to get a clear understanding of why HFH have been unable to deliver houses to their

group in Kayamandi for so long compared to much better progress in other areas).

- 15 Aug I send a letter by email on behalf of the Sinomonde Committee to Thembu Sithole, stating their concerns that HFH has not followed up with Stellenbosch Municipality and that they are concerned this has been a lost opportunity. I copy the letter to Patrick Shivure at HFH as well as Malibongwe. The letter is sent under the names of the 6 Sinomonde members awaiting their allocated houses, as well as my name. (Patrick Shivure responds by telephone and requests the chance to meet with the committee and give feedback. We set a date for the 20th).
- 20 Aug Evening screening of draft video-letter in Mercy's shack. The 6 Sinomonde members as well as Patrick Shivure from HFH attend. The screening is preceded with a meeting in which Patrick reports back on what is happening from the side of HFH. Patrick states that the subsidy forms are ready to be submitted and that they do not need to be re-done (which was not the understanding of the committee or myself). He says he has arranged to submit them in the next few days and will report back when he does. The committee is concerned about the following: the forms were never re-done; the forms have still not been handed in to Province; and particularly, that HFH never took up Lester van Stavel's offer of assistance in this task. After Patrick leaves the meeting, I am asked to add further emphasis in the video-letter to the continued non-delivery of their HFH houses.
- 25 Aug I attend the first half of a mass community meeting held at the Kayamandi police station. The Municipality is giving a report-back of sorts on housing developments. It is packed and I get led to the front because I have come with my camera. (It seems worth noting that despite all the problems with delivery that do exist in Stellenbosch, during this meeting community members felt very free to complain vociferously to the attending councillors and officials and I was given complete access with my camera without any questions asked). The community members that have come, many having taken the morning off work in hopes of hearing news about their own personal allocation of a house, are unhappy with the lack of specific information being given. After I have left, I hear that the meeting ended in chaos (the norm it seems for meetings between the Municipality and Kayamandi residents), with the councillors getting fed up with the unruly crowd and closing down the meeting.
- 27 Aug I send an email to Lester van Stavel requesting a forum for handing over the completed video-letter. (There is no response).
- I videotape Malibongwe in the evening at my house to add his input into the video.
- 28 Aug I send an email to Patrick Shivure on behalf of the Sinomonde committee asking for an update. (He responds later that day stating there is not yet any progress as he has been unable to hand over the forms (the person to

hand-over to in Province is out of office), and he has been unable to reach Lester van Stavel).

2 Sep Community Screenings of the video-letter are held in Kayamandi Community Hall every half hour from 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. Attendance is low but audience reaction is very positive. See *Appendix 4: Evaluation Results* for community feedback on the perceived usefulness of the video-letter.

4 Sept I send a follow-up email to Lester van Stavel, again asking for an opportunity to submit the video-letter. I also inform him that I will be presenting the Kayamandi project and the video-letter to 2 different universities in Canada at the end of October – and that I hope to be able to give a positive update on developments as part of those lectures. (There is no response).

I send an email to Patrick asking for the mailing address of HFH so that I can send them a copy of the final video-letter. (I know I can look it up on the web easily enough, but want to keep pressure / reminders up). (There is no response).

5 Sept I send a 'postscript' email to Patrick at HFH informing him that I will be presenting the Kayamandi project and the video-letter to 2 different universities in Canada at the end of October – and that I hope to be able to give a positive update on developments as part of those lectures. (There is no response).

14 Sept The committee and Malibongwe meet to discuss the way forward in terms of distributing the video-letter. I send my input by way of a letter as I do not attend, partly because the timing is difficult for me, and partly because I feel the committee has really seized on the video in the sense that they feel that it is theirs. I have a sense that the video has actually genuinely catalysed engagement and that the committee is now fully driving the process and advocating for themselves. I want them to feel completely free to decide on the next steps, because I am admittedly torn with my own self-interest in terms of getting broader distribution through the new community TV station, and thinking critically about what the most effective steps would be.

15 Sept Through Mercy, I get an account of the discussions. The committee is initially fired up and wants to send the video-letter to all possibilities: Municipality; Habitat for Humanity (both local and higher up); and the new community TV station that has expressed interest. However, Malibongwe brings in concerns about the long-term repercussions. They eventually agree that Habitat for Humanity is actually the key target at the moment in terms of advocating for their own needs. Malibongwe and I then have email communication and I agree to send the video-letter to Habitat in Cape Town with a letter requesting a response within 2 weeks, and suggesting that if none is received, we will send it to a higher level of HFHI.

17 Sept I send the video-letter by registered mail and copy the enclosed letter by email to the 2 key people at Habitat and Malibongwe.

- 18 Sept Thembi Sithole, the Regional Director at Habitat Western Cape responds that she has received my email and will await the delivery of the DVD.
- 8 Oct Still no word from Habitat for Humanity (I have been away for 2 weeks). Malibongwe says he is trying to arrange a meeting with Patrick from Habitat before the end of the week and that we should wait until he gets that meeting before sending the video to a higher level of Habitat.

Appendix 2: Video interviews: Questions and format

1. INTRODUCTIONS and OVERVIEW of video project.
2. INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS:
 - Where is person from? How long in Kayamandi? Who do they live with? What do they do? What are the things they enjoy doing?
 - What are their concerns re. living in Kayamandi? Have they been trying to get housing – details?
 - Is there anything in particular that the person wishes to speak about with regards to housing issues?
 - Review of issues raised by Kayamandi Habitat for Humanity – comments?
 - a. Land ownership / tenure / land allocation
 - b. RDP houses / serviced plots
 - c. Development planning / process in Kayamandi
 - d. People's Housing Process (PHP): What do you think of this? (i.e. How can aspects of consultation / input into decision-making / improved communication / negotiation / etc. be included into the housing process?)
3. Informal WALK-ABOUT: Participant to introduce family / household members; show video team around their shack; facilities they use; etc.
4. Choose LOCATION for conducting video interview.
5. EXPLANATION of interview process: Participant should feel free to talk; if person wishes to stop and take a break at any time, that is fine. Remind participant that they will have a chance to watch their interview at the **feedback session** and that anything they do not want in the final video will be taken out. Explain that we will discuss the same issues that we have already talked about.
6. INTERVIEW:
 - a. Could you please introduce yourself and tell us about yourself (e.g. name / where living / where from / age / no. in family / occupation / anything else . . .)
 - b. How long have you been living in Kayamandi? How do you feel about this place? What are the good things? What are the bad things?
 - c. What do you want to happen in terms of housing and community development for your family in Kayamandi?
 - d. There have been a number of issues related to housing raised by the Kayamandi Habitat for Humanity committee – could you discuss any of these for us?
 - Land ownership / tenure / land allocation
 - RDP houses / serviced plots
 - Development planning / process in Kayamandi
 - People's Housing Process
 - e. This video letter is a chance for you to speak directly to decision-makers at the Municipality -- what would you like to say to them?

Appendix 3: Evaluation questionnaire (English version)

LIVING SPACE: A video letter to Stellenbosch Municipality
Screening: Tuesday, Sept 2nd _____ (screening time)

Please circle response:

1. MALE or FEMALE
2. AGE: Under 18 years; 18-25 yrs; 26-35 yrs; 36-45yrs;
46-55yrs; Over 55 yrs
3. EMPLOYMENT STATUS: Scholar; Employed; Unemployed
4. LIVING STATUS IN KAYAMANDI: Shack; RDP house;
Private house; Hostel; Backyard Shack; Other _____
5. DESCRIBE THIS VIDEO:
 - a) Is it an **accurate** reflection of life in Kayamandi? (YES; PARTIAL; NO)
 - b) Does it communicate **relevant** information to gov't? (YES; PARTIAL; NO)
 - c) Will it be **useful** to send this video to gov't? (YES; PARTIAL; NO)
 - d) Do you **agree** with the messages it sends to gov't? (YES; PARTIAL; NO)
 - e) Who should see this video?
 - Stellenbosch Municipality councilors? (YES; NO)
 - Stellenbosch Municipality officials? (YES; NO)
 - Provincial government? (YES; NO)
 - Other? _____

6. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

Appendix 4: Evaluation results summary

The following are the combined results of the various screening processes used as part of the distribution and evaluation of this project. These consist of the community screenings held at the Kayamandi Community Hall on 2 September 2008; the screenings held at the Kayamandi Step-Down Health Care Facility; and informal household screenings held in private dwellings. These results are based on a total of 48 respondent forms. (See the proceeding pages for a breakdown of the results according to the different types of screenings. The full comments from all the respondents are also included therein).

1. Gender: 40% male; 54% female.
2. Age:
 - Under 18 years: 0%
 - 18 – 25 years: 13%
 - 26 – 35 years: 47%
 - 36 – 45 years: 27%
 - 46 – 55 years: 13%
 - Over 55 years: 0%
3. Employment status:
 - Student: 10%
 - Employed: 31%
 - Unemployed: 48%
 - Retired: 2%
4. Housing status:
 - Shack dweller: 60%
 - RDP house: 10%
 - 'Backyard shack': 13%
 - Hostel: 4%
 - Habitat house: 2%
5. Assess video as accurate:
 - Yes – 92%; Partial – 2%
6. Assess video as relevant:
 - Yes – 96%; Partial – 4%
7. Assess video as useful:
 - Yes - 88%; Partial – 6%; No – 4%
8. Agree with content of video:
 - Yes - 92%; No – 6%
9. Should municipal councillors see the video?
 - Yes – 54%; No – 15%

10. Should municipal officials see the video?

Yes – 56%; No – 8%

11. Should provincial government see the video?

Yes – 63%; No – 6%

12. Additional comments (summary):

Many comments were added to the evaluation forms. Many of these points supported specific issues raised in the video letter such as the need for more houses as well as the type of development that should be done:

The municipality must build houses for the people zone by zone not 2 or 3 in each zone. We want sound community development like other places.

There was also a real emphasis on the health and safety challenges of living in Kayamandi that came from these comments, particularly from the viewers at the step-down facility. The lack of toilets is a critical issue for people living with HIV/AIDS:

I live in a shack and I am HIV positive and I also have a child. When I get sick, like getting a running stomach, it becomes difficult because we don't have toilets. Diseases will prevail because Kayamandi doesn't have sanitation. We want decent houses.

There were also various responses to the video-letter itself:

I think that they (Municipality) will do something once they see it than to hear about the situation because some don't have a clue how dirty it is.

This video is a true story happening at Kayamandi. There's nothing less or added, it is what is happening here.

Giving it to the Provincial government will be the right thing to do because the local municipality doesn't care.

Appendix 4: Evaluation results (Group A)

The following are the results of the community screening held at the Kayamandi Community Hall on 2 September 2008³³. The results are based on 18 respondent forms.

1. Gender: Approximately 2/3 of the audience were male; 1/3 female.
2. Age:
 - Under 18 years: 17%
 - 18 – 25 years: 6%
 - 26 – 35 years: 28%
 - 36 – 45 years: 28%
 - 46 – 55 years: 6%
 - Over 55 years: 11%
3. Employment status:
 - Student: 22%
 - Employed: 44%
 - Unemployed: 17%
 - Retired: 11%
4. Housing status:
 - Shack dweller: 83%
 - RDP house: 6%
 - Habitat house: 6%
5. Assess video as accurate: 100%
6. Assess video as relevant: 100%
7. Assess video as useful: 100%
8. Agree with content of video: 100%
9. Should municipal councillors see the video?
Yes – 44%; No – 17%
10. Should municipal officials see the video?
Yes – 61%; No – 6%
11. Should provincial government see the video?
Yes – 67%; No –
12. Additional comments:
 - i. More houses must be built so that everyone can have one.
 - ii. Houses must be built here in Kayamandi.
 - iii. The municipality must build houses for the people zone by zone not 2 or 5 in each zone. We want sound community development like other places.
 - iv. We support that the shacks must be removed.

³³ Note that where not all respondents filled in a response the total percentages add up to less than 100%.

- v. Living in a shack is very dangerous due to heavy rains, fires and hygiene.
- vi. The video is excellent.
- vii. The conditions that we are living under are very unhealthy. Tuberculosis is prevalent and it is dirty. Housing development is not progressing; the government needs to intervene.
- viii. Living in a shack exposes us to diseases because of dirt and it's really not safe.
- ix. We want houses.
- x. We want houses.
- xi. We want houses.
- xii. This video is a true story happening at Kayamandi. There's nothing less or added, is what is happening here.
- xiii. I think that they will do something once they see it (video) than to hear about the situation because some don't have a clue how dirty it is. They can make a big difference because 2010 is coming soon so they can use this opportunity to become a better municipality. This video is going to make a big difference because it is going to be clear if they don't do their jobs.
- xiv. Giving it to the Provincial government will be the right thing to do because the local municipality doesn't care.
- xv. Interview comments:
 I support this video – the municipality must clear areas and use this cleared land to build houses. The houses that are being built are going to people who don't stay here for a long time – some paid rent in hostels a long time ago.
 The black bags are not passed out.
 The councillors are corrupt – the houses go to their family members.
 People are doing politics – I am very disillusioned with politicians.
 The municipality must just deliver.
 I feel councillors just keep quiet and don't call meetings.
 There is an issue with Zone F. You can't just open up space – then go and leave it.

Appendix 4: Evaluation results (Group B)

The following are the results of the screenings held at the Kayamandi Step-Down Health Facility Home during October 2008³⁴. The results are based on 15 respondent forms. Note that these respondents are chronically ill or recovering from illness and getting ready to return to their homes.

1. Gender: 100% of this audience were female.

2. Age:

Under 18 years:	0%
18 – 25 years:	13%
26 – 35 years:	47%
36 – 45 years:	27%
46 – 55 years:	13%
Over 55 years:	0%

3. Employment status:

Student:	0%
Employed:	0%
Unemployed:	93%
Retired:	0%

4. Housing status:

Shack dweller:	60%
RDP house:	13%
'Backyard shack':	27%

5. Assess video as accurate:

Yes – 93%

6. Assess video as relevant:

Yes – 93%; Partial – 7%

7. Assess video as useful:

Yes - 87%; Partial – 7%

8. Agree with content of video:

Yes - 93%

9. Should municipal councillors see the video?

Yes – 80%; No – 7%

10. Should municipal officials see the video?

Yes – 60%;

11. Should provincial government see the video?

Yes – 87%; No – 7%

12. Additional comments:

³⁴ Note that where not all respondents filled in a response the total percentages add up to less than 100%.

- i. The conditions that we are living under are difficult and sad. I live in No. 0527 Luydo Street with 4 other people in one shack and me and my child. We are both sick HIV positive and we live in a very difficult condition because sometimes it rains and we don't have a place to stay. I'm asking the local government to do something urgently. I've been here for years and people who just came have houses already. Kayamandi is very dirty and diseases are spreading more. I've been to the municipality and I've been told to wait and it's been three years now in the list.
- ii. I live in a shack. I'm sick and I don't get a social grant and I have a child. The child is 5 years and is attending pre-school and we are both taking HIV treatment but we don't get the social grant. I've been trying to register the child for a social grant but the system doesn't approve it. My social grant expired and I renewed it but it's almost four months now since I've been trying; I'm really struggling. I also want a house because the shack leaks when it rains.
- iii. I live in a shack and I am HIV positive and I also have a child. When I get sick, like getting a running stomach, it becomes difficult because we don't have toilets. Diseases will prevail because Kayamandi doesn't have sanitation. We want decent houses.
- iv. I live in a shack and it is very dirty and the shack leaks when it rains. I get flu and become asthmatic because my blankets get wet and the wind is blowing inside the shack.
- v. I live in a house. More houses need to be built and we must get rid of the shacks. It is important to live in a proper house because you get an inside toilet -- because you might get sick and it can be difficult to go outside.
- vi. What is happening in Kayamandi is that you find people who are sick living in shacks that are leaking when it rains and it becomes difficult for people like me who are living with HIV especially when we get running stomachs, toilets are very few. Can we please get houses; we suffer from TB because it's dirty in Kayamandi.
- vii. I got a piece of land in 1995 but no house. The municipality told me to build a shack while I'm waiting for the house. I don't even have a toilet, I have to use my neighbour's. The municipality don't care, they only make promises before the elections and afterwards they forget about us. Diseases will prevail here in Kayamandi because municipality and the councilors don't care.
- viii. It is true what is said here (*in this video*). We've been waiting for houses but we never get them especially people like me who are sick. It becomes difficult to go to the toilets at night and sometimes you find that they are dirty. Sometimes the waste water pipes burst and the water flows in front of the house. We just registered but we don't have any hope.
- ix. We are ill and we live in shacks. We are asking for houses.
- x. I live in Kayamandi. I'm HIV positive and it's very dirty - no toilets. I am suffering from running stomach.
- xi. My request is that everybody should get a house, especially people who are sick. Toilets are far and I've experienced this one myself. It becomes difficult to find them and this lack of sanitation makes things worse in Kayamandi. Thank you.
- xii. We live in difficult conditions in Kayamandi: no houses; it's dirty; and no water.
- xiii. I live in a shack and it's not safe because when you want to go to the toilets it becomes difficult. And we live next to waste water pipes - it's unhygienic. I want a house because we catch many diseases here.
- xiv. I live here and I am ill: my stomach is running; toilets are far and they don't have water; they are dirty. I want a house. Kayamandi is dirty.
- xv. I live with an orphan who is HIV positive. I asked for a house from the municipality and I haven't got it. I've been waiting - it's almost 10 years now.

Appendix 4: Evaluation results (Group C)

The following are the results of informal household viewings held in private dwellings in Kayamandi during November 2008³⁵. The results are based on 15 respondent forms.

1. Gender: 60% female; 40% male.
2. Age:
 - Under 18 years: 7%
 - 18 – 25 years: 33%
 - 26 – 35 years: 33%
 - 36 – 45 years: 20%
 - 46 – 55 years: 7%
 - Over 55 years: 0%
3. Employment status:
 - Student: 7%
 - Employed: 47%
 - Unemployed: 47%
 - Retired: 0%
4. Housing status:
 - Shack dweller: 33%
 - RDP house: 13%
 - 'Backyard shack': 27%
 - Hostel: 13%
5. Assess video as accurate:
 - Yes – 93%; Partial - 7%
6. Assess video as relevant:
 - Yes – 93%; Partial – 7%
7. Assess video as useful:
 - Yes - 73%; Partial – 13%; No – 13%
8. Agree with content of video:
 - Yes - 80%; Partial – 20%
9. Should municipal councillors see the video?
 - Yes – 40%; No – 20%
10. Should municipal officials see the video?
 - Yes – 47%; No – 20%
11. Should provincial government see the video?
 - Yes – 33%; No – 13%
12. Additional comments:
 - i. We need toilets to be fixed.

³⁵ Note that where not all respondents filled in a response the total percentages add up to less than 100%.

- ii. We need Kayamandi to be clean.
- iii. We need houses in Kayamandi.
- iv. We need houses in Kayamandi.
- v. We need a house.
- vi. You must make Kayamandi clean.
- vii. When you build house you must take one zone so that you can have space on that zone.
- viii. You can build houses.
- ix. Don't build the house because of the councillor know the people or is the family
- x. Must build the house for the people. Finish shacks and dirty.
- xi. Start with taking the people who stay in hostels and take the old people.
- xii. If you can build house for all peoples yard for them the town can be clean.
- xiii. You must build house for all people more especially old people.
- xiv. If you can build houses and destroy the shacks the town can be clean.
- xv. You must build house for old people because shacks are not clean.