Street Life:

A case study on the social impact of participating in a film project on youths from the streets of Durban

By

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own original work and that where use has been made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged in the text.

Signed: _PMMM_ Date: _MaRch 12, 2012_

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Abstract

In the spring of 2010, I worked with four street youths from Durban to create a short fictional film based on their lives. There were two main components to this project: first, a series of drama workshops and second, the film-making process. The film-making process consisted of the participants improvising scenes based on their street lives that I captured on film. This project engaged with Theatre for Development and Participatory Video practices.

The young man who initiated this project did so because he wanted to change people's perceptions of youths who lived on the streets. Additionally, he wanted to change his own perceptions of himself.

The film provided baseline data regarding how the participants viewed themselves and their lives on the streets. Analysis of interviews conducted after the completion of the project, when compared with the baseline data, demonstrated social impacts that occurred as a result of making the film. This data was coded and interpreted using François Matarasso's (1997) positive criteria for the social impact of participating in arts projects as well as corresponding negative categories that I generated.

The film, once coded, demonstrated that the participants felt negatively about their lives on the streets, with many examples emerging from the categories Lack of Social Cohesion and Lack of Agency. In contrast, the interviews revealed positive social impacts across all categories, but especially in relation to Personal Development, Local Image and Identity, and Community Empowerment and Self-Determination (Matarasso 1997). The participants reported that they felt differently about themselves as a result of the project. They also said that there had been a change in the way some people treated them.

Findings revealed that the film project resulted in positive social impacts on the street youth participants. As a result of the film, they engaged in critical thinking and reflection related to Paulo Freire's (1970) notion of praxis. They also wished for changes in their lives and in some cases enacted change. It was significant that social impacts and change extended to youths in difficult circumstances.

In conclusion, this research proved that participating in the film project broadened and enriched the lives of the participants. Problems arose in terms of sustainability. Further projects and research are needed to establish the possible impacts from long-term and sustainable arts projects on youths from the streets.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

I stepped out of my car into the hot Durban sunshine. The air reeked of rotting food and boiling sweat. The smell caused me to cringe. I was in the midst of making a film with a group of young people who lived on the streets and I had arrived at their street home to continue our work. I looked around me. Down the alleyway, a group of young men stood huddled together, deep in conversation. Closer to me, and under a building's overhang, two bodies lurched and moaned under one tattered blanket. I sidestepped this sexual encounter and moved to greet the group of young men in the alley. I received a head nod over a shoulder, as I noticed a handful of zol[1] being prepared to smoke. I backed away, allowing them their space for this ritual. The largest joint I had ever seen was rolled and subsequently passed around the circle. A few moments later, a boy on crutches came up to me and proposed marriage. Another boy followed and asked my name. When he did so, the boy on crutches became angry and head-butted the second boy, sending him flying across the pavement, screaming expletives. Soon, the joint was finished and the couple under the blanket had reached climax. It was a Thursday and a normal morning on the streets of Durban.

It was within this unstable and unpredictable environment that I worked with street youths in order to create a film based on their lives. I wondered how they would engage in the creative work and if it would be possible to complete such a project. Additionally, I questioned what impact, if any, participation in the film project would have on them.

Description of Research and Project

In the spring of 2010, I worked with four young men who lived on the streets of Durban to create a short, 30-minute, fictional film based on their lives. The group who worked on this project finally consisted of Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho[2]. This

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[1] Zol is a common street name for cannabis or marijuana.
[2] The names of all the street youths in this dissertation have been changed to protect their anonymity. Throughout this dissertation, Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho will be referred to as the young men and the participants. The larger community of young people who live on the street will be referred to as young people, the youths or street youths. A more appropriate term delineates between youths who are *on* the street, and who usually return home at night, and youths *of* the street, who live primarily on the streets (Sexton 2005: 2-3). More simply, and encompassing both definitions, they are 'youths who live and work on the street.' Because they exist somewhere between childhood and adulthood, I will also

project grew out of a request by Jabulani to make a play about his life on the streets. Jabulani made this request to Ingrid Schärer Østhus, a postgraduate student in the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Social Work Department. Østhus and Professor Vishanthie Sewpaul, the head of the Social Work Department, approached the Drama and Performance Studies Department to ask if a student could assist with this project. As a result, I was brought in to discuss facilitating a playmaking project. During the discussions of the project, the idea of making a play shifted to become a film. This shift occurred because groups of young people living on the streets were unstable and plays demanded a sustainable cast for multiple performances. Additionally, our time was limited and film was a useful medium to capture work in a concrete way.

Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho lived with a larger group of youths in downtown Durban, near the intersection of Point Road and West Street by the Durban docks; this was a red-light district and the buildings were dilapidated. They called this area Emagqumeni (at the hills), or, in its English name, 'The Three Hills.' The community of young people who lived there consisted of both males and females, aged six to twenty five. They came from both rural and urban areas throughout KwaZulu-Natal. Of the hundreds of youths who lived on the streets of Durban, about forty called Emagqumeni home. This number fluctuated, as youths left the streets to visit home[3], go to hospital, prison, and to search for work, often only to return days, weeks, or months later. It was this community with which Østhus worked and from here that Jabulani and his idea for the play emerged. All young people who lived at Emagqumeni were invited to participate in the film project. Over time and through a process of self-selection, the four young men emerged as the most committed participants.

Generally, the greater Durban community shunned street youths and found them a nuisance. Jabulani initiated this project because he hoped to shift these perceptions and allow this community to see the humanity and difficult reality of youths who lived and worked on the streets. Additionally, he wanted to change himself in some way. In

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refer to them as young men and young women. There is no intended political or racial connotation to any of these terms in this dissertation.
[3] The street youths, despite living on the streets, often had homes to return to in their communities. Many times, these were the homes of aunts, uncles, mothers, or grandparents, but for whatever reason they could not and did not live there permanently.

sum, Jabulani wanted to speak out, explore his own reality, and effect change. His concerns represented those of the young people who stayed at Emagqumeni.

Jabulani's intentions coincided with my own questions regarding the potential of art projects to have an effect on the lives of participants. I wondered how the perceptions of street youths by outsiders could change as a result of this project and what impacts would be discernable on the street youths themselves as a result of participating in the project. I queried what it meant to introduce art into an unstable environment and wondered if any effect would be possible. From the intersections of Jabulani's and my questions emerged research objectives that guided this research. What was the social impact on the street youths of participating in the film-making process?

There were two main parts of the project: first a series of drama workshops and second the film-making process, where the four young men and I created a 30-minute film based on their lives on the streets. Although the film was fictional and the processes used to create it engaged with the imaginative work of playmaking, the film was based on their lived realities. The drama workshops equipped the youths with the necessary drama skills to create the scenes for the film. They spanned three weeks and included games to build relationships of trust between the participants and myself and generated content for the film. The film-making process, which lasted three weeks, consisted of the participants improvising scenes based on their street lives that I captured on film. The content of the scenes was determined by the participants, as was the street location where we filmed. The scenes were filmed and edited on my MacBook laptop. The four young men translated their dialogue into English and subtitled the film. I then edited the film, which the participants approved. They titled the film *Street Life*.

Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, Østhus, and I traveled to Cape Town to screen the film at the ASASWEI (Association of South African Social Work Education Institutions) 2010 Conference: Social Work Educators and Practitioners: Partners in Teaching and Learning in September 2010[4]. Sipho did not join us due to personal reasons that he never disclosed. In addition to showing the film, the three young men explained the process of making it and answered questions from an audience of professional social

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[4] I will henceforth refer to this conference in its shortened name, ASASWEI's Teaching and Learning Conference 2010, as TLC 2010, or simply as the conference.

workers. After this screening, I interviewed the participants. Two weeks after the completion of the project, I interviewed them again. These interviews provided the data for my research.

This research focuses on the participants and their perceptions of their lives both before and after the film project. Their comments, opinions, and perspectives comprise the data and form the foundation of analysis. This research does not seek to evaluate the creative processes used or the aesthetics of the film. This research is not about the role of media, film documentation, or visual anthropology. It does not deal with theories around identity, identity creation, or representation. This research encompasses the theoretical areas of Theatre for Development and social impact. As a result, this research needs to be understood in terms of the theories used, namely Theatre for Development and the social impact of participating in the arts. Additionally, because I am American, this paper is written in American English, as opposed to British English.

Theorists

This research combines questions around the social impact of participating in the arts with participative theatre processes. The creative work articulated the problem of life on the streets. The process of making the film and screening it to the public involved processes of speaking out and reflection that affected the young men involved in the project. This raised questions about the nature of the social impact this project achieved.

The creative work engaged with participatory theatre processes that were collaborative in nature. Participatory theatre processes are a well-established component of the Southern African Theatre for Development (TFD) movement of the 1970s and 1980s, and draw on Freirean pedagogy (1970) in order to achieve a social impact (Kerr 1995: 149). Francois Matarasso (1997), working in Europe, in response to neo-liberal economics and cuts in arts funding in the 1990s, developed criteria for measuring the social impact of participating in the arts. These provided a framework for coding the data in this research. Freire's notion of praxis (1970: 33) involving reflection and action provided a frame for discussions about changes effected as a result of the project.

The key questions of this research deal with social impact and change:

1. What was the social impact of participation in the film project on the participants?

2. How have the participants engaged in critical thinking and reflection that resulted in change defined as:

    a. Changes wished for

    b. Changes acted on

    c. Changes in terms of new emerging problems?

The Participants

This research developed as a direct result of the individuals involved. It is necessary to discuss the key players in this project, namely Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, Sipho, Østhus, and me.

The four young men who participated in the project were black, IsiZulu-speaking males between the ages of 18 and 22. The participants had lived on the streets of Durban for upwards of five years each. Jabulani and Sihle were brothers who left home at different times and for different reasons. They had the same mother, but different fathers. They met Thobani and Sipho while on the streets. Although these four young men had known each other before, they became closer friends during the film-making process.

Jabulani initiated the film project. He claimed to be 20 years old[5] and had lived on the streets for ten years. Jabulani was able to voice his opinion on any matter and spoke at length in English about his life on the streets. I observed that Jabulani had a higher gang status than the other three participants. For example, he was able to hide food from the other young people at Emagqumeni. Jabulani often engaged in menial work for money from the companies adjacent to Emagqumeni, such as washing tow-trucks.

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[5] I later discovered that some of the participants fabricated their ages. Some of the young men said they were younger than their real ages and some claimed to be older. They did not have identification documents and, as a result, they were treated as the age they claimed to be by police and social workers. They fabricated their ages to receive certain benefits and opportunities offered at local shelters. For example, young men over the age of 21 could not use the toilet and shower facilities at 'The Center,' a container facility on the shores of the Durban Harbor for young street people. As a result, their ages listed here are representative of the information they chose to give, as opposed to their real ages, which remain unknown to me.

On one occasion, I also observed Jabulani participating in a drug deal. Jabulani, like most of the street youths, was addicted to zol. This altered his mental state both when he was high and when he had cravings. Despite being articulate and appearing more mature than the others, he was prone to irrational outbursts and immature temper-tantrums.

Sihle was a lively, impulsive, and demanding boy, aged 19. He was unlike the other street people I met because he did not use drugs. Although this originally was met with disapproval from the gang, he became respected for this choice. He did drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes like the others. He was impulsive, often neglecting to think before he spoke, causing him to, at times, be offensive. On one occasion, he called me fat and took joy in hurting my feelings. Sihle was involved in a long-term romantic relationship with a young woman from the streets named Thandi, who was as loud and brash as he. Their relationship was volatile and Thandi often left wounds on Sihle's body from fights.

Thobani, over time, took on the role of my protector. This stemmed from an encounter one night as I was driving him and the other participants back to Emagqumeni after filming when a man attempted to hijack us. Thobani leapt from the backseat and attacked the man through the front window of my car. From that moment, Thobani stuck to my side to ensure that I was safe on the streets. Thobani celebrated his '21st birthday' for the second time while making the film. He was short, but made up for this in personality and swagger. Addicted to zol, he was arrested for possession during the drama workshops, only to be released a few days later. Despite his cravings, Thobani was, on occasion, able to stop using drugs in order to better complete the drama work.

Sipho was aged 20. He was not known to Østhus before the start of the project. Soon, it became clear that Sipho had a love for drama and a flair for it. Without coaching, he created a well-developed character for the film, whereas the other young men sometimes played at acting. Sipho participated fully until mid-way through the film-making process when he became silent and withdrawn. This silence was coupled with depression and an increased use of drugs. Eventually, the other participants revealed that Sipho had been disrespectful; Jabulani felt that Sipho had tried to take too much

control in the project. As a result, the other three participants shunned him. Due to these and other personal issues, he chose to miss the trip to Cape Town. Once we returned, he had difficulty reintegrating into the group.

Together, these four young men were a vivacious and creative group. Sometimes, their various moods made collaboration impossible. At other times, their energies sparked lively conversations and vibrant improvisations.

Ingrid Schärer Østhus introduced me to the street community I worked with for this project. She had been working with the young people at Emagqumeni for three years prior to introducing me to this community. Østhus was also a foreigner to South Africa. She was born in Norway and was living in South Africa to complete her Master's degree in Social Work. Originally, Østhus' primary involvement was to help facilitate my introduction to the street community. Because the work generated by my project proved useful for her research as well, she participated in the duration of the project. The Social Work Department eventually used the film as an education tool for rural youth to discourage them from coming to live on the streets of Durban as part of an intervention project of their own.

I am a white, American female who has been living in Durban for three years. I received a bursary from Rotary International in order to pursue a Master's degree and engage in community projects. I chose to come to South Africa due to its diversity and with an interest in understanding the role drama might play to help ease the tensions of the past. I hoped that in small ways, in small projects, I would be able to assist communities in making decisions regarding their futures through the arts. When presented with the possibility of working on the streets of Durban with youths to create a play about their lives, I leapt at the opportunity. Because I believe in the power of the arts to make change in society, I hoped that this project would provide me with an opportunity to substantiate this belief through research. Additionally, I already had some experience with street youths through my work developing an outreach program for youths who had previously lived on the streets and were, at that time, living in a place of safety in Pinetown. I had used Ultimate Frisbee, a competitive team sport, to teach life skills.

Life on the Streets: Context

Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho's personalities, attitudes, and actions were shaped by living on the streets. Some explanation of this context is necessary to understand the participants and the issues this research engaged. The following briefly describes life on the streets as I observed and documented it in my journals from July to October 2010.

Life on the streets for youths was best described as unstable. They literally stayed on the street. Emagqumeni was located in Durban's city center, in an alleyway with an open patch of earth and concrete in front of it. Buildings flanked the alley, one a tire repair shop. An awning over the sidewalk from one of the buildings provided a needed refuge from the rain. In front of the buildings, before the main road, was a concrete area often used for driving lessons and a grassy patch. Together, these various areas constituted a make-shift house for the youths. They had been given blankets by charitable organizations that they used while sleeping and then hid during the day in manholes to prevent them from being stolen (Willis 2010). The openness of Emagqumeni meant that the youths were visible to passersby and vulnerable. They often robbed people walking through Emagqumeni (Willis 2010).

The walls of the buildings at Emagqumeni were covered with graffiti, most of which included the number 26, the youths' gang, which served as a warning to the members of the 28 gang that they were in 26 territory (Willis 2010). There were two main gangs that dominated the streets of Durban, the 26s and the 28s. These gangs, now known as the Numbers Gangs, originated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the mines of Johannesburg and consequently moved into the South African prison system, where they were most notorious (Steinberg 2004: xiv-xvi). More recently, the Numbers Gangs have found their way onto the streets, although in a bastardized form (Steinberg 2004: xviii) and became a vivid and unavoidable part of street life. Although the 26s and 28s co-existed in the prisons and on the streets, this was not without conflict. Many of the 26s who lived at Emagqumeni told me that they had 'death threats' warning them not to stray into 28 territory (Willis 2010).

The gang provided protection, food, and shelter in exchange for loyalty. Initiation tasks tested this loyalty. New recruits often needed to beg for money, steal, and

sometimes stab in order to be included in the gang. After inclusion, they were subject to the will and needs of the senior gang members (Willis 2010). The participants reflected this process of initiation in the film.

The instability in the lives of youths at Emagqumeni in regards to food and resources caused them to engage in violent activities in order to acquire goods necessary for survival. Although begging for money at traffic lights yielded profit, stealing and selling a cell phone earned a greater income in a shorter time. Often they participated in menial labor, such as car guarding or washing cars, but acts of violence and theft secured greater gang status (Willis 2010).

Violence also erupted between gang members. Despite the youths speaking of each other as brothers and sisters, wild tempers and irrational thinking often led to violent outbursts (Willis 2010). Romantic relationships were also fraught with violence. Women and girls were viewed as objects. Violence against the young women who lived at Emagqumeni, in the forms of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, was a common occurrence (Willis 2010).

The use of drugs contributed to the levels of violence on the streets. Drugs at Emagqumeni ranged from glue to more illicit narcotics such as whoonga, a lethal combination of drugs that included marijuana, heroin, crystal meth, as well as rat poison and anti-retrovirals. The youths at Emagqumeni, with rare exceptions, were addicted to drugs. Glue and marijuana were the most commonly used. Shoe glue was poured into empty juice or milk containers and inhaled. Marijuana was most often smoked as joints and was sometimes mixed with tobacco (Willis 2010).

I observed that the street youths were impulsive, volatile, and sought instant gratification often leading them to abandon effective planning for momentary reward. Time only existed in the short term as they struggled to make survival plans for the next day (Willis 2010).

The youths at Emagqumeni were viewed as a menace by the public and by civil authorities. This was not without reason, as they often posed a threat to persons and

property. The youths reported that the public often told them to go home and were sometimes abusive. Police were also perceived as a serious threat (Willis 2010).

Certain resources were available to the youths at Emagqumeni due to multiple centers for street children located in the downtown Durban area. These organizations provided some activities, such as surfing lessons and soccer teams, and support, such as assisting youths in receiving medical attention[6]. The youths used these organizations and their services when it was beneficial to them, but not frequently (Willis 2010).

Jabulani wanted to share and explain this world. He wanted the public who shunned him to know the truths of street life; that a group of emotionally and physically damaged young people tried to make a living each day in the face of impossible circumstances. Ultimately, Jabulani wanted to remove himself from and to be spokesman for the tribulations of youths on the streets. Jabulani wanted to change his life by embarking on this film project and by sharing his story.

Outline of Chapters

The following is a brief review of each chapter contained in this paper.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter serves to situate this research in the fields of Theatre for Development, Participatory Theatre with youths from the streets, Participatory Video, as well as the history of street youths in film both worldwide and in Southern Africa. Additionally, this chapter will set up the framework for this research's analysis, namely François Matarasso (1997), Paulo Freire (1970), and Augusto Boal (1979).

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter examines how categories for coding were developed. It describes the process of coding and analyzing data and details the limitations of this research.

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[6] Centers for street children in Durban include Umthombo (www.umthombo.org), Agape (www.be-more.org), Street-Wise (www.street-wise.co.za), and iCare (www.icare.co.za).

Chapter Four: The Project

Here, the processes of meeting the youths, the drama workshops, and the film-making process are examined in detail. This chapter tells the story of what happened in the drama and film processes. I documented this process in great detail in my research journals (Willis 2010).

Chapter Five: Presentation of Data

This chapter is divided into two sections. First, the categorized data from the film is examined to provide baseline data about the participants' perceptions of their lives on the streets. Second, the interviews are discussed, which provide information on how the participants viewed themselves after their participation in the film project.

Chapter Six: Findings

This chapter analyzes the coded results from the interviews in comparison with the baseline data from the film. The social impact on the young men of their participation is analyzed conceptually as well as in terms of change. Change is defined as changes wished for, changes acted on, and changes in terms of new emerging problems.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

This chapter negotiates this research's position in the fields of Theatre for Development and Participatory Video. It also provides conclusions to the research exemplifying the impact of arts projects with street people. Further avenues of research are suggested.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

As an intervention, the project, a film made collaboratively with street youths, drew on two bodies of knowledge, one related to the collaborative practices of Theatre for Development (Kerr 1995, 1999; Kidd 1983, 1984; Kidd and Byram 1982; Rohmer 1999) and Participatory Video (Li 2008; Lunch and Lunch 2006; Shaw and Robertson 1997), and the other related to tools of analysis (Boal 1979; Freire 1970; Matarasso 1997). In order to analyze how the film represented life on the streets and to compare this with the social impact on the young men who participated in the project, I used François Matarasso's (1997) criteria as categories for coding. I developed negative categories (pp. 29) that corresponded to his six positive categories in order to allow negative impacts to emerge.

This research takes as its focus the impact, on the young men involved, of participating in the film project. Although the collaborative processes engaged them in creating a representation of their lives and the experience resulted in certain changes and to some extent a renegotiation of their identity, this research and its analysis do not extend to debates involving visual anthropology and ethnographic film (Møhl 2011; Tomaselli 1996; Turner 1988; Weiner 1997). How this work engages these notions will be the subject of other research and analysis.

Theatre for Development

The participative theatre process used in this project stems from those already well-established in Theatre for Development. The Theatre for Development (TFD) movement began in the 1970s in sub-Saharan Africa (Kerr 1995: 149). It was influenced by people working in adult education, development, and theatre and worked for a 'bottom-up' and participatory approach (Kerr 1995: 149). The TFD movement drew on notions from Freirean (1970) pedagogy involving popular education (Kerr 1995: 149). An important element was Freire's (1970) notion of praxis, in which the individual engages in "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (1970: 33). Notions of praxis have become the main criteria in evaluating these kinds of projects (Kidd and Byram 1982: 104).

The *Laedza Batanani* project, in Botswana in 1974, gave impetus to the TFD movement (Kerr 1995: 149). In this project, community leaders and extension workers generated and produced plays for rural constituents (Kidd and Byram 1982: 93). This project engaged community development objectives and was criticized by Kidd and Byram (1982: 97-104) for its lack of authentic participation and real systemic change, and faulty reflection and analysis of problems. However, the *Laedza Batanani* project firmly established Freirean pedagogy as a key element of Theatre for Development in the region (Kidd and Byram 1982: 104). During the 1970s and early 1980s, Theatre for Development was promoted through a series of workshops in Zambia, Malawi, and Zimbabwe (Kerr 1995: 168-9). Key aspects involved community participation, the promotion of appropriate technology and African performance aesthetics, political agency, and development (Kerr 1995: 168).

In the 1980s, as a result of the influence of the theatre project at the Kenyan Kamiriithu Cultural Center, TFD projects took on more of the characteristics of community-based theatre (Kidd 1983). Community theatre was further promoted as a result of the Morewa workshop in Zimbabwe in 1983 (Kidd 1984: 72). Ngugi wa Mirii, one of the key adult educators involved in the Kamiriithu project and a leader in the Zimbabwe community theatre movement, described community based theatre in Zimbabwe in the following terms. He said:

> Community Based Theatre means that the theatre groups are made up of people drawn from their own community and immediate environment. It also means that their theatre addresses itself to the immediate community needs as well as to the wider society. […] These groups provide cultural entertainment that is both educational and also claims [to conscientize] the artists as well as the audience through their plays (Ngugi wa Mirii in Rohmer 1999: 56).

This paradigm challenged the role of 'experts' to speak out on behalf of rural and working class communities. This development opened the potential for TFD to be a tool for subaltern communication (Kidd and Byram 1982 and Kerr 1995).

If the political agendas around TFD expressed a renegotiation of power dynamics in a post-colonial context, involving a re-emergence of African culture, a redistribution of cultural agency, and the promotion of notions of development, then the shattering of TFD in the 1990s reflected the influence of globalization in a neo-colonial context.

Kerr (1999), attending a theatre workshop in Harare in the late 1990s, described how the original Freirean intentions of TFD processes had diminished, how the work had become fused with other media, and, while acknowledging the necessary assistance from donors, discussed how funding tended to make top-down agendas for the work.

Theatre for Development during the 1980s and 90s reflected the cultural and political realities and struggles of independent Africa in the frontline states. South Africa, at this time, was struggling to emerge from apartheid. In the 1980s, under the weight of apartheid, theatre began being used in the townships as a method of resistance. This theatre was revolutionary and identified with the movement for liberation that was pulsing through the nation (Sitas 1996: 87). In 1994, the Institute for Urban Primary Health Care and the South African Broadcasting Corporation piloted a new soap opera, *Soul City*, that featured "scenarios of personal and social dramas that focus[ed] on health issues from smoking to AIDS…to sexual abuse" (Kruger 1999: 107). Like Theatre for Development projects before, *Soul City* used local languages to assist in its goals of "conscientization and nation building" (Kruger 1999: 108). In post-apartheid South Africa, Theatre for Development has moved under the umbrellas of NGOs to address such topics as HIV/AIDS, gender relations, and sexuality: for example, DramAidE and AREPP: Theatre for Life (DramAidE 2010 and AREPP: Theatre for Life 2006).

Participatory Theatre with Street Youths

Conducting my literature search, I found no examples of writing about participative theatre projects with street youths in South Africa. One cannot assume that participative work with street youths has not occurred; this simply indicates that this work is not well documented. Still, there exists a body of writing about participatory theatre involving street youths in other countries. What defines the particular nature of participation in TFD is that it seeks to achieve a social impact. These programs can be divided into projects led by 'experts' for street youths and community theatre projects that created work with youths.

The following programs were developed by experts to suit the needs of street youths. Kathleen McCreery, in her work in Ghana, used theatre techniques that originated in

Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed (1979) to encourage street youths to tell their stories and create short plays (McCreery 2001: 144). Although founded in participatory methodologies, McCreery took the youths' stories and crafted her own play (McCreery 2001: 122). The company Cardboard Citizens, based in London, also engaged in interactive playmaking with homeless youths (Cardboard Citizens 2010). Product-driven, the voices of the youths were often stifled by the director's need to produce a polished piece of theatre (Ramos 2010). A brief forum theatre experience in Brasilia with street children culminated in a performance with no evaluation or follow-up and left the youths to return to the streets alone (George 1995: 44).

In Toronto, the Sky program offered a facilitator-led process that sought to achieve a social impact. This 17-week stepping-stone program at times made use of processes related to the Theatre of the Oppressed (Boal 1979). This, however, remained a highly structured program that "enable[d] youth, who [had] the desire to reduce their involvement in street life, to gain access to jobs, housing, counseling and the public school system" (Hershler 1998: 42). In the 1990s, the Seattle Public Theatre, in Washington State, USA, used forum theatre processes with homeless youths and staff members from youth centers, which resulted in them, through new relationships, organizing themselves into temporary communities (Westlake 2001: 67).

A more pure example of the TFD process in action with street youths was the Shade Tree Theatre in Jos, Nigeria. Here, children were enabled "to analyze problems they encounter[ed] and to come up with practical solutions to deal with them" (Salami and van Beers 2003: 23). "Based on approaches to popular education, the Shade Tree Theatre start[ed] from the situation of the children themselves, [and searched] for their perspectives by using theatrical performance" (Salami and van Beers 2003: 23). Thus, the Shade Tree Theatre in Nigeria was a contemporary example of the 1980s version of Theatre for Development, where a community made a piece of art for themselves.

Participatory Video

Participatory Video (PV) is a style of film-making involving "a group or community shaping or creating their own film" (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 10). These projects foster "a collaborative effort among community members and advocates in order to identify

needs to be addressed from the bottom up, often providing a voice to those who typically have no voice" (Li 2008: 11-12). This process:

> [...C]an be very empowering, enabling a group or community to take action to solve their own problems and also to communicate their needs and ideas to decision-makers and/or other groups and communities (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 10).

Participatory Video developed in Canada in 1967. In response to Canada's 'War on Poverty,' the Challenge for Change Programme of the National Film Board of Canada enlisted Don Snowden, a University professor, and Colin Low, a film maker, to make a documentary on rural poverty (Williamson 1989: 1). Together, they produced a series of 28 unscripted short films that gave a holistic view of life on Fogo Island, in Newfoundland, as perceived by the people who lived there (Williamson 1989: 4). These films were presented back to the residents of Fogo Island (Williamson 1989: 5). The screenings caused the residents to feel affirmed, increase their confidence, believe in themselves more, and experience feelings of agency (Williamson 1989: 5-6). The process of making films with local communities came to be known as the Fogo Process, based on this case study (Williamson 1989).

Since the Fogo Process was developed in the late 1960s, there has been "no uniform movement to promote and practice PV" (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 11). However, the use of PV has spread throughout the world and has been molded to fit particular needs and situations (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 11). Techniques vary from practitioner to practitioner, but projects are similar in that they rely on participatory methods (Shaw and Robertson 1997: 13).

In all projects:

> Video is used to develop [participants'] confidence and self-esteem, to encourage them to express themselves creatively, to develop a critical awareness and to provide a means for them to communicate with others (Shaw and Robertson 1997: 11).

Additionally, by expressing themselves on tape and then watching themselves, self-reflection is promoted for participants (Shaw and Robertson 1997: 12, 21). This reflection leads to critical inquiry (Shaw and Robertson 1997: 24) and can "motivate social and/or political action" among participants (Li 2008: 12).

Participatory Video Projects

Participatory Video projects take place around the world and can be facilitated by individuals or organizations. Films made using PV processes screen as documentaries, but when created using drama processes, they screen as fictional films.

InsightShare is an organization based in the United Kingdom that promotes Participatory Video as a means of documenting communities' experiences, wants, and hopes from their own perspectives (Lunch and Lunch 2006). It has engaged in participatory projects throughout Asia, Africa, India, and the UK (Lunch and Lunch 2006). Their process includes preparation and research, introductory games, experimentation with recording technologies, filming, reflection, analysis, screening, and editing (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 17-54).

Insight eThekwini, located in the Inanda township in Durban, is a branch of InsightShare. There, a group of developmental workers use participatory video to advocate for social and environmental justice (InsightShare 2011). This initiative has made multiple participatory films, ranging in content from feeding schemes to the impact of drugs and alcohol on the community (InsightShare 2011). These films screen like documentaries.

Helen Lomax, Janet Fink, Namita Singh, and Christopher High worked with children, aged eight to thirteen, from a disadvantaged community in the United Kingdom to assess their quality of life (2011: 234). Ethically compelled not to ask the children about their poverty, they "enabled the children to choose for themselves the topic, method and genre of the visual output" (Lomax, Fink, Singh, and High 2011: 233). The children made a four-minute documentary film about residents' experiences of living in the community, including what they did and did not like about their lives there (Lomax, Fink, Singh, and High 2011: 235).

Oga Steve Abah, Jenkeri Zakari Okwori, and Ogoh Alubo used TFD and PV as tools to research conflict and violence in Northern Nigeria (2009: 19). Quantitative surveys and corresponding interviews with respondents generated information that was used by community teams to develop dramas that were performed for diverse communities (Abah, Okwori, and Alubo 2009: 22). PV was used to record the process (Abah,

Okwori, and Alubo 2009: 22). Therefore, this project included a TFD drama component, as well as a PV process that documented making the dramas.

Louise Waite and Cath Conn worked with young women, aged 15-19 years, in Busogo, Eastern Uganda, in order to "explore their lives as a means of contributing to strategies to enhance their sexual health" (2011: 120). They engaged participatory research techniques, including drawing, telling stories, playing games, writing diaries, and Participatory Video (Waite and Conn 2011: 120). The participants were most excited by drama through PV (Waite and Conn 2011: 120). In small groups, they developed three dramas based on their lives that were filmed by the researchers, because all the young women wanted to perform (Waite and Conn 2011: 121-122). The dramas focused on daughter characters who, because of some family disagreement or due to poverty, were raped or got married, and as a result were infected with HIV/AIDS (Waite and Conn 2011: 122). The young women, through playing characters in a Participatory Video drama process, were able to express their ideas, their desire to deviate from their prescribed futures, and engage in decision-making about their lives (Waite and Conn 2011: 127).

Film and Participatory Video with Street Youths – Worldwide

Although mentioned in passing (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 12), Participatory Video projects with street youths are not well documented. The only film projects with street youths that are well documented are not fully participatory in nature. Since the 1980s, many directors and screenwriters have taken up the lives of street youths and in many cases have used real street youths to tell the stories on film. Such films are *Pixote* (Brazil 1982), *Salaam Bombay* (India 1988), *Kids* (USA 1995), and *City of God* (Brazil 2002).

All four films used youths from the streets, or from local communities, as actors, which lent authenticity to the films (Sharma 2009). They screen like documentaries, although they are not; they are fictional stories. However based on life on the streets, only one of these films, *Kids* (1995), was written by a youth from the street: a 19-year-old female skateboarder from New York City (Epstein 1999: 378). *Kids* (1995) was directed, produced, filmed, and managed by a team of professionals. Filmmaking is

technically demanding and requires trained professionals to make choices around cinematography, editing, and direction. Therefore, although *Kids* (1995) was written by a youth from the streets and the narrative reflects life on the streets, the high production values were those of experts.

City of God (2002) and *Salaam Bombay* (1988) ran workshops to train actors from the streets how to engage with the technical demands of filming (Cicade de Deus 2002 and Karkaria 1988). Although Mira Nair, the director, and the writers of *Salaam Bombay* (1988) conducted vigorous research before scripting the film, the drama workshops with youths generated new material that necessitated further scripting (Karkaria 1988). In addition, during filming, Nair reported that she left some space for the youths to improvise (Karkaria 1988). Although the youths were active in the scripting and improvisation processes, they did not operate equipment or participate in editing. This body of work demonstrates the problems of managing participatory processes in conjunction with a technically demanding medium such as film.

Film and Participatory Video with Street Youths – Southern Africa

The films about street youths made in Southern Africa seem to, on the one hand, acknowledge their cinematic nature when engaging fiction and, on the other hand, when depicting real life events, look like documentaries. For example, *Everyone's Child* (1996) was produced by The Media for Development Trust in Zimbabwe, whose mission was to "produce and distribute films that touch upon crucial social issues facing contemporary southern Africa" (Dembrow 2008). The scripting process involved a series of negotiations with members of rural communities and other professional stakeholders in order to develop the content for the script and combine the film with a community based training package (Dembrow 2008). The objective was to create a product that would empower communities "to care effectively for AIDS orphans" (Dembrow 2008). The story involved an AIDS orphan who found his way onto the streets. The actors used to portray the street youths comprised a mixture of professional actors and street youths; "some of the street gang members were played by actual Harare street children who had gone through a special workshop" (Dembrow 2008).

Izulu Lami (2008) was a local, fictional, film that detailed the story of a young sister and brother who journeyed to the streets of Durban from their rural home after their mother's death. The actors and actresses were not street youths but were:

> […Y]oung children who had never acted professionally before, discovered through extensive casting by the director, from the townships, informal settlements of eThekwini municipality, [and] the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal (ScreenAfrica 2009).

Finally, *Children Rise* (2009) was a documentary; all of the youths in the film were street children living on the streets of Durban. Billy Raftery, the director, followed the daily events in the lives of boys and girls living on the streets over a period of five years (Children Rise 2010). In this sense, the film depicted authentic daily action, however the youths were not involved in how their lives were portrayed through any creative process, neither did they have knowledge and control over the technical demands of documentary making.

Theorists Used for Analysis

The work of François Matarasso (1997), Paulo Freire (1970), and Augusto Boal (1979) are used to code and analyze this research. Matarasso's (1997) assessment of the social impact of participation in the arts forms the foundation for coding and analysis. Freire's conversations of consciousness-raising and praxis (1970) are useful in analyzing the impact of the project in terms of change. Boal (1979) generated theatre practices based on praxis.

In the 1990s, François Matarasso (1997) conducted research partly as a response to the neo-liberal economics that were threatening funding for the arts in the United Kingdom under the Thatcher government. He posited that it is undisputable that the arts affect society (Matarasso 1997: 1) but that reasons beyond economic benefits must be considered (Matarasso 1997: 2). Rather, Matarasso's research sought to uncover the various social impacts derived from participation in arts projects (1997: 3). His research demonstrated, across a wide range of community arts projects, that participating in the arts had a positive social impact (1997). Matarasso used the term 'art' "to include all art forms and media" (1997: 6) and 'participation' to refer to "involvement in making art" (1997: 6). This impact was measured by using

participants' subjective views as data (1997: 4). This data was collected from over 500 individuals of varying social and economic statuses who participated in over 60 arts projects (Matarasso 1997: 7). Data was gathered through various "questionnaires, interviews, formal and informal discussion groups, participant observation, agreed indicators, observer groups, and other survey techniques" (Matarasso 1997: 4-5). This data, when analyzed, provided information answering the question, "What happened as a result of what we did, and how much does it matter?" (Matarasso 1997: 5). Matarasso acknowledges that causal links pose a problem in relation to evidence (1997: 6); "those involved may say that something happened as a result of an arts project; we, as outsiders, may believe them: but is it so?" (Matarasso 1997: 6). However, because the research deals with subjective lived experience, it is the opinions of the participants that are valid, not those of the researchers.

The criteria Matarasso developed for evaluating the impact of arts projects are:
      Personal Development
      Social Cohesion
      Community Empowerment and Self-Determination
      Local Image and Identity
      Imagination and Vision
      Health and Well-Being (Matarasso 1997: vi-viii)
These broad themes were identified as a framework through which data could be organized (Matarasso 1997: 13).

Personal Development, Matarasso's first category, encompasses change experienced at an individual level. He acknowledges, "personal changes are the building blocks of wider social impact which the arts are said to produce" (Matarasso 1997: 14). Over 80% of participants reported increased confidence as a result of participating in an arts project (Matarasso 1997: 14). This confidence was evidenced through co-operation and achievement as well as through personal creativity (Matarasso 1997: 15-16). Working together and "being a part of a collective success gave people the same sort of pride as having made something of their own" (Matarasso 1997: 15). Additionally, participants reported that their social lives had been enriched. They had tried something new, had new experiences, and made new friends (Matarasso 1997: 16). Sixty-two percent (62%) of adults surveyed said, "the opportunity to express their ideas

through an arts project was important to them" (Matarasso 1997: 17). This is coupled with finding a voice and a sense of one's rights (Matarasso 1997: 17-19). Additionally, the arts have educational benefits and encourage further learning by participants (Matarasso 1997: 20-22). Lastly, participation in the arts can build skills. Skills acquired by Matarasso's participants included artistic skills, public speaking, interpersonal skills, as well as managerial and administration skills (Matarasso 1997: 23). These skills are valuable in the workplace and increase employability (Matarasso 1997: 23).

Social Cohesion concerns "connections between people and groups" (Matarasso 1997: 13). Specifically, this category applies to "the promotion of stable, co-operative and sustainable communities" (Matarasso 1997: 27). Simply, the arts bring people together. Often relationships are built that defy boundaries such as location, age, race, or culture (Matarasso 1997: 27-28). Additionally, the arts increase sociability and develop co-operation and tolerance (Matarasso 1997: 29). Although 54% of adult participants in Matarasso's study reported that they had learned about other people's cultures due to their involvement in an arts project, "few projects directly assist cultural integration unless they actually intend to do so" (Matarasso 1997: 30). However, many arts projects do bring people from different cultural groups together (Matarasso 1997: 30) and this can result in altered relations between those cultural groups. Matarasso states, "major changes cannot be reached in one bound, nor made the responsibility of the arts and cultural sector alone" (Matarasso 1997: 32). Finally, Matarasso argues that crime, fear, and offending behavior can be addressed through the arts (Matarasso 1997: 35-37). Communities could, through the arts, take action against criminal behavior and decrease their own fear (Matarasso 1997: 36-37). Additionally, participation in arts programs by offenders could reduce offending behavior (Matarasso 1997: 36-37).

Community Empowerment and Self-Determination encompasses "organizational capacity building, consultation and involvement in democratic processes and support for community-led initiatives" (Matarasso 1997: 13). Matarasso recognizes that the term 'empowerment' is problematic, expansive, and often political. Therefore, he narrows his definition to include when "people and community groups [develop] more equitable relationships, [take] further self-determined action or [gain] control over their own affairs" (Matarasso 1997: 38). This category includes the creating and

strengthening of community groups (Matarasso 1997: 39). Sixty-three percent (63%) of adult participants expressed interest in assisting in local projects and becoming more involved in their community (Matarasso 1997: 40-41). Furthermore, the arts can lead to personal empowerment. People reported feeling more in control of their lives (Matarasso 1997: 46). Additionally, creative processes inspired empowerment as a group (Matarasso 1997: 46). Often this was "related to a sense of knowledge shared within the group" (Matarasso 1997: 46-47). In sum, there are two aspects to this category, first that of a community coming together, and secondly that of individuals feeling more empowered.

Local Image and Identity deals with "sense of place and belonging, local distinctiveness and the image of groups or public bodies" (Matarasso 1997: 13). Specifically, this category encompasses people's perceptions of where they live, the others who live there, and how they connect with that place (Matarasso 1997: 49). Often, this results in pride for local traditions and cultures (Matarasso 1997: 49). This category also touches on complex issues of belonging and identity that derived from "affirming, exploring and sharing a common culture" (Matarasso 1997: 53). Participation in the arts provided participants the opportunity to share their own and to experience others' cultures (Matarasso 1997: 55). Furthermore, the arts can help reposition "the internal identity of places," or how inhabitants view their homes (Matarasso 1997: 56). In this way, the image of public bodies can be transformed and marginalized groups can improve perceptions of themselves (Matarasso 1997: 49).

Imagination and Vision concerns "creativity, professional practice, positive risk-taking and touches on expectations and symbols" (Matarasso 1997: 13). Many participants in Matarasso's study were already interested in the arts while others had never engaged in arts projects before (Matarasso 1997: 59). Despite this, most reported that being creative was important to them (Matarasso 1997: 59). "For a substantial number [of participants], the revelation that they could do something artistic which other people would truly value produced a lasting change" (Matarasso 1997: 60). Additionally, participants' view of the arts changed, "often with the sense that something intimidating had been faced up to and found quite friendly" (Matarasso 1997: 60). Furthermore, participating in the arts provides opportunities to contribute to the development of culture and to better professional practices (Matarasso 1997: 61). The

arts encourage individuals to take positive risks towards their own growth and development (Matarasso 1997: 62). These risks allow for previously perceived impossibilities to be attempted. Arts projects can raise people's expectations of locations and situations (Matarasso 1997: 66). They also can symbolize the positive benefits and impacts that a group of people can have on a community (Matarasso 1997: 66-67).

Matarasso's final category is Health and Well-Being. This category "looks at health benefits and education through the arts, and at people's enjoyment of life" (Matarasso 1997: 13). Forty-eight percent (48%) of project participants reported feeling better as a result of their involvement in the arts (Matarasso 1997: 68). It is important to be noted, "people were not thinking of physical cures, but an improved sense of well-being, often related to increased levels of confidence, activity, and social contact" (Matarasso 1997: 68). In some cases, this involvement produced health benefits such as weight loss and decreased negative thoughts (Matarasso 1997: 68-69). Finally, "73% of adults and 80% of children [said] that being involved [in an arts project] made them happier. More tellingly perhaps, 85% overall want to do it again" (Matarasso 1997: 71). The arts enrich people's lives and provide avenues for increased happiness (Matarasso 1997: 72).

Although Matarasso's study revealed positive impacts derived from arts participation, he acknowledged that participating in the arts is not always a positive experience for those involved. Often, arts projects, due to limitations of funding and resources, produce marginal, if any, benefits to participants (Matarasso 1997: 74). Sometimes projects produce negative impacts (Matarasso 1997: 73-74). Even in projects where the impact is deemed positive, "a positive outcome can easily become a negative one as a result of subsequent events" (Matarasso 1997: 75). Matarasso further argues, "The greater the impact of a project, especially in terms of empowerment and raised expectations, the greater the potential for things to turn sour if promises are not delivered" (1997: 75). In some cases, cynicism emerged because not much had happened in the months after the project's completion. As a result:

> There is clearly a need to take account of the changeable nature of social impacts,
> and to employ some sort of open processes which can help all those involved to

ensure that their work and aspirations are not invalidated, even when things do
not subsequently go according to plan (Matarasso 1997: 75).

Additionally, change, even if positive, comes with physical, practical, and emotional costs (Matarasso 1997: 76-77).

There are dissenting voices that criticize Matarasso's research. Paoli Merli cites him as being overly ideological:

This is partly due to the author's strong desire to be relevant and useful to the policy process and to contribute to decision-making, but such relevance seems to have been achieved to the detriment of the quality of the research work (Merli 2004: 17).

She argues that Matarasso's "hypotheses are expressed as relationship between abstract concepts which are not observable, nor measurable" (Merli 2004: 17). Merli points out that Matarasso does not investigate "whether he is dealing with lasting results or rather with only transitory or even evanescent effects" (2004: 18). She, however, argues that research into the social impact of the arts is necessary and suggests that certain methodological changes must be made to research in this area (Merli 2004: 20-21). I am aware of the problems with Matarasso's research (Merli 2004), however this research does not seek to address or correct these problems.

Despite negative outcomes and dissention, Matarasso concludes that participating in the arts renders a positive social impact. He further states, "the social impacts described in this report arise as much from people taking an active part in their own development, and in the lives of their communities, as from the arts themselves" (Matarasso 1997: 79). He recognizes, "There are intangible factors at work, invisible changes and unquantifiable benefits. There are positive and negative outcomes, and some which are both, or change from one to the other" (Matarasso 1997: 80). These potential negative effects are not enough to cease participation. However, bad projects, he argues, are worse than nothing at all (Matarasso 1997: 80). Matarasso offers this summation for the use of participatory arts projects:

The greatest social impacts of participation in the arts – and the ones which other programmes cannot achieve – arise from their ability to help people think critically about and question their experiences and those of others, not in a discussion group but with all the excitement, danger, magic, colour, symbolism, feeling, metaphor and creativity that the arts offer. It is in the act of creativity

that empowerment lies, and through sharing creativity that understanding and social inclusiveness are promoted (1997: 84).

However, Matarasso mentions that long-term change cannot be the sole responsibility of one art project. Rather, arts projects working in collaboration with "longer-term cultural and social policy initiatives" could be successful (Matarasso 1997: 32).

Paulo Freire's theories involve analyzing what action of a social, political, and systemic nature emerges from the reflection process (1970). He was a Brazilian, Christian Marxist, who taught illiterate peasants to read through participatory processes (Shaull in Freire 1970: 13). His theory of education encapsulates liberation, whereby students shake the shackles of traditional educational paradigms in order to become the agents of their own education (1970: 53). This is equivalent to problem-posing education, which encourages the development of consciousness and eliminates the student/teacher dichotomy (1970: 60). Freire facilitates conscientization, or allowing "people [to] develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves" (1970: 64 italics original) such that the world can be viewed as a "reality in process, in transformation" (1970: 64). But to reflect is not enough; it is through the combination of "reflection and action on the world [that one is able] to transform it" (1970: 33). Freire names this reflection and action process praxis (1970: 33). In other words, Freire, through problem-posing education, seeks to give peasants agency in a social and political context in order to disrupt powers of oppression and affect systemic change.

The art process itself provides space for praxis (1970: 33). Augusto Boal (1979) created a theatre form, the Theatre of the Oppressed, that utilized Freire's (1970) theories. Spectators to a theatrical process, or Spect-Actors, do not passively experience drama (Boal 1979: xxi). Rather, they engage actively with the conflicts presented in the work:

> The stage is a representation of the reality, a fiction. But the Spect-Actor is not fictional. He exists in the scene and outside of it, in a dual reality. By taking possession of the stage in the fiction of the theatre he acts: not just in the fiction, but also in his social reality. By transforming fiction, he is transformed into himself (Boal 2000 in Boal 1979: xxi).

In other words, individuals involved in drama processes are not separate from their contexts. By making choices and changes within the drama, the actor is able to alter his reality. Boal suggests, "perhaps the theatre is not revolutionary in itself, but it is surely a rehearsal for the revolution" (Boal 1979: 98), and therefore identifies the political potential for theatre.

Although some of Boal's work (1979) was political in nature, in *Rainbow of Desire* (1995) he examines how theatre can be used in a therapeutic context in order to enhance personal and group development. Theatre, he argues, allows the human being to observe himself (Boal 1995: 13). This observation leads to self-knowledge that "allows him to imagine variations of his action, and to study alternatives" (Boal 1995: 13). Although this is similar and draws from Boal's (1979) discussion of the Spect-Actor, the focus on self-observation makes this work personal instead of political. Boal says, "in seeing and listening – and in seeing oneself and listening to oneself – the protagonist acquires knowledge about himself" (1995: 28). This knowledge does not inspire revolution (1979), but instead personal growth and development (1995).

Often, when the arts are discussed, people speak of concrete changes, but theatre offers more complex outcomes (Matarasso 1997: 80). These outcomes may not result in systematic changes, but they may result in altered action (Freire 1970: 65). Freire's (1970) theories seek to take the reflection found in arts projects a step further, by analyzing what action of a social, political, and systemic nature comes out of the reflection process. Boal (1979, 1995) argues that theatre is the most suitable medium for activating reflection and action, both of a systemic and political nature (1979), and of a personal nature (1995).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This research engages a close textual analysis of the film that the participants, four street youths, made as well as interviews conducted with them. Data is coded using François Matarasso's (1997) categories and their opposites, which I generated.

Sample

My research sample was comprised of four young men who completed both the drama workshops and the film-making process: Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho. The youths engaged in a self-selection process to determine their participation in the film (pp. 37). Participation was voluntary and therefore only the youths who volunteered to be in the film are included in the research sample. Although a young woman, Zama, plays an important role in the film, she chose not to include herself in the full project, including the drama workshops, and therefore is not included in the research sample.

Gathering Data

The data gathered for analysis takes two forms: the film, which provided baseline data, and the interviews, conducted with the four young men after the completion of the film and its presentation at the TLC 2010 Conference. To understand the impact on them, the film and the interviews are analyzed and compared.

The making of the film is relevant data. How the participants represented themselves and their lives in the film, when coded, categorizes the problems they wished to engage. In other words, the film represents their lives prior to the project. The categorized data forms the baseline from which the success of this project was assessed.

In order to identify the processes of reflection and change that the participants engaged, I conducted a total of nine interviews after key milestones in the process: after the first viewing of the film, after the conference presentation, and two weeks after the full completion of the project. After the first screening of the film and after the conference presentation, I conducted group interviews. These were structured by specific questions, so that the young men would respond to each other's ideas, creating richer

and fuller discussions. These discussions started with wide and general questions, allowing them to respond freely, highlighting what was most important to them. I included the first group interview in the data because it spoke to the young men's personal reactions to the film. I also conducted individual interviews after the conference presentation. These interviews captured their reactions to watching the film with others and their reactions to how others viewed the film. I conducted individual interviews again two weeks after the completion of the project. In these interviews, the questioning style was more detailed and specific, looking to identify the individual's experiences and thoughts. These interviews related to the impact of the project once it had been completed. All the interviews were recorded on a voice recorder and carefully transcribed for analysis.

The film and the interviews illustrate different sets of data. The film reflects the participants' lives on the streets, while the interviews assess the impact of making the film on the participants while living on the street. Comparing these two sets of data reveals the social impacts and changes wished for and made as a result of participating in the film project.

Coding

In order to compare data from the film and interviews, it was necessary to develop criteria that would accommodate both. Matarasso's (1997) six categories for understanding the social impact of participating in arts projects formed the theoretical framework for coding the data (pp. 21). However, Matarasso's (1997) categories exclude negative elements. In order to code the data, I formulated negative categories that were the opposite of Matarasso's (1997). The categories for coding are explained in the table below:

Matarasso's Categories (1997)	Opposites
Personal Development	Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior
Social Cohesion	Lack of Social Cohesion
Community Empowerment and Self-Determination	Lack of Self-Determination and Agency
Local Image and Identity	Poor Self-Image
Imagination and Vision	Unrealistic Vision
Health and Well-Being	Lack of Health and Well-Being

Categories for Coding

Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior is the opposite of Matarasso's Personal Development (1997: 14-26). Personal Development deals with positive change experienced on an individual level, such as increased confidence, pride, having new experiences, and developing new skills and knowledge (Matarasso 1997: 14). Lack of knowledge, lack of social skills, and addiction fall under the category of Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior.

Lack of Social Cohesion turns on its head the building of stable communities that Matarasso's category captures (1997: 27-37). Violence, anti-social behavior, bullying, and lack of support are some of the dynamics present in this category. They involve behavior that breaks apart social groups. Often, this is enshrouded in notions of hierarchy and power. Unlike Matarasso's ideal, communities do not co-operate and are not stable or sustainable (1997: 27).

Lack of Self-Determination and Agency becomes the opposite of Community Empowerment and Self-Determination (Matarasso 1997: 38-48). This category captures a community and/or individual's inability to make decisions or solve problems. As opposed to feeling empowered, individuals are unable to take control over their own lives.

Poor Self-Image stands in contrast to Matarasso's Local Image and Identity category (1997: 49-58). Here, individuals do not feel a sense of belonging and have low self-esteem. They have poor self-image and use this to elicit food or money from others.

Unrealistic Vision involves imagined possibilities that are not based in reality. Included are ideas and goals for the future that are not substantiated with plans in the present. This contrasts with Matarasso's category Imagination and Vision (1997: 59-67).

Lack of Health and Well-Being involves actions that do not increase personal Health and Well-Being (Matarasso 1997: 68-72). This includes feelings of sadness and the use of drugs.

As is the case with Matarasso's (1997) categories, these negative categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Although Matarasso's (1997) criteria were not intended for use in analyzing arts projects themselves, I have appropriated them and created negative categories for this use.

Coding to categorize initial problems

I conducted thematic coding of the film in order to generate examples of problems the participants chose to present regarding their lives. Only the categories of problems, as they are articulated by the young men in the film, are included in the findings. I then grouped the findings under common themes and categories of problems using the positive and negative categories derived from Matarasso (1997).

Coding of interviews for social impact

The interviews capture the process of reflection that the participants engaged. I conducted initial coding in order to identify statements that contained material that might fall into one of the twelve categories. I then grouped these examples into emerging themes. I conducted thematic coding, organizing these themes as properties of Matarasso's (1997) categories and their opposites.

Analysis of coding for social impact and change

I first coded the interviews for the social impact on the young men of participating in the project and second for changes they might have wished for or made as a result of observing themselves in the film and reflection.

Social Impact

I compared the coded data from the film with the coded data from the interviews. By analyzing the similarities and differences between the two sets of data, I was able to discern the areas of social impact that were generated by participation in the film project.

Change

The changes that the young men wished for and acted on as a result of their participation in the film project constitute the findings of this research. I coded the interviews in order to identify examples of change. I worked with three categories of change: change that is wished for, change that is acted upon, and change in terms of new problems that have emerged.

New Emerging Problems

The data unearthed in this research revealed a new set of emerging problems as a result of the film project. This research does not attempt to take action on these issues, but allows this space for further research.

Limitations

Certain limitations were evident in this research. One limitation came from my own subject position. Despite my attempt to not be seen as such, I was perceived by the street youths of Emagqumeni and the participants as a privileged white woman. Because my visits included shared meals, my presence was linked with food and money. I attempted to manage this by minimizing my use of money and technology while on the streets. However, I arrived each day in a car and used an expensive camera to record the film. I do not deny that my own identity directly affected the young men and the project. I believe that they viewed my privilege as a benefit to them, in that I could facilitate making the film.

Issues about my subject position remained a factor to people outside the project. I was fearful of judgment from outsiders and worried that my involvement with street youths might be misconstrued as self-serving. I acknowledge that my relationship with them did benefit me; my work with them will contribute towards a Master's degree. The

relationship, I hope, was also beneficial for them. For example, through the film project, the participants were able to secure patronage that increased their standards of living (pp. 55).

Additionally, questioning strategies and language proved to be a limitation in the research. I was an inexperienced researcher. My questions to the participants were leading at times. Over the course of the project, as I became more aware of interview strategies, I was able to adjust my questions to provide space for more accurate research. However, my questioning strategies could have been more probing. Additionally, problems in the use of English inhibited detailed probing questions.

The participants were IsiZulu-speakers with varying commands of the English language. They were all able to conduct conversations in English, although their language was often broken and their vocabularies limited. When they did not understand a question, I often helped them to understand it by providing explanations. My wish to assist sometimes became leading, jeopardizing the authenticity of my questioning. Additionally, the young men sometimes became frustrated when they were not able to adequately express themselves. Often, they got near to what they wanted to say, but were unable to find the appropriate words. As a result, some of the data was unable to be categorized, because it did not make sense.

Additionally, my inability to speak IsiZulu compounded communication difficulties. Although I had taken IsiZulu language courses prior to beginning this project, my ability to communicate in the language was fractured at best. When the participants spoke in IsiZulu, I would have to ask them to translate what they said. This slowed our work at times, but did not impede it.

Because their lives on the streets were volatile and unstable, working conditions on the streets were also difficult. The participants' general mistrust of outsiders, their transient lifestyle, addiction to drugs, and unpredictable moods sometimes frustrated the research.

Also, Sipho's absence from the trip to Cape Town limited the research. He was not included in the group interview in Cape Town and did not have an individual interview

on that day. His only individual interview occurred two weeks after the completion of the project. This is a limitation because Sipho's experience of the project is not fully explored due to one less interview with him.

Finally, an important limitation of this research was its timeline. All of the interviews with the young men occurred within two weeks of the completion of the project. In effect, they were still on a 'high' from the project. This, most likely, affected the data. If the final set of interviews had occurred another month or two after the completion of the project, the information gathered might have been different.

All in all, I do not believe that these limitations jeopardize the overall conclusions around social impact and the potential for future work of this nature with youths living on the street.   However, I do recognize that these limitations impacted the research and therefore the findings and conclusions. However, this research made the best use of all opportunities given, despite obstacles.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PROJECT

This chapter details this research's case study. It tells the story of my inclusion on the streets, the drama workshops, and the film-making process.

Meeting the Youths

It was under Østhus' wing that I was brought onto the streets of Durban's city center. We traveled to the streets together multiple times over the course of one month before I began the drama workshops with the youths. When we arrived for the first time at Emagqumeni, we found a quiet street, lined with body-shaped blankets; it was too early and cold for the youths to be awake. Jabulani, however, was awake. We spoke briefly with him and agreed to return the following day to meet the rest of the youths. On the following day, some of the young men took Østhus and me on a walking tour of Durban. This provided me with some insight into their lives on the streets.

My inclusion into the street world was a tender process. It was aided by the fact that my presence brought food. Every time Østhus and I visited, we purchased a meal to share with the youths, usually roasted chicken, loaves of bread, chips, and cool drinks. This we did in exchange for their time. The hours they spent with us, conversing and playing drama games, were hours that could otherwise have been spent working[7].

Once tentative bonds had formed, I began introducing drama games and activities during visits. This was done with Jabulani's permission. However, on the day that these drama activities began, Jabulani was absent. It was a cold and rainy day and the only youths who were awake were the young women. I did not want to risk waking the young men, as they might get angry. I invited the young women to participate in drama activities. Since it was raining, we could not work outside at Emagqumeni. We drove to a local mall, the uShaka Village Walk, to have a warm drink at a restaurant and work there.

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[7] From my observations, working, for street youths, includes, but is not limited to, the search for food and money by legal and illegal means, such as stealing, begging, and doing odd jobs (Willis 2010).

What was meant to be a physical session became an artistic one, as the young women drew pictures on paper with markers and crayons in response to three key questions that I used to frame the day's work:

1. How do street youths view themselves?
2. How do other people view street youths?
3. How would you like other people to view street youths?

These questions were based on Jabulani's expressed desire that the project engage in changing outsiders' perceptions of street youths as well as unravel the delicate web of how street youths view themselves.

The next day was sunny, so Østhus and I agreed that we would work at Emagqumeni. We approached the youths and invited them to participate. We were met with feigned interest from the young men, including Jabulani, and most of the young women; only two of the young women who had participated the day before joined us. The other youths made themselves busy with other activities, although they remained nearby in anticipation of the upcoming meal. We continued using art to initiate conversations about living on the streets, but this proved difficult due to distractions and interruptions from the other youths and passersby. Other youths would engage the participants in conversations, stealing focus and slowing progress. Passersby were intrigued by Østhus' and my presence on the streets and often stopped to ask questions.

After we completed the drawing session, I met Sihle. He and Jabulani had found two tennis balls in my bag of art supplies. They asked if they could play with them. I said yes. That afternoon, the three of us spent a quarter of an hour hurling tennis balls into the air and laughing as we caught them. Afterwards, we walked to get food with Østhus and the other youths.

During this meal, the young men questioned why I was not eating chicken like everyone else causing me to explain that I was a vegetarian. This was cause for some alarm. Jabulani reasoned, "she does not eat meat because she is a virgin" (Willis 2010: 15). This served to give me greater status in the group. On the walk back to Emagqumeni, I received marriage proposals from both Jabulani and Sihle. These proposals served to solidify my inclusion into the group; I had been 'claimed' by Jabulani, Sihle, and their friends.

Even though Østhus and I were now accepted on the streets, we realized, having reflected on the impact of our art sessions with the young women, that continuing to hold the drama workshops on the streets would be detrimental to the quality of work being generated due to distractions. Additionally, we feared that working in this public space might pose threats to the participants due to other youths' influences. Participants might be ridiculed, ostracized, or physically injured by others for their participation.

Alternatively, we could conduct workshops at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) in a studio room in the Drama and Performance Studies Department[8]. Østhus and I realized that by doing this, we would limit the participatory nature of the project by the sheer number of spaces available in our cars for transporting the youths. This could lead to feelings of exclusion and cause trouble for the participants. However, the space within which we would work could be more controlled, allowing for more creative potential.

Despite risks in both choices, Østhus and I agreed that we would continue at UKZN. It was because engaging in drama work on the streets had become impractical and because the youths had accepted me that moving to UKZN to continue the drama work was possible and necessary.

The Drama Workshops

Although six to ten youths from Emagqumeni, both young men and women, chose to participate in the drama workshops daily, the youths participating on any given day were different from the day before. They engaged in self-selection to determine their participation. Many young people participated in the project, although most did so inconsistently. As a result, the drama work could not build daily upon skills learnt. Many activities and conversations had to be repeated in order to accommodate fluctuating participation. It was only over time that dedicated participants emerged. Jabulani attended all of the workshops. Sihle and Sipho joined on the second day, while Thobani only participated from the third day.

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[8] This location, the UKZN Drama and Performance Studies Department's studio room, will be often short-handed as 'on campus.' All of the drama workshops took place on campus.

The drama workshops took place over three weeks. There were five sessions in total, each lasting between two and three hours. The first session consisted of introductory drama games only. The remaining four sessions integrated content-generating activities. The final drama workshop supplied the framework for the film.

Building Trust and Relationships

The goal of the drama workshops was to build trust amongst the participating youths, Østhus, and me in order to develop a safe and imaginative space for creativity, to learn drama skills that would enable the creation of a film, and to open a space where the youths could actively reflect on their lives. Building trust was difficult to measure. My relationships with the youths began with my first trip to the streets, but it was over time that we came to know each other and through the drama workshops that they let me into their world.

It was necessary that I exhibited my trust in the youths before they could reciprocate. To this end, I allowed them to use my camera and phone in improvised scenes. Additionally, taking them to UKZN was a sign of trust and respect. There, they were assumed to be university students and were treated as such. They took this role seriously and were aware of their appearances, actions, and words.

Another moment of relationship-building was on the first day of the drama workshops when I was given a nickname[9]. Jabulani named me Spinach because I would refrain from eating chicken at lunch and instead eat "rabbit food" (Willis 2010: 19).

Collaboratively generating a list of rules for the drama workshops was one of the most important tools I used to create relationships of trust and accountability. I gave control over this aspect of the drama work to the youths, although I was able to make suggestions and monitor the list. On the first day of the drama workshops, I asked them to devise a set of ground rules that would guide the process. Together they brainstormed ideas and one of the young men wrote them down. They generated a list of ten rules, to which they all signed their names, indicating that they agreed to abide

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[9] On the streets, youths have many names that represent different aspects of who they are. Often a youth will use the name given to him by his parents, as well as a nickname from friends, in addition to other secret street names. I saw evidence of this in my daily interactions with the youths, as well as in the film. Upon his arrival to the streets and his inclusion into the gang, the character Sphelele was given a nickname, Bora Bora, which signified that he was a part of the gang (*Street Life* 4:28).

by these rules. This list included "respect," "no violence," "no stealing," and "you must listen" (Willis 2010: 18).

At the outset of each day, one of the young men would volunteer to read and explain the rules to the new participants. They would get a chance to make additions, change, or edit the list. Then the new participants would sign their names to the list. It became important to the youths that the rules were read daily. It was their way of being accountable both for each other and the work.

Introductory Drama Games

In order to create a safe and imaginative space, I organized drama games that would momentarily equalize power relations in the spirit of play and allow each individual to participate to the degree that they saw fit.

We played games such as "The Thumb Game" and "Red Light, Green Light[10]." In "The Thumb Game," everyone stood in a circle with their left hand held out and their right hand thumbs down resting in their neighbor's palm. On the count of three, participants had to lift their thumb while simultaneously trying to grab the person's thumb that was resting in their other hand. The youths laughed as we played this game. Sometimes they succeeded and sometimes they failed, but always in good spirits. In "Red Light, Green Light," participants were allowed to move when an imagined traffic light was green, but must freeze when it was red, much like the rules on the road for driving. If someone was caught moving during a red light, they had to start again. In this game, there was a distinctive winner, the person who got to the other side of the room first, and this was usually someone who had followed the stipulated rules.

From these basic games that taught team member skills and leadership in small doses, I moved the group into games and activities that asked that they engage with a task creatively and make choices. We played a game called "Object Transformation" where the youths had to imagine that an object was something else (Boal 1992: 148). For example, if given a chair, they had to imagine that this chair was an airplane, a cell phone, or anything else from their imagination and act it out for the group. We also played "Values Clarification," a game that asked the youths to choose between two

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[10] These games came from my personal repertoire.

items, ideas, or objects and indicate which they liked more by running to the specific item's designated side of the room (adapted from Rohd 1998: 54-55). For example, if the facilitator asked, "Do you like coffee or tea?" the participants would have to show their choice by moving to the appropriate side of the room. This game encouraged decision-making and an ability to stand by one's choices.

In sum, these introductory games taught the youths leadership, imaginative, creative, and self-disciplinary skills, as well as instilled a sense that drama was fun, which would become necessary in the forthcoming creative, generative, themed work.

However, the drama games were not always successful. Because I am an American and trained in the United States, most of my games, activities, and exercises come from a Western drama paradigm. Upon occasion, these games had difficulty adapting to an IsiZulu street culture. By Western standards, some of my games failed. However, the youths did not know this and, having no interest in how the games were 'supposed' to be played, reinvented them. This creative endeavor allowed for laughter some frustration, but opened opportunities for alternate experiences, which led to productive work. For example, we played a game called "Machine" (Rohd 1998: 26-27). In this game, one participant is meant to make a clear sound and motion that can be repeated over time. One by one, other participants are meant to join with their own rhythms and motions to create an improvised machine. However, when the street youths played this game, they huddled together and strategized before sharing their machine. The game was no longer spontaneous. Rather, it became an exercise in teamwork and planning.

Content-Generating Activities

Due to shifting participation, the image of street life that emerged from the drama workshops demonstrated a range of experiences from a group of youths much larger than the four young men who remained with the project to completion. It was, in part, from their stories, ideas, and imaginations that the final film took form.

In order to explore street life, I introduced the participating youths to low focus[11] exercises that generated conversations about life on the streets of Durban. The following exercises were completed over three drama workshops.

First, the work involved creating statues[12] (Boal 1992: 164). The youths worked individually to create frozen images with their bodies of happiness, sadness, power, and freedom. This served as an introduction to the more complicated work of creating tableaux, frozen pictures like photographs, in small groups (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 145-146). I asked the youths to create three pictures showing life on the streets. They were given ample time to collaborate and practice their images before presenting them to the group and discussing them together. Common themes that emerged were fear of an unjust authority, addiction to glue and other drugs, and the search for food and money. When given space to reflect on these images, Jabulani spoke at length about how hard life on the streets was.

Because of fluctuating participation, I revisited the three questions that I had originally asked the young women during the first art session on the street (pp. 36) in the form of an exercise called Role-on-the-Wall[13] (Neelands and Goode 2000: 22). In this exercise, the group was asked to identify what an imagined character was like on the inside as well as what others saw on the outside. Their ideas were written on a large piece of paper hanging on the wall with the silhouette of a person drawn on it. The youths' ideas about what the character was like on the inside were written inside the silhouette, while their ideas about what others saw were written outside. The character they described was a youth from the streets.

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[11] Theory related to the drama process will be dealt with in footnotes. This serves to keep focus on the work done. Also, since this research does not deal with the functionality of drama processes, it does not merit discussion in the body of the paper.

      Focus refers to "the level of individual focus placed upon anyone in the group at a given moment" (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 31). For people who are not experienced in drama, low exposure is preferable because focus is fleeting (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 31). An individual in a low exposure assignment is able to participate as part of a whole. In high focus activities, an individual stands alone, or in a small group, in front of an audience and is given full attention for extended periods of time (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 31).

[12] I began with statues and tableaux because these are non-verbal exercises. In the creation of statues, all individuals work at the same time, making the ability to 'watch and judge' less prevalent. Tableau introduces low-stress group work around the creation of an image, building off of the skills learnt in statue exercises.

[13] I used this exercise because it allowed the youths to brainstorm ideas and be affirmed in those ideas by seeing them written down on a large page. In a small way, I was attempting to tell them that their ideas were valid and that there were no wrong answers. Although it might have been scary to speak in front of the group, the relaxed atmosphere of this exercise provided room to take the risk of speaking.

We also returned to the exercise of making tableaux. This time, however, I stipulated that one of these images must represent something good about living on the streets and that one must represent something bad. Young men and women worked separately to create their images. For their image of something bad about street life, both groups created images of stealing. The young women made an image where someone was pick-pocketed while she slept. The young men chose to enact a robbery at knife-point. Their positive images both reflected sharing food.

I next introduced storytelling to the youths. First, I told a story to demonstrate the form. Then, I divided the group into pairs and asked each individual to tell a short story to their partner. I instructed them that the story could be about anything and they could speak in IsiZulu or English. This was so that they would feel comfortable with the exercise. Every pair worked simultaneously so that many stories were told at once[14].

A more successful storytelling exercise followed in the form of a newscast, in which the youths worked in mixed-gender groups to create their own versions of television news programs. This exercise did not strive to generate content regarding the streets, but rather it gave the youths the opportunity to improvise a spoken performance within a set structure. This would be crucial to the film-making process. In these performances, the young men took leading roles and began to establish themselves as the creative voices behind the project.

Creation of the Story of the Film

On the fifth full day of drama workshops, we stumbled upon the story that would become the basis for the film. I had planned an activity that I hoped would lead to useable content. However, the youths and their enthusiastic participation led this exercise to become the thrust of the film. By this time, Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho were participating in the drama workshops in addition to a few young women.

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[14] This form is called parallel play:

> Parallel play involves the simultaneous but independent involvement of solo players, pairs, or small groups in an improvisational dramatic activity. It allows for many participants to have an on-their-feet experience with drama, while minimizing individual exposure or potential for embarrassment (Collins 2011).

In essence, everyone works at the same time so that all are participating and none are watching. Although this work requires a great deal of individual participation, it is a low focus exercise, since there is no designated audience (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 31).

The exercise I had planned was developed by the Geese Theatre Company and was named Group Character Creation[15] (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 132). In this activity, the participants imagined a youth who lived and worked on the streets. I asked them questions about this imaginary character. This ensured that, throughout the drama workshops, we worked one step removed (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 132) so that the youths remained in a fictional, creative world, as opposed to their real one. I never asked the youths about their lives, but always about the general conditions of life on the streets. However, in responding generally, they spoke to the qualities of their own lives. Participation levels in the room were high, as some of the youths were, quite literally, jumping out of their seats to give information. They established that his name was Sphelele, along with vital information such as his age, where he was from, why he came to the streets, what he did in his spare time, who his friends were, and what drugs he used and why.

Although the youths often disagreed about some of the finer details, the story emerged of a young man who left his home in rural KwaZulu-Natal because most of his family had died and there was no money. Additionally, Sphelele had stolen money from a neighbor, making it difficult for him to face his community. He ran away to Durban to find food and money for his grandmother. While in Durban, he lived on the streets and joined a gang. He earned money by begging, performing odd jobs, shoplifting, stealing, and selling drugs. Sphelele also used drugs. He did this in order to keep busy, stay warm, and in an attempt to forget the bad things in his life. The youths said that Sphelele would one day end up in jail, but he would try to change his life by going to church and quitting glue.

As we were finishing the creation of Sphelele, Thobani spoke out. He said, "Everything they are saying about Sphelele is a lie. He does not steal. He does not do drugs" (Willis 2010: 40). Instead of denying or affirming Thobani's statement, I placed

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[15] According to the Geese Theatre Company, Group Character Creation is a technique whereby participants invent a character "to place in particular circumstances to highlight any relevant theme" (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 132). By using an imaginary character, participants are able to work one step removed from their own personal experiences and thus are able to deal with sensitive topics in a safe manner (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 132). If I had asked the youths directly about their personal stories and, for instance, why they use drugs, I would most likely have been met with silent stares and stock stories. But, by asking the youths to speak about an imaginary character, they were able to draw on personal experiences without having to claim them as their own (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 132).

the impetus of answering this charge on the youths themselves. I suggested that we begin a hot-seating exercise[16]. One person would pretend to be Sphelele and everyone else would ask him questions (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 142-3 and Neelands and Goode 2000: 32). I warned the youths that this was a very advanced form of drama and that they would need to work with focus to accomplish this exercise.

Sihle volunteered to play Sphelele. I pulled a chair to the front of the space and he perched himself upon it, placing Østhus' sunglasses over his eyes. This use of the sunglasses acted as a mask[17] from behind which Sihle was able to answer as Sphelele. I encouraged both Sihle and the rest of the group to speak in IsiZulu, because this would be easier for them. The interview lasted ten minutes. Sipho and Thobani led the exercise and asked many questions. Sihle stayed in character as Sphelele for the duration, answering questions deliberately and articulately. Although I could not understand the details of this dialogue, I was able to follow the conversation through reading the participants' body language and the bits of translation that Jabulani would sometimes whisper in my ear.

Once the interview had finished, we agreed that we would also speak to Sphelele's grandmother (in IsiZulu, Gogo) to further understand Sphelele. This, however, proved problematic because none of the young women wanted to portray Gogo. Eventually, Sipho volunteered. At first, a male portraying the grandmother was found amusing by the participants. Eventually, the room calmed and Thobani began a careful interview. Whereas during the interview of Sphelele, the youths sat far away and asked questions from a distance, Thobani moved to sit next to Gogo, shook her hand, and stayed by her side throughout the interview. In this way, Thobani bought into the creative reality of the interview and subverted the others' nervous energy.

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[16] The Geese Theatre Company uses this technique, but it is the group's facilitator who assumes the hot-seated role, not the participants (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 142). I diverged from the Geese model because I was not a suitable candidate to play Sphelele; I could not adequately represent his experience, whereas the street youths could.

[17] Masks have been used throughout theatre history to enable actors to embody characters different from themselves. In the Geese Theatre Company program, masks are used to represent the 'front' individuals present to the outside world (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 20). Just as 'putting on a front' is a way to separate oneself from reality, so too is putting on a mask. However, all of the masks we wear, and the 'fronts' we assume, "are facets of the same character—us" (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 20). In this way, by wearing Østhus' sunglasses, Sihle was assuming the role of Sphelele as a version of himself.

Eventually, Thobani negotiated a conversation between Sphelele and Gogo. Thobani pulled Sihle into the chair next to Sipho so that Sphelele and Gogo could have a conversation together. They seamlessly transitioned from a more structured interviewing activity into the imagined reality of a play.

I decided to continue this exercise and suggested scenes and conversations between Sphelele and other characters. Scenes were enacted between Sphelele and his friends, as well as between Nomathemba, Sphelele's girlfriend, and her friends. These improvised scenes and the Group Character Creation exercise (Baim, Brookes, and Mountford 2002: 132) formed the basis of the film. Taking the information generated by the youths, I isolated potential scenes for inclusion in the film. We began filming the next day.

Difficulties in the Drama Workshop Process

The youths' lives on the streets, including drugs, sex, violence, stealing, gang structures, gender inequality, and a lack of sleep, remained prevalent in all of the drama activities. Despite the ethos of trust and respect that I attempted to build, the youths were prone to wild mood swings and violent outbursts without warning. On occasion, they had the temperaments of children, despite being adults, and moved from extreme maturity to immaturity in a matter of moments.

One of the most vivid difficulties was the youths' addiction to drugs. When fetching the participants from the streets, Østhus and I would often have to compete with a passing joint of zol. Even if youths chose to attend the drama workshop, there was no guarantee that they would be mentally present and able to participate.

In addition to inattentiveness due to drug cravings, the youths were often distracted by events on the streets. On some occasions, they were tired, falling asleep in the middle of an activity. When asked, they explained that they did not get much, if any, sleep the previous night, but rarely supplied the reasons why. Additionally, if something exciting had happened, they were alight with excitement or concern and were unable to concentrate.

Gender dynamics also remained prevalent in the drama workshops. When working with only young men or only young women, the workshops and conversations ran more smoothly. When mixed-gender dynamics were introduced, energy became scattered and an element of showing off for the opposite sex became apparent. As a result of this scattered energy, often Østhus and I would separate genders when working in small groups. Later in the process, we integrated them again. When we did so, the young women participated mildly and the young men dominated the project.

The Film-Making Process

From the first day of filming, it took three weeks to complete a first full edit of the film. Of these 21 days, ten were spent filming material and four generating subtitles for the filmed work. Generally, Østhus and I would arrive at Emagqumeni around 9am and drop the participants off again around 3pm. The roughly six hours we spent together daily provided two to three hours of solid work time in addition to travel, eating, and other conversational time.

Throughout the film-making process, it was the participants who crafted the detail of the scenes, generated the words, and created their characters. Østhus and I acted as facilitators and guides for this process. Additionally, I operated the video camera.

The Problems in Filming

As with the drama workshops, the film-making process did not always run smoothly. Technical difficulties of filming on location arose from the public nature of the space. We filmed 'on location' on a busy Durban road, bustling with cars and passersby, and were often interrupted by the noises of the city. Although these sounds served to create atmosphere in the film, they made hearing the words in the film difficult. Despite encouragement to speak loudly, the participants spoke at a vocal level comfortable for them; they were sometimes wary of drawing attention to themselves. The poor quality of sound motivated the use of subtitles in the film. The subtitles translated the IsiZulu dialogue into English to provide access for a wider audience.

The individuals who worked in the adjacent tuck shops, stores, and buildings knew that we were filming, but passersby did not. On one occasion, the participants enacted a

mugging. As we were filming, two men walked by and were shocked to see the young man they just greeted get attacked. Luckily, Østhus was there to explain the situation and we avoided their intervention.

The intensity and frequency of the work was physically and emotionally demanding on the participants. Because they had to work diligently with each other, tempers flared and their camaraderie collapsed. On many occasions, one of the young men would declare that he was "never coming back to drama again" (Willis 2010: 50) only to be appeased and return the following day. Although these taunts never came to fruition, they were taken seriously and Østhus and I worked to mend conflict and encourage furthered participation.

Filming, Day One

Although the work generated on the first day of shooting would not eventually be used in the film, it provided a framework for what followed. On this day, Jabulani, Sihle, Sipho and three young women participated. Thobani was absent. When I asked where he was, I was told that he had been arrested for possession of drugs.

We began the day with warm-up and storytelling exercises. We then discussed which scenes were necessary to include in the film. Eventually, we chose to work on a group scene in which everyone could participate to the degree that they were comfortable. We filmed a typical day in the life of the gang.

The youths did not know how to begin acting the scene. I led them in the creation of a tableau that represented life on the street by asking them questions about things their characters might be doing. Once the tableau was created, I asked them what might happen next. No answers were given, so I suggested a scenario based on information from the drama workshops that they were eventually able to act out. They improvised a scene based on this suggestion in which one of the young women found some food in a rubbish bin. They continued the scene with Sphelele stealing the food. Then, he fought with another young man before running away. I asked them if they could perform the scene again in the same way. They said they could. I set up the video camera, an old camera that recorded onto a miniDV, and recorded the scene.

Until this point, we had been rehearsing and filming within the drama studio. After some conference around safety and control, Østhus and I agreed that we could film 'on location' in the Open Air Theatre, still in the Drama Department at UKZN. Once outside, the youths took initiative to set up their performance space. We shot the scene and replayed it in order to film some close-ups of key moments. This process tested their concentration and patience.

From this first day's work, I realized that I needed to have much clearer goals. Although the film-making was intended to be participatory in nature, the youths struggled to provide the impetus for the work. If given a clear prompt, they were able to improvise at length.

Additionally, it was only after filming this scene that I realized that the video recorder I used was not compatible with my laptop. I could not access the footage without using UKZN's film lab at great personal expense. I decided to use my personal camera instead, which had a high-definition filming component and proven compatibility with my MacBook laptop.

Despite some setbacks, this first day of work demonstrated the potential to film on location, as it was clear that the youths were able to handle the more public nature of this kind of work.

Filming, Day Two
On the second day of filming, we shot footage that would be included in the film. Due to lack of focus on the previous day, Østhus and I decided that we would work only with the young men on this day. We arrived on the streets and found only four waiting for us: Jabulani, Sihle, Sipho, and Thobani[18], who had been released from prison over the weekend. Their participation on this day confirmed their inclusion in the rest of the film project. As we drove towards UKZN, Østhus passed locations that she felt could be suitable for filming. They rejected these locations and instead identified an abandoned, burned out shell of a house on Umbilo Road. After inspection, Jabulani

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[18] My use of the word participants from now on indicates the four young men only, as opposed to including additional individuals who participated in the drama workshops.

insisted that we ask permission to use the location from adjacent shop owners. Having received permission, the young men agreed to use this location.

On campus, we rehearsed the scene that we planned to shoot on location later that day. It was a scene where Sphelele, played by Sihle, came to the street for the first time and met the gang, consisting of characters played by Jabulani (Bra Boss), Thobani (Star), and Sipho (Number Six). The young men told me:

> Sphelele would, at first, be bullied by the gang and have his things taken, but then, after he had proved himself, they would allow him to stay with them. Sphelele would have to go out begging, and, over time, when Sphelele was not cute enough anymore, he would graduate to stealing (Willis 2010: 47).

After a few rehearsals and when the necessary props were gathered, we moved to location to film.

The participants diligently performed the scene as they had done in rehearsal at UKZN. They played the entire scene continuously. As a result, there was no opportunity for me to stop to adjust my filming angles. Sometimes there were moments of action that occurred concurrently. Therefore, we took some time to go back into the scene and shoot additional moments. This was not ideal, as the young men felt that performing once was sufficient.

I realized that I needed to accommodate the continuous action of scenes as performed by the participants. This method, I realized, would not provide the most professional shots and angles, such as establishing shots, close-ups, and cut-aways. Filming continuous action provided a more documentary feel to the work and a more authentic sense of or glimpse at street life. Because I was improvising my cinematography, the lens of the camera reflected my eye as an outsider observing the world of street youths.

After the success of the day's work, I decided that we no longer needed to travel to UKZN to rehearse scenes before shooting them. The young men inhabited their characters so successfully that when given a scenario and a starting point, they were able to improvise the scene required.

Filming, Day Three

The following day, the four young men enacted a typical day on the streets. Additionally, we filmed shorter segments where the young men broke into a car. On this day, they had some difficulty finding their way into the improvised scene. To assist, I asked them to create a tableau. From there, they were able to find a storyline and some action. We began the scene and I filmed in one continuous shot. When they finished speaking, I stopped recording only to begin again when I realized, seconds later, that the scene was continuing. I quickly learned that a scene was not over until they directly told me so.

During the filming of this scene, an old man staggered into the shot and asked the young men for a cigarette. Staying in character and without pause, they spoke with the old man, gave him what he wanted, and helped him to leave the shot, all in guise of their own preparation to break into the car.

Filming, Day Four

The fourth day of filming was a Friday. This day proved to be one of the most memorable days of the film-making process. Due to his choice to spend the day with some of the young women from Emagqumeni, Thobani was absent, leaving Jabulani, Sihle and Sipho to film the scene. Jabulani suggested a scene in which a local shop owner gave the young men some bread to eat. Jabulani managed the necessary permission and organized the scene with the owner of a small shop, which I filmed. Then, I suggested filming the young men sharing the bread.

The participants began the scene with saying thank you across the road to the man who had given them bread. Although Sphelele said thank you, Sipho's character, Number Six, refused. The young men then shared the bread and ate. After some silence, Jabulani, Bra Boss, condemned Number Six for sniffing glue. This led to a tussle in which Bra Boss fought Number Six to the ground. Sphelele tried to stop this. After some conversation, Bra Boss convinced Sphelele to give him a knife. Bra Boss confronted Number Six and stabbed him multiple times. Sphelele went to Number Six, and, unable to revive his friend, confronted Bra Boss who stabbed him. Sphelele fell to the ground. Bra Boss took a blanket and covered the two bodies. He then turned and walked away.

After the scene, I asked the young men to reflect on their improvisation:

> I asked them if this was truthful – I was dumbfounded. The answer I received was 'Yes, this is real.' I asked, 'Do boys die?' They said, 'Yes sometimes they die, but sometimes they are just stabbed' (Willis 2010: 52).

At first, the fact that a simple scene of sharing food could become so violent shocked and overwhelmed me. However, I soon came to the conclusion that:

> This film is about their *perceptions* of street life as much as it is about their lives on the streets. Their lives are fragile, but they also *perceive* their lives to be fragile. Therefore, the improvisation of Jabulani killing the others makes real their own fear of being killed. They could be killed at any moment. Fact. But they also, and more importantly, fear and perceive that they may be killed at any moment. This full knowledge of the fragility of life is seen around them every day; it is a tangible threat (Willis 2010: 53).

Interestingly, later that night a group of street youths, separate from those working on the film project, were involved in a conflict that ended like this scene, with a young man being stabbed to death by his friend.

Filming, Day Five

On the fifth day, we filmed scenes that involved Nomathemba, Sphelele's girlfriend. When Østhus and I chose to work only with the young men, we did not intend to exclude the young women from the project. Most of the young women who had participated in the drama workshops felt as though we did. However, there was one young woman, Zama, who still expressed interest. Zama played Nomathemba.

We began with a scene where Sphelele shared food with Nomathemba and they spoke of their love for each other. Despite the gentleness of the scene, Østhus and I knew that this was not representative of romantic relationships on the street, as evidenced by Sihle's various wounds from his own girlfriend. We realized that an additional scene needed to be staged later that showed the uglier side of street relationships. Also, Thobani, who had apologized for his absence the previous day and returned to the film-making process, suggested a scene in which he would attempt to steal the affections of Nomathemba, which we filmed.

In order to shoot some footage of the young men having fun, I drove my car up onto the sidewalk and turned up the volume on the radio, allowing them a chance to dance and interact. Although Sipho stayed committed to his character, the others enjoyed the music as themselves.

Filming, Additional Days

Over the next few days, we filmed smaller bits of action such as moments of sleeping, begging, robbing, and smoking zol. We filmed in additional locations such as Warwick market and the beachfront. Although many of the moments in the film were staged and reflect character and narrative, some of these moments, like the scenes of them dancing, merely captured the young men participating in their lives' activities. On days such as these, we combined filming with the more detailed and laborious work of subtitling the film.

Filming, Final Day

The final day of filming took place in the evening and into the night. In order to provide a back-story that included Sphelele's reasons for running away from home, Østhus enlisted the help of a student from the Social Work Department who offered her township home in Lamontville, a nearby township, to us.

On our arrival, Sipho began rolling a joint. Østhus persuaded him to give her the drugs, so that he could smoke later after he had finished working. His addiction had been growing and he was becoming less enthusiastic and less interested in the work.

Initially, Sihle refused to do the scene of Sphelele running away; he was self-conscious about the Lamontville community watching him. Finally, after some encouragement, Sihle completed the scene, running vigorously down a dirt road.

I staged a scene in which Sphelele sat by his mother's bedside, where she lay sick. The social work student played Sphelele's mother. In contrast to the scene earlier where he had to be pushed to perform, Sihle engaged willingly and delicately in this scene. He was loving and responded with honesty and care. I observed, "it was as though he was re-living a part of his own life" (Willis 2010: 74).

After leaving Lamontville, we returned to Umbilo Road to shoot night scenes that the young men had requested. First, the young men and Zama built a fire using bits of wood and plastic that they found nearby. I filmed this process.

As we had discussed a few days earlier, Østhus and I agreed that we needed to film a scene showing the violent side of street relationships. Although Zama was prepared to do the scene, Sihle was reluctant and needed the promise of cigarettes from Østhus before he would commit to the violence and anger that the scene required.

Finally, as promised, Østhus returned the zol to Sipho. The young men settled in for a 'zol smoking scene' that served the dual purpose of allowing them to satisfy their cravings as well as providing a scene for the film. In the final film, this scene was accompanied by a voiceover that detailed the reasons why street youths use drugs.

Once the filming was complete, the young men, Østhus and I focused our attention on subtitling the film, as well as cutting and editing it into a cohesive narrative. However, throughout the filming process, and especially on rainy or dreary days, we had been working on the subtitling in the UKZN drama studio.

Subtitling

Subtitling every word spoken in the film became necessary due to poor sound quality. The participants had requested that the film be accessible to a wide audience, so translating the street IsiZulu into English was imperative. It also allowed me to adequately analyze the film. By allowing the youth to complete their own translations, I ensured the authenticity of their voices would not be lost.

The subtitling process entailed sitting in front of my laptop as I played back five to ten second clips of the film. The young men leaned in close to hear their words. Their process of translation was as follows: First, they listened to the IsiZulu, and agreed upon the words spoken. Next, they translated the IsiZulu into English individually. Then, they agreed on the English together[19]. Once this process was complete, I was

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[19] The reliability of the young men's translations was questionable. Although allowing them the ability to translate their own dialogue gave them more ownership over the film, it also gave them the opportunity to edit their work and more specifically choose how to represent themselves. On occasion, they would discuss changing some of their spoken words to become more socially acceptable in

given the translation and typed it into the iMovie program. I then dragged the text across the film and timed it to appear at the appropriate moment in the film as advised by the young men. This process was time consuming.

We spent four days subtitling the film. Often the young men would work for three hours without a break. However, only two young men worked at the computer at a time. This was a result of poor speakers and the difficulty of translating in a larger group. The other two would relax or drift off to sleep. Often the participants would disagree on the English translation and conflict would ensue. Instead of finding a suitable compromise, one young man would declare that the other must finish on his own. It would take delicate coaxing to encourage the two to work together again.

Despite these difficulties, the work of subtitling was also a joyful time because the young men got to see themselves on film. They loved watching themselves on screen. Their first viewing of a scene was filled with laughter and smiles and accompanied by high-fives. The process of subtitling also created the opportunity for the young men to reflect on the words and actions they had presented. It was after the first day of subtitling that Sihle and Thobani approached Østhus and me to say that they wanted the film-making process to be the beginning of a changed life for them.

Cutting and Editing

Once the film was shot and the scenes were subtitled, the process of cutting and editing the film began. Although it would have been preferable to fully include the participants in this process, time constraints as well as their waning interest dictated that I accomplished this on my own. The extent of my cutting and editing was minimal. Editing served to organize the film into a logical story as well as to increase some aesthetic values, allowing the film's story to become more easily accessible to audiences.

When I completed a first full edit of the film, Østhus and I screened it with the four young men. They sat enraptured. When the film finished, we spoke about it. This

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translation. Østhus, because of her understanding of IsiZulu, sometimes interjected and encouraged the young men to use the language that they had originally intended in the subtitles. On other occasions, I suspect that the young men succeeded in altering the translated language. However, from my observations, they attempted to remain true to their original intentions most of the time.

conversation constituted my first interview for data. In addition to asking them questions regarding how I had put the film together, we spoke about the content. The young men enjoyed the film, but had little to contribute in the conversation surrounding structure and editing.

Over time, it became clear that some narration was necessary in order for the story of the film to be coherent. The scenes themselves were vivid, but the links between them and the chronology were unclear. As a result, Østhus and I worked with Sihle to record a series of voiceovers that I inserted into the film. These voiceovers served to give background information, move the plot forward, and explain moments of street life that were unclear. They allowed the film to be more accessible to a wider range of audiences.

The film had three purposes: it was communication from youths living on the streets about their lives; it was a tool to analyze the social impact of participating in an arts project on the participants as part of my research; and it was an education resource for the Social Work Department. The Social Work Department had negotiated to use this film as a preventative tool in their own work with at-risk youth.

After the Film-Making Process: The Conference and Patronage

The young men's participation in the film provided them the opportunity to receive patronage in the forms of food, clothing, a trip to Cape Town, and eventually rent for a flat. Daily food was an aspect of the film-making process financed by the Social Work Department. When we were invited to give a presentation at ASASWEI's Teaching and Learning Conference 2010 in Cape Town, the Social Work Department provided funding for the four young men, Østhus, and me to attend. This included money for transportation, accommodation, sightseeing, food, and clothing.

Sipho chose not to come to Cape Town. Although Østhus and I searched for him previous to our departure, he did not want to be found. This was the result of conflict that developed between the other participants and himself.

The conference took place in a hotel over three days. Presentations ranged on a variety of topics related to social work. The young men and I did not frequent these presentations because they found them dull. Instead, we spent time in the hotel rooms watching television. This was when I conducted interviews.

Our conference presentation was one hour long. Jabulani spoke about the project; he told the audience why he chose to make a film and what the film was about. We then screened the film. After the film, Østhus and I asked Sihle and Thobani prepared questions. Then, the young men answered questions from the audience. They realized that the conference audience enjoyed the film and valued their work. As such, they grew in confidence and answered questions more loudly and clearly. When the session had been dissolved, many people stayed to shake hands with and encourage them.

As a result of the affirmation they experienced at the conference, Jabulani, Sihle, and Thobani spoke more earnestly about leaving the streets. This was acknowledged by the Social Work Department. Sewpaul, in negotiation with Østhus, agreed that the Social Work Department would sponsor Jabulani, Sihle, and Thobani for three months' rent in a Durban flat. This was provided that they found the flat and developed legal ways of making a living to sustain the rent. They agreed. Sipho was not part of this arrangement having left the group before the trip to Cape Town.

After Cape Town
When we returned from Cape Town, the young men searched for a flat. They found a one-room studio in an apartment complex near the beachfront in downtown Durban. Østhus assisted them in negotiating their lease. Within a week, Jabulani, Sihle, and Thobani moved into the flat. Using funding from the Social Work Department, Østhus helped them furnish the flat with a bed, refrigerator, small stovetop, and television.

Throughout the film-making process, Østhus and I had conversations with the young men about where they would like their film shown in addition to the conference. Usually, the answer was "everywhere, to everyone." Through more detailed questioning, they determined that they would like to share the film with high school students. As a result, undergraduate students from the Social Work Department were

enlisted to contact schools and arrange viewings. I was not involved in these screenings due to my own research demands.

Finally, two weeks after our return from Cape Town, I conducted final individual interviews with Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho. I took them each to a fast food restaurant of their choosing. After they had eaten, we engaged in an extensive interview addressing the film project. These interviews, in addition to those I conducted earlier in the process, comprised the data for my research.

CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF DATA

This chapter presents the coded data from the film and interviews. The data from the film is presented first, organized using Matarasso's (1997) positive categories and their opposites. Then, the coded data from the film is presented.

Baseline Data: The Film

I analyzed the film using Matarasso's (1997) six categories and the negative categories I had developed (pp. 29). The coded film provided baseline data about social conditions around life on the street to which the data from the interviews was compared. The data from the interviews captured the social impact on the young men of participating in the project.

Lack of Social Cohesion

The category Lack of Social Cohesion (pp. 30) occurs most often in the film. Multiple properties fall under this category, including bullying and exploitation, establishing hierarchy, challenging power, gender dynamics and objectification, betrayal, anti-social behavior, and stealing.

In the film, the participants play gang members. The film shows how the gang functions according to a strict hierarchy and how certain gang members exert power over others. This takes the form of bullying and exploitation. When Sphelele first arrives on the street, the gang gives him an ultimatum; "If you want to have your shoes, go get some money and then you will get your shoes" (*Street Life*: 3:00-4:00[20]). This threat leaves Sphelele with no alternative but to obey. Another example is when the senior members of the gang teach Sphelele how to steal. When told he must carry a knife, Sphelele refuses, saying, "I cannot carry the knife" (*Street Life*: 5:22). The others respond in unison, "Hey! You have to carry it!" (*Street Life*: 5:22). After this, Sphelele carries a knife.

Bullying also occurs in gendered relationships. Sphelele suspects his girlfriend, Nomathemba, has been cheating on him with Star, another member of the gang. He punches and kicks her while accusing her of "making him stupid" (*Street Life*: 19:20-

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[20] These citations refer to time markers in the film.

20:05). She denies everything, saying that Star only gave her alcohol to drink (*Street Life*: 19:35). Eventually Sphelele stops beating her, and says, "I forgive you. Shit" (*Street Life*: 20:05).

Although Number Six holds a dominant position in the gang at the beginning of the film, Bra Boss, Star, and Sphelele eventually challenge his power and overthrow him. This is evident in the film when, after stealing a purse at the beach, the gang divides the loot. Number Six claims a phone, but the others use physical aggression to tell him that he is not allowed to have it (*Street Life*: 9:50). By denying him resources, the other gang members tell Number Six that he no longer has power within the gang. Later in the film, Bra Boss, Star, and Sphelele again align against Number Six, condemning him for his use of glue. They say, "Leave the glue, for a long time I've told you that" and "You are stupid" (*Street Life*: 13:05). By criticizing Number Six in this way, the others undermine his authority and exert power over him.

Bra Boss's power over Number Six is demonstrated in the final scene of the film. Still disciplining Number Six for sniffing glue, Bra Boss fights him (*Street Life*: 25:00-27:00). Sphelele attempts to stop the fight, but it merely escalates as Number Six smashes a glass bottle to use as a weapon and Bra Boss collects a burnt log. Eventually, Bra Boss turns to Sphelele and demands, "Give me this knife—I will show you" (*Street Life*: 27:45). Bra Boss intends to use the knife to teach Number Six a lesson. The lesson is fatal and Bra Boss stabs Number Six multiple times.

After Bra Boss stabs Number Six, Sphelele confronts him, yelling, "Hey, what happened? You are a shit!" (*Street Life*: 28:18). Bra Boss, instead of responding verbally, stabs Sphelele repeatedly. Sphelele attempts to defend himself, but falls. Bra Boss continues to stab him after he has fallen. He then says, "Even you too! You are shit!" (*Street Life*: 28:30). Sphelele tries to make Bra Boss accountable for his actions. Bra Boss murders Sphelele to silence him. The participants demonstrate that challenges to power are not tolerated.

Sphelele objectifies Nomathemba; he uses her for sex (*Street Life*: 11:17). She, in turn, uses him for food and clothing (*Street Life*: 19:20-20:05). Star approaches Nomathemba and attempts to persuade her to leave Sphelele and stay with him instead

(*Street Life*: 15:20). He uses charm and swagger to pressure her. He says, "But I know you, you will come and tell me that you love me" (*Street Life*: 16:05-16:15). To him, she is an object to be won. When Sphelele joins the conversation, Star attempts to hide his intentions. Aware of what has been happening, Sphelele shifts conversation to the cell phone that he has 'found' for Nomathemba. This action secures, for the moment, Nomathemba's loyalty to Sphelele (*Street Life*: 16:00-17:00).

Betrayal is evident in the relationships between gang members, as shown by the participants in the film. Star pursues the affections of Sphelele's girlfriend, despite the two young men being friends. Star wins her affections and is seen laughing and dancing with her (*Street Life*: 17:00-17:20). Sphelele, on the other hand, laments, "I'm mad, my girl run away" (*Street Life*: 17:50). Although he does not appear distraught over the loss of his girlfriend, Sphelele later beats Nomathemba for her infidelity (*Street Life*: 19:20-20:05).

In the film, the participants demonstrated the anti-social nature of their relationships with the greater Durban community. Sphelele articulates, "We are ruling this place. Durban is ours, no one can tell us. All these people from here are shit. They know we are the best, the best in the community" (*Street Life*: 11:40). He positions himself outside the greater Durban community; "We are ruling this place." He imagines himself as superior to others when he suggests, "no one can tell us [what to do, what to say, where to be, etc]." He insults those who are not a part of his gang, calling them names. This sentiment is repeated later in the film, when a local shop owner gives the young men a loaf of bread to eat. Number Six, when asked to show his appreciation, refuses, "No, I don't say thanks" (*Street Life*: 24:40). Both Number Six and Sphelele decline to enter into conversations or acknowledge positive relationships with members of the greater Durban community. They isolate themselves and, through a tough exterior, remain distant from others.

In order to acquire resources such as food or money, the young men steal from members of the greater Durban community. Stealing is an example of anti-social behavior. Often these robberies, in the film, make use of knives and violence (*Street Life*: 5:30, 7:50, 23:15). From the robberies and muggings, they acquire money and

valuable items that can be sold for money (*Street Life*: 8:00, 9:15, 13:55). The money can then buy food, clothes, drugs, and other necessities.

Social Cohesion

There are examples of Social Cohesion (Matarasso 1997: 27-37) in the film, despite most examples involving Lack of Social Cohesion. Social Cohesion is evident in brotherhood, sharing resources such as food, drugs, and knowledge, in romantic relationships, using power to generate positive outcomes, and in generosity by the greater Durban community. These properties serve as positive reinforcements that keep youths living on the streets.

In the film, the young men refer to each other as brothers: "bafeytu." Although they may not be brothers by blood, living on the streets creates family-like relationships. This is demonstrated when the young men dance together (*Street Life*: 6:30) and when they walk together on the beach (*Street Life*: 8:45). These actions are symbolic of their friendship and enjoyment of each other's company. This is also shown when the young men come together to plan their activities for the day. Number Six and Sphelele wait for Bra Boss and Star to arrive. When they do, they greet each other openly and exchange handshakes; "Hi gents! Sho sho sho!" "Good brothers!" "How are you?" "Fine, brothers" (*Street Life*: 12:30-12:40). By identifying each other as brothers, they cement their positive relationships.

The young men present sharing resources as vital to survival on the streets. If one member of the gang has procured something, he must share it with his brothers in the gang. This is chosen behavior because it strengthens bonds, builds relationships, and encourages others to share when they have resources. It is compulsory behavior in that there are consequences for not sharing. In the film, the young men share food (*Street Life*: 24:50), cigarettes (*Street Life*: 4:30), zol (*Street Life*: 20:10), and knowledge (*Street Life*: 5:30).

Sharing is also a way of acknowledging inclusion. After Sphelele begs for money for the gang, they include him. He is given a nickname, "Bora Bora" (*Street Life*: 4:30), which reinforces his inclusion. Star tells him, "Welcome to our house, you can say anything you want" (*Street Life*: 4:45). This invitation into the gang's structure

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demonstrates a change in status for Sphelele. He has been included into the gang and is now able to share resources and knowledge with them. When the gang teaches Sphelele to rob, they impart new knowledge to him (*Street Life*: 5:30).

Relationships between the sexes also play a role in Social Cohesion on the streets. Sphelele describes meeting his girlfriend Nomathemba, "One day, I saw another girl, it was Nomathemba… We talk, something secrets. I told him[21] that I love him, he told me that he love me too" (*Street Life*: 14:00-14:15). Their relationship exhibits elements of kindness, love, and tenderness (*Street Life*: 7:10). Sphelele shares food and resources with Nomathemba, strengthening her allegiance to him (*Street Life*: 14:25).

Although the hierarchy and structure of the gang is often negative, there is one instance in the film where the social constructs of the gang are used in a socially positive manner. This is when Bra Boss receives bread from a local business owner (*Street Life*: 24:05). It is a moment of generosity that serves to build a momentary bond between the shop owner and the street youths. As such, this is an example of Social Cohesion (Matarasso 1997: 27-37). Bra Boss then returns to the rest of the gang with the bread. He uses his influence to encourage the others to say thank you to the shop owner across the road (*Street Life*: 24:30). Sphelele complies and thanks him. This action involves building relationships between the two communities.

Lack of Self-Determination and Agency
After Lack of Social Cohesion, the category Lack of Self-Determination and Agency is the most common in the film (pp. 30). Properties of this category include the young men's feelings of helplessness, feeling lost, and their inability to make decisions.

There are multiple examples of the young men feeling helpless in the film. This sense of worthlessness, powerlessness, and weakness intensifies with feelings of hopelessness and fear. They feel it is impossible to escape from the streets and from the volatile people that surround them. Sphelele worries about his life and safety:

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[21] Often, young people on the streets refer to females using masculine pronouns, as is the case here. IsiZulu pronouns are not gendered and the misuse of 'he' and 'she' is a result of an incomplete understanding of English.

That time I was passing, going to play machine[22], I saw another big boy, he was poking another small boy. Then I thought they were fighting for glue or money. And I am thinking that I'm next too, or what is going to happen to me. I was so scared (*Street Life*: 23:30-23:50).

Sphelele is scared and has little hope to avoid impending death.

When Sphelele first arrives on the streets of Durban, he feels hopeless and helpless. He says, "Then it was so bad and I was crying, asking myself that when am I going to get back home? Where I am going to get money and buy food and go back home? It was so bad to me" (*Street Life*: 6:00-6:15). His questions express desires but he has no way to resolve these issues. He laments his bad fortune but cannot take action to resolve his problems.

Helplessness is further defined by a lack of choice. Sphelele says:

Sometimes in the streets it good, sometimes it's not good. Because there are many criminals keep on doing all those bad things to us. That's why I say it's good, sometimes not good. Because sometimes you get food, sometimes you don't get food. If you have lucky, you get something. But if you don't have lucky, you don't get (*Street Life*: 8:58-9:10).

Here, Sphelele states that he has no agency over what happens to him. Criminals make decisions about his life, rendering him helpless. Unpredictable by nature, luck determines if he will eat or starve.

Linked to helplessness is feeling lost. When Sphelele first arrives in Durban, he wanders aimlessly, lost in a new city. Additionally, he is emotionally lost. He has run away from home, leaving everything and everyone he knows and is now homeless. He says, "I don't know where is this, and I sit down, I stand up, I turn around seeing many people. I don't know what I am going to see because I don't know this place" (*Street Life*: 2:20-2:26). He is uncertain, nervous, and scared.

The youths report feeling helpless and unable to make decisions regarding their lives and their futures. These decisions range from moral to practical ones. In a moment of moral hesitation, Sphelele nervously looks around him as he hides a knife in his pants before a robbery (*Street Life*: 13:20). This moment of pause indicates Sphelele's desire

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[22] 'Playing machine' is to play video game machines and 'poking' means stabbing with a knife.

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not to participate in the violence. He is mute and unable to stand up to the other gang members.

Nomathemba provides an example of a young woman unable to make decisions regarding her life. She is dependent upon Sphelele for food, clothes, and other daily necessities. When she says, "Sphelele, I'm hungry" (*Street Life*: 14:20), she hopes that he will respond by giving her food. When she is propositioned by Star, she is unable to give him a direct answer. She is unsure about what she wants and answers vaguely, "I will think, when I am finished, I will tell you" (*Street Life*: 15:45).

Although anti-social and destructive, – and an example of Lack of Social Cohesion – stealing (pp. 60) functions as a survival strategy. Therefore, stealing is an example of agency on the part of the youth; it, along with the example of building a fire to keep warm (*Street Life*: 18:00-18:30), is the only example of Self-Determination (Matarasso 1997: 38-48) in the film.

Poor Self-Image, Lack of Health, and Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior
In this data, Poor-Self Image, Lack of Health, and Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior occur less frequently than categories relating to Social Cohesion and Agency. However, their Lack of Self-Determination and Agency led the street youths to feel poorly about themselves and engage in destructive behavior.

An example of Poor Self-Image (pp. 30) is when Sphelele seeks affirmation from Nomathemba; "You know I am a robber… Oh, my love, you still love me?" (*Street Life*: 14:33-14:37). He is insecure and fears that her loyalty to him has waned.

Another example of the street youths' poor self-image is in their performances of helplessness. In order to earn money, they beg at traffic lights. As shown in the film, their physicality softens, they cock their heads to one side and bend their knees as if to plead in a supplicated stance (*Street Life*: 4:10, 13:45). Their words are spoken with an urgent plea; "Madam, madam. Some small change, please? I need to buy some bread to eat, Madam" (*Street Life*: 13:45). Here, Sphelele begs for food, a necessity for survival. He performs helplessness to his own benefit.

Sphelele exhibits Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior (pp. 30) in the form of lack of social skills when he attempts to end the conflict between Bra Boss and Number Six (*Street Life*: 26:00-27:00). In order to stop his friends from fighting, Sphelele uses physicality, violence, and verbal threats. In doing so, he escalates the violence, demonstrating a lack of peaceful conflict resolution skills.

Another example of Self-Destructive Behavior in the film is Number Six's use of glue (*Street Life*: 4:40-5:00, 11:00-12:00). He conceals his drug in a bottle that he keeps inside his shirt. Using drugs affects Number Six's mental capacities.

The use of drugs in the film is also categorized under Lack of Health (pp. 31). Using drugs, such as glue and zol, that alter mental, physical, and emotional states, is a behavior that negatively impacts the health of the street youths. Sometimes, in the film, drugs are also used as a resolution to other health problems. As such, this demonstrates a general Lack of Health as opposed to Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior. For example, the young men sit together and smoke zol. Sphelele explains, "We smoke zol because we don't wanna feel cold" (*Street Life*: 18:45). Because using drugs is an alternative to finding warmth elsewhere, it is a method for escapism and a way to avoid problems. Sphelele emphasizes:

> And we smoke zol, sometimes like, when we been home, like our problems at home, we don't want to always keep on thinking about it. Cause like when I think about my things that are happening at home, I feel like I can hit someone. That's why I smoke zol, and that's why we smoke zol, to forget about all those things that's bad (*Street Life*: 18:45-19:15).

Because unhappiness, pain, grief, and anger can be subdued through drugs and because the young men wish to mask and avoid their feelings, their use of drugs falls under the category Lack of Health.

Unrealistic Vision and Health and Well-Being
A property of Unrealistic Vision (pp. 31) is an inability to make plans outside of the present. Twice in the film, one of the characters asks another, "What are we going to do today?" (*Street Life*: 11:15, 12:18). The repetition demonstrates how this conversation is habitual and that plans are seldom made in advance.

Despite living for the moment, the youths use their imaginations to create alternate realities, making daily living more bearable. For example, Sphelele envisages a future with his mother (*Street Life*: 20:00-21:45). In reality, he is not able to return home or solve the problems of her illness. He also imagines that the gang and he are superior to others; "We are the best in the community" (*Street Life*: 11:50).

The category Health and Well-Being (Matarasso 1997: 68-72) is coupled with Unrealistic Vision because often the youths' imagination leads them to enjoy life and be happy (Matarasso 1997: 13). Often, they dance to music from car radios (*Street Life*: 6:18-6:40, 7:25-7:45) or from televisions in the market (*Street Life*: 6:40-6:47, 8:32-8:42). They enjoy themselves and this is seen in their smiles and relaxed postures. Playing soccer also provides entertainment and enjoyment (*Street Life*: 6:55, 8:58-9:07).

Overall, the four participants chose to present their lives on the streets in negative terms. They presented the streets as a harsh and volatile place where daily survival was difficult. It was no wonder that the young men, in my conversations with them, expressed a keen interest in moving off the streets. They hoped that the film project would propel them towards this goal.

The Interviews

The nine interviews conducted with the participants attempted to capture the social impact that their participation in the film project had on them. The interviews were coded using Matarasso's (1997) categories and their opposites.

Personal Development

Most examples from the interviews came from the categories Personal Development and Local Image and Identity. Personal Development (Matarasso 1997: 14-26), as demonstrated in the interviews, fell into three main properties. These were new skills, confidence and pride, and having new experiences.

The participants spoke about the skills they acquired as a result of working on the film project. Thobani said the film project enabled him to gain knowledge and skills; "This

is our education because we live in the streets" (Interview 1: 5). Sihle said, "Because to plan the movie, it is a good thing… It means that you are taking that brains from in the streets, you are throwing it, and put a new brain now" (Interview 4: 21). In other words, the skills learnt in the film process replaced the lack of positive skills acquired while living on the streets.

The types of skills and knowledge that the participants developed varied. They included general life skills, planning and time management, following directions, respect, patience, apologizing and being humble, empathy, leadership skills, and conflict resolution skills.

In the interviews, the participants often spoke in lists of the things they learned from participating in the film project. Jabulani said, "I have learned to love each other, respect each other, and do not use violence, bad languages" (Interview 9: 50). Sipho said, "I learn about the drugs is not good, not good, to carry the violence is not good" (Interview 8: 43). Here, Sipho recognized that drugs and violence were self-destructive and suggested a desire to alter his behavior.

Because the process of making the film required forethought, the participants spoke about learning to make plans. Sihle said, "Like seeing when we plan the movie, too, it is a good skill that" (Interview 4: 20). Jabulani expressed his knowledge about planning learned from the film making process; "I learned how to take steps, step by step" (Interview 9: 50).

The young men also expressed interest in acquiring skills related to acting and film-making. Sihle said, "I never learn how to act, but now, I learn how to act" (Interview 1: 4). Jabulani increased his knowledge and interest about the practical aspects of film-making; "I also learn that when I've seen you, you know, doing all those video filming there, which is one part of my life that I have to know" (Interview 9: 50). Jabulani was interested in the mechanics of working a video camera as well as the technical demands of cutting and editing.

Learning respect, patience, and to follow directions were also skills that the young men developed. These related to authority figures, as well as peers, and how they dealt with

people telling them what to do. Thobani stated, "I learn the respect and respect each other" (Interview 7: 36).   Sihle elaborated, "Because I have to respect you. Take you all like my mom and my dad and my sisters, you see? Because I know that you love us and that we love you" (Interview 6: 31).

This respect translated into patience and a willingness to follow instructions. Sihle said:

> I learn about being like here attention, you see, be a nice boy. When you'll say to us, do this and this, I know that okay, I have to listen to ya'll and what you say until you finished what you say. And then I can do whatever I like to do. When you tell me I must keep quiet, I must keep quiet, and let you talk. And when you finish to talk, I can ask a question, because I cannot just talk when you are talking, because one of us cannot hear someone if he is talking (Interview 6: 28-29).

Sihle accepted that in order to participate, he needed to follow instructions, sometimes to the detriment of his immediate personal desires. Sipho also spoke of the importance of focus and following instructions in relation to acting in the film (Interview 8: 42). Jabulani recognized that he would not receive instant gratification for his actions during the film process (Interview 9: 55).

These personal developments in terms of respect translated into increased positive group skills and aided cooperation and collaboration (Jabulani Interview 9: 57; Sipho Interview 8: 43).

Because he learned respect, Sihle came to be more humble. He recounted an anecdote that demonstrated this:

> Yeah, I learn new skills. To be nice to other persons, when you talk be good. When you angry you must just leave her. And say, I'm sorry. If he does not understand you're sorry, you can just leave her for two maybe three minutes […] Cause that time I said you was so fat, you cannot come out. It was not nice to you, because you are not fat, you see. You cannot say you like the things I was saying, so yeah (Interview 6: 27).

This story illustrated Sihle's maturity and ability to reflect on his past actions. He realized that his words were hurtful and this activated him to apologize. He expressed this as a learnt skill.

Sihle's personal development continued through the evolution of his sense of empathy. He spoke of his relationships with people living on the streets:

> Yeah, I change like, you see, like I am seeing the people like me, those are still living in the streets, and I have money and I have to give them. It is not like when I am staying in the flats, they are staying in the streets, that means we are not same. We are still same, you see. We are not different. That is why I have changed, because many people ask money. When I have, I can give them. When I don't have, I tell them I don't have. But next time when I have, I will give them, because I know, I don't know if next time it will be me or who. That is why I always give what I have (Interview 6: 30).

Sihle expressed that he was not different from the people who lived on the streets, despite the fact that he was living in an apartment. He understood that he could easily end up back on the street, asking for money.

Through the film-making process, the participants developed leadership skills. Jabulani spoke of his leadership; "I was talking to the guys, you know, telling them we have got to respect each other and treat each other the same. So when we went to Cape Town, yeah, it was really great" (Interview 9: 57). He noted a direct correlation between his intervention and his enjoyable experience in Cape Town. Jabulani saw himself as a leader and was able to exert positive influence over his peers (Interview 9: 51).

Jabulani's leadership ability included developing peaceful conflict resolution skills. He solved conflicts within the group during the film-making process (Interview 9: 51). His understanding of conflict extended beyond the project, as he developed a plan for dealing with conflict in the future:

> It doesn't matter that you are white, black, or what, even though you can, like, swear me, discriminate me, use violence. It is not a problem. I will never, like, turn it back, hit you, swear you. I will just walk away. I will take the pain (Interview 9: 51).

Personal Development was also evidenced in the interviews in comments about pride and confidence. For example, Jabulani and Thobani spoke about how they felt more confident after making the film. Jabulani said:

When I started working on this movie, I was like a bit not strong and I've never thought that I will always make a movie of my own. But, since you guys gave me strength and confidence, now I know that even when you all are, like, overseas, I will use your people's mind and strength that you have given me (Interview 9: 54).

Thobani said, "I learn to me too when I am going up I can do myself thing" (Interview 7: 36). He suggested that he has learned that he can do anything.

The participants expressed feelings of pride related to themselves and how members of the public viewed their film. Jabulani said, "I am proud to be what I am, you know?" (Interview 9: 52-53). Sihle spoke of his pride in relation to other people's enjoyment of the film; "I was thinking that it was not going to be like this. I was thinking that people would not be able to feel like how I feel, you see? And then I was thinking that people they won't enjoy like how they enjoyed today" (Interview 4: 17). Sihle took satisfaction that the conference audience mirrored his feelings about the film. Through their positive words, Sihle felt affirmed and validated.

The participants spoke of having new experiences as a result of the film-making process. Jabulani noted, "I am experiencing more things that I have ever thought" (Interview 5: 26). He identified some of his new experiences as "something enjoyable that we never do" (Interview 1: 3), including going to Cape Town (Interview 5: 26) and spending time at UKZN (Interview 9: 55).

Finally, the young men acknowledged and appreciated the opportunities that opened for them as a result of the film project. Sihle expressed his thanks, "I won't forget ya'll and about what ya'll have done for us" (Interview 6: 28). This gesture of gratitude was testament to his increasing interpersonal and emotional intelligences.

Local Image and Identity

There were an equal amount of examples in the interviews from the category Local Image and Identity (Matarasso 1997: 49-58) as there were from Personal Development.

Examples of Local Image and Identity had two main properties. These were shifting personal identity[23] and change in perception by outsiders.

The participants expressed some shift in how they viewed themselves. They expressed this directly, as well as through conversations about feeling different from their peers on the streets, their altered views about Emagqumeni, shifting priorities, the names with which they identified themselves, having a voice, and having new goals.

After viewing the completed film for the first time, Jabulani was surprised to see that a new version of himself emerged. He exclaimed, "Wow! Is this myself?" (Interview 1: 3). In a later interview, he commented, "I always thought that I am a loser, but today I think that I am a winner" (Interview 9: 50). He previously thought he was insignificant, but indicated that now he had the potential to be successful. This notion was linked to the occupation he gave himself; "As many people were saying that I used to be a street kid, but now I am no more a street kid, and I know I am not going to live out there again" (Interview 5: 23). No longer identifying himself as a person from the streets, Jabulani said that the film project "made me to be one of the students […] and strong and powerful, not much stay of day of time wasting, but just spending some times and days at the college" (Interview 9: 55). Jabulani valued the time he spent at UKZN. He argued that the time spent on campus, which was time working on the film, helped him to move away from wasting time, which he associated with living on the streets.

After the film project, the participants expressed that they felt different from their peers who lived at Emagqumeni. Sihle addressed this when he spoke of their reasons for making the film:

> We made the movie because we want to show people that we not like people that like other people, those doing things, robbing some bags, doing car breaking, doing rough dance, stealing, and doing the stealing in the stores, see? We not like that. We want to show that not all of us, some of them, but not all of us. And we can to show people that we don't like violence, and we don't like people to swear us. We don't say anything to them (Interview 6: 27).

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[23] Discussions of identity are restricted to Matarasso's (1997) category of Local Image and Identity and do not extend to other theoretical conversations around identity and identity-making.

He identified that he, Jabulani, Thobani, and Sipho acted in ways that separated them from their peers. Sihle engaged in the language of 'us' and 'them,' clearly delineating himself from street youths. Jabulani (Interview 9: 59) and Thobani (Interview 3: 12) echoed these sentiments. By doing this, they rejected their previous identities and attempted to take up new ones.

The participants' denial of the label 'street youth' ran deeper as they spoke negatively of Emagqumeni. From a hotel room in Cape Town, Thobani spoke with distance about his street home; "At Emagqumeni, it was not a good place" (Interview 3: 13). His language was simple, but his distaste for Emagqumeni was clear. Sihle argued that he "mustn't stay in the street now because the streets, it is not made for me. It is not made for anyone. It is meant for walk people" (Interview 4: 21).

Sihle spoke of the importance of names in negotiating identity:

> Yeah, I feel nice because even now at Center[24] they do not call me Sihle now. They call me Sphelele, you see. Even Jabulani sometimes and Thobani, they always call me Sphelele. Thobani, we always calls him Star, you see? I think Sphelele it's a nice name for me (Interview 6: 33).

He accepted his character's name as his own. Additionally, he reported that other people called him Celebrate because of the changes they observed him making in his life (Interview 6: 32). By using a new name associated with a positive experience, Sihle and the people around him crafted a more socially positive identity for him.

The participants also expressed realizations and goals that helped them to shape their senses of self. Jabulani showed increased belief in his own capabilities because of the film; "It was the first time that I heard that I have a voice" (Interview 1: 3). The film gave him opportunities to speak his mind. Sipho suggested that the film assisted him in crafting goals for the future because of a newly discovered sense of self; "I want to be the real man" (Interview 8: 47).

The shifts in identity that the four young men felt internally were reinforced by affirmation from people outside the project. There were two main groups that gave this affirmation: the conference participants who viewed the film in Cape Town and the

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[24] The Center is a safe space for street youths in Durban providing shower and toilet facilities.

Durban street community. Although most of the young people on the streets did not view the film, they observed changes in the participants' behavior and appearance.

Sihle reflected on his experience with people in Durban prior to the project:

> I was playing soccer, sitting, asking for money, those things that are not good. Peoples when you ask them money, swearing you, telling you that 'why did you ran away home, why did you choose this life?' But other people, they don't say that. Some people feel sorry for us. Some people doesn't feel sorry (Interview 6: 28).

His comment suggested that the people who interacted with him saw him as a nuisance.

Jabulani provided a contrast to Sihle's sentiments. Speaking after the conference, he said, "People are saying like, 'Hey, you are no more the person you were before' and it is kind of amazing" (Interview 2: 10). He was astounded by the positive feedback he received. Sihle recounted, "People were clapping hands for us, speaking nice to us, telling us, wishing us the nice things, telling us when we grow up we can be owner or president or doctor or ministers, eish, many thing" (Interview 6: 30). These words impacted the participants' views of the film and of themselves. Speaking about his interaction with delegates at the conference, Jabulani said, "That is one thing that will always change my life forever. No matter how people talk bad, whatever they can say. But I know that I am who I am, and I am who they made me to be. And that cannot change" (Interview 5: 26).

Members of the street community also noticed certain changes in the participants' behavior and appearance. Thobani reflected on how other street youths viewed him after his return from Cape Town:

> They saw when we went to the trip to Cape Town, and we come back. They so envy. We were wearing nice. And they say, 'Oh, that boys they change.' The other one was jealous. The other one was saying not jealous. They say, 'you wearing nice, you cannot stay here. Now you clean you have to stay the clean place' (Interview 7: 40).

Thobani's peers understood his new clothes as a sign elevated status. Jabulani's peers noted that his changed attire was a result of patronage associated with Østhus and me. He reported that they said, "You dress nice. The white woman is buying you good"

(Interview 9: 52). In this way, Jabulani acknowledged Østhus' and my impact on the changes he was affecting in his life.

The impact of the film on the greater street community was evident through Sihle's reflections. He said, "Some of my other friends, they ask me, how did I get this, how did I make my life to change?" (Interview 6: 32). By asking these questions, Sihle's friends attempted to glean how they could also experience the kinds of changes that they perceived Sihle to be experiencing. Jabulani also felt the effects of the eyes of his community; "Wherever I walk, people are like, those people who have watched the movie, up till today, they are always clapping hands for me and they are saying good" (Interview 9: 51). The affirmation Jabulani felt from his community was ongoing.

Finally, the four young men expressed new belief in their abilities as a result of the film project. Sipho expressed accomplishment that altered his sense of self; "I feel like I tell myself, I did it. I can tell myself, I do this" (Interview 8: 47). His increased self-confidence affected his sense of identity and enabled him to define himself as someone who could accomplish tasks.

Community Empowerment and Self-Determination

The category of Community Empowerment and Self-Determination had the next greatest number of examples from the interviews. This category was broken into two parts, first, Community Empowerment and second, Self-Determination (Matarasso 1997: 38-48).

The interviews with the four young men provided evidence that the act of speaking at the TLC 2010 Conference was an example of Community Empowerment. By engaging with members of the professional Social Work community, the young men addressed issues related to street youths and strengthened their collective identity as young people attempting to change their lives. Jabulani spoke of his intentions to make the film as communication and a means to bridge communities:

> I knew the movie if I do it, it is a very very strong thing and has strong words.
> So it's showing it out that life out there is a tough and bad decision. So no other
> people would like to live out there where there are people poking each other,
> discriminating each other, robbing. So that is why I wrote it, I do-ed it, I did it,

so the people can know that we are not all the same. Let them not think like that; let them have another thought of mind. So that they can know that it is not true (Interview 9: 54).

Self-Determination took multiple properties in the interviews. These were agency, avoiding trouble, being committed, and feeling empowered. Agency included taking control over one's life, making choices, taking initiative, as well as developing clear goals.

Sihle (Interview 9: 30) and Sipho (Interview 8: 44) spoke of how they made decisions regarding the content of the film, in examples of agency. Through their contributions, they exercised their ability to make choices and increased their ownership of the film project.

Jabulani spoke about how Østhus and I aided his development as an individual. However, he said it was up to him to complete his transformation; "Now you took me from stage one and you put me in stage two. The first it was to finalize it myself. I cannot depend on ya'll. I cannot come back and Robin say, please do that" (Interview 9: 53). Although he recognized and honored the impact that others made in his life, he realized that he needed to take control of his future.

Sihle admitted that he chose to participate in the film project in order to take some control over his life; "I was going to play soccer, like 3 o'clock or 4 o'clock. All day in the morning staying like 7 until 3 o'clock not doing anything. That is why I joined the drama" (Interview 4: 18). Sipho, on the other hand, exercised choice through his character in the film; "I want to show the community how the drugs is bad" (Interview 8: 46).

Jabulani spoke of two instances in which he stood apart from the group and made decisions in relation to the greater project. The first instance that Jabulani spoke of was when the participants chose the location where they wanted to shoot the film (Interview 9: 55-56). He spoke to the woman who ran the shop next door and asked her permission. He again took initiative when, "I came up with the plan that went across the road and speak to the man so that we can also hand over us the bread" (Interview 1:

1). It was Jabulani who inspired and activated the scene by organizing with the shop owner.

Finally, the participants experienced agency in terms of making plans and goals. Jabulani and Sihle made plans to stop smoking cigarettes (Sihle Interview 4: 22), to go home (Sihle Interview 4: 22, Jabulani Interview 5: 23), to continue making films (Jabulani Interview 5: 23), to acquire an identification document (Sihle Interview 6: 28), and to look for work (Sihle Interview 6: 28). Thobani's goal was simpler; "I want to go straight in my way. Like I leave the streets" (Interview 7: 38).

Jabulani and Sihle spoke about how their participation in the film project kept them away from trouble. Sihle chose to do drama "because if I doesn't do drama, then I am always going to be in the streets" (Interview 1: 4). Jabulani elaborated:

> It kept me away from Metro police and kept me away from trouble. Some of the other guys used to rob where I used to stay. And the Metro police would come and give us some little bit hiding. Now that I am here, I am like safe and comfortable (Interview 1: 1).

Jabulani also reported that he stopped smoking glue when he went to Cape Town for the conference. Since his return, he said, he had not returned to smoking it and therefore had kept away from trouble (Interview 9: 52).

The four young men also referred to their commitment and determination to complete the film project in their interviews. By committing to a project spanning a few months, they exhibited control over their lives. Sipho articulated his desire to work on the project, saying, "I want to do it" (Interview 8: 45). This desire was tested when work on the film became difficult.

For Sihle, who played the main character in the film, shooting scenes was difficult, particularly when he was asked to repeat scenes. For example, Sihle was asked to repeat the argument with Nomathemba:

> The time we to finish the movie, I was like the time is telling me that I must start again, that time I was hitting Nomathemba, had to scream. I was like, eish, you all are playing with me now. I am tired. I am not going to do this. But I have already made this. I had to made it again. I was like, eish, these people are

> playing with me. Three times! How can I do it three times? I am not going to
> do that. But I made it (Interview 6: 31).

Although he was tired, he decided to continue filming the scene because of his commitment to the project. His final exclamation of "I made it" signified that he was proud of this accomplishment.

Thobani (Interview 7: 38) and Jabulani discussed the difficulty of working on the subtitles for the film. Jabulani spoke of how he endured through the subtitling process instead of quitting; "That was the most heaviest part of my life. But because I knew it was my first time making a movie in my world life, so I have to be strong, confident, and powerful. That is the most things that I ever expect" (Interview 9: 55).

Finally, the young men not only felt good about their participation in the project, but they felt as though they could accomplish more. Jabulani said:

> Maybe sometimes you won't be there, maybe will be on my own. Now I need to
> take a stand on my own. So I know many things that you guys have taught me.
> And I also showed you out that I can also make it in life (Interview 9: 50-51).

He acknowledged the need to take a stand on his own. By asserting that he had already shown others that he could succeed, he confirmed his own sense of empowerment.

Jabulani's personal empowerment also came from seeing his idea become a film. He said:

> I feel great because I took a stand and everybody was happy, not for me, but for
> all of us, for the idea I've came up with, and for the plan. I've shared it to the
> guys, to you, and they took the idea that I came up with. He took the idea, you
> took it straight, she took it forward. And everything was done even though we
> had a short time. We made it and today I am happy (Interview 2: 10).

By recalling that it was his idea that inspired the project, Jabulani asserted ownership over the project. His ownership did not exclude others, because he incorporated them into his vision.

Health and Well-Being

Matarasso's category Health and Well-Being (1997: 68-72) encompassed two main properties. These were being happy and feeling accomplished. Although the total

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number of examples in Health and Well-Being were fewer than other categories, being happy was the property that most frequently occurred in the interviews.

The participants spoke of their happiness throughout the film-making process. Jabulani referred to his enjoyment of the first days of the project; "I remember when we first acted the play. We were happy, proud of myself. I can be a star even though it is such a small drama" (Interview 1: 1). After the conference presentation, Sihle said, "I am happy […] because of what happened today" (Interview 4: 17). The positive reinforcement received from others increased his feelings of self-worth and made him happier. Additionally, Sipho said, "we was all happy" (Interview 8: 47), suggesting that individual happiness led to a similar group ethos.

Feelings of happiness counteracted negative feelings. Thobani said that participating in the drama "make me forget about the bad life" (Interview 1: 4) and that it made him feel "great" instead (Interview 7: 36). This also was true for Jabulani, who said, "I felt strong, powerful, happy, and I felt more than I can ever know joy. Joy was coming, you know, one way. There was no going out being sad" (Interview 9: 57).

Additionally, participation in the film project increased the participants' well-being in terms of feeling accomplished. Speaking about how he felt after the conference presentation, Thobani said, "I am feeling good because it was my first time to do that" (Interview 3: 12). Doing something for the first time, namely making a film and presenting it to an international professional community, made Thobani feel proud and accomplished. Sipho also referred to how the thought of audiences watching the film made him feel satisfied; "I feel good to finish the project, because the people who is gonna watch it, and then they will be happy" (Interview 8: 46). Jabulani also reflected, "It is one of the best things that I have ever achieved in life" (Interview 9: 52). Participating in the film project left him feeling accomplished and happy with himself.

Social Cohesion
Social Cohesion (Matarasso 1997: 27-37) emerged through two properties in the interviews. The majority of the examples involved the participants working together. However, there were a few examples that addressed how the participants thought the community viewed their criminal behavior.

Working together involved the participants engaging in creating the film collaboratively and without dispute. This property included examples of group consciousness and the sharing of skills and knowledge. Sihle realized the importance of group work; "I learn that when we work, we must work together. When we do something, we must do it together" (Interview 6: 29). Thobani elaborated, "I learn too we must be together and we can do more if we together" (Interview 7: 36).

Sihle commented on the importance of each individual in the film-making process. He argued that he liked the process "because it was us making it. If it was other people, I was going to say this and this I don't like it, but because it was us, I have to say I like all of it" (Interview 6: 34). Jabulani also acknowledged the value of each participant, but elaborated, "It showed me that we can also do it with other people if we can do it together, but just mind the fight. But it showed me that we are all brothers and sisters as we did it" (Interview 9: 50).

Working together on the film project enabled Sihle to increase his social awareness. He spoke about his consciousness of the group; "When you'll buy something, you must buy for all of us. You cannot buy for only one person" (Interview 6: 29). Sihle realized that fairness and sharing were essential to group work. Thobani commented that sharing was essential to group work; "If you have something, you have like food, you can eat with them" (Interview 7: 36).

Sihle implemented the skills that he learned from working together in the group in his relations with street youths outside of the film project:

> If you can do like me, maybe you too, you will be like me, you see. Telling my friends that, stop doing this, and listen when people talk to you, don't use violence. And people will come to ya'll nice when you see when people like quiet like ya'll. Don't just say these people are going to eat money with us, it is not like that (Interview 6: 32).

By telling his friends to alter their behavior, he suggested that they could reap social benefits through improving their relationships with the greater Durban community.

Sihle expressed his own altered behavior, "The first time I meet ya'll I saw the good people, being nice to us, and then us being nice to ya'll. Nobody was doing things that

bad, and I saw that it was going to be nice" (Interview 6: 27). Because Østhus and I were nice, Sihle and the other young men responded in kind. According to Sihle, this positive energy caused nothing 'bad' to happen.

Furthermore, the film project allowed its audiences to alter their opinions of street youth. Sihle explained how he thought that people's opinions of him changed as a result of seeing the film; "We didn't know that people was going to be happy like this. Because I thought that people was going to just say 'Tsk, these boys are just playing with us. What they fucking doing?'" (Interview 2: 10). Sihle assumed that audiences would think that he was a criminal, despite his participation in the film. He was surprised that people enjoyed the film and had a positive view of him.

Imagination and Vision

Imagination and Vision (Matarasso 1997: 59-67) encompassed creativity and positive risk-taking. Future vision and goals was the property most commonly expressed in this category. Thobani's goal was to "go off the streets" (Interview 3: 14), while Sihle said, "I have to go back to school" (Interview 4: 17). Sipho's overarching ideal was to "fight for my future" (Interview 8: 44); He planned to travel to Johannesburg to continue acting in films (Interview 8: 42). Jabulani described his vision for the future in detail; "Now I am trying out to buy a hair cut machine and start a small business and see how it is going to push my life, and if it go great, I will open a salon" (Interview 9: 50). His vision was supported by a logical plan of action. He said:

> I know why each head R20 I am making something. If a day, I cut twenty hairs, and R20, R20, R20 each, I am making something. And I am getting a profit out of it too. So what I am saving, I know that we have money for food, we have money to pay, and clothes and everything. So I am not short of anything. So the movie showed me now that I can also change my life with many things (Interview 9: 57).

Additionally, the film project allowed the participants to exercise their creativity. Sihle spoke about his input to the project and identified the scenes with Nomathemba as his most creative work (Interview 6: 33). Jabulani claimed the scene with the bread as a creative contribution that he made (Interview 1: 1). These moments of creative participation demonstrated the development of the participants' imagination.

Negative Impacts

Despite an overwhelming majority of examples falling into Matarasso's (1997) categories, there were a few examples from the interviews that demonstrated negative impacts. These mostly fell into the category Lack of Social Cohesion (pp. 30). Lack of Social Cohesion presented itself in the interviews in the form of disagreements and fighting. Although the young men more often reported that they worked together well, they spoke about fights that occurred while making the film. Most of the disagreements arose due to a conflict between Sipho and Jabulani. Jabulani was the leader of the group, but Sipho's enthusiasm led him to try to take control. Sihle commented on the fighting; "Yeah, sometimes we do good, but sometimes we doesn't do good. Because only one person always like to own us like he is the boss" (Interview 6: 29). Sihle and Thobani took Jabulani's side in this ongoing dispute. Sipho, as a result, became an outsider.

In his final interview, Sipho complained about the fighting in the group. He commented on his dedication to the project and his disdain for the disagreements that arose:

> The difficult come to me if you know if I am telling my members if they think it's wrong, they shouting, they say 'ai ai ai.' If I say the serious things, then you don't want to listen me. You say I am mad. You try to make a team, try to make a member, but say I am mad. This is how the thing is difficult (Interview 8: 42).

The arguments also impacted on Jabulani's experience. He said:

> There were many things like, when we were in a group, we started fighting and did not listen to Robin and Ingrid. They was something like fighting against us that made us be not more always a group. We started talking our own, started back chatting, which I didn't like, when the first time we started good. But now, it was going to end up bad. I even said I am no more going to Cape Town as the other guys. Now I think it is great (Interview 9: 50).

He admitted that fighting caused the group to fall apart. Because of this, he decided that he would not go to Cape Town. Jabulani, however, did travel to Cape Town and viewed the conflict as resolved.

Examples of negative categories of responses outside of Lack of Social Cohesion were few. Most of these contradicted the positive impacts that the young men spoke of.

Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior (pp. 30) was evident in the interviews. For example, when asked if he had learned any new skills as a result of participating in the film project, Thobani said, "There are no new skills" (Interview 7: 35). Yet, he also said working on the film was his education (Interview 1: 5). An example of Lack of Health and Well-Being (pp. 31) occurred when Jabulani reported being unhappy during the film-making process; "I was like a little bit unhappy because there was some others things that we need to fix up" (Interview 1: 1-2). More often, he described how happy and joyous working on the film made him (Interview 1: 1, 3; 5: 23, 25; 9: 49, 50, 52, 57).

In an example of Unrealistic Vision (pp. 31), Thobani spoke of his expectations as a result of making the film:

> And the others, they like when we talk to them, like the tourists. They like when they talk to you. Something they have to give you, like gifts. Yeah, they are going to make for us the big thing. Like the people from overseas, they told me they going to come back and they going to leave something for us (Interview 1: 5).

As a result of making the film, Thobani anticipated that people from overseas would give him money and material goods.

In sum, there were more positive social impacts that arose from participation in the film project. However, the negative impacts could not be ignored, as they pointed to the realities, as opposed to the ideals, of the work itself.

The following chapter addresses the findings that emerged from this data. The data will be analyzed in terms of social impact and change.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS

The findings of this research are best understood in the context of the research questions (pp. 5). The film, as baseline data, illuminated a range of social dynamics that the participants perceived to take place in their daily lives on the streets, most of which were negative. The interviews demonstrated the achievements of the film project, which included a range of social dynamics, most of which were positive. Therefore participating in the film project was able to increase the positive social dynamics in the participants' lives.

Social Impact

The film reflected the perceptions of the four young men of their lives on the streets. The interviews reflected the impact on them of working on the film while living on the streets and encompassed their perceptions of their lives and how they felt about the project and themselves. Matarasso's (1997) categories and their opposites (pp. 29) were present in this work. These categories and the elements that comprise them are the foundation for analyzing the social impact on the participants of working on the film.

After coding the film, the dominant positive categories that emerged were Social Cohesion (pp. 61)[25] and Health and Well-Being in the form of being happy (pp. 66). The elements of Social Cohesion presented by the participants were those of brotherhood, sharing resources, and love relationships (pp. 61). The young men formed social bonds in order to create hierarchies and power relations that allowed the gang to function as well as to assist in their daily survival. The example of survival strategies fell into two categories. In a positive sense, survival strategies in the form of stealing to gain resources were examples of Self-Determination and Agency (pp. 64). However, Lack of Social Cohesion (pp. 60) tended to dominate these kinds of examples as it involved destructive social behavior amongst street youths as well as their wider social relationships.

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[25] References in this section on social impact will refer to pages in Chapter Five: Presentation of Data, where this information was first presented, and not the film or interviews.

Despite few examples of positive categories, the vast majority of examples from the film were negative. Lack of Social Cohesion provided the most examples, followed by Lack of Self-Determination and Agency. Lack of Social Cohesion dominated daily activities (pp. 58). This category presented itself in anti-social behavior, bullying and exploitation, and unequal gender dynamics. It also highlighted the negative relationships between street youths and the greater Durban community. Despite small moments of Agency found through stealing (pp. 64), the film expressed a great Lack of Self-Determination and Agency (pp. 62). The young men felt helpless, hopeless, and were unable to make decisions about their own lives. They felt worthless, powerless, and weak.

These aspects of Lack of Social Cohesion and Lack of Self-Determination and Agency led the young men to have Poor Self-Image (pp. 64), a Lack of Health (pp. 65), and to engage in Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior (pp. 65). Their feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, as shown in Lack of Self-Determination and Agency, caused low self-esteem linked to Poor Self-Image. Additionally, they performed their helplessness in an example of Poor Self-Image. They engaged in the use of drugs and alcohol as examples of Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior and Lack of Health. In the film, they were addicted to drugs and used them to ease emotional pain, physical hunger, and to keep warm (pp. 65).

Finally, Unrealistic Vision was presented in examples of day-to-day living, false realities, and unrealistic dreams and goals for the future (pp. 65). In the film, the young men lived in the moment and were unable to make long-term plans and goals.

The data from the film representing the participants' lives on the streets was negative. These negative impacts were directly linked to the stressful conditions of their lives. The young men saw their street lives as inherently negative, despite a few positive occurrences, such as temporary happiness (pp. 66).

The interviews reflected the impact on the participants of working on the film while living on the streets. The young men reflected on how participating in the film project made them feel. They reported improvements in their perceptions of themselves in their interviews.

Personal Development and Local Image and Identity emerged most strongly from the coded interviews. Personal Development presented in examples of time management, following directions, working in groups using respect, patience, and empathy, as well as in leadership skills (pp. 66). Obtaining these new skills and knowledge increased the participants' confidence and their sense of pride in themselves and their abilities. This led to an overall sense of personal empowerment. These new Personal Development skills led the participants to shift their Local Image and Identity (pp. 70). Examples of Local Image and Identity included that the participants felt differently from their peers on the streets as a result of their participation in the film project. They shifted their priorities, changed their names, engaged in physical changes, created new goals, and felt as though their voices had been heard. They expressed that these changes in their Local Image and Identity had been acknowledged and affirmed by members of other communities.

Examples of Community Empowerment and Self-Determination (pp. 74) resulted from the improvements in Personal Development and Local Image and Identity that the young men expressed. Speaking at the Cape Town conference was an example of Community Empowerment (pp. 74) that positively reaffirmed the young men's Local Image and Identity. This led to Self-Determination (pp. 75) in the form of choices made about their lives and increased agency. They took initiative, kept out of trouble, and felt more empowered.

Health and Well-Being, Social Cohesion, and Imagination and Vision arose as a result of the impacts made in Personal Development, Local Image and Identity, and Community Empowerment and Self-Determination. The young men's Health and Well-Being (pp. 77) improved as a result of feeling empowered and accomplished. Examples of Health and Well-Being primarily took the form of being happy. This decreased their negative feelings associated with their lives on the streets. Feelings of happiness allowed for increased Social Cohesion. Social Cohesion presented mainly as working together (pp. 78); the young men learned to listen and share more. Finally, Imagination and Vision was presented through solidified visions for the future and concrete, realistic goals (pp. 80).

Although the data presented in the interviews was overwhelmingly positive, there were examples of negative social impacts of working on the film. These arose out of the context of living on the street, not as a direct result of the film project itself. The young men experienced a Lack of Social Cohesion in regards to disagreements and fighting that occurred during the course of the film-making process (pp. 81). Additionally, they sometimes referred to negative impacts that ran contradictory to the positive impacts that they discussed. At times, they reported Lack of Health and Well-Being, in the form of being unhappy (pp. 82), Ignorance and Self-Destructive Behavior, not learning anything (pp. 82), and Unrealistic Vision, idealistic expectations (pp. 82). These negative comments suggested that the film-making process was not always positive for the participants and that some negative aspects associated with their lives on the streets were, at times, present.

I am aware that this analysis effectively compares two separate sets of data. The film provided baseline data regarding the circumstances of the lives for the four participants. The interviews assessed the impact of making the film on them. The participants' perceptions of the impact of making the film are important when analyzed within the context of their daily lives on the streets as presented in the film.

The negative data coded from the film arose from the fact that the participants disliked their existence on the streets, as evidenced by their desire to make a film in order to change their lives. Participation in the film, on the other hand, provided an alternative to street life and opened possibilities for change. The negative examples from the interviews were factors of street life, rather than factors of the impact of the film.

The social impacts expressed by the young men include being happier, renegotiating identity, learning new personal and social skills, developing friendships and relationships, increasing their belief in themselves, increasing their ability to make choices, making plans for the future, and learning to work as a team. These positive social impacts emerged as a result of their participation in the film project. Application of these findings to the context of their perceptions of their lives on the streets suggests that participation in the film project encouraged a broader range of experience for them.

Change

The various social impacts that occurred as a result of their participation in the film led the participants to engage with ideas of change. Although Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho had spoken about changing their lives previous to the film project, these thoughts and desires increased as a result of their participation. Additionally, their wishes were realized in some actions.

Change occurs as a result of critical thinking and reflection. This challenging of assumptions can lead to altered action (Freire 1970: 33). By reflecting on their contexts and challenging assumptions, Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho were able to make change occur in their physical, mental, and emotional lives. Freire suggests that oppressed people, such as street youths, are able to liberate themselves from their oppressors through the transformation of society (1970: 55). This was not the kind of change that the four young men engaged in. They were not able, nor did this film project have the capacity, to change society systemically and politically. The participants spoke about the change they witnessed in other people as a result of the film, but this research does not deal with the opinions and behaviors of others. Rather, these findings focus on the changes made and wished for by the participants themselves.

The process of subtitling and watching the film served as reflection for the participants. Through this process, they were able to see their depiction of their lives on the streets with some critical distance. Because of this critical distance, they gained perspective on their lives. They began to imagine alternate futures for themselves. They expressed these desires in terms of change.

Changes fall into three categories. These are changes wished for, changes acted on, and changes in terms of new emerging problems. Changes wished for are altered behaviors, actions, and futures that the young men desired. They hoped that these things would come to fruition, but they have not. Changes acted on encompass the actions that the participants have taken that brought changes into reality. These changes are no longer wished for, but have become the real life experiences of the young men. Finally, changes in terms of new emerging problems suggest the new difficulties present as a result of the changes the participants have made.

Changes Wished For

Working on the film project resulted in the participants wishing for certain changes in their lives. Roughly, there were three groups of changes that they wished for: they wished to feel differently about themselves; they wished to have different relationships with the people around them; and they wished to do certain things.

As a result of their participation in the film project, the young men wished to feel differently about themselves. For example, Sipho spoke of his desire to become a real man (Interview 8: 47[26]). Because he acquired new skills, gained confidence, and felt accomplished, he wanted to shift his sense of self. Additionally, Sihle wished to take control over his own life (Interview 4: 18). Jabulani wished to accomplish more things as a result of working on the film (Interview 9: 53). Furthermore, he wished to develop his new strength and mind (Interview 5: 25, 9: 54). Thobani said that he learned that he could do anything as a result of the film project (Interview 7: 36), inferring that he wished to do more. The young men suggested that they hoped to use the broader experiences they had in the film project as the motivation to feel differently about themselves. By expanding their horizons, the film project opened possibilities for the participants to imagine altered futures.

Furthermore, the participants wished that the perceptions of themselves by, and their relationships with, members of the greater Durban community would change as a result of the film project. Jabulani wished to be seen as a changed person (Interview 9: 54). He wanted other people to see him not as a youth from the streets, but as an individual with a purpose and goal. Sipho wished to change his relationships with others (Interview 8: 46); he hoped that the film and the character he portrayed in it would encourage parents to help their children stop using drugs (Interview 8: 46).

Finally, the young men spoke of some specific changes that they wished to make in their lives. For example, Sipho (Interview 8: 44) and Sihle (Interview 4: 22) expressed a desire to stop or limit their use of drugs. Sipho said that he wanted to leave drugs entirely, while Sihle wished to quit smoking. Additionally, Sihle (Interview 4: 22) and

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[26] References in the following sections on change will refer directly to the interviews for clarity. However, these examples have all been discussed in Chapter Five: Presentation of Data.

Jabulani (Interview 5: 23) indicated their desire to return home. Thobani spoke of his wish to leave the streets (Interview 3: 14, 7: 38).

The participants spoke of their desire to engage in more socially productive activities. Jabulani wished to make more films (Interview 5: 23). Sipho wanted to travel to Johannesburg to look for work acting in films (Interview 8: 42). Sihle wanted to go to school (Interview 4: 17), apply for his identity document (Interview 6: 28), and find a job (Interview 6: 28). Jabulani spoke of his desire to generate his own source of income through starting a small hair salon (Interview 9: 50, 9: 57).

The changes that the participants wished for demonstrated their resolve to make better lives for themselves. The young men not only wanted to change their lives and how they felt about themselves, but they wanted to be acknowledged and affirmed by others for those changes.

Changes Acted On
The young men enacted some changes: they changed how they thought and spoke about themselves; they changed their relationships with other people; and they changed their behavior.

Jabulani and Sihle changed the way they thought and spoke about themselves. Whereas all of the young men indicated that they wished to change the way they felt about themselves, Jabulani and Sihle accomplished this change. Jabulani said, "I always thought that I am a loser, but today I think that I am a winner" (Interview 9: 50). He identified himself as a student (Interview 9: 55) and rejected his street youth identity (Interview 5: 23). Similarly, Sihle rejected street life by drawing delineations between street youths and himself (Interview 6: 27). He also declared that living on the streets was not suitable for him (Interview 4: 21). In a demonstration of his altered sense of self, Sihle accepted new names. He assumed the names of Sphelele (Interview 6: 33) and Celebrate (Interview 6: 32) to further separate himself from his street identity.

The young men also made changes in regards to their relationships with other people. Sihle made a tangible change by giving money to people less fortunate than he when

previously he had not done so (Interview 6: 30). He also built altered relationships and improved his interpersonal skills. During the film-making process, he called me fat (pp. 6), but after the completion of the project, he apologized and explained his actions (Interview 6: 27). His apology demonstrated a new maturity and sensitivity to others.

Jabulani changed the way he solved conflicts. In the film, Jabulani's character solved conflicts with physical violence and foul language. After the film project, Jabulani changed the way he responded to taunts and altercations (Interview 9: 51). He reported that he used alternate ways to resolve conflict; he enlisted the help of authorities and discussed disagreements, using methods of non-violence and peaceful conflict resolution (Interview 9: 51). From the character that stabbed and killed his friends to a mantra of non-violence, Jabulani demonstrated altered action as a result of his participation in the film project.

Finally, the young men made certain changes in their lives in terms of their behavior. For example, Jabulani stopped sniffing glue when he went to Cape Town for the conference and did not begin again once he returned to Durban (Interview 9: 52).

New Emerging Problems

Not all of the results from the film project were positive. New problems emerged that complicated the findings. These relate to sustainability. Matarasso suggested that positive impacts change over time and may become negative (1997: 75). To combat this, more open and long-term processes must be implemented (Matarasso 1997: 75).

The film project had a clear beginning and end. Although the young men were interested in continuing their work in film, this project could not be extended. The participants gained certain skills and material resources as a result of the project. But, are these developments sustainable after the completion of the project? Sihle stated that drama was the factor that removed him from the streets (Interview 1: 4). But the question remains: what happens when the project ends?

The young men did not have access to the resources to make other films by themselves. In order to do so, they would need to acquire further patronage in the forms of money

and film equipment. Although they made contact with various potential patrons in Cape Town, their means to contact them remained limited.

The film project developed the participants' personal and social skills. In the absence of the film project and the altered social situations that it provided, will the young men be able to sustain those skills? Additionally, much of their changed identity was shaped in relation to the film and the confidence they received on its completion. As time passes and as those who have seen the film stop speaking about it, will the participants maintain these new identities?

Additionally, involvement in the drama project allowed the participants access to daily meals, new clothing, and patronage to secure rent for a flat. This financial support was not open-ended and will stop. With the completion of the film project, the daily meals have stopped. The clothes were a one-time purchase for the conference. The agreement that the young men reached with the Social Work Department regarding the rental of the flat was short term (pp. 56).

The film expanded the horizons, imaginations, and experiences of the participants. These broad impacts were valuable to the participants and allowed them to wish for and make changes in their lives. Although participation in the film resulted in social impacts on the participations, it is unclear if these are sustainable over time.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

This research established that the film project achieved a social impact and enriched the lives of the participants. That participating in arts projects is an enriching experience has been well-established by Matarasso (1997). It is significant that these benefits extended to people living in difficult circumstances, such as street youths. Further, some of the changes the youths enacted involved reflection and action (Freire 1970: 33) although these actions operated at an individual level and did not extend to sustainable political change.

The process of making the film *Street Life* arose from practices found in Theatre for Development (TFD) and Participatory Video (PV) with street youths. Although inspired by these practices, this project chose elements of previous projects to emulate and therefore provides a new example in the fields of TFD and PV.

Theatre for Development with Street Youths

This project fully involved the street youths in the creative processes and articulated their reality giving them a voice. This is consistent with the objectives of Theatre for Development articulated by Kidd and Byram (1982: 104) and Kerr (1995: 149). However, 'experts' facilitated the project because the youths did not have the experience or ability to conduct their own project. Jabulani enlisted the assistance of a social worker that he trusted, Østhus, to help make his idea a reality. Despite the inclusion of facilitators, Jabulani and the other participants' voices remained at the fore of the project (Kidd and Byram 1982: 104 and Kerr 1995: 167). In this way, the project followed the model described by Ngugi wa Mirii (in Rohmer 1999: 56) whereby local communities generate their own creative work in response to their community's needs.

The film-making process was similar to the Sky program in Toronto in that it was participatory but facilitated by experienced artists (Hershler 1998: 42). However, it was closer to the Shade Tree Theatre in Jos, Nigeria (Salami and van Beers 2003). Both Shade Tree and this process emerged from the experiences and needs of the participants (Salami and van Beers 2003: 23). These projects allowed the perspectives of the youths themselves to emerge and provided opportunity for them to reflect and take action upon their lives (Salami and van Beers 2003: 23).

The participants in *Street Life* wanted to make a broad social impact as a result of the film. Kidd and Byram (1982: 104) argue that Freire's notion of praxis (1970: 33) underlines the social impetus of and forms the main criteria for evaluating participatory theatre processes. The participants in *Street Life* hoped that their film might alter the perceptions that the local Durban community had about street youths by making them more positive. In this way, the participants indicated that they wanted to shift their social context as a result of the film project. They hoped to challenge the traditional view of street youths and provide an alternate impression.

Although the participants desired to engage with systemic social changes, they were unable to do so. These changes required renegotiation of social norms on a large scale. The scope of this project was too small to support such change. Had the scope of this project and the research aims been different, it might have been possible to address these issues. However, as a result of the project, the participants were able to renegotiate their own identities. They saw themselves in a more positive light and felt differently about themselves.

I found no examples in my research of documented participatory theatre projects in South Africa with street youth (pp. 14). *Street Life* now provides a documented project that adheres to participative Theatre for Development methodology. Even though this project did not achieve the full range of goals related to TFD, specifically in regards to producing a systemic social change, it did produce social impacts related to personal change.

Participatory Video with Street Youths

There are no known documented Participatory Video (PV) projects with street youths. Other, more professional films do engage with issues related to the street and use street child actors but do not utilize a fully participatory methodology (pp. 18). These films have the aesthetic and cinematic values of professionals, unlike PV projects.

In examples of films made with street youths, workshops only marginally allowed the youths to contribute to the creative process of film-making (Karkaria 1988). The director of *Salaam Bombay* (1988), Mira Nair, allowed the street actors some space to

improvise in the film (Karkaria 1988). This did not constitute PV, although it provides the closest example in films with street youths. In *Street Life*, the content generated by the participants in the workshops formed the structure and content of the film, which they improvised.

Like some other PV projects, such as the project in Busogo, Nigeria with young women (Waite and Conn 2011), *Street Life* combined drama with video. The participants in both projects engaged in exercises such as drawing, playing games, and telling stories to generate content based on their lives (Waite and Conn 2011: 120). The participants developed this material into fictional dramas. Their performances were captured on film by the researcher and then played back for them to watch (Waite and Conn 2011: 121-122).

Although *Salaam Bombay* (1988) engaged some participation (Karkaria 1988), it remained an endeavor by professionals. *Street Life* and the Bugoso project (Waite and Conn 2011), despite being guided and assisted by students and professionals, were projects motivated by the participants.

Street Life can only provide a useful documented example of a project that engages with the participatory values of PV created by street youths about their lives on the streets because there is no standard to which PV projects are measured (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 11). Unlike the other PV projects in this study, the participants in *Street Life* translated their dialogue in the film into English as part of a subtitling process, extending the possibility for participation.

The Impacts of Film-Making on the Participants' Lives

The film-making process was grounded in the unstable and uncertain lives and social structures of the participants who lived on the streets. The film provided an opportunity for young people on the streets to experience a creative project. Although the participants spoke about their previous experiences in the arts (Thobani and Sipho Interview 1: 8), they had not participated in arts projects since they came to the streets.

Participation in the film disrupted the participants' daily activities. Sihle said that before the film project he would do nothing during the day (Interview 1: 4). Doing nothing was fertile ground for getting into trouble and engaging in illicit activities. By choosing to join the drama group, Sihle altered his daily behavior. In this way, he increased the opportunities available to him. Additionally, while his life on the streets hindered his agency and ability to make decisions, participation in the film process promoted his agency and decision-making (pp. 85).

The question remains, how effective was the film-making process in impacting the lives of the participants? Although they had been involved with various outreach projects from street child centers around Durban (pp. 10), the film project offered something that was beneficial to them and gave them initiative to participate consistently. This participation provided them with increased agency and opportunities. The film project not only involved positive activity, team building, and developing team member skills, but it also engaged in a more holistic manner the way the participants thought, felt, and behaved. Unlike other initiatives in which they had participated, the film-making process involved them directly reflecting on their lives and circumstances and initiating change.

In analyzing the social impact of the film-making process, it is important to note the impact that the involvement of Østhus and the Social Work Department had on the project. Matarasso emphasizes that arts projects can be made more successful through collaboration with cultural and social initiatives (1997: 32); this was the case with the film project. While I facilitated the film-making process, Østhus approached our interactions with the participants from the perspective of a social worker. She was able to negotiate difficulties that arose during the process and provided support for the young men in terms of personal matters. Additionally, she facilitated an agreement through the Social Work Department to sponsor the rent of a flat for the young men. Finally, although the film project had a definite beginning and end, Østhus' involvement with the youths was ongoing. After the completion of the film project and my exodus from the streets, Østhus remained on the streets to continue her own work. Her continued presence provided an element of sustainability.

Despite Østhus' ongoing involvement with the participants, the newly developed identities and skills of the participants were unstable. Even though the impact of the film project was positive, positive outcomes may become negative over time (Matarasso 1997: 75). In order to encourage continued growth and development and to hinder negative impacts, a more sustainable paradigm of support is necessary. Long-term, sustainable projects are needed in lieu of short-term projects.

The film project, despite being short-term, affected the lives of the participants. They learned personal and social skills, increased their agency, improved their self-image, and became happier as a result of the film project (pp. 86). These positive impacts were heightened through their comparison with the negative fundamentals of street life, as expressed in the film. Changes occurred as a result of reflection on street life and action as a result of critical thinking (Freire 1970: 33). These developments constitute the reasons why projects such as these are important.

Although this film project did not strive to engage a political agenda, it did serve to allow participants to engage with their own realities through the manipulation of the fictional world of the film (Boal 1995: 13). If this paradigm were to be expanded to include a larger street population, a broad societal impact might be achieved. It is clear from this case study that the film project was able to disrupt and broaden the experience of life on the streets. This was partly because of the nature of the arts and partly because of the processes the project engaged, which allowed for increased personal reflection.

This research demonstrates that short-term arts projects, such as this film project, have positive social impacts on participants. These impacts can be strengthened and maintained through sustainable programming. Additionally, street people benefit from participation in the arts. By expanding and sustaining arts programming with people on the streets, a broad societal impact may be possible. Like Jabulani, Sihle, Thobani, and Sipho, other street people may be motivated to improve their lifestyles, decrease their involvement in criminal activity (Matarasso 1997: 36-37), and become contributing members of society.

Further Research

Further research is necessary into the long-term social impact of arts projects. Both this research and Matarasso's (1997) investigate social impacts immediately after the completion of arts projects. These studies indicate that arts projects are useful, but they fail to explore the long-term effects of participation. This failing provides opportunity for further research into the long-term social impacts of participation in the arts.

Specifically, the film project suggested that participatory arts projects have positive impacts on the lives of young people who live on the streets. There is a need for sustained arts projects with street youths that engage processes around praxis (Freire 1970: 33). Further research is needed to combine research around social impact and explore different models of practice.

This research is necessary in order to inspire changes in arts policy and funding for projects. If participatory arts projects with street youths can be proven to give long-term, sustainable, positive social impacts, then arguments for funding and support can be strengthened.

In sum, participatory arts projects with street youths generate a positive social impact. More research and long-term projects are needed in order to assess the sustainability of changes the participants make as a result of the projects, the scope of impact possible through arts projects, as well as to secure increased funding and an arts policy that values arts projects with street youths.

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APPENDICES

Ethical Clearance Letter

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23 May 2011

Ms R Willis (209531926)
School of Literary Studies, Media And
Creative Arts
Faculty of Humanities, Development &
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Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Willis

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0224/011M
PROJECT TITLE: Street Life: A case study on the social impact of participating in a film project on youth from the streets of Durban

In response to your application dated 16 May 2011, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.
PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervisor: Dr C John
cc. Mrs S van der Westhuizen

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Street Life: The Film

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