

Smaller lens, bigger picture: Exploring Zulu cultural tourism employees' identity by using cellphilms as a medium for participatory filmmaking methods.

Caitlin Sarah Watson

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the Master of Social Science Degree,
Graduate Programme in Communication, Media and Society,
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

Supervisor: Prof. K.G. Tomaselli

November, 2013

Declaration

I, Caitlin Sarah Watson (206515547), declare that *Smaller lens, bigger picture: Exploring Zulu cultural tourism employees' identity by using cellphilms as a medium for participatory filmmaking methods* is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. This dissertation is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Sciences in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Student name & surname

Signed

Date

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Acknowledgements

I am indebted to my unfaltering family, fiancé and friends for their limitless support and patience throughout each stage of this dissertation.

I am grateful to Professor Keyan G. Tomaselli, for providing me the opportunity to do my masters through the *Rethinking Indigeneity* project. I am thankful for his encouragement to be an active participant in the field of media and communications, both academically and professionally; as well as an engaged and active citizen. Thank you to the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) and the National Research Fund (NRF) for their generous scholarships, under the *Rethinking Indigeneity* project, as well as an independent candidate. I must add, that the opinions expressed in this dissertation are entirely my own and are not necessarily shared by UKZN or the NRF.

I would like to thank the CCMS post-graduate department, both staff and students for their continuous support, discussions and humour – notably Natasha Sundar, Lauren Dyll-Mycklebust, Sjoerd van Grootheest, Luthando Ngema, Varona Sathiyah, Michael Maxwell, Sarah Strauss, Andrew Dicks and Kieran Tavener-Smith.

A special mention must be made of my gratitude to Jonathan Dockney and his pioneering work in the field of PV and cellphilms. Without your academic output and congenial support this dissertation would not exist in its current form.

Lastly, Leo Kroone, Pearl Shazi, Patrick Ncgobo and the employees at PheZulu Safari Park, thank you for being welcoming, gracious, insightful, patient and full of fun.

Abstract

Media promoting cultural tourism is argued to present specific romantic cultural attributes. In the case of Zulu cultural villages, the image offered is of militarism and bare-breasted maidens. The Western gaze offers the template within which such spectacle is constructed. PheZulu Safari Park is one such venture in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands that offers tourists a “uniquely African experience”.

Cell phones are rapidly proving to be a viable and accessible medium through which individuals can represent themselves. This dissertation evaluates the use of camera-enabled cell phones by Zulu cultural village performers. The subject-generated representation is analysed in order to assess the performers’ view of the typical Zulu representation in the media, using a participatory video and participatory communication for development framework. A qualitative methodology was used to conduct focus groups, with field notes and unstructured interviews adding depth to the data. Thematic analysis was applied to the collected data, which included the cellfilms produced by the cultural performers.

It was found that video enabled cell phones are indeed a viable technology to use in place of traditional digital video cameras in a participatory video project. The cellfilms that the participants produced negated the typical western media disseminated representation of Zulu culture, as is typified in the participants’ performance at PheZulu Cultural Village. Although the cellfilms were not specifically targeted at promoting their cultural performance at PheZulu, significantly, it was not dismissing their performance’s validity either. Instead, the participants used the cellfilms to express other, more personal, aspects of their culture.

Abbreviations

3G	Third Generation (of mobile telecommunications technology)
4G	Fourth Generation (of mobile telecommunications technology)
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis
CCMS	Centre for Communication, Media and Society
HDMI	High Definition Multimedia Interface
ICASA	Information and Communication Association of South Africa
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ICT4D	Information and Communication Technologies for Development
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
LTE	Long Term Evolution (of mobile telecommunications technology)
MB	Megabyte
NP	National Party
PV	Participatory Video
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SMS	Short Message Service
UKZN	The University of KwaZulu-Natal
UN	United Nations

Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Situation, Aims and Questions

This dissertation will evaluate the use of video-enabled cell phones by an indigenous community involved in cultural tourism. The case study is based on participatory filmmaking processes. Subject-generated cellphilms are used to examine the participants' view of their own visual representation in the media. This will be done in the pursuit of answering two questions: i) to what extent can cell phones be used as a participatory filmmaking technology? And, ii) for what purpose do the Zulu participants represent themselves through the subject-generated cellphilms?

Research Rationale

PheZulu Safari Park is a cultural tourism venture in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands that offers tourists a “uniquely African experience”¹. Promotional images on their website include game roaming in the veld, crocodiles lazing in the reeds, and Zulu dancers dressed in traditional skins and beads. On arrival at the estate thatched buildings, African inspired murals and a brochure detailing the times at which one can experience a traditional Zulu performance greet tourists. The ensuing traditional Zulu dancing, *umqombothi*² drinking and storytelling in a *qhugwane*³, all presented by Zulu performers, are designed to give tourists an “authentic” Zulu experience.

Cultural tourism plays a large part in the South African economy and is the sole provider of income for many people living in rural or peri-rural areas, such as the Zulu community in

¹ <http://www.PheZulusafaripark.co.za/>

² Zulu beer

³ Beehive-shaped thatched hut

KwaXimba⁴. KwaZulu-Natal, a province situated on the east coast of South Africa, has prioritised the commodification of its indigenous Zulu heritage exemplified in the official nickname being changed to ‘The Kingdom of the Zulu’ (Marschall, 2007). Although there are many criticisms of the commodification of heritage for the cultural tourism industry (cf. Marschall, 2007), the fact that cultural tourism is one of the only economic generators for many semi-urban and rural communities means that its importance cannot be ignored.

Media promoting cultural tourism is criticized for showing a narrow representation of indigenous communities due to its focus on specific romantic cultural attributes. In the case of Zulu cultural villages, the image offered is of militarism and bare-breasted maidens. The Western gaze offers the template within which this spectacle is constructed (cf. Tomaselli, 2001). Cultural performers show the tourists what they think the tourists would like to see; for example, a performance on how they lived traditionally. They do not purposefully show them an authentic view of how they now live with cell phones, electricity and clothes made of cotton (and not animal skin). This is because the performers are led by the cultural tourism industry to believe that the cultural tourist will pay money only to see the exotic ‘Other’ (cf. Tomaselli, 2001, Mhiripiri, 2009; von Stauss, 2012, Enervoldsen, 2012). De la Harpe *et al* (1999) explain how ‘the Zulu are presented as a pre-modern people living in a contemporary world’ in order to attract tourists. However, ‘these communities often have very different interpretations of themselves than what is printed in the official PR or what tourists are told by tour guides’ (Tomaselli, 2001:179).

⁴ The majority of the employees at PheZulu are Zulu and live in a small community, KwaXimba, adjoining the estate.

Criticisms of cultural tourism ventures predominately stems from academics describing their theoretically based view of the representation of the indigenous communities. Due to the subjective nature of research it is easy to see why a researcher studying development communication and issues of power in representation views cultural tourism in this way. However, I am interested in uncovering how the indigenous community members (for my case study they are represented as employees in a cultural tourism venture) feel about their representation. I hypothesise that encouraging them to create their own films will create distance between myself, as researcher, and the employees in order to best understand their point of view.

Participatory filmmaking is a methodology⁵ that offers media-marginalised communities, such as the Zulu cultural performers, an opportunity to take control of their representation in the media. The importance of the use of participatory film making methods in the representation of indigenous cultures stems from the application of the main principles of participatory communication. Participatory communication is described as being a form of development⁶:

... (which) is planned in conjunction with those communities who are supposed to be the beneficiaries at local levels. Strategies are development from the bottom up and the local population drives its own development with the help of development facilitators (Tomaselli, 2001:12).

Thus participatory video, when used for development purposes, places this process into practice (cf. White, 1994; Tomaselli, 1996). By using video one may draw on its properties such as fiction, aesthetics and entertainment, and blend them with participatory development principles such as Paulo Freire's notions of dialogue, conscientisation, empowerment and

⁵ By adapting and applying a combination of Sol Worth and John Adair's (1972) and Nick and Chris Lunch's (2006) participatory filmmaking methodologies I will conduct workshops with the cultural performers at PheZulu.

⁶ I do not feel that the participants themselves are 'subjugated' or in need of development in the traditional economic sense, but rather that their image represented in the media is.

ownership (1972/1990). The emphasis in this method of filmmaking is on process rather than product (Snowden 1984). The reasons for making a movie, who the makers are, who is being represented, and for what purpose, are key factors in the production of a participatory video.

As is the case with the majority of modern development initiatives, the perceived needs of a community by a development practitioner must take back seat to the needs as described by the community themselves. This has risen from the participatory communication paradigm whereby needs are derived from the ground, and are not prescribed from above or outside. This is why I would like to use the analysis of this dissertation to help ascertain how an indigenous community involved in cultural tourism perceive themselves.

Participatory filmmaking methods traditionally use expensive equipment loaned to community by the facilitators. When the research is completed, the film equipment is removed from the community, thus leaving the community with no means to continue using their newly acquired filmmaking knowledge. However, there is filmmaking equipment to which the cultural performers already have access – camera-enabled cell phones.

I will refer to videos made with cell phones as ‘cellfilms’, a term coined by Jonathan Dockney⁷ (Tomaselli & Dockney, 2009:4):

(Cell phones) + (software + hardware) + (Moving Images) = Cellfilms

The term ‘film’ will be used in this dissertation to refer to films filmed (or, rather, ‘filmed’) on a cell phone. ‘Filming’ will be used in place of ‘filming with a cell phone’.

⁷ The development of my dissertation topic stems from Jonathan Dockney and Keyan Tomaselli’s research regarding the possibility of using cell phones in participatory video⁷ projects (Tomaselli & Dockney, 2009; Dockney & Tomaselli, 2010).

Cellphilms for Development: A Background

Cell phones in South Africa

Internationally, as technology becomes more personal and more affordable, it becomes more prolific in every economic stratum. The way in which people interact with technology is constantly evolving. Cell phones, with their multi-functionality, usable interface and ease of adaption for personal use, are a prime example.

The adaption of cell phones for uses other than their original intended use of personal telephonic and short message communication is vividly exemplified in developing countries, such as South Africa. Geographic, economic and political influences have resulted in high fixed-line communication methods (both telephone and data) being too expensive for the majority of the South African population. However, the actual cost of buying a cell phone is relatively affordable; this is exemplified by a low-end smartphone ranging from R300 to R600 and the average minimum wage being R1200 (Rutter *et al*, 2013).

In recent years, there has been an extreme drop in the price of communications technologies and product innovation has allowed for technology to leap-frog development stages on an international scale (ITU, 2012). The International Telecommunications Union (ITU), a United Nations⁸ funded research agency, points to the exponential growth of cell phones and other ICT's, with a focus on the exceptional uptake in developing countries. In 2001, the cell phone⁹ subscriptions were recorded as 469 million in the developed world and 250 million in

⁸ UN sponsorship is mentioned in order to alert the reader to the ITU's stance on classification of development (demonstrated by their classification of Developing and Developed 'worlds').

⁹ I use the term "cell" in this dissertation as South Africans do not use the term "mobile" for cellular telephony. However, depending on the source, the terms may be used interchangeably. Mobile technology is used when discussing developments in cell phone hardware, software and service networks.

the developing world. In 2011, the developed world had increased to 1541 million, while the developing world had leaped to 4457 million subscriptions (ITU, 2012).

Cell phones are being rapidly assimilated by developing countries, such as South Africa, due to their ability to provide access to communication across geographically remote areas which were previously unreachable via fixed lines. The Telkom parastatal-controlled monopoly¹⁰ on fixed-line telecommunications (Duncan, 2012; Donovan *et al*, 2010) has resulted in fees which are too high for the majority of the population as well as infrastructure that is largely limited to urban and affluent rural areas (Dockney *et al*, 2009). Thus the introduction of affordable cell phones, with money-monitoring options like ‘Pay-as-You-Go’, itemised billing, and Short Message Service (SMS) was exactly what the predominantly low-income South African market needed.

Cell phones are now so ubiquitous that one would be hard-pressed to find a community without access to one (Nyamnjoh, 2009). Even in communities not covered by networks, cell phones are for conspicuous consumption (cf Francis, 1997) or kept for use when the owner is in an area that has network signal. Cell phones allow people to stay in touch over long distances and long periods of separation, and have greatly increased the ease of transferring money. These characteristics are beneficial to the strengthening of family bonds in the long-standing South African tradition of migrant labour (Nyamnjoh, 2009:14-16). Although current market research trends show that smartphones (no matter the operating system) are

¹⁰ By comparing South Africa’s mobile network coverage, usage and policy with four other similar sized African countries - Kenya, Namibia, Tanzania, Uganda.- Gillwald (2012) concludes that the answers do not lie in ICASA’s blame on the high cost of service a geographically large and dispersed population, or because the services in South Africa are better than those in its neighbouring countries. Rather, cost can be attributed to inefficient policy implementation, lack of technological insight and ICT research, as well as weak and unstable leadership (due to political cadre deployment).

dominating the developed markets, they are still too expensive for the majority of consumers from the developing world. However, as a new cell phone model is released onto the market¹¹ another, older model, becomes obsolete (Watters, 2012), resulting in the higher specification cell phones becoming more affordable for low-income earners. The thriving cell phone grey market in South Africa is a working example of this trend where a low-income earner may purchase anything from a higher end feature phone to an entry level smartphone for under R500 (Alfreds, 2012).

Cell phones, Indigenous Communities and Development

In the early 2000s mobile subscribers overtook fixed-line subscribers and cell phone sales outnumbered desktop sales, globally (Huawei, 2012:2). By 2014 it is predicted that cell phone usage will overtake desktop usage (Huawei, 2012:3). The cell phone industry is aware of the growing trend of accessing the Internet from a mobile device¹² rather than a personal computer (Huawei, 2012:3). However, the ITU notes that although Africa has leapfrogged cell phone subscriptions, the continent is still far behind in terms of mobile-broadband subscriptions with less than 5% penetration as opposed to the other developing regions' 10% penetration level (ITU, 2012b:1). In terms of 3G coverage – a predominate factor in allowing the Internet to be more affordable, more accessible and more efficient to cell phone owners - the developing world is also not at the same level of penetration as is the developed world. This is demonstrated by an 8% increase in the developing world versus 51% in the developed

¹¹ In 2011, 479 “unique mobile phones” from 30 different manufacturers were certified by the Global Certification Forum (GCF). A record number which doesn't include all the phones developed and available on the market that don't meet the GCF's requirements (GCF, 2011:3)

¹² Although we still use the prefix “phone” to describe these multi-platform devices their “voice” communication function is rapidly becoming their least used function with media-sharing, social networking, cheap instant-messaging, and data connection on the increase even in remote areas of South Africa the term “phone” is almost rendered redundant (Goldstuck, 2012a). The “mobile” part has become the most important, hence the more common use of the term “mobile-device”.

world (ITU, 2012b:1). This is a primary reason for the relatively slow uptake of some of the Information and Communication Technology for Development's (ICT4D) initiatives that rely on Internet connection or large data transmission. On the positive side, however, this explains the high uptake of cheaper data transmissions and instant messaging applications such as Whatsapp, Mxit and BBM (cf. Sundar, 2012; Vosloo, 2012, Goldstuck, 2012a).

An interesting, albeit often controversial (cf. Duncan, 2012) relationship, has stemmed from development communication practitioners recognising the benefit of mobile technologies. Numerous studies document the benefits and downfalls of the use of cell phones in development initiatives such as mLearning (Farooq *et al*, 2002; Vosloo, 2012), mHealth (Sundar, 2012; Friederici, *et al*, 2012, Donner, 2004) and mAgri (Patel, *et al*, 2012; Baumuller, 2012). The cellular industry has recognised this niche in the developing market and there are now many affordable and high spec¹³ cell phones available to low-income consumers¹⁴.

Cell phone developers and service providers' current main aim is to ensure that user experience and user friendliness is optimised to allow people to adapt their phones to their own needs¹⁵ (Huawei, 2012a). They based these examples on the way that technology companies are adapting to this increased demand for adaptable mobiles by making the mobile more accessible and open to personalisation. This is exemplified in the new hardware, software and network related technologies accommodating this demand.¹⁶

¹³ –Spec” stands for –specifications” and is commonly understood to refer to the ability level to which a technology can perform to (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/specification>)

¹⁴ For example Huawei's *Ideo* and Vodafone's *VF858*.

¹⁵ Although the research of this data is funded by the technology-determinist mobile technology manufacturer Huawei, I have found little reason to refute their claims.

¹⁶ For example, geo-location, navigation, cloud computing, augmented reality, High Definition Multimedia Interface (HDMI), voice and sensory-based recognition (such as touch screen), as well contextual applications

Although I am aware of the case studies promulgating Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) from a technological-determinist mindset, as is critiqued by Jane Duncan (2012), there are numerous case studies demonstrating ways in which citizens are adapting ICTs to their own needs. Amongst these are improving farming practices, allowing small and medium businesses in rural and semi-urban areas to reach a bigger market, credible and workable requests for improving service delivery, disaster management, learning and education. Improving communication, knowledge and effectiveness regarding health issues and treatment, are just some of the examples demonstrating how cell phones are adapted by users to suit their own needs (Sundar, 2012, Patel, *et al*, 2012; Baumuller, 2012). Technology does not change a person, but rather it enables a person to change. This is succinctly summarised by Fisher (1995:5) when he wrote about the effect that landlines had on Americans (prior to the millennial cell phone boom): “the telephone did not radically alter the American’s ways of life; rather, Americans used it more rigorously to pursue their characteristic ways of life.”

Mxit, South Africa’s leading mobile-based and Internet protocol using instant messaging service, is one of the most well-known and yet under-researched local examples of ICT adoption and adaption (Chigona *et al*, 2009). The platform was launched in 2006 and by 2007 it had 4 million subscribers, with the adoption rate following a continually expanding growth pattern of between 9000 and 12 000 subscribers per day (Chigona *et al*, 2008). This phenomenal uptake can be attributed to its inexpensive use of airtime – “a Mxit message may cost two South African cents compared to 70 cents for a SMS message” (Chigona *et al*, 2008). The adoption rate has significantly slowed in recent years due to the increase in

and operating systems, allow users to choose which software applications (apps) best suit their needs (Huawei, 2012:3-4).

popularity of social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter and constantly decreasing price of data and 3G enabled cell phones. However, Mxit is still a predominant player in the way in which South African youth connect with each other with 9.35 million subscribers as of June 2012 (Goldstuck, 2012; Fuseware, 2012). The exact uses of instant messaging service like Mxit are varied, ranging from social interaction (Chignoa *et al*, 2008), to education such as communication between teachers and learners (Dourando *et al*, 2007), learning mathematics (Butgreit, 2007), and for health communication and education (Bosch, 2007; Sundar, 2012).

Appropriating Technology

Digitisation has exerted a revolutionary effect on all forms of media. From music (CDs are replaced with MP3 playlists), to books (that are transported in Kindles and libraries and accessed online), to communication (cell phones have compressed a person's life into a contact list, calendar and an *Inbox* folder¹⁷) to film (both apparatus and the film medium has evolved, from 16 mm to cell phones, celluloid to megabytes). The next section examines the game-changing effect that digitisation has had on film from a visual, technological and production/consumption perspective with a specific focus on the re-imagination of film through cell phones and the appropriation of technology to suit the post-digital prodsumers¹⁸, ever-changing needs.

Digitisation has revolutionised filmmaking (Simons 2009). The change in technology has largely supplanted celluloid with a digital pixel. Traditional film theories such as Christian Metz's infamous *Grande Syntagmatique* (1983), with his formalisation of the break-down of

¹⁷ cf Nyamnjoh, 2009:14-16

¹⁸ "Prodsumer" is a term used to refer to the amalgamation of producers and consumers (Koçak, 2011). The term is discussed more in depth under the section *Moving Images*.

celluloid film into the basic units of the “language of film” (for example cross-cutting, the shot...etc), cannot be easily applied to digital filmmaking as it is impossible to identify single, separate stills and sequences due to its fluidity (Simons, 2009:11).

Digitisation has allowed the fluid, easy mixing of images from a variety of different sources, not only in the traditionally mixed-media ‘power point’ films¹⁹ but from Hollywood blockbusters to home-videos. This is a result of computers, which have replaced analogue film editing equipment and techniques (cutting, splicing, sticking etc), which do not differentiate between the sources of an image. The filmmaker can freely combine computer generated images such as typography, animation, special effects with lens-based camera shot images (Simons, 2009:11).

Sergei Eisenstein’s theory of ‘montage’²⁰ and ‘collage’ is linked by Lev Manovich (2008) with the endless possibilities which digital video production allows. Reinhard W. Wolf²¹ (2005) likens digital production to Dadaists and the beat generation as epitomised by William S. Burroughs. From aging parchments, bulky artifacts, immovable architecture and the vernaculars of the spoken language – digital compression has allowed whole cultures to be compressed and layered into a video that can be viewed in numerous ways. Not only are there a variety of screens on which digital video may be shown, from outdoor urban screens to the cell phone screen²² but there are also a variety of ways which it can be used - from

¹⁹ Simons, 2009 gives *An Inconvenient Truth* (Al Gore, USA) as an example of a ‘power point’ film where power point techniques such as infographics, stills, interviews, animation, graphs and typography are used to educate, entertain and inform.

²⁰ “Eisenstein believed that film montage could create ideas or have an impact beyond the individual images. Two or more images edited together create a ‘tertium quid’ (third thing) that makes the whole greater than the sum of its parts.” (<http://faculty.cua.edu/johnsong/hitchcock/pages/montage/montage-1.html>)

²¹ <http://www.shortfilm.de/index.php?id=414&L=0&0=>

²² Refer to Simons (2009) for an in depth discussion on the “four sets of screens.”

embedding into presentations, to sharing links on the Internet for ~~breaking news~~, to ~~how-~~to's" on YouTube.

Three of digitisation's influential breakthroughs, across all platforms, are the phenomena of compression²³, personalisation and the ~~power of the group~~" (Simons, 2009; Tomaselli *et al*, 2009; and Daliot-Bul, 2007). Compression has allowed immovable or sensitive data to travel the world, reaching audiences at a speed that is best described as being in real time²⁴. Compression also refers to the compression of technology which allows consumers to adapt technology to their personal needs, exemplified in the evolution from personal computers (PCs), to laptops, to tablets, to smartphones, to the Raspberry PI²⁵.

Personalisation may be understood from two angles. Firstly, is personalisation of the World Wide Web (www) by developers with an aim to create adaptable models ~~that~~ represents the characteristics of the user, utilizing them in the creation of content and presentations adapted to the different individuals" (Brusilovsky & Maybury, 2002; Bouwer *et al*, 2004). Secondly, personalisation is in how individual technology and web users consciously construct their devices. For example users can choose what information they want in their Twitter newsfeed, what apps to download on their smartphone and what videos to watch on Youtube (Tomaselli & Dockney, 2009:9).

The ~~power of the group~~" (Jenkins, 2009) effect of digitisation is characterised by the digital age's ability to let groups of people collaborate easily on one project. Whether it is through

²³ Compression: conversion (as of data, a data file, or a communications signal) in order to reduce the space occupied or bandwidth required (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/compression>)

²⁴ ~~Real time~~" may be described as ~~occurring immediately~~" or ~~events simulated by a computer at the same speed that they would occur in real life~~" (http://www.webopedia.com/TERM/R/real_time.html)

²⁵ A credit-card sized computer, for more details visit: <http://www.raspberrypi.org/>

online collaboration (via file sharing) or offline, technological developments allow for easier collaboration. In image production different sized and portable screens allow people to edit and work together more easily. Big screens allow for instantaneous play back to large groups of people while small screens (for example a cell phone screen) makes planning and pre-production easier. The ease of flow between people, programmes and space has allowed people to collaborate on knowledge building and research through platforms such as Wikipedia²⁶, Many Eyes²⁷ and online dictionaries such as Merriam-Webster²⁸.

Another characteristic of interactivity is the supportive function that prodsumers obtain from ease of flow and real time sharing of information. This may be seen on social media and sharing sites such as YouTube where users “talk back for the sake of talking” (Simons, 2009). In the web-documentary *The Worlds of Viral Video*²⁹ (2012, USA) the interviewers note that “it doesn’t matter if the video is saying something negative about something a viewer loves – the majority of the time the fan will still help the video go viral as it is *about* the thing they love”. This links to the post-modernity of the digital/post-digital/post-information age world where the moving image is becoming more about communication than representation³⁰.

The compression of data and technology that has allowed for the merger of personalisation and socialisation is what has made participatory filmmaking projects such as InsightShare possible (see Chapter 2). However, as with any development, there are ideological implications which our increasingly connected society needs to be aware of, especially with

²⁶ <http://www.wikipedia.org/>

²⁷ <http://www-958.ibm.com/software/data/cognos/manyeyes/>

²⁸ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>

²⁹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWTx-NDCwSk&feature=player_detailpage for the video as well as a definition of viral videos.

³⁰ Explained further under the section *Philms not Films*

regard to the consistently growing trend of indigenous communities using digital technology for self-representation. Hennessy's (2009) focus is on the repatriation³¹ of an indigenous culture, the Dane-zaa, and the paradox that an increase in their access to digital technologies and knowledge of production and distribution channels has brought about. As access to the Internet and personal computers increases so has the dissemination of images of indigenous cultures like the Dane-zaa's. Simultaneously, this increase in Internet allows indigenous communities to have access to their own images. This has resulted in the Dane-zaa's increased ability to control how their culture, heritage and traditions are created, mediated and circulated. Hennessy (2009:1) summarises the pros and cons of the continuing proliferation of access to technology:

While the ethnographic study of the use of repatriated digital cultural heritage at the local level speaks to potential of new media to disrupt established relations of power and authority, it also suggests that digitization and unrestricted circulation of indigenous cultural heritage reproduces colonial modes of representation and access to sensitive material cultural and knowledge.

She goes on to explain that:

Although repatriated digital ethnographic materials can be used to build relationships and facilitate self-representation, they can also be uploaded to the Internet for instantaneous distribution, circulation, and unrestricted access, making otherwise privately managed tangible and intangible culture public. Once uploaded to a website, an image, video or sound recording can be downloaded, appropriated and remixed by any user with sufficient technical knowledge (Hennessy, 2009:7).

The ease of access to technology and the increasing proliferation of knowledge of media production and dissemination is constantly increasing and becoming more common across economic, generational, and social borders. This has created a platform for ~~the~~ revisioning of social relations with the encompassing society", along with the exploration that more traditional indigenous forms cannot so easily accommodate (Ginsburg 1994:372). ~~Part of~~

³¹ Digital repatriation is described by Peers and Brown (2003) as the access of indigenous communities to the digitised and on-line documentation of their cultural heritage.

the inclusion of new technologies in these ventures is about maintaining control, both technological and social, over how knowledge is catalogued, circulated, and cultivated” (Christen 2005:237). However, we have to be increasingly vigilant about our online presence in order to ensure that we, as consumer/amateur³² turned producer/professionals are content with the knowledge that, once released, we retain no control over how our digitised identities and images are interpreted or appropriated.

Mini-Moving Images

Cell phones offered the first accessible and affordable platform that enables consumers to be active in all stages of image production³³. The connectivity that the combination of cell phones and social networks allows has allowed for the rise of the prodsumer due to their instant feedback giving the creator instant gratification (15 minutes of fame whenever you want, *a la* Andy Worhol). The prodsumer is commonly understood to refer to the growing trend of user-generated content production whereby consumers of new technology increasingly use this technology to produce their own content (Tomaselli & Dockney, 2009).

There are an array of names and definitions that have been attributed to films that are viewed on a cell phone (Simons, 2009). The definitions range from movies that are shot with cell phone cameras to movies that are made to be watched on a cell phone. Simons (2009:2) notes that –editing, and above all, image manipulation, the hallmark of digital processing, cannot be done on the cell phone itself which begs the question to what extent a pocket movie is or

³² The death of the amateur: in our ‘post-modern’ society the amateur is actually the professional as cultural production and knowledge becomes increasingly individual/localised – as tweets in newspaper articles show the individual opinion is now just as important as the expert. This is exemplified in live-stream based news television shows such as Al Jazeera’s *The Stream* (<http://stream.aljazeera.com/about>).

³³ Including pre-production (photos, email, sms, voice), production (video, sound), editing (basic but still capable), viewing (small screen) and dissemination (Bluetooth, upload to YouTube, and email).

should be made “with a mobile phone”. He adds that many mobile film festivals “offer selections of their films as streaming videos on their websites and almost all pocket film festivals screen at least a selection of their entries on a big cinema screen during the festival itself” (Simons, 2009:2). Citing examples such as the micromovie, portable film, cell phone movie, mobile movie, short, and ciné pocket (pocket cinema), Simons concludes that “these terms provide a quick and dirty way to conjure up a certain category of movies, but they do not always hold out against closer inspection” (Simons, 2009:2). I have chosen to use the term “cellfilms” which was coined by Tomaselli and Dockney (2009, 4) to refer to moving images made for cell phones.

The confusion over what constitutes a mobile film is partly attributed to the commercial interests driving the trend (Wolf 2006). The cell phone industry, including technology development and network providers, has experienced an unprecedented popularity with consumers resulting in near saturation in developed markets and cell phones becoming the most popular technology in developing markets. This has led to vast budgets allocated to hardware (faster, multi-platform – camera, memory, operating systems) and networks (3G, 4G, and LTE). However, in order to convince consumers to keep on consuming the industry has learnt that it needs to seduce them with software³⁴ in the form of applications (popularly referred to as “apps”). Wolf (2009) reiterates this by saying “technology seeks applications” A simplified definition of the difference between hardware and software is what a cell phone can do as opposed to what a user can do with it. Simons (2009:3) explains that “the mobile phone-turned-into-camera-plus-screen, then, is a new platform desperately seeking content and the pocket cinema or the micromovie is a solution to this need.” This is a viable explanation for the amount of capital that cell phone developers and networks have invested

³⁴ This is epitomised in the competition in the development of “apps” for the two leading cell phone operating system platforms, iOS and Android. Where the lure of the cell phone with the operating system that has the trendiest apps wins over consumers rather than how well their cell phone’s hardware can perform.

in cell phone film festivals³⁵ and competitions. Not only do cellphilms encourage the use of and need for cell phones with better video recording capabilities but it also produces much needed content for the industry to distribute. Usually it is a prerequisite that participants sign over their copyrights to the competition organisers, who are typically sponsored by cell phone producers or service providers. They then “distribute these movies through their own garden walled networks exclusively to their customers” (Simons, 2009:3).

Even though it is necessary to keep in mind the commercial drivers behind the catalyst of the cellphilm phenomenon the prodsumer generation has taken ownership of the platforms offered and used it to their own ends. For example, the South African produced film *SMS SugarMan* (Arayan Kaganof, 2009, RSA³⁶) was created independently and not as part of an industry supported film festival, as are the many fiction films and documentaries which have taken inspiration from the popularity of reality television where cell phone footage adds a sense of immediacy, transparency and “authenticity”³⁷.

Cellphilm’s birth, popularity, proliferation and predicted longevity is attributed by Aleksandra Uzelac (2008) to our digital, post-modern age where we have unfolding before us an “emerging *digitally-driven* culture, which is the result of significant paradigm shifts in technology, audiences, business models, society and indeed, a new digital *ecology*” (cf

³⁵ Some examples: Micro Movies Award from Siemens which is aligned with International Short Film Festival in Brazil (2005 and 2006) and with the St Kilda Festival in Melbourne (2005). Nokia worked in conjuncture with the Raindance Film Festival in London, International Short Film Festival in Oberhausen (2005), Ireland Nokie Darklight Film Festival, Tampere Short Film Festival and Sundance Film Festival (which now hosts a separate cell phone film festival called *Thumbdance*. While Motorola sponsors the mobile movie section of Toronto International Film Festival (Wolf, 2005) <http://www.shortfilm.de/index.php?id=414&L=0&O=0>)

³⁶ <http://smssugarman.com/movie.htm>

³⁷ There is a definite sense of immediacy and reality when viewing cellphilms. I found myself having to consciously remind myself that it was fiction, and even when it was non-fiction, for example *Space Balloon* (Geissbuhler, 2010), I felt like I was actually there, going up in the balloon. This could be what makes the cell phone footage of horrific events like the beatings and bombings in the Arab Spring even more real.

Tomaselli and Dockney, 2009:2). They see current technology users as prodsumers who are defined as consumers who are just as comfortable producing content as they are consuming it (Tomaselli and Dockney, 2009:2). Referring to Marc Prensky's (2001) controversial³⁸ concept of the "Digital Native"³⁹ to describe the prodsumer generation Tomaselli and Dockney highlight that it is this new group of consumers, in combination with these technologies, who are driving change through their shifting expectations, desires and wants in combination with the respective technological developments (Tomaselli & Dockney, 2009:3). Simons (2009:13-14) echoes this by writing:

New media have substituted medium specificity with medium hybridity and mixability: from this perspective there is no reason to assume why there would be content 'especially' for the mobile phone screen, or why movies made with mobile phones could only be "nally" made for screening on mobile devices.

Philms, not Films

Due to its characteristic screen size⁴⁰, frame rate, hardware, and sound philms that are made with a cell phone have unique properties that are not shared with films made through traditional filmmaking methods. This calls for a separation of cellphilms from traditional cinema (Simons, 2009:5).

Arguing against theorists and practitioners (Wolf, 2005; Peirce, 2005; Miale, 2008) of cellphilms who refer to them as an offspring of cinema, Simons is of the opinion that cellphilms would be better categorised as an offspring of "the same new media technologies that have dramatically changed the contemporary media landscape" (Simons, 2009:5). He therefore studies cellphilms from the perspective of the new media from which it is part. In

³⁸ Read Bennette *et al*'s (2008) *The 'digital natives' debate: A critical review of the evidence* for a detailed discussion of the use of Prensky's "digital native" term.

³⁹ Tomaselli and Dockney (2009:3) define the *digital native* as the generation "who have been born into and grown up in a world of ubiquitous communications and connectivity."

⁴⁰ For a detailed discussion of the debate surrounding the labelling and definitions of varying screen sizes and their impact on film and commercial moving images refer to Simons (2009).

The Evolution of Film: Rethinking Film (2007) Janet Hardbord references Jacques Derrida's concept of deconstruction when she labels the quest for a static definition of film as pointless due to there being a lack of an original in any filmic form from which to derive concrete meaning. Tomaselli and Dockney (2009:4) agree, adding that with each new technology and genre our perception of film, in terms of context, ritual, practices, expectations, audiences, techniques, functions and meanings has been altered. In light of this, Tomaselli and Dockney (2009:6) put forth that:

Definitions of cell phone films therefore become part of definitions of 'film'; film, that is, in the Digital Age where it has escaped the determining confines of the cinema. No one definition will cover exactly the nature of a cell phone film. Rather, a layered, supplementary and descriptive definition is more fitting.

Cinema and the moving image is constantly adapting to the changing needs of the prodsumer as well as being affected by ceaseless technology developments. In *Software Takes Command*, new media theorist Lev Manovich briefly summaries why there is a lack in academic attention paid to this phenomenon:

...the "pure" moving image media (has become) an exception and hybrid media (has become) the norm. However, in contrast to other computer revolutions such as the rise of World Wide Web...this revolution (is) not acknowledged by popular media or by cultural critics. What received attention were the developments that affected narrative filmmaking – the use of computer-produced special effects in Hollywood feature films or the inexpensive digital video and editing tools outside of it. But another process which happened on a larger scale - the transformation of the visual language used by all forms of moving images outside of narrative films – has not been critically analyzed. (Manovich, 2008:116-117)

An example is found in 'power-point cinema' epitomised by *An Inconvenient Truth* (Guggenheim, 2006, USA) and *Super Size Me* (Spurlock, 2004, USA) where mediums such as cinematography, animation, special effects, graphic design, typography and graphs are used together to create what a "meta-medium" (Manovich, 2007) in order to persuade and inform the audience (Simons, 2009:10).

Increasingly the communication aspect of the moving image is becoming more prolific than the representational aspect (Manovich, 2007, 2008; Simons, 2009). This is exemplified in what is known as “~~ke~~itie” where the physical act of creating or sending images is more important than what the image represents (Simons, 2009). The screen and moving image have become ubiquitous with an urban dwellers lifestyle. These screens include television, computer, urban advertising screens⁴¹, advertising screens in grocery stores, tablets and cell phones. Here the purpose of the moving image is not strictly narrative-based but is increasingly used for other purposes such as commercial, information, instruction, warnings etc. (Simons, 2009:6). Another variation on the use of moving images is demonstrated in social networking sites and online prodsumer platforms such as YouTube where prodsumers’ main interest is the act of communicating *through*, as opposed to communication *with*, moving images. Our cinematic theory needs to diversify in order to include the evolving and adapting of the moving image to suit our changing needs and technology.

“Communication over representation” is important to my study as it shows that in order for one to obtain the full benefits of cellphilms one cannot analyse them from traditional cinema’s narrative perspective. One must rather let the movie’s communicative and pragmatic (time-filler, informative, commercial) function dominate. This conclusion acknowledges the increasing trend in communication orientated moving images in order to explain the need for an “open-mind” in the interpretation of Cellphilms. They should not be put in the same category as cinema-as-we-know-it.

Cellphilms, as a fictional narrative lend themselves best to specific fictional formats. Pocket books are used as an analogy for the optimum cellphilms format (Simons 2009), as they were

⁴¹ For example moving billboards and traffic updates.

made to be portable and easily digested, properties that called them into existence due to the time-filling need of an increasingly mobile consumer. In congruency with pocket books, cellphilms lend themselves to formulaic genres that are easily digestible such as detective, romance and thriller (Simons, 2009:3). Although genres are not bound to a format some genres lend themselves to one format easier than others. This is exemplified by formulaic genres being more appropriately suited to the smaller screen/print than more complex-genres due to reasons that are “technological as well as pragmatic” (Simons 2009:3).

Technological restrictions of cellphilms are related to the size of the screen, low-resolution, relatively low-frame rate⁴², limited colour range and limited sound⁴³. Pragmatic restrictions relate to the situation, in which cellphilms viewers would typically find themselves would usually allow for limited time and attention span.

Guidelines for a cellphilms are set out by Joe Miale⁴⁴ (2006), the most basic being that it must preferably revolve around a simple narrative with an unexpected ending⁴⁵, caricature based as opposed to character based⁴⁶, while shots are best kept to close-ups and medium shots. Filmmakers should not rely on dialogue and intricate sound effects; colour range should be limited so that the filmmaker relies less on detail and more on bold, bright, solid colours; movements should be slower, in terms of both editing and camera work due to a cell phone’s small frame per second rates (Simons, 2009:4; Pierce, 2006). Of course, there are always

⁴² For example the iPhone can show films at 30 frames per second as opposed to the Sony Bravia LCD screen which uses 60 frames per second

⁴³ <http://www.shortfilm.de/index.php?id=414&L=0&0=>

⁴⁴ Director/editor who won awards for Commercial, Editing and Cinematography in the 3GCellular Cinema Festival for his Gatorade commercial which may be viewed at <http://vimeo.com/18515601> (note: it is created to be viewed on the smaller screen)

⁴⁵ For example music videos, or *The Nails* (2009, France)

⁴⁶ For example: commercials

exceptions to the rule⁴⁷ as long as the filmmaker keeps in mind technical and pragmatic limitations of the smaller screen and the cell phone video technology.

Mobile Video Viewing

Online video views⁴⁸ are currently situated at 4 billion per day, a number that has risen at an increase of 25% in the past 8 months (Kolossa, 2012). Statistics used to sell advertising space during the viewing of online videos, which are watched either on a larger screen (laptop or desktop) or smaller screen (cell phone and smartphone), is another measure of how popular this media form is (cf. Neilson, 2012). As of early 2012 it was reported that 33.5 million cell phone owners watch videos on their phones (this includes streaming from online video sources as well as pre-downloaded videos) (Nielsen, 2012).

Even though the incredible increase in the amount of smart phones is a large contributor to the increase in mobile video usage, basic handsets ('dumb' phones) still make up 88 percent of devices. These non-smartphones should not be discounted towards the rise in data-usage as Internet traffic on basic phones has also increased from 1.9MB to 4.3 MB per month from 2010 to 2011 (Cisco, 2012). Arthur Goldstuck's statistics show that as of 2011 there are 2.48 million South Africans who only use their cell phones to access the internet (Goldstuck, 2012). Thus, basic handset owners are still able to download videos on their cell phones although due to their slower operating systems it is not as prolific.

⁴⁷ Disposable Film Festival <http://www.disposablefilmfest.com/watch/> is an annual film festival which has been open for entries every March since 2007. Not an exclusively cellfilm festival they aim to "celebrate the democratisation of cinema made possible by low-cost video technology: everyday equipment like mobile phones, pocket cameras, DSLRs and other inexpensive devices." (<http://www.disposablefilmfest.com/about/>)

⁴⁸ The research is focused on the online video platform YouTube and does not include other popular video sharing sites such as Vimeo.

The world-wide interest in Mobile TV⁴⁹ (Cisco, 2012) is an example of the potential of cell phone's power to host the moving image. There is a definite interest shown by South Africa consumers for Mobile TV; however, the uptake of mobile TV⁵⁰ has been slow (Goldstuck, 2012b; Guo, 2008; Nokia, 2006).

Dockney & Tomaselli (2010) pinpoint the controversy of South Africa's extremely slow and very high bandwidth prices as being the major deterrent to mobile TV on cell phones. This is due to the infamous Telkom monopoly that has failed to initiate new developments due to the state's inability to re-capitalise the provider and its ideological reluctance to privatize it. Even with the restrictions put on the actual growth of South African Mobile TV by data prices the studies show that worldwide this smaller portable screen is in demand (Goldstuck, 2012). Examples exist of how they are being used for watching sport, the news, viral videos and re-watching popular films and series. Popular ways in which cell phones are used for filming are as a replacement for home-videos or the ~~happy~~ snap⁵¹”.

A reason for the rise of the prodsumer and the constant growth may be located in the growth of social media that allows for easy online sharing. Statistics from an online social

⁴⁹ ~~New~~ statistics from the BBC show that 51.9 million people viewed the London Olympics on their TV, with another 12 million watching on their smartphone or tablet. In a blog post published today, BBC Sport's head of product Cait O'Riordan heralded London 2012 as ~~the~~ multi-platform Games” and the ~~—~~ifst truly digital Olympics.” O'Riordan revealed BBC's website and apps received 9.2 million browser visits from mobiles, with an additional 2.3 million browser views coming from tablets.” <https://mashable.com/2012/08/13/bbc-olympics-on-mobile-devices/>

⁵⁰ Currently there is a new marketing campaign for Mobile TV by the South African subscription satellite television company DSTV. So it seems that market research must still be bringing in positive results for a demand for mobile TV. However, due to South Africa's extravagant data tariffs cell phones are not the main devices pushed for viewing, rather the actual mobile TV portable device is. This is an example of what research doesn't show us (due to commercial funding constraints) advertising (or the lack of advertising, for example, the lack of adverts for cell phone TV) can.

⁵¹ For a pertinent account of the initial development and adoption of camera-enable cell phones please refer to <http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/films/sms-sugar-man/>.

networking site *Photobucket* shows that from July 2010-July 2011 they had monitored a 300% rise in mobile video uploads. A survey then showed that 45% of the site's users use their cell phones to record videos weekly while 17% film at least once per day (Christophers, 2011).

Viral video is proof that there is a definite demand for shorter films (Nielson, 2012; Howe, 2006; Crane *et al*, 2008). Viral video's popularity cannot be linked to a particular genre and there is no way of predicting what will go viral, however Kornharber Brown in his documentary *The Worlds of Viral Video* (USA, 2012) he identifies three common characteristics: videos go viral if people can relate to them; they are centered around a common character with whom they can identify with; and if there is a surprising twist to the video, especially if it is educational, humorous, or if it evokes a sense of *schadenfreude*. These are some characteristics that cellphilmers can take note of.

Similarly to the harnessing of viral videos for creating brand awareness the potential of cellphilms has been recognised by corporations as being an alternative platform for the distribution of adverts (Eckler *et al*, 2011). There is a need for the cell phone industry to focus on developing workable business models through which the potential of the cellphilm can be harnessed:

The resulting opportunities (for user-generated content for example) and the respective issues (such as intellectual ownership) means that the film and television industry need to make preparations for not only the production and distribution side of the industry, but also the shifting economic, business and legislative paradigms (Tomaselli & Dockney, 2009:11).

Cellphilms enable anyone with access to a cell phone to digitally record, edit and distribute an experience. Manuel Castells (2007, 246) writes –The diffusion of Internet, mobile communication, digital media, and a variety of tools of social software have prompted the

development of horizontal networks of interactive communication that connect local and global in chosen time.” Writing on the emergence of cellfilm footage and its importance in the rise of citizen journalism, with a specific focus on the use of cellfilming in documenting the London Bombings in 2005, Stuart Allan (2007:2) says that “the familiar dynamics of top-down, one-way message distribution associated with the mass media are being effectively, albeit unevenly, pluralised.”

Whether they are a professional filmmaker caught without their camera; or if they are an amateur filmmaker who wants to record and share a planned event, such as a play or a dance or to record unusual, spontaneous situations, video-enabled cell phones are useful in both the public and private spheres (Kavoori & Arceneaux, 2006). The latter example signals the rise in citizen journalism. Examples of the importance of cellfilm footage to citizen journalism and citizen mobilisation may be seen from the use of civilian cell phone footage in the media coverage of the 2005 London Bombings to natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina and the South Asian Tsunami in to the 2011 Arab Spring⁵² (Khamis & Vaughn, 2011; Allan, 2009; Robinson & Robison, 2006). Often these cellfilms were seen as being compelling and authoritative on the reality of these situations due to their first hand perspective. “Video clips taken with cameras were judged by some to be all the more compelling because they were dim, grainy and shaky, but more importantly, because they were documenting an angle to an event as it was actually happening” (Allan, 2007:13).

The use of cell phones to record may also be a conscious choice for filmmakers as cell phone footage tends to conjure a sense of heightened subjectivity. Cell phones enable the filmer to

⁵² The term “Arab Spring” is controversially used to describe the mass civil uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco and Sudan. Although the term is criticised as being adopted by America and the western media to “control the movements aims and goals” (Masaad, 2012).

unobtrusively record an event either due to the filmmaker being able to conceal or disguise a cell phone easier than traditional recording equipment. This is exemplified in the documentary *Tehran Without Permission* (Farsi, 2009) where the director/camerawoman films a feature length documentary in Tehran during a period of political instability and extreme media censoring. A philmer is more likely to have less of an effect on the subjects being filmed as it is seen as being more casual and amateurish, as opposed to a filmmaker making a documentary with a full-sized video camera⁵³.

Conclusion

From citizen journalism, to inexpensive ways of filming, to cellphilm as story-telling technique, the use of a cell phone's ability to record visual images is continuously adapting to the cellphilmers' needs and situations. By being an image-making medium that is not necessarily controlled by hegemonic discourse of what should be represented, or how something should be represented by cellphilm, allows the image to be produced and disseminated according to the filmmaker's opinion. Given the proliferation of video-enabled cell phones within all strata of South African economic and social levels, the Zulu cultural performers at PheZulu now have the ability to plan, record and disseminate their image according to their world-view. Technology has the ability to allow the performers to liberate their image, by the tourist gaze's objects of Zulu representation becoming the producers.

⁵³ This is exemplified during the student strikes at UKZN where often people have filmed on their cell phones. For examples please refer to http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=ukzn+student+strikes

Dissertation Overview

Chapter 1 introduced the research topic, rationale, aims and objectives. This chapter also introduces the reader to cellphlms and explains why I propose that they could be a beneficial medium for Zulu cultural tourism employees when used in a participatory filmmaking context. **Chapter 2** addresses the construction of the Zulu culture's representation in the media as well as the development of cultural tourism and the industry's benefits and drawbacks. It concludes with a review of participatory filmmaking as demonstrated in three differing case studies. Emphasis is placed on the research conducted by Sol Worth and John Adair (1970) and Nick and Chris Lunch (2006).

The theoretical framework for this dissertation is discussed in **Chapter 3**. This chapter highlights how participatory filmmaking continuously proves to be a practical and adaptable tool which a broad range of communities can use to identify, highlight, discuss and communicate issues both internally and externally. Chapter 3 also discuss the meaning-making process and the effect that ideology and myth has on the creation and propagation of the romanticised representation of indigenous communities.

The methodology chapter, **Chapter 4**, details my situation within the field of cultural studies and my use of a mixed qualitative methodology in my research design. **Chapter 5** reviews the collected data in light of my original research questions. Here I will link the analysed data with the theory and reviewed literature detailed in the previous chapters. Lastly, the conclusion, research limitations and areas for future research in light of my findings is contained in **Chapter 6**.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter comprises of three sections, namely Contextualizing Zulu Representation; Mythical Zulu: Past Representations⁵⁴ and the Rise of Cultural Tourism; and, Appropriating Methodologies. Firstly, I will highlight the possible benefits⁵⁴ which participatory filmmaking can offer Zulu cultural tourism industry employees. Secondly, the history of the politics of the West's control of the Zulu culture's representation in the media and the effect that this has on cultural performers in the tourism industry is covered. Thirdly, in order to answer the question of whether cell phones can be used as a participatory filmmaking technology, I will review the methodologies used by participatory filmmaking practitioners Worth and Adair (1972) and Lunch *et al* (2006). To ascertain whether this filmmaking process can be successfully applied within my research's context I will examine the characteristics that define a participatory film from Worth and Adair's *Through Navajo Eyes* (1972) and Chris and Nick Lunch's *Insight into Participatory Video: A handbook for the Field* (2006).

Contextualising Zulu Representation

Ideology and the Myriad of Myth Meanings

In order to contextualise the representation of the Zulu community in the media I shall briefly explain the way in which meaning is made in terms of ideology and representation. I will then outline the way in which the Zulu have been typically depicted in film and television.

Ideology, according to Stuart Hall (1996: 15-68), refers to the values, beliefs, meanings and ideas that maintain the domination of a particular social group over another and perpetuate the unequal distributions of power. John Fiske (1987/1996) explains how ideologies lead to

⁵⁴ The benefits predominately center on the Zulus portrayal in the media

representations in all forms of text, especially television and film, which arbitrate the way in which people in that society experience reality. Thus, through my being part of a particular culture, and thus subscribing to its unspoken rules of understanding, I will create meaning from a text in different way to which, for example, my great-grandmother would. This disparity in understanding relates to the properties of ideology not being natural, as it is rather built out of semiotic codes that serve the dominant power interests of the time (Hall, 1996: 58-63). Therefore, the naturalising process of ideology leads one who is living inside that specific culture to believe that their beliefs are inevitable and unalterable, as the dominant powers represent their beliefs in such a way as being permanent and eternal. These ideological beliefs are in fact the exact opposite. Ideologies swim within the current of the dominant power.

Within this notion of ideology, lie the semiotic concepts of counter-ideology. In brief, counter-ideology refers to the views which go against the dominant ideological points of view. These counter-views, although usually of the minority, possess the possibility of overpowering the dominant one, such as in the case of the seditious anti-apartheid view (counter-ideology) now being the dominant ideology in South Africa (Tomaselli, 1996: 43). Tomaselli (1996:40) refers to the ‘struggle for meaning’ as the contestation of various signs. This may happen in instances where tension is created by differences in viewpoints such as the feud between dominant ideology and counter-ideology, or when a person acquires new knowledge which contests with their previous schemas. Tomaselli (1996: 40) defines a discourse as:

An elaborated system of meaning which is confined to a particular group of people in a specific area of interest, doing particular ideological work...(it) refers to relationships, ways of talking, using specific codes, understood by subjects of that discourse.

Discursive practices are ways in which meanings are boxed into pre-agreed boundaries so that there is a sense of pre-destined understanding between the producers and readers of a particular discourse. These terms are extremely useful in the unpicking of the term representation.

Myth, much like stereotypes, is an integral way in which we make sense of the past, present, future, and everything that we experience in between. Myth, according to Rollo May, an existentialist psychologist, is the way in which we make “sense in a senseless world” (May, 1991: 15). Myth functions as a system in which we use archetypal patterns of human consciousness in order to make meaning out of what we experience in the world (May, 1991: 37). There are four primary functions of myth, according to B.R. Hergenhahn (2005: 531), namely that “they provide a sense of identity, provide a sense of community, support our moral values and provide a means of dealing with the mysteries of creation.”

The authenticity of a myth is not what matters, but rather how it is expressed (Wheeler, 2007: 3). From this outlook, one may say that whether a fable is true or false is not as important as the reasons for it being told and the authenticity with which it is told. Claude Levi-Strauss reinforces this notion by stating that myths “express unconscious wishes which are somehow inconsistent with conscious experience” (in Cook & Bernink, 1999: 328). The focal point in this statement is the choice of the word ‘inconsistent’ rather than ‘false’. Even if a myth is untrue it is not irrefutably false (Cook *et al*, 1999). Myths are a metaphysical way in which we express and exchange ideas on our perception of reality.

Mediated Myth: The Representation of the Zulu Culture in the Media

The ability of myth to take on the cloak of ‘fact’ is especially apparent when paired with the professionalism and smooth form of film, whether in the form of a commercial movie, documentary or TV series such as *Shaka Zulu* (1981). As Tomaselli puts forth:

One of the prime effects of television is to gather up the familiar, the strange, the identifiable and the incomprehensible, the gobbets of common sense and the sustained ideological positions, and to weave these into an acceptable whole for the consumption of the audience, to ‘make sense’ for them of the world around them. (1996: 71)

This effect of television and the mass media gives the propagators of a myth (in this case, ethnographic, documentary and commercial filmmakers) the ability to turn their individual worldviews into a hegemonic perspective.

Representation is the process by which people within the same culture manufacture and interpret texts in such a way so as to transfer the same meaning from one person to another (Hall, 1996: 15). Popular moving images of Zulu (ranging from documentaries to series to film) were created by Westerners to record the Zulu as subjects; they were constantly represented as the ‘Other’ portraying their ‘primitive culture’ for an audience of Western ‘Self’⁵⁵.

The television series *Shaka Zulu* (Faure, 1985) was one of these ‘prime shaper(s) of American’⁵⁶ perceptions of ‘tribal’ history in southern Africa” (Tomaselli 2003:91). This series was controversial due to its funding by the parastatal South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which was managed by the then-governing apartheid National Party

⁵⁵ The terms ‘Other’ and ‘Self’ in this dissertation, are used in the context of Tomaselli’s understanding of what constitutes the ‘Other.’ The ‘Other’ is ‘the lack, the Left Out, the Unsaid, the Incomplete’, the ‘Other’ is something that is semiotically represented to look and be understood as different from ‘us’. This ‘us’ is used to refer to the object which the reader/viewer sees as originating from a similar context or having exactly the same ideology as themselves. This ‘us’ is known as the ‘Self’ or ‘Same’ (Tomaselli, 1996: 41).

⁵⁶ In the context of this dissertation I have read Tomaselli’s use of ‘American’ as a synonym for ‘Western’.

(NP). Critics focused on the way in which the series played on the Western audience's fascination for the 'Dark Continent' (Mahler, 1981:1) and the view of the Zulu nation as contained in films like *Zulu* (1964) and *Zulu Dawn* (1979). For a Western audience this established the Zulus as a fearsome and bloodthirsty militant nation. While in South Africa this same 'Shaka myth' (Tomaselli, 2003:91) has been used as a durable and recurring motif of Zulu nationalism" (Mersham, 1993: 81).

The debates amongst critics largely revolved around the series' makers and the broadcasters' intentions, as well as who the series benefitted – from an ideological and not financial viewpoint. On the one hand the series was seen as depicting Shaka (as) a blood thirsty king who ruled with an iron fist and caused great suffering to his people" which would cause Zulu children to distance themselves from their culture" (Mkhize, 2001:7). On the other hand is the view that *Shaka Zulu* (Faure, 1985) assists in overturning the myth, propagated for political reasons, that whites and blacks arrived in South Africa at around the same time; and that blacks have always been savages lacking a sophisticated form of social organization" (Mersham, 1990:13).

The typical Zulu signifiers used in media representations are discussed later in this chapter under the heading Mediated Myth. In reality, the majority of Zulus working in cultural tourism endeavours are trying to come to terms with having close ties to their culturally rich traditions, whilst grappling with the maze which modernity maps onto their present and future. In this dissertation I aim to assess whether participatory filmmaking methodologies will shed light on how a community of Zulus interpret and engage their mediated image. They may align themselves with another indigenous South

African community (the Bushman) who feel that they have been stripped of ownership and control over their own cultural artifacts⁵⁷ (Clelland-Stokes, 2007: 29).

Mythical Zulu: Past Representations and the Rise of Cultural Tourism

A Brief overview of South African Historiographical Trends

Wessel Visser's (2004) research on South African trends in historiography⁵⁸ depicts South Africa's recorded history as being dominated by British colonialism, Afrikaner 'White Supremacy' nationalism, and the failed attempts at civilising the 'heathen, savage and dangerous' indigenous people (Visser, 2004). The history of tribes, or rather, ethnicity, only became an interest to historians in relatively recent years (Vail, 1989:1).

In the past ten years or so there has been a marked movement away from the Revisionist phase of historiography with present-day historians focusing on heritage identities, tourism and leisure (Grundlingh, 2004: 197-200; Visser, 2004:19). This shift began in the early nineties with the growing trend in the study of indigenous culture from a cultural tourism and leisure class perspective (Kronos, 1998:125; Bickford-Smith, 2009). Writers are now becoming interested in not only the social and economic effect of cultures, such as Zulu, but at the way in which they have evolved and how the documentation of this evolution has resulted in the Zulu culture that is known today (Visser, 2004: 18).

The Perpetuation of Categorisation

The terminology a writer chooses signifies his stance towards the subject matter, thus allowing the reader to identify the writers' allegiance. For the purpose of my research I will use the term 'ethnicity' to signify a grouping of traits which lead a community to label

⁵⁷ For example myths, art and stories.

⁵⁸ Historiography refers to the body of literature which covers historical trends, documents and research.

themselves as a single cultural group, for example Zulu'. This will prove useful in establishing a framework within which the reader can interpret the discourse of power, politics and anthropology which has led the evolution of the representation of the Zulu and their traditions.

Below is an excerpt from Leroy Vail's exploration into the evolution of ethnicity and its application in previously colonised nations such as South Africa. He neatly explains the differences in terminology which is oft used in writings on African culture, whether it is from a political, sociological, or media orientated view:

African political leaders, experiencing it [ethnicity] as destructive to their ideals of national unity, denounce it passionately. Commentators on the Left, recognizing it as a block to the growth of appropriate class awareness, inveigh against it as a case of false consciousnesses'. Apologists for South African apartheid, welcoming it as an ally of continued white dominance, encourage it. Development theorists, perceiving it as a check to economic growth, deplore it. Journalists, judging it an adequate explanation for a myriad of otherwise puzzling events, deploy it mercilessly. Political scientists, intrigued by its continuing power, probe at it endlessly. If one disapproves of the phenomenon, it is tribalism; if one is less judgemental, it is ethnicity' (Vail, 1989:1).

Ethnicity is a relatively recent term that harnesses its power and influence from the modernisation' process of the twentieth century. Vail (1988:3) writes that it held little or no meaning in a pre-industrialised world. One of the main reasons for the use of the term is so that governments can identify, categorise and capitalise on the perceived difference between various ethnic' groups thus allowing for a divide-and-rule' policy to be enforced (Vail, 1988:3). This is still a prominent characteristic in South Africa's politics. Even though the ignorant racism of the Apartheid-era government has been demolished ethnic groupings and loyalties are still a major factor in the political arena. A popular South African example is the mobilisation of Zulu ethnicity for political gain.

Ethnic categorisation, conflict and their influence on development are intricately linked to our history of colonisation. The colonists benefitted economically and politically from the isolation of ethnic groups. Compared to angry, isolated disparate groups the colonial minority had more power. The more there was inter-ethnic fighting the less chance there was of the indigenous groups joining together and fighting the colonisers (Irobi, 2005).

Technological developments in deep level mining; the bankruptcy of traditional societies⁵⁹; the rise in the value of Western money in traditional African societies and the growth of nationalism with the establishment of a national government resulted in traditional African societies experiencing drastic changes. The combination of these events resulted in men having to leave their communities and partake in the ‘migrant labour’ phenomenon whereby they would travel to urban areas to find work in order to send money back home. Men worried that without their guidance at home their families and land would fall into disarray. This led men to rely more and more heavily on their traditional leaders to look after their families while they were away working (Vail, 1988:15). It seems as though the lure of ethnic ideologies, most predominantly the Zulu culture, was the strongest amongst migrant labourers. It is amongst this considerably larger group that ethnicity grew as a weapon for winning resources and favour. It was also seen as the only reliable answer to slowing social decay and values (Harris, 1993). This is perpetuated today with communities from the Zulu

⁵⁹ The rinderpest epidemic of the mid 1890s is an example of how cultural traditions are of such great value that it can lead a group of people to change their way of life in order to keep in their culture alive (Vail, 1988:8). When the epidemic killed off thousands of head of livestock the wealth which the cattle represented for many African societies resulted in thousands of communities becoming bankrupt. This linked with the fact that without cattle to pay for *lobalo* (bride price) a man could not marry a woman in many African societies. Therefore, in order for society to function as normal it became socially acceptable to work for money, an alien concept in a society, such as Zulu, where monetary value wasn’t previously needed.

culture often saying that without traditions such as the *uMkhosi woMhlanga*⁶⁰, initiation⁶¹, and *lobola*⁶² the youth wouldn't know their place in society and morals would deteriorate. Through the propagation of values such as respect for elders, respect for oneself and loyalty to one's community ethnicity thus serves a role in modern day Zulu culture as a way to keep the next generation grounded.

When Stuart Hall, published the chapter on *New Ethnicities* in 1996, there was quite a furrow within the realm of academia due to the term 'ethnicity's' link to stereotypes and classification of culture as a 'fixed state'. However, Gargi Bhattacharyya *et al* (2002:152) interpret Hall's text as referring to ethnic classification as a way of understanding how different groups of people make sense of the world. They write:

'New' ethnicities described dynamic, mixed cultural formations which, moreover, could accommodate racism within the range of possible experiences. In other words the revived concept of ethnicity was not an alternative to a discourse on racism but merely acknowledged

⁶⁰ *uMkhosi woMhlanga* is an annual cultural event which takes place in either August or September at the Zulu Royal Palace. The thousands of young women who take part in it also undergo virginity testing. It is said to promote abstinence until marriage and to provide an education to young women on dignified behaviour, self-respect and lessons for married life. It is also lauded as having a lowering effect on the high HIV/AIDS prevalence in KwaZulu-Natal due to the ceremonies emphasis on abstinence. The reigning King Goodwill Zwelithini may choose a new wife from one of the women. Polygamy is a part of the traditional Zulu culture. For detailed information on the *uMkhosi woMhlanga* refer to

<http://www.eshowe.com/article/articlestatic/24/1/20/>

⁶¹ Zulu initiation is a controversial topic due to the economic burden it puts on families, the emotional and physical strain it puts on young men and, most heatedly debated, the unhygienic, disease spreading, and potentially fatal way in which the traditional circumcision takes place. It was banned during the reign of King Shaka however the Zulus have been ridiculed by the Xhosa (who still practice traditional initiation) for not enduring the circumcision ceremony. This pressure coupled with the recent research which shows that circumcision could help slow the spread of HIV/AIDS has prompted the current Zulu monarch, King Zwelithini to restart the initiation tradition. The positives associated with the Zulu initiation are a result from the lessons which the young men are taught by their elders on how to be a socially responsible man in society and how to harness their inner-strength. The Guardian article which outlines this debate may be found at

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/jan/17/circumcision-zulu-south-africa-hiv>

⁶² *Lobola* refers to the amount of cattle (in current time cattle price may be converted into a monetary value) which a man must pay to his potential fiancé's family for her hand in marriage. It signifies his commitment to his fiancé and shows that he is financially stable and emotionally ready (it is not unusual for the man to save up for years before he can afford the *lobalo*) to provide for his fiancé. There are two main arguments against the *lobola* tradition, firstly advocating for female rights and secondly the legitimacy of paying for a wife in a country with such a high poverty rate (Mvududu, 2002; and Williams, 1997; Williams & Hackland, 1988)

that peoples' experiences and identities were varied and complex and could not be reduced to racism or its effects

Ethnicity and indigenous cultural traditions' role in modern society has been the catalyst for controversial and contested debates since the first colonisers anchored on foreign shores. Thomas McCarthy (2009:166-169) talks of the "development dilemma" where by notable philosophers such as Immanuel Kant (1793/2000) and John Stuart Mill (1869) were of the opinion that in order for mankind to prevail towards their "moral destiny" development and assimilation of non-European cultures was vital. The philosophers highlighted the contradictory nature of early development practices by praising the spread of Western culture and civilization. They saw it as being "good for those subject to it, whether they realised it or not", while simultaneously arguing against colonialism due to their view that pilfering of indigenous land, resources and people (to be used as slaves) to be immoral (McCarthy, 2009:171).

Adherence to customs and traditions were, and still are to some extent, seen as being a hindrance to growth and social evolution (McCarthy, 2009:172). Mill (1863) had the view that in order for social evolution to grow to such an extent that people's primary focus is on self-development and self-improvement, people had to break away from the binds of tradition and become free-thinking individuals. Although this controversial view links cultural ties with diminished individual agency, it is still held by many "globalised" individuals today.

Legitimation of 'Zulu'

The Zulu are the largest ethnic group in South Africa (Marks, 1988:216). Although Zulus throughout South Africa the largest concentration and the documented homeland is the

province of KwaZulu-Natal⁶³. Originally the Zulus were one of the many Nguni-speaking tribes who took part in a long distance migration from south of the Sahara desert to the area now governed by the Republic of South Africa – an area previously occupied by the nomadic Khoi-Khoi (San) and the Bushman. The majority of the tribes settled in the KwaZulu-Natal region due to its fertile lands and moderate climate providing optimum grazing grounds for their cattle (Griffiths, 1995:11).

The Zulus were traditionally a pastoral society, and comprised of many loosely connected communities, under governance of a monarchy. The king of the time would assign the cultural markers, such as lineage, to determine whether one was Zulu or not. There were hundreds of Nguni⁶⁴ chiefdoms in the area that is now known as KwaZulu-Natal. The ambitious reign of King Shaka and the establishment of the British colonies in the 1820s resulted in a change of definition of Zulu-ness, according to historian Patrick Harries (1993). King Shaka became the chief of the small Zulu tribe in 1818 and transformed the small Zulu chiefdom into the largest⁶⁵ and formidable chiefdom in the region through his military prowess⁶⁶, ambition and ruthless rule (Griffiths, 1995; Harries, 1993; Marschall, 2007:166).

By the time the 1820s British settlers arrived in Natal in order to help establish its annexing from the Boers⁶⁷ the Zulu people incorporated the majority of the chiefdoms in the area.

However the colonial English historians, anthropologists and sociologists in the early 1800s

⁶³ KwaZulu-Natal is officially known as the 'birth-place' of the Zulus, however, according to historians such as Patrick Harries (1993) the people who lived south of the Tugela (where KwaZulu-Natal begins) only became part of the Zulu tribe after the British colonised the area and re-categorised everyone in the area.

⁶⁴ The term Nguni links a group of people who speak the same language which is derived from the mother-language of Bantu. The other language branch of Bantu is Sotho.

⁶⁵ The Zulu's, under Shaka's rule, assimilated every tribe which they defeated in battle, resulting in a constant growth in numbers and strength (Griffiths, 1995:17)

⁶⁶ King Shaka is renowned for reinventing the Zulu army with military techniques and weapons such as the 'bull formation', and the shorter spear (Potholm, 2010:33).

⁶⁷ The fight for South Africa between the Boers, British and indigenous tribes such as the Zulu's and Ndebele is well documented and can be read about in detail in Harries (1993) and Griffiths (1995).

needed a lexicon with which to categorise the indigenous people so that they could neatly retell the situation back home in Britain. Thus all of the tribes south of the Tugela (now known as KwaZulu-Natal) who spoke a similar sounding Bantu-dialect became known as Zulu (Harries, 1993).

The Zulus are and have been remembered in Western consciousness as a culture with a strong military essence (Hamilton, 1998; Player, 1998; Wylie & Lindfors, 2000). As the written history of South Africa was a Western document primarily written from the colonisers' viewpoint, the aspects of the Zulu culture which affected them were the ones which were predominantly documented. For example, military prowess was a focus when the Zulus defeated the colonisers at battle such as Isandlwana⁶⁸. It would otherwise have been unbearably embarrassing for the British to concede a loss against men with spears. Violent savagery was then a focus when the British or the Boers needed an excuse to demonize the indigenous community hence making the subjugation of them more palatable. This resulted in the perceived violent nature of the Zulus being the characteristic most reported on.

Shula Marks (1988) writes of the influence that politics had on what aspects of Zulu tradition has been carried through to the next generation. Initiating from the 'divide-and-rule' tactics of the early 1900s (Vail, 1988) whereby there was a regeneration of reliance on traditional leaders and the Zulu monarchy to create order and distil faction fighting (Marks, 1988: 225-233). What Zulu traditions were deemed acceptable arose out of a struggle between "what was valuable in African culture, recently discovered (1920s and 1930s) by the new science of Anthropology, and their own self-definition as a respectable, Christian bourgeoisie" (Marks, 1988:224).

⁶⁸ The battle of Isandlwana was won by the Zulu's and is known as the "the greatest defeat suffered by the British Army during the Victorian era" (Knight & Hook, 2002:102)

A sense of African Westernisation disguised as respectability was growing among Zulu leaders where aspects of Zulu culture such as dancing and dress were altered to suit conservative tastes. Albert Luthuli, the President of the Natal Bantu Teachers Association and well-revered Zulu intelligentsia, endorsed this tailoring of traditions for the purpose of modernisation and development (Luthuli, 2006:37-38). Luthuli wrote in 1962:

...We did have an intense wish to preserve what is valuable in our heritage while discarding the inappropriate and outmoded. Our people were ill-equipped to withstand the impact of a twentieth century industrial society. Our task seemed to consist of relating the past coherently to the present and the future.

Concurrently, there was a growing fear that if Zulu communities were too concerned with the ‘etiquette’ of modern and industrialised society they would experience degeneration in discipline, structure and morals within the youth and urbanised communities (Marks, 1988: 224-5). The complex evolution of the Zulu culture and its shifting forces from the top and the bottom is highlighted by Marks (1988:233) –Glorification of a Zulu cultural identity was as much shaped by elements of popular consciousness coming from below as it was a shaping force in the making of that popular consciousness.”

This balancing of traditional mores of Zulu culture while adapting it to fit into Westernised society has been carried through into present day debates. This is epitomised in the controversy surrounding the Zulu Reed Dance and whether it has a place in modern South Africa.

In this dissertation I will explore what aspects of Zulu culture is recorded, preserved and performed in the commoditised cultural villages and what the ‘living’ Zulu culture is in South

Africa, today. This ‘living’ Zulu culture is expressed through the cellfilms made by contemporary Zulu cultural performers.

The rise of Cultural Tourism

Tourism is a consistently growing economic sector with cultural tourism playing a leading role. In his study on cultural tourism in Europe, Greg Richards (1996) states that the link between culture and tourism is not a fleeting trend but that it is a product of the influences of post-modernity on our society with the post-modern notion of the prodsumer being a driving force. Consumers (tourists) are no longer bound by allegiance to their traditional heritage or obsessed with ‘high culture’. Instead they have become increasingly eager to display ownership over the construction of their identities (Harvey, 1989).

Tourism’s evolution - from its origin in seventeenth century aristocrats’ Grand Tours⁶⁹ of Europe, through to the eighteenth century’s middle-class romantic pleasure trips - is documented by John Towner (1985) while Richards (1996:10-11) explores the 19th century’s quest for ‘exotic pleasures’ and ‘imaginative experimentation’’. Due to the changing economic patterns and the decentralisation of cultural importance in the ‘old world’⁷⁰, tourists became increasingly obsessed with exploring ‘the bourgeois notion of the universal aesthetic of cultural manifestations’ (Richards, 1996:11). The expansion in ‘museum culture’ is attributed to the growing interest in other cultures. During the exploration and colonial period of the eighteenth and nineteenth century cultural artifacts and, most peculiarly, indigenous people from the colonised shores were brought back to Europe for show. During these initial

⁶⁹ The Grand Tour originated with the aristocrats of the seventeenth century who would visit classical cultural sites in The Netherlands, Italy, France, Germany and Switzerland for a couple of years in order to enrich their education. They were usually accompanied by a tutor and referred to as tourists (Towner, 1985).

⁷⁰ As ‘old world’ Europe was home to the first societies with expendable salaries and ‘leisure time’ resulting in the majority of research into the history of tourism localised there (Richards, 1996; Towner, 1985; and McCannell, 1973).

stages of the ‘Project of the Museum’ the ~~pl~~acing of objects in museum displays became important signifiers of their cultural significance” (Richards, 1996:13).

This shift in interest, coupled with the expedition in the ease and speed of transport, set the foundation for the development of the cultural tourism industry in countries outside of Europe. Gradually people with expendable money began searching international shores for meaning, education, culture and leisure. The following excerpt of Gail Lord’s keynote address to a Culture Tourism Colloquium touches on the gist of what cultural tourism incorporates: ~~as~~ people travel more, they don’t travel aimlessly - they travel to get to know a particular place in a meaningful way. The *power* of cultural tourism is in its ability to satisfy this desire” (Lord, 1999).

Albeit her address was aimed at the entrepreneurs and policy makers of the industry, she does not go into detail into the effects which cultural tourism endeavours have on the communities, employees and tourists. This is an important area of study as cultural tourism wields a power for both the tourist and employees of the industry.

Cultural Tourism and Identity

After South Africa’s first democratic general elections⁷¹ heralded the abolishment of Apartheid there was a notable interest in South Africa as a tourist destination. The lowering of sanctions and the curiosity of the international community in the state of an infamous country, which had survived a political regeneration without erupting in an oft prophesised civil war, now resulted in South Africa being the top-destination for the trendy and socially-aware tourist.

⁷¹ The time period from after South Africa’s first democratic elections on 27th April 1994 up until now is often referred to as ~~post~~-1994”, a term I will be making use of from here on.

Cultural tourism is a popular economic generator in developing countries such as South Africa due to its ability to generate employment opportunities over a spectrum of social strata, according to Sabine Marschall (2007), a tourism and heritage academic. Tomaselli (2012; 2001:174) puts forth an understanding of cultural tourism in terms of conservation and identity. He states that often tourists want to feel a connection to ‘their past’, not a direct lineage ‘past’, but a past that is understood as the collective past of society. Tourists thus feel that if they visit indigenous cultural groups who are “living history” then they will be connecting with their own “lost innocence and forgotten authenticity” (Tomaselli, 2001:178). However, many Western tourists still want to live with their modern comforts such as electricity and air-conditioning so a preserved experience has been formulated where the wild and exotic ‘Other’ is in an easily accessible place, much like a museum (Tomaselli, 2001:178-179). In this scenario, the cultural tourist believes the experience to be authentic due to the tourists’ strong desire for authenticity combined with the performance given by the indigenous community. Belief in the authenticity of the cultural experience is given a physical form through the vehicle of a photography or home video camera (Rosen, 1986:283). With the use of these ‘remembering’ tools the “iconic and mythical elements (are) remembered and re-remembered via imaging technologies taken on holiday by tourists” (Tomaselli, 2001:174).

However, just as the tourists adapt the culture on show to satisfy their own ‘lost innocence’ so do the cultural performers adapt their culture to show the tourists what they think the tourists would like to see. For example, when the performers demonstrate how they lived traditionally they purposefully do not show them an authentic view of how they live now with cell phones, electricity and clothes made of cotton (and not animal skin). This is because the performers are led by the cultural tourism industry to believe that the cultural tourist will

pay money only to see the exotic “Other”. De la Harpe *et al* (1999) explains how “the Zulu are presented as a pre-modern people living in a contemporary world” in order to attract tourists, however, “these communities often have very different interpretations of themselves than the official PR or what tourists are told by tour guides” (Tomaselli, 2001:179).

From a pre-1994 focus on the history of the white minority groups (British and Boer) to a post-1994 spotlight on experiencing indigenous cultural identities and the retelling of oppression through anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle, Marschall recounts the evolution of the South African cultural tourism industry (Marschall, 2007: 158-159). She explains the spectrum of concerns that arise out of cultural tourism endeavours such as economic, environmental and social issues (Marschall, 2007: 155-156). The impact on the identity of the employees and communities involved is Marschall’s main concern in her research. She highlights the complexity of researching this aspect of cultural tourism due to its reliance on a qualitative methodology as opposed to the relative straight forwardness of the quantitative methods used in assessing the environmental and economic impacts. As a result, Marschall’s research does not aim to assess what is right or wrong in relation to the effect on identity by cultural tourism but rather to highlight the complexity of this phenomenon.

In his article *The Transformation of Self in Tourism* Edward Bruner (1991) explores an aspect of the impact of cultural tourism concerned with the marketing tools used in the promotion of cultural tourism endeavours. He notes that there is a focus on the effect which the encounter will have on the tourist. This is displayed in promotional material promising that the tourist’s life will be positively altered and enriched by their encounter with the indigenous community (Bruner, 1991:239). This plays off the quest for affirmation of self-worth and a sense of

exploring their past⁷² which the cultural tourist expects their paid-for experience to fulfill (Tomaselli, 2001). The promotional material of cultural tourism endeavours has yet to include the effect which this encounter has on the performers themselves. In reality, they are the ones most profoundly affected by the encounter (Bruner, 1991). Marschall (2007) explores these issues raised by Bruner (1991) by looking at the effect which cultural tourism encounters have on the Zulu cultural performers' identity construction.

Zulu Identity: Identifying with the Stereotype

As discussed previously, the Western gaze has been shaped by a capitalistic ideology (exemplified in colonialism and industrialisation). Cultural tourism relies on the tourists using these myths, symbolism and signifiers to understand the indigenous communities (Said, 1978; Wels, 2004). However, Marschall (2007: 157) has an interesting view on the construction of Zulu cultural villages in KwaZulu-Natal post-1994 as putting forth that the Zulu identity shown is actually created from the inside out, albeit for a Western audience:

...the construction of identity...is largely conducted from within the host country – by government agencies, heritage officials, community organisations and tourism entrepreneurs. To a certain degree, one can speak of a construction of the African self against the tourist as other.

Even though the militarised understanding of the Zulu culture is a view which the West has disseminated for the past 200 years, it is a view which is not disputed by members of the Zulu ethnic group (Marschall, 2007). The Zulu community propagates a visual representation and identity inspired by the legend of the famous Zulu King, Shaka. The difference between a Western colonial interpretation of Zulu culture and an Afrocentric (Zulu) one is summarised in the west's portrayal of Shaka as a ~~barbaric~~ mass-murderer" or an ~~ingenious~~ warrior"

⁷² The tourist often links their past with the less literal past of the people of the world.

(depending on the trends in propaganda) while the Zulu revere him as a ~~h~~eroic nation builder” and a signifier of ~~o~~order and discipline” (Marschall, 2007: 164).

Although there is no empirical evidence as to whether the legend of King Shaka is entirely factual (Wylie, 2000) he is ~~e~~entral to the notion of the ‘Zulu nation’ and the image of the ‘Zulu Kingdom’” (Marschall, 2007:163). This is reinforced by an examination of South African tourism policies post-1994. In these policies there was not only a considerable focus on previously under-played indigenous heritage but each of South Africa’s nine provinces were encouraged to promote their unique attributes. Due to KwaZulu-Natal’s strong Zulu heritage the province established itself as the ~~K~~ingdom of the Zulu” and positioned itself for cultural tourism endeavours focused on this heritage (Marschall, 2007:157-158). This has resulted in the promotional material and the propagated visual imagery of Zulu cultural villages and performers relying on this warrior-stereotype⁷³ (see also von Stauss 2012).

Typically, the imagery which is propagated by tourism promotional brochures is viewed as being stereotypical and therefore, by default, not entirely true. However, in the case of the Zulu, it seems as though there is a strong and patriotic bond to this image - ~~r~~efuting myths about Shaka or even approaching representation of Shaka’s heritage critically can be interpreted as an attack on core values of Zulu culture and heritage” (Marschall, 2007:166). This is a point echoed by Wylie (2006) when he comments on the passionate ties which modern Zulus keep with this warrior/maiden myth, even though this has resulted in positive effects on the pride, empowerment and social cohesion of a traditionally disenfranchised ethnic group. However, abiding by stereotypes has also had negative effects as they tend to limit cultural and social evolution, resulting in a ‘fixed’ identity (Marschall, 2007:166). This

⁷³ Promotional brochures and websites found at <http://www.phezulusafaripark.co.za/zuluculture.htm>.

view is summarized by Marschall (2007:167) when she writes —it chokes them (the Zulus), because in this discourse they have no space, no observing self ... they become signs of themselves positioned by a Western discourse not of their making.”

Zulus and the Stage: Ethnological Show business

The nineteenth century was labeled the *Age of Darwin*, or the *Age of African Exploration* due to the leap in navigational technology (Lindfors, 1:1999) which allowed the Western ‘civilised’ world a more reliable, cheaper and faster route to the rest of the world. This, combined with the growth of semi-established colonies in Africa, India and the Americas allowed for an increased interaction and stronger relationships with indigenous communities advanced so that the far reaches of the earth were now not only reachable but their resources were now accessible to ‘the people back home’. By ‘resources’ I refer to not only mineral resources such as diamonds and gold but human as well, such as slave labour, migrant labour, and the commodity of cultural performers.

A revealing look into the three tiers of ethnological show business: players, promoters and spectators is offered by Bernth Lindfors (1999) in *Africans on Stage*. Coming from a literary background, Lindfors has compiled an edifying collection of case studies which rely on newspaper articles, advertising material and academic papers documenting the Western world’s insatiable appetite for ethnological entertainment. The voyeuristic curiosity of Western (European and American) audiences is examined by exploring the documentation of various African individuals and groups who were brought to the West for entertainment. Whether they were coaxed, coerced or volunteered to be displayed in a foreign land *Africans on Stage* explores the controversial nature of this industry. By examining the relationship between Europe, America and Africa through the contentious business of ethnological show

business I aim to establish a contextual background for cultural tourism in South Africa, specifically, KwaZulu-Natal.

Lindfors (1999:1) likens the practice of ethnological show business to the trade in *lusus naturae*, which has been a fascination of mankind for centuries. How ethnological show business filled an ever deepening need for voyeuristic entertainment is extensively reviewed by Nhamo Mhripi (2008). It seems that since mankind became aware that an “other” exists, we have been fascinated by them whether it is to either parties’ detriment or delight.

The Zulu culture was guaranteed to be enticing to the British public as word of the Zulu warrior’s strength and military expertise had been drifting from the colonies back to Britain since King Shaka’s reign. Westernised ‘blacks’ had been seen in London for centuries (ex-slaves, slavery abolished 19 years before in South Africa) but the sighting of ‘primitive blacks’, such as the arrival of *The 12 Zulus* in Britain in 1852, was still a quaint and unique event (Lindfors, 1999: 62-63). Charles Dickens’s wrote a number of mocking reviews on the performances of this group of people who were trundled around Victorian England and displayed as authentic examples of their ‘kind’. He was disdainful of the shows not for ethical or moral reasons but because he felt that they portrayed the Zulu to be savage, bloody, superstitious and barbaric (Lindfors, 1999:70-71). Lindfors (1999:77) writes that:

...there were no documentary films or television specials to bring more accurate images of foreign peoples to the drawing rooms of London. The Zulus were therefore merely a spectacle, a carnival act consciously designed to play up their abnormalities.

He goes on to reveal how a Western audience carried this view right up until the 1970s by showing that they were no less ethnocentric than they were in Dickens time (Lindfors, 1999: 78-79). Since *King Kong*, a South African jazz-opera set in Johannesburg, played in London in 1961, and when at least four Zulu musicals in the 1970s (*Umabatha*, *Kwa*

Zulu, and *Ipi-Tombi* being three of them) they were all received by Western critics as representing a “Dark Continent” whose “savages (were) so full of rhythm” (Lindfors, 1999:79), thus showing the same primitive interpretation as did Dickens. This stereotypical view from Westerners of African indigenous cultures being “one with nature” was echoed in a review which stated that “the gestures, the rhythms and the sounds indicate an unbroken totemic relationship with animals” (*Time*, 24 Jan. 1975:35). Lindfors (1999:79) laments this view’s reach as far into the future as today:

This Victorian notion lingers even today, fed by an entertainment industry that capitalizes on anachronistic racial stereotypes. Hollywood films, television travelogues, bestselling novels and popular magazines continue to carry images of Africa and Africans that deliberately emphasize the exotic at the expense of the ordinary.

Appropriating Methodologies

Participatory Principles: From ComDev to Community Based Filmmaking

In the following section I will first briefly introduce the theoretical concepts of *ComDev*, participatory development and participatory video in order for the reader to set a framework for the following review of the pertaining literature. I will then review the influence that visual communication theorists have had on the evolution of ethnographic and documentary filmmaking. Next, I will examine the participatory filmmaking methods used by Sol Worth and John Adair (1970); and Nick and Chris Lunch (2006) in order to show the reader how participatory filmmaking has been used and how they will be applied in my research.

The characteristics of *ComDev*, participatory development and participatory filmmaking are examined in the theoretical framework chapter (Chapter 3). Following from Linje Manyozo’s (2005) adaption of the Rockefeller Foundation’s definition of *ComDev*, I will place a stronger emphasis on social development rather than economic development. A grounding assumption of my dissertation is that the previous economic-centered development

models, namely the Modernisation and Dependency models, were weakened due to their prime emphasis on economic development⁷⁴ (Servaes, 1991; Manyozo, 2008; Servaes *et al*, 2005).

The primary principals of *ComDev* can be filtered down to be read as a community having the insight, opportunity and means in order to give people a voice and mode of action so that they can produce, implement and communicate their own methods of development. Freire's four steps in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, namely "the realisation of oppression; the assimilation of possible paths for liberation; the formulation of action; and, the performing of action" (Freire, 1972/1990:30), conscientisation⁷⁵, empowerment and ownership are also important characteristics of a *ComDev* approach.

In order to answer whether using cellphlms to create participatory films can be used as a *ComDev* tool I will analyze the data collected for proof of empowerment, conscientisation, ownership and dialogue. Whether or not the participants will use this technology and method, most importantly without a researcher or facilitator, to initiate the process will be a question that I will attempt to answer in the analysis.

Through Navajo Eyes

The evolution of visual communication methodologies in the 1960s was greatly influenced by Sol Worth and John Adair's bio-documentary methodological style where they sought to increase the use of qualitative methods⁷⁶ as opposed to previous communication researchers' reliance on quantitative methods. In mapping out their qualitative approach to studying the

⁷⁴ Detailed in Chapter 4, under the section *The Need for Participation*

⁷⁵ Chapter 4

⁷⁶ An example is Worth and Adair's adaption of anthropologies ethnographic methods as described in their "participant-intervention" method (1972:47)

language of film with the Navajos they employed a methodology that restricted their interactions with the participants' filmmaking process.

The Navajo, at the time of Worth and Adair's research, were a people who had very limited or no prior experience with film. Television had just ~~arrived~~" in 1966 at Pine Springs (Worth and Adair, 1972:49). The researchers were very conscious of trying their best to not impart any of their Western-style of filmmaking to the participants. Therefore, the researchers limited their workshops to only include information that would allow the participants' to have enough technical knowledge to work a camera. They went as far as to ensure that they did not instruct the participants to plan and write out their shots before hand (known as storyboarding) as this was a Western filmmaking convention (Worth and Adair, 1972).

The researchers' influence on their subject of study was of great concern⁷⁷. They repeatedly wrote of the need to detail each step of their methodology so that the reader could evaluate how much influence the researchers had on the participants' film and the film making process (Worth, 1972:41).

Just as we were attempting to find a structure in the Navajo way of making a film, so the reader must find a structure in observing and analysing what we did. What we told the Navajo, what we asked them, and what we observed about their behaviour and our reasons for doing so, are much like the Navajo explanations about what they filmed or didn't film, what they chose to include or leave out in their final film, and how they organized their view. The reader can analyse our report in much the way we attempted to analyse the Navajo's reports and to discern their way of structuring reality. (Worth and Adair, 1972:43)

Participant-observation methodologies were common in anthropology, however in the 1960s they were rare – if not unheard of – in communication and film related research (Worth and Adair, 1972:46). Even though Worth and Adair made use of participant-observation methods in their research, I have chosen to make use of autoethnography. These two methods are often

⁷⁷ Detailed in Chapter 4

confused or muddled together under a general umbrella of methodologies used by anthropologists, and although similar in theory, in practice the primary difference lies in the write up. While both methods use personal experiences, anecdotes and close interaction with the participants, when analysing the data collected autoethnography tends to be more preoccupied with foregrounding the researchers bias (Ellis *et al*, 2011). Although Worth and Adair made a strong attempt to do this using participatory observation the better suited methodology, autoethnography, was developed ten years after their research was conducted (Ellis *et al*, 2011).

The revolutionary aspect of Worth and Adair's research did not lie in their hypothesis, participant choice or results, but rather in their methodology (Ruby, 1990). The aspect of their methodology that intrigued communication scholars at that time was their introduction of a technology to their participants. Prior to their ~~intervention~~ only one of the Navajo participants had worked with photographic camera equipment and none of them had been involved, or experienced first-hand, the production of a film⁷⁸. This was important to the researchers as it allowed them the opportunity to test their adaption of participant observation methods and apply their self-defined ~~participant intervention~~ methodology (Worth and Adair, 1972:47).

Participant Intervention

The instructions that the researchers give to the participants play an important part in the outcome of the research due to the complexities of the researcher-researched relationship (Worth and Adair, 1970:12). Therefore, they were pedantically cautious in not only how they introduced the topic of research to the community, but also what answers they gave when the

⁷⁸ However, it is important to note that they had all watched films before (Worth and Adair, 1970, 14)

participants asked them for assistance: “We constantly used such phrases as “You can make any kind of movie you want to”; “You can make it about anything you want”; and “I won’t tell you what to do”” (Worth and Adair, 1970:15). The technical side of film was only taught in an attempt to minimize the researchers influence on the way in which the films were made by the participants (Worth and Adair, 1970).

Due to the researchers’ awareness that no matter how unobtrusive they attempted to be in the participants’ filmmaking process, their presence would always have a significant impact on the situation. This attributed another reason for their reliance on documenting every step of the research process so that the reader could analyse for themselves the extent to which the researchers influenced the research outcome (Worth and Adair, 1972:43; 1970:12).

These films ... can be considered the first filmic utterances or expressions prepared by another culture in which the teaching input, the method of adapting to a new communication mode, and the resultant film structure, were observed and analysed systematically (Worth and Adair, 1972: 127).

Research Site

Due to the relatively short research time span – two months – which the researchers had at their disposal, saving time was a necessity. In the 1960s filmmaking still relied on actual film, and that the film had to be developed by a photographic laboratory as the process was too expensive and tedious to be done on site. Thus Pine Springs’s proximity to an airport and that Adair already had contacts within the community due to him having made a film and conducted research at Pine Springs twenty years before, were two deciding factors. The other factor relied on the extent to which the community had a Western view point and whether the community saw themselves as having a shared culture and world view. The researchers visited three communities in the region and they found Pine Springs to have the most defined

sense of community and shared culture, and it was less acculturated than the other Navajo communities (Worth and Adair, 1968).

Participants

The researchers respected the traditional communication pathways and social hierarchy within the community and therefore deemed it important, and invaluable to the success of their research, that they gain acceptance and include respected members of the community (Worth and Adair, 1970:14). From the reports of previous participant observational studies the researchers were wary of choosing the participants themselves for fear that the community members who were not chosen would become hostile to the researchers and the participating community members. This fear stemmed from the fact that the researchers would be paying the participants (Worth and Adair, 1972:51). Therefore the seven participants were chosen through Adair's main informant who was held in high regard in the community, and who included himself as one of the participants. In order to minimize community hostility to the project the researchers held a meeting in the community hall where they explained their research and asked for permission from the community – speaking with the aid of an interpreter who was of high standing within the community (Worth and Adair, 1972:61).

Through analysis of previous studies conducted with the Navajos Worth and Adair hypothesised that a way to ensure that the participants remained interested in this two month long project –in addition to being paid a “modest wage” (Worth and Adair, 1970:14) - was that the reels were processed and returned for viewing within two days of the participants' filming. Therefore there would be an almost instantaneous feed-back mechanism in place so that the participants would feel constantly engaged with the filmmaking process.

Due to the high expense of film equipment the researchers had only four sets of cameras and corresponding equipment including ~~four~~ Bell and Howell 70 DH 3-lens turrets, 16mm cameras; four sets of rewinds and related equipment; and about 10 000 feet of 16 mm film. We also had four exposure meters and two tripods” (Worth and Adair, 1970:14). This resulted in the participants sharing their time with the camera – planning their filming times and booking the equipment accordingly (Worth and Adair, 1970: 70-75).

Workshops

The researchers held preliminary interviews with the participants where they explained who they were, their intentions for the research, an overview of the use of imagery in ancient cultures and that film is an extension of ~~picture making~~” (Worth and Adair, 1970:15). They then interviewed the participants on their prior experience with film and what they expect to the outcome of the filmmaking process will be.

The next day was spent with the researchers explaining how a film camera works. This step was done in detail as it was very expensive to use film so the participants had to know as much as possible about how it works before the researchers gave them the cameras. The participants then practiced loading the cameras with film; filming with the varying focal lenses and exposure ratios and, once the film had been returned after two days from the process lab, editing⁷⁹. The participants were then asked to film a test film on 100 feet of film. The limit on the maximum amount of film was set for budget purposes, the researchers reminded the participants that they did not have to use all of the film, and that there were no rules on what they should film or how they should film it. They wanted to ~~provide~~ them with

⁷⁹ Editing on film is complex and time intensive (Worth and Adair, 1970)

a quick opportunity for exploring the medium and their own intuitive ways of organizing it” (Worth and Adair, 1970:18).

The Navajos then spent two weeks planning, shooting and editing their films. The researchers followed them and observed as much as they could. Taking notes constantly in order to aid in their analysis of the films. Near the end of the researchers' time at Pine Springs, at the request of the participants, they organised to screen the films to the community in the local town hall. Due to time constraints and lack of preparation the researchers only managed to briefly interview a handful of members of the community after the screenings. Although it cannot be categorised as audience reception they did garner some interesting comments from the community members – such as:

This is the type of work that some of the people are supporting their families...so it is good and a good thing to know. Perhaps the Navajo rugs would bring a little more money from now on... White people never give much money for anything. Maybe this is why they want to show them and how the rugs are made (Worth and Adair, 1970:21).

I cannot understand English. It was telling all about it in English which I couldn't understand (Worth and Adair, 1970: 22).

The fact that the rest of the community were most interested in the films that pertained to teaching and learning traditions and the making of traditional artifacts was directly related to the community's dependence on cultural tourism for economic survival. The second lot of comments was more interesting to the researchers as the films were all silent. None of them had any sound as sound equipment was too expensive, therefore the fact that the audience members interpreted them as being filmed in English tied in with the researchers hypothesis that each culture has a specific film language through which they understand film, however, this also led into their analysis by introducing the notion that although some of the participants created films in “Navajo”, some created “English” films – therefore backing the

hypothesis that our previous experiences affect our creation and reading of media (Worth and Adair, 1970:22).

An interdisciplinary approach was used in the analysis of the films made by the Navajos, disciplines drawn upon were: communication, anthropology, linguistics and cognitive psychology. The researchers highlighted the dangers of interdisciplinary research as attest by Dell Hymes (1964, 1967, 1970). Worth went on to use his theory of “Ethnography of Communication” (Hymes, 1964) to develop “Codes in Context”⁸⁰, a theory which addresses the codes interpreted by the watching of a film according to the context which the researcher observed during the filmmaking process (Worth and Adair, 1970: 133).

In utilising the “codes in context” approach the researchers approached the analysis from two ways. Firstly, to analysis and interpret the data collected during the filmmaking process (context). This was done by organising the data under the following six headings: the learning situation; the choice of students; the students’ choice of actors for their films; the choice of film subject or themes; their method of working – technical and perceptual; and the interrelation of filmmaking and the community (Worth and Adair, 1972:139-140). Secondly, the films themselves and the codes which they contained were analysed under the following headings: the narrative “style” of the films; the syntactic organization and sequencing of events and units of “eventing”; the cultural, perceptual, and cognitive restrictions and their influences on the films; and the relation between the structure of their indigenous language and the structure of their films (Worth and Adair, 1972:140-141).

⁸⁰ Worth refers to the film as the “code” and to the filming process as the “context” (Worth and Adair, 1972:133)

However, they did not suggest anything related to *DevCom* principles and rather proposed that the researchers give more detailed instructions to the filmmaking participants, such as: –Show me the important things in your village” and –Make a film about health” (Worth and Adair, 1972:256). They went on to encourage the application of their methodology in other contexts and with a variety of communities, however they continuously emphasised the need to include audience reception in the repetition of a longitudinal exploration of the filmmaking process (Worth and Adair, 1970:22).

InsightShare shares

A detailed analysis of InsightShare’s participatory filmmaking methodologies, as documented in their *Insights into Participatory Video: A Handbook for the Field* (2006). In this section I will detail the steps as found in the description of the adapted methodology which I applied in my research and in my analysis. I will record where the steps were possible to apply in my research situation, and where they were impractical.

InsightShare does not advocate a single way in which participatory video projects must be carried out (Lunch *et al*, 2006:11). Depending on the practitioner’s strengths, the context in which the video is being made, the situation and the opinions of the community members themselves and the intended audience, all play important roles in deciding the exact method to apply:

Methods vary from practitioner to practitioner, some choosing to keep the process more open, and others preferring to guide the subjects more, or even to wield the camera themselves. There is no fixed way in which PV has to be done, other than that it involves the authorship of the group itself and that it be carried out in a truly participative and democratic way. This quality of flexibility enables participatory video to be applied to many different situations (Lunch *et al*, 2006:31).

InsightShare encourages the use of participatory video by organisations and practitioners who have a specific developmental goal in mind. This could be as broad as encouraging a community to make a video about anything that they choose, or it could be about a specific issue – but in both cases it is predominantly used with a developmental outcome in mind (Lunch *et al*, 2006). A trainee in a participatory video project in Ghana summarised their view on InsightShare's as enabling a community to: show their achievements; that development practitioners need to learn *from* them; to help people express their feelings and knowledge; to increase awareness that individuals are in control of their own destinies; and, to empower (Lunch *et al*, 2006:21).

Stepping through the Methodology

InsightShare firstly encourage the organisation or practitioner to fully assess whether participatory video is the correct method for the ~~task~~ "at hand. They encourage the practitioners to research prior participatory video cases, and assess the critiques and drawbacks. They encourage this so that the practitioners are fully aware of and can prepare for any ~~bottlenecks~~" which they will encounter in the field. Adequate training – with the equipment and participatory principles – is also encouraged at this stage so that time is not wasted, funds squandered and connections with the community broken through ill preparation (Lunch *et al*, 2006:18).

In their second step InsightShare encourage the practitioner to visit the community and to establish connections with community representatives in order to obtain permission for the project. The practitioners should find out when the best time to visit is; how long is an appropriate stay; which community members should they meet on arrival; and what equipment do the practitioners need to bring, i.e. tent, food, generator etc. (Lunch *et al*,

2006:19). Their third step is that the practitioner must conduct as much research into the community's anthropological, sociological, economic, and historic background as resources allow. This could be available through government, academic or anecdotal resources. They highlight the need for the practitioner to keep an open mind as the data collected could be false or biased (Lunch *et al*, 2006:19).

Drawing up a group contract that ensures that everyone directly involved in the participatory video project, namely the facilitators, guides, translators and participants, is of the same understanding as to what the project entails and what the desired outcomes are (this should be established by the participants) is advocated as the fourth step.

Although equipment is typically loaned or hired from NGOs and universities, InsightShare advocates practitioners investing in their own equipment so that there are fewer qualms when handing it over to the communities. These are the fifth and sixth steps, while the seventh addresses what the practitioner should do when they arrive on the site for the commencement of the participatory video project. At this step the practitioners meet with the community organisers and elders to explain, once again, why they are there, what the process entails, and ownership issues – such as who has rights to the footage once it is created (ideally, everyone will) (Lunch *et al*, 2006:20).

The use of games as an ice-breaker, a confidence and trust builder and a way of teaching the participants how to use the camera equipment and how to structure⁸¹ a story on video in a

⁸¹ I consider this to be the main difference in the methodologies set out in *Through Navajo Eyes* (Worth and Adair, 1972) and *Insights into Participatory Video: A Handbook for the Field* (Lunch *et al*, 2006)

way which encourages community dialogue⁸² is encouraged in the eighth step. The games are to be emphasised for learning so that the older community members do not feel patronised and to minimize embarrassment felt by less confident community members (Lunch *et al*, 2006:22).

Their ninth step encourages flexibility in the projects time schedule as one must make way for work commitments, and extra time needed for filming and editing by the members. While the tenth step, similarly to Worth and Adair (1972), encourages a prompt feedback mechanism whereby the footage which is recorded during the participatory video process is played back for the participants who film it the same day as they filmed it. It is encouraged to screen the footage to the whole community as often as possible during the process as well. This is as watching the footage they have just filmed is positive for the continuous interest in and the positive outcome in the project due to the sense of empowerment and ownership the participants obtain from watching something they created and that the community gets from seeing themselves on screen (Lunch *et al*, 2006:21,46):

(Lunch) shows some of the day's footage on the tiny monitor, which gets everyone smiling and talking. A feedback loop is created which invites further participation and reflection. I begin to realise how integrally bound are the means and ends of the PV approach - and even if all the footage was somehow lost and a final film never created, a home-brew of democratic excitement and cooperative analysis has already begun its own fermentation process" *Excerpt from an interview during a Participatory Video project* (Lunch *et al*, 2006:47).

The participants are encouraged to edit while filming the video, using storyboarding techniques, planned shots and the Pause/Record function on the video camera. As they are using video camera's it is possible to edit, roughly, either with a playback mechanism between two cameras, or when the video is transferred to a VHS tape. These edits are rough

⁸² Trust, confidence (empowerment), ownership (mentioned in the tenth step) and dialogical communication are *DevCom* principles (Friere, 1972/1990; Servaes 1996).

but Lunch *et al* (2006:49) ensure that they are adequate for the community viewing as “these types of audience are less concerned with quality and more interested in content.”

However, if the participatory films are to be shown to policy makers or an audience far removed from the community setting the authors encourage the editing process to be taken more seriously. Either a ‘professional’ editor may be sourced from the local community, where possible, or the participants can be trained to edit the footage. As the footage is digital it may be edited on a computer and the programmes are relatively inexpensive and simple to use. However time and funding is a factor in this stage and often the footage needs to be taken away to be edited due to a drain of resources at the project site. Lunch *et al* (2006:49) emphasis the need for the edited footage to be returned to the community as soon as possible, as through the participatory video process it is continuously emphasised that the footage belongs to them, if the footage is not returned then the sense of ownership, empowerment, trust and dialogue developed within the community during this process risks being lost.

Drawbacks and criticisms

The main issues that InsightShare’s approach experience revolves around resources – economic, social and time wise - and misconceptions about the participatory video process. The handbook concludes with articles and notes written by participatory video practitioners while in the field. They document the barriers which they experience giving voice to the issues experienced.

Misconceptions often originate from a lack of understanding of the principles of participatory video. The misconceptions are held either by the community or by people unrelated to the project but whose lack of understanding generates unwarranted negative criticism of the

process⁸³. In addressing the issues of misconception in the field, Lunch (2006:108) writes –too often I have seen that participatory video is misunderstood. Some people think it is about a professional filmmaker documenting a participatory activity.” While an opinion from a documentary filmmaker, Hugh Purcell, depicts how misconceptions can be rectified after experiencing, or at least learning to understand, the participatory video process:

Despite my initial suspicions as a traditional documentary filmmaker, I am now convinced that the subjects of our films, 'ordinary people', can be taught to use a film camera with wholly positive results. The new technology of camcorder equipment has helped, but the InsightShare technique of teaching 'participatory video' obviously works... I am convinced by InsightShare's films that in some circumstances people will speak more freely and truthfully if they are filmed in this way...It is using the camera as a means of helping people help themselves; not as an end... (Purcell, 2005, in Lunch *et al*, 2006:107)

These are issues which I expect to encounter in my research for this dissertation, and they are issues which I hypothesise that the use of cell phones as a participatory filmmaking tool will assist in overcoming. Due to the relative ease of availability of cell phones, I anticipate that the time and economic aspects will be minimised (as will power issues related to the loaning of equipment).

Mobile Cinema, Facilitated Discussions and Participatory Filmmaking

The following study by Magnus Kossmann, Marianne Gysae and Sesotho Media & Development (SM&D) focuses on the effect from facilitated screenings of documentaries produced by methods similar to those used in participatory filmmaking. This study provides an example of how films created with PV processes have a positive impact on opening and loosening communication paths between the community members (audience) their community and the wider audience⁸⁴.

⁸³ My own experiences with these misconceptions are found in the Analysis chapter of this dissertation

⁸⁴ For a detailed list of an international range of participatory video examples consult Martin Richard Mhando's (2005) Participatory Video Production in Tanzania: An Ideal or Wishful?

SM&D are an organisation who have been screening documentary films in rural and urban Lesotho through their mobile cinema⁸⁵ since 1999. Since 2004, due to the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Lesotho⁸⁶, the SM&D team have concentrated on screening HIV/AIDS themed documentaries. In 2004 SM&D partnered with Social Transformation and Empowerment Projects (*STEPS*) to produce three documentaries *Ho Ea Rona*, *Ask me I am Positive* and *Looking Good* (2009:10-11). Although these documentaries were not created under the auspices of participatory filmmaking the fact that they were created with the intent of eliciting social change and involved the target community in their production are shared characteristics with films made through participatory filmmaking methods.

These documentaries were shown at facilitated screenings. Many of the facilitators' are openly living with HIV/AIDS. They facilitate conversations with the audience before and after each screening in order to provide a safe, educated communication channel to reduce stigma, misconceptions, build awareness and to provide information for people living with and at risk to HIV/AIDS (Kossmann *et al*, 2009:6-10).

This study was conducted to examine the impact that the facilitated screenings had on the audiences while they were participating as well as how the screening affected their daily lives. Their methodology relied on the analysis of SM&D screening reports, interview with the SM&D team and field research (Kossmann *et al*, 2009:8).

⁸⁵ SM & D's mobile cinema consists of a projector, portable screen and a 12 V alternator that they power through their vehicle (2009; 8). The screenings are held in community halls, at schools, or outside in the open air.

⁸⁶ —"Lesotho has an HIV prevalence of 23,2%, the 3rd highest adult HIV prevalence in the world." (2009, 12)

The films screened were not moralistic or instructive, instead they were aimed at provoking discussion, to raise questions and incite a reaction in order to create an interest, as an interview with Moalosi Thabane, a facilitator and film character, showed:

When you just go there and stand in front of everybody and you just say, —Herd am, I am HIV+”, no one will ever listen to you. The advantage of the films and this methodology is that we don’t just talk, but we let people talk. We are just there to guide them to talk about issues that they really want to talk about. We assist them to make their own decisions. At times I find that when the discussion gets hot and they are talking amongst themselves, I step back a bit and just let them talk. That is very powerful, because if they can talk amongst themselves, then after we are gone they will keep talking (Kossmann *et al*, 2009:10).

In analysis, the authors deduced that the audiences identified with the characters. This is exemplified in the story of ‘the Pinkies’ where two rural living HIV/AIDS positive sisters-in-law both identified with a character named Pinky:

Malitseoana Lipholo: Because of your film (A Red Ribbon around my House), I call myself Pinky because I want people to know that I am HIV+ and I am like her. Pinky’s film made me brave because she was a brave person (Kossmann *et al*, 2009:23).

They stated that seeing people they recognised in the locally produced films helped the audience to identify with the characters and allowed the stories to be more readily assimilated (Kossmann *et al*, 2009, 23). The Pinkies explained how the films gave them frameworks within which they could contextualise their own situation. They could now talk freely to others about living with HIV/AIDS as they have a fictional framework to situate their knowledge gained from the facilitated discussions about issues that are sensitive and complex as well as stories from their own personal experience in (Kossmann *et al*, 2009:23-24). The films proved to be invaluable as a vehicle to enable discussion.

Other interviews illustrated how the screenings made it easier for audience members to talk about living with HIV/AIDS. Such as with youth it enabled them to discuss sex with their parents which is usually forbidden until they are ‘adults’ but after the screenings they could

tell their parents about the films and indirectly discuss their concerns. This proved to educate the parents as well as allowing the youth a chance to seek support.

In conclusion, the researchers found that the films that were best received were the ones made with participatory filmmaking methods with the Basotho community members. This was attributed to the audience recognising and identifying “with the local characters and familiar environments” (Kossmann *et al*, 2009:43). The researchers added that when the screenings were facilitated by community members who were characters in the films the audience feedback, discussion and motivation to make positive life changes was at its highest. The researchers found that the screenings of these documentaries made with similar methods to PV proved to open up community channels, that were previously non-existent because they were labelled as taboo, between the participants, audiences, facilitators and with the wider community. They also found that they encouraged information sharing, learning and seeking, stigma reduction and improved self-esteem of community members living with HIV/AIDS (Kossmann *et al*, 2009, 43-45).

The entertainment value of screening films resulted in the audiences being less gender, class and generation bound than other planned interventions or information sharing workshops. Thus opening a shared space for discussion across social and hierarchical divides was opened (Kossmann *et al*, 2009:43-45). This demonstrates the strength of the lobbying, advocacy and institutional change potential of films created with participatory filmmaking methods, thus:

...youth could address adults about their problems, prison inmates voiced their concerns in front of warders, teachers listened to learners and women were able to challenge men. Actors without voice were able to speak and be listened to, while those in a position of power were forced to listen and engage through this process. This has been an important step towards creating more supportive social environments (Kossmann *et al*, 2009:45).

Conclusion

InsightShare and SM&D have demonstrated the benefits of applying participatory video processes from the point of view of the participants, facilitators and audience. In summary PV has proven to be gender neutral; non-generational; entertaining; and a useful and valued skill to learn. It also opens up communication paths and provides a catalyst for discussion allowing people to see for themselves the choices and processes that go into their visual representation in media. Thus, it empowers people to take cognisance of the way they are represented in film giving them an opportunity to generate their self-representations, giving them the power to decide how they would like to be depicted in film.

As InsightShare's hubs have demonstrated, video equipment is constantly getting cheaper and more accessible. However, as it is still not a practical option for an average person (more practical for people involved with community development programmes where the investment is warranted) the proliferation of cell phones across a wide economic spectrum and their multi-media platform producing and consuming abilities is an area which may be of great benefit to PV programmes. I will explore the use of cell phones as a PV enabler in my research with the participants at PheZulu. I will use PV processes as established by InsightShare (2006) and Worth and Adair (1972) in order to assess whether the Zulu cultural village employees will want to (ie. See a need) take ownership of their representation in the media.

This chapter discussed the potential of video-enabled cell phones to be adapted as a participatory filmmaking medium and the potential of the Zulu cultural performers to require and identify with the founding principles of participatory filmmaking. The methodologies examined in this chapter have influenced my research's methodological design. In Chapter 4

I will discuss the methodological steps that I carried out. In the proceeding chapter I will provide an overview of the theoretical aspect of participatory development and how I will apply it in my research.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Participating in Representation

This theoretical framework chapter comprises of a synopsis of the theorists and concepts that have given birth to, and raised, the participatory development paradigm that then leads into the theory on which participatory video is based on. While the literature reviews the application of participatory filmmaking methods in order to open alternative communication channels within indigenous communities.

Differing Definitions

The concept of *ComDev* was originally defined by Nora Quebral (1975:2) as the ~~art~~ and science of human communication applied to speedy transformation of a country and a mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth (so as to achieve) greater social equity.” However the exact definition is not yet concrete resulting in numerous variations being put forth by the different schools of thought (cf. Manyozo, 2008). This has resulted in an array of names that are used interchangeably and even more definitions, all of which are said to be as valid as the next (Manyozo, 2008:34-35)

Time and research has had an impact on these differing definitions of a non-static theory. This is exemplified by Quebral’s evolved definition of *ComDev* to ~~the~~ art and science of human communication linked to a society’s planned transformation, from a state of poverty to one of dynamic *socio*-economic growth that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential” (emphasis my own, 2002:16).

To frame my dissertation I have chosen to accept the Rockefeller Foundation’s integrated model of communication for social change and Linje Manyozo’s definition of *ComDev* as the

most appropriate definitions of development communication, as they both reveal the modern participatory nature of the subject. Manyozo uses the Rockefeller Foundation's definition, where they understand *ComDev* to be "an interactive process where community dialogue and collective action work together to produce social change in a community" to develop his definition:

(*ComDev* is) a group of method-driven and theory-based community engagement strategies which are built on participatory generation, sharing and utilization of knowledge towards building sustainable communities, livelihoods and environment ...(with) the emphasis (...being) on empowerment, social change, local and indigenous knowledge (Manyozo, 2008:35).

The Need for Participation

The development theory of participatory development, according to Manyozo (2008), was part of the participatory paradigm that was created in response to the failures of previous development theories such as those that fall under the modernization and dependency paradigms. Manyozo (2008:32) explains that the main reason for the failure of the modernisation theorists was their marginalisation of developing countries by accentuating and perpetuating their classification as an economic periphery. Whereas participatory development communication advocate Jan Servaes (1991:60-61) views the main failures of the dependency theories as being their static nature and their emphasis on the external (i.e. International) relationship between 'center' and 'periphery'⁸⁷ states, whilst not conducting enough research into the internal class struggle of the inhabitants of the periphery states.

Servaes and Patichnee Malikhoa (2005) criticise the banking method of learning, as well as the traditional sender-receiver models of communication, emphasising that, although it is easier for the learned to give lectures than to encourage dialogical learning, the former has

⁸⁷ 'Center' states were seen as those 'Western' countries which controlled the world economy and exercised power over their colonised countries, whilst 'periphery' states were those which were colonised.

proved problematic in development strategies of the past. The banking method of learning was coined by forerunner of the participatory development communication paradigm Paulo Freire in the 1970s. It refers to the traditional system of education whereby the focus is to domesticate the masses. Freire (1972/1990) goes on to pose a problem posing concept of education as the way forward, whereby the societies may be liberated through education instead of subjugated to the hegemonic ideals.

The participatory development paradigm arose in response to the short comings of the previous development communication models. Servaes (1996) stressed that there was a desperate need for development model that emphasised human dignity, respect for others cultural diversity, open communication channels and media to all people, not just those in power, in order to give people a voice and mode of action so that they can produce, implement and communicate their own methods of development. According to Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania and advocate of the African Socialist movement of the 1970s, participatory development is the only true way in which people will accept and assimilate development changes for themselves, as it gives people the opportunity to change their behaviour through their own understanding, rather than merely instructing them to. Nyerere (1973:60) eloquently demonstrates this point in the following:

People cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's home, an outsider cannot give the man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create in himself by his own actions. He develops himself by what he does; he develops himself by making his own decisions by increasing his understanding of what he is doing, and why; by increasing his own knowledge and ability, and by his own full participation – as an equal – in the life of the community he lives in.

According to Servaes and Malikhao (2005) participatory communication is partly based on the dialogical pedagogy of Freire. Freire is said to draw on the theology of “respect for otherness” and existentialism, and “insists on a dialogical communication approach whereby

subjugated peoples must be treated as fully human subjects in any (...) process” (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005:96). Hence, participatory communication theory is one which insists on a communication process which values dialogue, listening and trust above all else.

According to Servaes (1996:75) mutual trust is intrinsically important to the smooth running of any participatory programme as ~~(t)~~his model stresses *reciprocal collaboration* throughout all levels of participation. Listening to what the others say, respecting the counterpart’s attitude, and having mutual trust are needed.” Servaes’ (2004: 91) interpretation of participatory communication illustrates these points further:

Communication between people thrives not on the ability to talk fast, but the ability to *listen* well. People are ‘voiceless’ not because they have nothing to say, but because nobody cares to listen to them. Authentic listening fosters trust much more than incessant talking. Participation, which necessitates listening, and moreover, trust, will help reduce the social distance between communicators and receivers, between teachers and learners, between leaders and followers as well as facilitate a more equitable exchange of ideas, knowledge and experiences.

Understanding One’s Self, and then Acting on It

Freire (1972/1990) believes that the only true way for an ‘oppressed’⁸⁸ individual to be free of their ‘oppressor’ is through their own internalisation of their oppression. He says that they, themselves as well as a community, must come up with a way forward, and should not rely on non-community members for their liberation or redemption⁸⁹ (Freire, 1972/1990:30). The *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is a four-step liberation process which Freire advises communities to follow which places specific emphasis on the oppressed being their own example in their struggle to be emancipated. The steps are described as being the realisation

⁸⁸ Freire uses a communist inspired philosophical diction to describe his ideas, a diction which relies heavily on the use of ‘oppressed’ and ‘oppressors’ to portray people who are subjugated by others (be it through media related circumstance, or political and economical etc) and those that suppress them, respectively.

⁸⁹ It is important for me to emphasise that I do not feel that the participants themselves are ‘subjugated’, or in need of development in the traditional economic sense, rather that their image in the media is.

of oppression; the assimilation of possible paths for liberation; the formulation of action; and, the performing of action (Freire, 1972/1990:30).

This *pedagogy of the oppressed* is then transformed into the notion of conscientisation, a process intrinsically linked to participatory development, whereby the most importance in this process is not valued exclusively in awareness but rather in ~~its~~ relationship to a project of social transformation, whereby consciousness and action on consciousness are dialectically linked” (Servaes, 1996:78). Freire goes on to expand on the importance of the concept of conscientisation by emphasizing a dialogical relationship: ~~the~~ the correct method lies in dialogue. The conviction of the oppressed that they must fight for their liberation is not a gift bestowed by the revolutionary leadership, but the result of their own conscientisation” (1972/1990:42).

Stress is placed, by Srinivas Melkote and Leslie Steeves (2001:338-339), on the importance of open communication channels to be used to generate a dialogue so as to let people understand each other, each other’s problems, and a communities collective problems. There is an emphasis placed on the necessity of these subjugated people to reflect and identify their real needs and problems and to use these communication channels to express and solve them. In this sense, ~~communication~~ communication is (...) a vehicle for liberation from mental and psychological shackles that bind people to structures and processes of oppression” (Melkote and Steeves, 2001:339). Servaes and Malikhao (2005:91), also emphasise this need for dialogical communication channels:

[T]here is possibly a valid reason why we have two ears, but only one mouth. Communication between people thrives not on the ability to talk fast, but the ability to *listen* well. People are voiceless not because they have nothing to say, but because nobody cares to listen to them.

Power to the People

Melkote and Steeves (2001:354) state that empowerment is a construct which can be defined on many different levels, and which may be contextualised within numerous, varying contexts. Even when narrowed down to the field of *ComDev*, there are still numerous working definitions of empowerment available. For the purpose of this dissertation I will use Nigel Rappaport's (1981/1995 cited in Melkote & Steeves, 2001:355) definition of empowerment:

[T]he mechanism by which individuals, organisations, and communities gain control and mastery over social and economic conditions; over democratic participation in their community; and over their stories. While we get to read scholarly papers or theses about local peoples' stories, we seldom get to hear their actual voice.

The focus for this dissertation is put on the use of individual's stories to create a sense of empowerment, in the way that a sense of power is handed back to marginalised people when a form of respect is given to their voice. Melkote and Steeves (2001:355) discuss how these local stories are usually only heard through the form of public media, ~~the~~ the power to create, select, and tell stories about one's self, one's group, or other people is controlled by elites through this organizations, networks, agents, or genres". Thus minorities are robbed of an important cultural resource – the right to tell their own stories, ~~Peoples'~~ Peoples' right to communicate their stories should be at the heart of the participatory strategies leading to empowerment" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:355).

Owning the Future

In order to mobilise the concept of participatory development, the relationship between participation and power needs to be recognised and dealt with (Cohen, 1996). Sylvia Cohen stipulates that in a people-centered approach, such as the one discussed in this dissertation, one has to be careful to include all levels of individuals, who will be affected by this

development strategy, as active participants in all stages of the development system. This inclusion of individuals at all levels shall create a sense of ownership of the development initiative in the subjugated individuals. Ownership is thus seen as a tool of creating a sense of pride in a community (or individual) through their respected, regular involvement in problem recognition; problem solving; decision-making; decision planning and active resolution in the case of their own development (Cohen, 1996:226).

Through Someone Else's Eyes: The Origins of Participatory Filmmaking

Shifting from Vertical to Horizontal

We live in an age where communication and development is increasingly participatory in nature, or at least attempts to be. Shirley White (2003) comments on development practitioners growing focus on the human and social elements in development instead of merely economic; where processes such as pluralism and liberalisation in the media, as well as decentralisation and democratisation are changing media domination from a top-down approach to a ‘people-to-people’ horizontal process; and where the availability of communication technologies to developing countries have enabled communities to take ownership of media platforms such as radio, print and video (White, 2003:8). This has all lead to an era where it is now possible for communities to put their own voice ‘out there’, a development that is empowering indigenous communities to take ownership of their own representation.

Participatory video was initially introduced in the 1960s in Canada as there was a growing tendency towards focusing on the need to involve communities in the representation of their own culture, so that —instead of an outside film industry making top-down films *about* people, films might be made *by* the people about their own social problems” (Crocker, 2003:125).

Stephen Crocker (2003) documents the ‘birth’ of participatory video by examining the *Fogo Process*.

The *Fogo Process* was developed on the Fogo Islands off the coast of Canada, and is widely regarded as the origin of participatory filmmaking methods. Crocker (2003: 125-126) tells how producer and director Colin Low teamed up with community development worker Donald Snowden in order to make a documentary on poverty and other issues troubling the poor fishing community who resided on the islands. Low and Snowden were influenced by the negative reception of a previous Canadian documentary entitled *The Things I Cannot Change* (1966), which was about a poverty stricken family in Montreal, who, after the screening of the documentary, experienced embarrassment and ridicule from their community.

Learning from the negative reception of *The Things I Cannot Change* (1966), instead of making a documentary *about* the community Low and Snowden worked as what Crocker terms “field-agents” (Crocker, 2003: 126). Their role as field-agents was to assist in the production of the films, which they encouraged the communities to script, and be involved hands-on in a variety of roles in the filmmaking process such as editing. They also encouraged the communities in the participation of screenings and by leading discussions about the films post-screening in order to engage the entire community in the process (Crocker, 2003:126-127). Crocker describes community feedback, the community’s control over the image, and the function of the field-agents as key characteristics that arose from the *Fogo Process* that resulted in the template for proceeding participatory film and video collaborations (Crocker, 2003: 128).

The emphasis in this method of filmmaking is on process rather than product (Snowden, 1984). The reasons for making a film, who the makers are, who is being represented, and for what purpose the film is being made are key factors in the production of a participatory video. In essence, a participatory film is made by the subjects of the film according to suit their own purposes.

Visual Communication

In 1966 John Adair and Sol Worth, two of the forerunning visual communication theorists⁹⁰, conducted a study with seven Navajo participants where they aimed to document the film making process of a non-filmmaking, culturally and linguistically different⁹¹ group of people. By teaching them how to use 16 mm film cameras so that they may script, film and edit their own movies.

The importance of their study lay in the lack of empirical research available at that time in visual anthropology and the study of visual communication from media, communication, and anthropological viewpoints. Sol Worth, Jay Ruby and Larry Gross all worked to bring about a change in the study of visual communication by influencing the research methodologies of communication academics from being predominantly quantitative to include more qualitative methods such as ethnography⁹². Although situated within the Sender-Message-Receiver model⁹³ of communication, which has links to quantitative methods, through the course of

⁹⁰ Larry Gross (1981) in his *Introduction* to Worth's *Studying Visual Communication* describes Worth as "one of the central figures in the development of the study of visual communication" who drew on disciplines of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and linguistics.

⁹¹ 'Different' in comparison to the 'of-European-descent' researchers and their western academic viewpoint.

⁹² Term explained in this dissertation's methodology chapter

⁹³ Sender-Message-Receiver model's make up and criticisms is explained in Chapter 3

Worth's research he accepts that communication is more complex and encourages the development and use of alternative theories⁹⁴.

Eric Michaels (1986), summarises this complexity and highlights the necessity of research like Worth and Adair's in the following:

The goal is to discover how people become competent in and use visual and pictorial forms in their everyday lives as a means of maintaining their social identity. Social behaviours which surround the making and using of these 'artefacts' are the key to understanding the visual/pictorial domain as communication. We lack sufficient understanding of the role of visual images in our lives. It can only be gained through a long-term intensively participatory and comprehensive study of movies, houses, snapshots, TV, etc., as they appear in the everyday lives of people (Michaels, 1986:153).

Through Navajo Eyes was heralded as being an influential study in the field of visual communications due to its innovative methodology rather than its academic excellence. The following comment by Ruby (1990), which is congruent with Worth's viewpoint, was in line with the preceding thought that opened the doorway for participatory filmmaking endeavours:

The foundation of an anthropology of visual communication is the assumption that the unit of analysis should be the community and the community members' social interaction with these events and not focus exclusively upon the product or artefact.

The reason for testing their methodology⁹⁵ with the Navajos was due to the indigenous Navajos popularity with North American academia at the time. The Navajos simultaneous existence in 'two worlds' is the most apparent reason for their hold on academic curiosity. In one sense, researchers classified them as a preserved and untouched 'Other', who are close to nature and who continued to practice their traditional cultural practices. While in the other sense they interact as English speaking 'Same' who are urbanised, Westernised and who have modern values and world view. This allows for a mix of the unknown with the known,

⁹⁴ Detailed in the posthumously published *Studying Visual Communication* (ed. Gross, 1981).

⁹⁵ Description of their methodology to be found in this dissertation's methodology chapter.

making their culture both accessible and intriguing to researchers. Due to the vast amount of visual data and research collected about them with which Worth and Adair could compare results against, they were able to pick up patterns and visual cues specific to the Navajos' worldview.

As a means of controlling variables Worth and Adair deemed it necessary for the participants to belong to a community which recognises themselves as being culturally cohesive. The Navajo demonstrated this characteristic by referring to themselves as *Dine*, which translates to "The People"⁹⁶ (Worth and Adair, 1972:32).

Worth's interpretation of film as a "non-art" is enabled by placing focus on film's communicative functions rather than its artistic ones (Gross, 1981:11). Due to Worth and Adair's situation within an anthropology and visual communication framework and as they bear no obvious intent to be development orientated the objectives of their study do not fit into a participatory filmmaking framework. However, by examining their objectives and findings from a development perspective one will notice characteristic points of modern-day participatory film – in their methodology and in their results. This is most noticeable in their emphasis on their need to garner acceptance from the community as a whole; the researchers' minimum interference with the filmmaking process; and their focus on "how man can present himself" (Worth and Adair, 1972:8). The point of divergence is that their hypothesis did not *intentionally* encourage the community to 'develop' or 'better' themselves.

⁹⁶ The Zulus share the traits described in the above two paragraphs with the Navajos. I will explain this in detail in the methodology chapter of this dissertation.

Bio-Documentary

Early anthropologists and other social science researchers began exploring the concept of using film to document the lives of their object of study⁹⁷. This led to a problematic framework where these people (objects of study) were continuously the subjects and/or objects of the film. The researcher told their stories from his or her own perspective.

Thus, Adair and Worth refer to influential anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) who say ~~the~~ final goal, of which an Ethnographer should never lose sight. . . is, briefly, to grasp the natives' point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world." They have gone to say how anthropologists such as John Collier (1967) and Dorothy Cross-Leighton (1944) have photographed the environment of their informants as a sensitive means for eliciting data often missed by other methods of investigation. Other researchers (Spindler, 1955; Goldschmidt and Edgerton, 1961; Mills, 1959; and Bouman, 1954) have attempted to use visual or non-verbal methods of eliciting opinions and views from indigenous people of their environment, so that the researcher may begin to get a more holistic feel of their worldviews⁹⁸.

The social sciences have traditionally used film to record observable events to assist the researcher with his documentation and analysis or as an education aid (Worth & Adair, 1972: 23-25). Anthropologists often produce films that qualify as documentaries through their interpretation of their object of study. This is useful for introducing their research to a wider,

⁹⁷ Their object of study was usually people who were of a different culture to that of the researcher (typically of European descent). To a western/colonial society (origin of popularly-accepted academia), it was the indigenous of the new world or from a different world that were viewed as specimens worth researching and documenting (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 2008; Gordon, 1985).

⁹⁸ It is often documented that translation in between language's regularly cause slight (or large) miscommunication

not exclusively academic, audience. However, Worth proposed an alternative way to using film. In a report which he presented in 1964 at a meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology he proposed a ‘new’ method of filmmaking: the *bio-documentary*. Which he describes as being:

...a film made by a person to show how he feels about himself and his world. It is a subjective way of showing what the objective world that a person sees is “really” like. In part, this kind of film bears the same relation to documentary film that a self-portrait has to a portrait or a [biography to an] autobiography. In addition, because of the specific way that this kind of film is made, it often captures feelings and reveals values, attitudes, and concerns that lie beyond conscious control of the maker. (Worth, 1964, in Worth and Adair, 1972:25)

Through their development of the bio-documentary methodology Worth and Adair highlight the controversial role which subjectivity plays in documentary filmmaking. They state that no documentary may be objective unless it embraces and highlights the filmmaker’s viewpoint (Worth and Adair, 1972:26). A bio-documentary then, according to them, is objective due to one of its defining characteristics being that it is a subjectively created film with an emphasis on the filmmaker’s involvement. “The intent of the Bio-documentary filmmaker is to present the subjective, the phenomenological, rather than the objective” (Worth and Adair, 1972:26).

Worth’s 1964 report emphasized that it was this “intent”⁹⁹ that defined the bio-documentary. Similarly, he emphasised that due to the intent of the filmmakers being an important characteristic the intent of the film viewer¹⁰⁰ has to alter too. This is because if they were to interpret a bio-documentary within the same framework as they would a traditional documentary, whether it is commercial or academic, the purpose of the bio-documentary would be lost. Worth views the usefulness of this emphasis on intent as a validating attribute of bio-documentaries as it allows the researcher (typically anthropologist), as well as any

⁹⁹ It is this focus on the “process” that separates participatory filmmaking from traditional filmmaking.

¹⁰⁰ The same shift in audience expectations is necessary in order for participatory video to have its intended effect.

other film viewer, to analyse the filmmaker's world view without being inhibited by language, cultural or power differences. It also allows for the comparison of the filmmaker's view with the researcher/film viewer's own (Worth, 1964 in Worth and Adair, 1972:27).

At the time of Worth's report he had yet to formalise the methodology which he and Adair based their *Through Navajo Eyes* research on. However, they had begun testing his hypothesis with underprivileged high-school dropouts and students at a school of communication in Philadelphia (Worth and Adair, 1972:25). During these studies Worth and Adair's main concern was whether it was feasible to teach people from other cultures (participants were predominantly English second language speakers) how to use film. Due to the success of these workshops, they concluded that:

The Bio-Documentary is a film that can be made by a person who is not a professional filmmaker or by someone who has never made a film before. It is a film that can be made by anyone with enough skill...to drive a car (Worth and Adair, 1972:26).

This reassurance that language or cultural differences would not be a hindering factor in teaching a group of people how to create a film coupled with their interest in "film is a language" (Eisenstein, 1949) was reassuring for Worth and Adair's proposal to test their methodology with the Navajos. Worth and Adair deduced that the utilisation of linguistic terms in reference to film was based on poetic licence rather than scientific research (Worth and Adair, 1972:22). However, the prospect of analysing film through a linguistic framework¹⁰¹ still intrigued them, especially when studied from an aspect of inter-cultural communication:

A working hypothesis, then, for our study was that motion picture film, conceived, photographed, and sequentially arranged by a people such as the Navajo, would reveal aspects of coding, cognition, and values that may be inhibited, not observable, or not analysable when

¹⁰¹ It is important to stress that they emphasize that they intended to "look for structures analogous to those of language and not to claim that film actually is a language in a linguistic sense"

the investigation is totally dependent on verbal exchange - especially when such research must be done in the language of the investigator. (Worth and Adair, 1972:27)

Through Navajo Eyes

John Collier (1974:481) described Worth and Adair's research as 'revolutionary', 'extraordinary' and 'innovative' in his audiovisual review of the seven films produced in the *Through Navajo Eyes* project (Collier, 1974:481). This was a shared sentiment with many academics of the time leading *Through Navajo Eyes* to become a classic text in visual anthropology courses. Its novelty lay in it being the first recorded anthropological study where the researchers gave their equipment to the people being studied and requested them to produce something.

Although there were theorists examining the psychological and symbolic aspects of various forms of visual communication¹⁰² (Panofsky, 1939; Gombrich, 1961; Worth, 1970; Kessler, 1970) there was little data available on filmic coding, specifically the processes through which filmmakers create visual images in film (Worth and Adair, 1972:19). Thus, they aimed to conduct research to further the new¹⁰³ discipline of visual anthropology by developing methods through which one could analyse the construction process of visual communication.

As attempting to theorise on the processes involved in film making on a universal level is a daunting feat, Worth and Adair localised their study to examine the processes which a specific group based in a specific area and situated in a specific context, use to construct film. They then aimed to compare these findings against the same study conducted with other

¹⁰² There was extensive literature available on film, film analysis, film aesthetics, the effects of film on audiences (both psychologically and physiologically) and the effect of historical context on film creation (Worth and Adair, 1972:18).

¹⁰³ In the late 1960s and early 1970s visual anthropology was still a new academic concern.

groups in order to examine whether patterns occurred. As a means of contextualising their study they wrote:

Why and how a culture develops special and preferred methods of communication for specific and differing purposes and how these preferences change over time is a problem that has only just been recognized, and one that the methods and observations in this study are meant to illuminate (Worth and Adair, 1972:20).

The researchers deemed it necessary to teach the participants only the technical side of how to use a camera and edit (load film, focus, cut the film, splice it etc.) to keep the structure of the film as uninfluenced by Western codes of representation as possible. Although the Navajo participants had exposure to Western made Hollywood films, it was interesting to note that there is not much evidence of this in their final films¹⁰⁴. This was a positive result for the researchers as it showed that the Navajo participants had assimilated the film making process and made films that were an expression of their nuanced communication methods – culturally, linguistically and visually.

The Navajos' films proved that when filmmakers, no matter how experienced, make a film according to their own devices and not specifically for a purpose¹⁰⁵ the nuances of their culture will be apparent. One's culture is inseparable from one's daily life. It is almost impossible for anyone within a certain culture to identify his or her own markers. Film acts as a mirror to society, whether it is a commercially made Hollywood blockbuster, a documentary or a bio-documentary, the culture of the filmmaker is reflected in it, and, by default, the viewer will be able to examine their own culture whether by noting similarities or differences (Worth and Adair, 1972:254).

¹⁰⁴ A detailed analysis of the seven films produced during the Navajo project is not necessary for the purpose of this dissertation, however, they may be found in the source text (Worth and Adair, 1972) as well as in numerous reviews from journals such as the one found in the *American Anthropologist* (1974).

¹⁰⁵ Of course, no research is free from expectation and the influence of context, however, that is a psychological concern acknowledged but not included in my research.

After examining the nuances of Navajo culture which were apparent in the films produced by the Navajos Worth and Adair (1972:253-255) noted that their methodology was successful in revealing culture as determined and organised by people within that culture in the form of a universally accessible media such as film. Typically, researchers, anthropologists and commercial filmmakers have made films of communities different from their own, however through their research Worth and Adair highlighted the contradiction of relying solely on Western, or outsider, generated media:

Who makes these films? —~~W~~” do. We do because that is the way we have done it since the motion picture camera was invented. We do because that is the way to be objective, scientific, and accurate. We do because we are anthropologists, scholars, researchers, or whatnot. We do because it never occurred to us that ~~they~~” ought to be doing it, that ~~they~~” can do it, and most importantly that when —~~W~~” do it we are showing a picture of our world and salvaging a culture not of others but of ourselves. Our record of them might very well be a record of us (Worth 1972 in Worth and Adair, 1972:253-254).

The importance of introducing¹⁰⁶ an innovation to a community so that they may create film is enabling them to possess an alternative method of communication through which they may not only organise their worldview but through which they may communicate their worldview with people from other cultures (Worth and Adair, 1972:254).

Worth and Adair (1972:7) noted that even though their methodology of teaching culturally different groups of people to use film so that they may produce their own has been reproduced numerous times¹⁰⁷ there was (at the time of their book going to press in 1972) hardly any research done on the effects of these films¹⁰⁸. They asked ~~what~~ are we to say or think or feel about the resultant movies. How do we deal with these movies? Of what value

¹⁰⁶ Or, as with my research, encouraging a community to use an established technology in a different way.

¹⁰⁷ For example: Eric Michaels work with the Australian Aboriginal Warlpiri community; George Stoney's Canadian Challenge for Change program and his work with New York University's Alternative Media Center; Sarah Elder and Leonard Kamerling's Alaskan Heritage project, and David and Judith McDougall's Australian films (Ruby, 1990)

¹⁰⁸ Eric Michael's research with the Australian Aborigines was one of the innovative exceptions.

are they? To whom? How shall we use them?" (Worth and Adair, 1972:7). These are questions that we are now able to answer due to the development of participatory filmmaking practices.

The positive results of Worth and Adair's study should have catalysed duplicate studies in order to attempt to answer the questions that they proposed, however, it did not, laments Jay Ruby (1990). Instead, the research it predominantly sparked included the production of films that were portrayed as being produced by the research participants meanwhile, in reality, the researchers had a heavy influence in the outcome of each of the films. Ruby (1990:2) critiqued:

...it became fashionable to obtain grants for "native generated" films. Most of the "facilitators" of the projects were filmmakers or liberal do-gooders who wanted to "help" the downtrodden gain access to the media. The results were a number of pseudo-native films.

The reason for the researchers heavily influencing the outcome of these films could be linked to the lack of faith that the researchers had in the ability of the 'native-generated' films to speak for themselves. This is a concern that has carried over into today's participatory filmmaking practices where the habit of expecting an aesthetically pleasing, entertaining and 'classically'¹⁰⁹ edited film fights to outweigh the more important aspect of intent and the effect which the film has on the maker and the viewer from a cultural and visual communication perspective. Ruby goes on to remind us of the positive effect which "media self-determination" has on self-identity (Ruby, 1990:20), which is invaluable aspect of the participatory video process.

¹⁰⁹ 'Hollywood' style

The research conducted with the Australian Aboriginal Warlpiri's by Eric Michaels¹¹⁰ was one of the studies inspired by Worth and Adair which was true to their bio-documentary theory. He initiated and orchestrated the set-up of a narrowcast community television station where the Warlpiri community produced hundreds of hours of VCR footage in an attempt to offer an alternative to the hegemonic Western-worldview dominated television broadcasters and their stereotypical portrayal of indigenous communities such as the Aborigines (Ruby, 1990). The positive impacts which the advent of videocassette recording (VCR) technologies (1980s – early 2000s) had on the cost and accessibility of filmmaking to non-professionals is congruent with the proliferation of , the even cheaper, digital filmmaking technologies and the current developments in cellular phones and cellphilm-making technologies¹¹¹. Michaels not only documented, theorised and presented his findings on this form of 'bio-documentary' research but he introduced an innovation to his research community. He thus was able to support his concepts and theories on the effects and uses of visual communication with real-life research findings and actual case studies. This was innovative due to the lack of empirical data regarding media, television, culture and information. Previously researchers based their arguments predominately on ungrounded assumptions (Ruby, 1990).

The following section will bring to light the positive impact that teaching people to use film so that they may have another method of communication has for the community making the films.

All together now: Participatory Filmmaking in Action

The need to theorise filmic apparatus in two parts was highlighted by Phillip Rosen (1986) in *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology: A Film Studies Reader*. Firstly, one must examine the

¹¹⁰ Michaels 1982a, 1982b, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1986a, 1986b, and 1987

¹¹¹ Refer to the section titled —'Appropriating Technology' for a detailed account of this phenomenon.

apparatus in literal terms - studying the varying effects that machinery (including hardware and software) has on the production and reading of a film text. Secondly, that of the larger social, cultural and institutional “machine” within which the film is situated (Rosen, 1986:282-283). Both these views of filmic apparatus will be examined in this dissertation, as the way in which the Zulu culture has been mediated through visual texts (film and photographic) is influenced by the apparatus through which it is produced.

An “ideology of the visible” is set up in the mind of the viewer, as “cinema apparatus...participates in the psychic and social construction of spectators whose subjectivity is then reconfirmed by belief in the image” (Rosen, 1986:283). By inverting the conventional production relationship, and providing the wherewithal for subject-generated production, I aim to explore how the subjects create their own “ideology of the visible”.

In this section, I will review how practitioners and participants are using participatory filmmaking methods to open alternative communication channels.

InsightShare

InsightShare’s practical application of participatory video is a working example of how this methodology can be used for research and development. InsightShare is a United Kingdom/France based company that initiates and facilitates participatory video projects with communities, NGOs, research institutions and governmental organisations around the world (most notably Central Asia, Africa, China, India and the UK) (Lunch *et al*, 2006;1). They advocate that:

...those who live and breathe a way of life are those who are best placed to understand its limitations and opportunities; they are the true experts...PV can initiate a process of analysis and change that celebrates local knowledge and practice, while stimulating creativity both within and beyond the community (Lunch, 2006;1).

The directors and founders of InsightShare are brothers Chris and Nick Lunch. Chris Lunch ‘discovered’ the benefits of PV while working as an anthropologist with the shepherds in Kazakhstan (Sunday Tribune, 2007). In order to encourage the use of participatory video, independent of their involvement, they wrote a handbook detailing their methodology titled *Insights into Participatory Video: A Handbook for the Field* (2006), which I shall discuss in the methodology section of this dissertation. The authors have applied this methodology in numerous international settings, the majority of which are documented on their self-titled website¹¹².

It is clear from the documentation of their methods and case studies (Lunch, 2012) that they are more concerned with the practical application of PV than the theoretical processes. This has resulted in a lack of application of analysis of their empirical data. Although the practitioners are actively involved in encouraging the use of PV processes by aid organisations, governments and development facilitators as a planning, monitoring and evaluation, communication, research and data collection method, academic literature evaluating the reliability of their methodology is scarce. However, practical proof of their PV process is clearly visible in the analysis of their case studies (Lunch, 2012). As Soledad Muniz (2011, 94), an InsightShare associate, summarises:

...the videos have not only influenced policy, but the organisations themselves. Partners are now able to identify commonalities, interpretations and ways of representation – and share critical information and feelings that cannot be found in a report. They can see through the eyes of those people who are the main actors of the story...

InsightShare’s wide range of case studies have proven that PV’s versatility as an empowering, accessible and useful tool which indigenous communities can use to their own purposes. InsightShare has utilised the participatory video process in a wide variety of

¹¹² <http://insightshare.org/>

situations. Examples of themes covered are: human rights, indigenous issues, health, community action, bio-cultural diversity, climate change and natural resource management¹¹³. Moreover, project categories are labelled as: participatory research, community consultation, capacity building, monitoring and evaluation, advocacy, human rights based and/or video messages¹¹⁴. As InsightShare depends predominantly on funding from development organisations such as Oxfam and the Global Environment Facility Small Grants Programme (Lunch, 2012) they, of course, are influenced by their funders' objectives. However, due to the nature of the PV process the participant community decides upon their focus and outcome.

Through the PV process the shielded production process of film making is lifted and participants can experience for themselves how filmic representation is created. As Michelle Leibbrandt, a video editor from *The Valley Trust*¹¹⁵ summarises “usually a producer decides on a story and together with a cameraman this is then filmed. From there a script is written. Participatory video turns all that on its head” (Sunday Tribune, 2007). This is especially useful for participants who are a part of indigenous or media-marginalised communities (i.e. Zulu) as the representation process that they are usually objects of is demystified. Through the groups' discussions on how best to be represented and how to represent people in a certain way for a certain audience or to highlight a specific message they are allowed a chance to experience the decision making process behind their mediated image.

¹¹³ <http://insightshare.org/resources/case-study/all>

¹¹⁴ <http://insightshare.org/resources/case-study/all>

¹¹⁵ The *Valley Trust* is a NGO in KwaZulu-Natal situated about 15 kilometres from my research site at PheZulu Safari Park

Due to the positive¹¹⁶ results of their programmes, InsightShare have developed a “Hub” initiative that allows for the participatory video processes to be colloquialised. Volunteers are encouraged to adapt the process to suit their local customs/traditions and needs. The establishment of “hubs” has become possible due to the lowering of the price of digital video recorders allowing equipment to be left with a community so that they may use their skills after the participatory video facilitators have left. Although this may only be done if there are funds available, such as the case with InsightShare, however it is not feasible for them to ensure every community they work with has their own equipment, which is why I am proposing the use of cell phones in this dissertation.

Bambumlilo is the South African InsightShare hub. The core volunteers who were a part of the initial InsightShare participatory video workshops were originally volunteers with an organic food security programme called *Vumani Urban Renewal Programme*¹¹⁷. Their prior commitment to this programme is one of the main reasons why PV showed positive results in this community. As Lunch *et al* (2006:4) say “PV is no miracle – it can do little in isolation”.

Although they went on to highlight the need for transparency, commitment and the establishment of reasonable goals from the facilitators side, I feel that it is just as important for the participants to have the correct characteristics and commitment in order for the PV process to work. These characteristics may be: a high level of interest in the outcome of the process; the ability to put aside time to commit to the project as well as an interest in skills development. Why would someone invest hours in learning how to film and use a camera if they are a) not interested b) cannot visualise the outcome of the project benefitting them in

¹¹⁶ The creative and entertainment aspect of PV is one of the fundamental reason why this methodology attracts and sustains the interest of the participants (Lunch, 2012).

¹¹⁷ <http://www.bambumlilo.co.za/past.html>

any way? The volunteers of *Bambulilo* have demonstrated these characteristics such as dedication and a genuine interest in the outcome. This combined with a sense of agency¹¹⁸ resulted in the positive outcome so far with eleven participatory films being produced¹¹⁹.

The established hubs, such as *Bambulilo*, are described as being in the ‘_b̃ta’ stage of development (Bambulilo, 2012). According to *Bambulilo*¹²⁰ they are evaluated on a regular basis to determine what methodology should be used in the establishment of more hubs. *Bambulilo*’s current goal is to take on the task of developing an alternate media in order to:

...affect social change within our society and to empower people with their own creativity. We see PV process as a revolutionary method to introduce debate and social change within civil society¹²¹.

¹¹⁸ Through the volunteers productive work with the Vumani Urban Renewal Programme they were able to raise enough funds to purchase a microphone, camera and tripod.

¹¹⁹ <http://bambulilo.co.za/projects2.html>

¹²⁰ <http://www.bambulilo.co.za/past.html>

¹²¹ <http://www.bambulilo.co.za/homepage.html>

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter will serve to outline the methodology used in my research design. In order address to the objectives of my study the following questions were constructed: To what extent can cell phones be used as a participatory filmmaking technology? For what purpose do the Zulu participants ¹²² represent themselves through the subject-generated cellphilms?

As my research is situated within the field of cultural studies I will employ a mixture of methodologies, drawing primarily from anthropology, ethnography and media studies. I am aware of the limitations of the adaptation of ethnographic methodologies such as autoethnography as the majority of the studies, mine included, are based over a relatively shorter term when compared to traditional anthropological studies (Mhiripiri, 2008).

Appropriating Methodologies

Due to the complications which arise out of empirical research, alterations to methodologies are often a necessity. The steps detailed in InsightShare's workshopping techniques have been modified to fit my research site's context, which is quite different from the sites detailed in their writing. A few of these changes will be discussed in this section, however the bulk is detailed in Chapters 2 and 5.

My research draws on Worth and Adair's "participant intervention" methods by my encouragement of the use of video enabled cell phones by participants from an indigenous community to create cellphilms in a defined geographical and culturally rich area. The Zulu

¹²² For the purpose of this dissertation the participants are defined as an indigenous community involved in cultural tourism.

participants share similarities with the Navajo as both are indigenous communities with a defined sense of community and well-documented¹²³ cultural symbols.

I diverge from their research as the community with whom I am working with is accustomed to using cell phones, film making techniques and the representations of their culture in the media. Another point of divergence is in my use of cell phones as a means of producing participatory film. The hypothesised impact that this has will have on the final product is discussed in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, Chapter 1, under the heading *Cellphilms for Development*. In the analysis of the philms I will be able to see whether the future use of cell phones for participatory film is to be advocated or whether the process is lost in the ‘confusion’¹²⁴ of the product.

Initially I aimed to follow the steps laid out in InsightShare’s handbook, however, as was discussed in my methodology their methodology proved to be too time intensive for use in my research situation. This was partly due to the influence that gate-keepers can have on academic research, especially when that research takes place in a commercial context – such as working with cultural tourism employees during working hours.

Mixing Methodologies

Cultural Studies is aptly described as a ‘field of enquiry’ rather than a discipline (Mhiripiri, 2009:69). While epistemological borders are arbitrary, the empirical realities are such that in practice there is a blurring between disciplinarian boundaries. The blurring has become so extensive and anachronistic that it is no longer possible to defend disciplinarian names such

¹²³ For references, see Worth and Adair (1972)

¹²⁴ People have often critiqued cellphilms as they don’t understand how they can be relevant when the product is so far removed from the general public’s interpretation of a traditional film.

as ethnography (and) anthropology...” (Mhiripiri, 2008:71). When attempting to define this dynamic and constantly evolving ‘field of enquiry’ academics tend to produce articles and books which pose more questions than they do answers. One such example is offered by Simon During (1993:1):

Cultural studies is, of course, the study of culture, or, more particularly, the study of *contemporary culture* ... (A)ssuming that we know precisely what contemporary culture, it can be analysed in many ways – sociologically, for instance, by ‘objectively’ describing its institutions and functions as if they belong to a large, regulated system; or economically, by describing the effects of investment and marketing on cultural production. More traditionally, it can be studied ‘critically’ by celebrating either large forms (like literature) or specific texts and images (like *Waiting for Godot* or an episode of *Cheers*).

This ambiguity has left the field open to interpretation. Thus CCMS’s has chosen to define the influence of cultural studies on their theoretical situation in the following way:

Central Theoretical spine of Cultural Studies (CS) comprises of:

1. Social theories
2. Theories of language and meaning: Semiotics, linguistics, discourse analysis, representation
3. Ethnographic methodologies: Use of focus groups, interactive and participative research
4. Survey and numerical methods: Empirical data used to qualify and/or modify theory in relation to practice, to test assumptions, and to operationalize social critique

(CCMS website, 2013)

Including One’s Self

Social science research is difficult, if not nearly impossible, to replicate due to the ever changing nature of culture of the researcher and the researched community: “Social science theories and methodologies are uniquely subjective and personalised experiences, and this explains in part why different fieldworkers give different accounts of the same society ” (Mhiripiri, 2008:75). Therefore, it is imperative to document the process in detail so that the context within which the research was conducted may be experienced by the reader and remembered by the author.

This is done through note-taking techniques and using a writing style in my analysis which is learnt and influenced by methodologies from anthropology and ethnography. Ethnographers use participant observational methods in order to *record* their experiences of a culture including, but not limited to, their social practices and shared values, beliefs, and shared experiences (Ellis, Adams and Bochner 2011). While these researchers use autoethnography and self-reflexivity to *make sense* of what they observed by:

...retrospectively and selectively write about epiphanies that stem from, or are made possible by, being part of a culture and/or by possessing a particular cultural identity. However, in addition to telling about experiences, autoethnographers often are required by social science publishing conventions to analyse these experiences (Ellis *et al*, 2011:8).

Adair Nagata (2004) is of the opinion that the concept, and application of self-reflexivity in one's research, is extremely important, especially in relation to researchers in the field of Cultural Studies. She describes self-reflexivity as ~~having~~ an on-going conversation with your whole self about what you are experiencing, as you are experiencing it ... (*and*) ... to instruct (your)self about how to be critically and explicitly conscious of what (you) are doing as intellectuals engaged in the practice of research" (2004: 139). Ngata (2004) goes on to explain that self-reflexivity is useful as it allows the researcher to look at the situation, and note that their own thoughts, opinions and behaviour has an effect not only on what they are studying, but why and how they have chosen to study it. Jay Ruby (1980: 157) puts forth the following definition:

I would argue that being self-reflexive means that the producer deliberately, intentionally reveals to his audience the underlying epistemological assumptions which caused him to formulate a set of questions in a particular way, to seek answers to those questions in a particular way, and finally to present his findings in a particular way.

Autoethnography as a method of research in the field of Social Sciences also allows for the inclusion of oneself, as researcher, in the activity of academic research. Author Andrew C. Sparkes (2002: 210) describes this method as ~~the~~ use of systematic, sociological

introspection and emotional recall (and) the inclusion of the researchers vulnerable selves,” as well as a legitimate way in which the researcher may include their personal experience with the subject of study so that the reader may feel activated by the dialogical tone of the writing so much so that they may become co-participants in the transfer of knowledge (Sparkes, 2002: 210-211) A researcher following an auto-ethnographic approach is expected to both *do* and *write* autoethnography. It is considered to be both a process as well as a product (Ellis *et al*, 2011).

Participatory observation and autoethnography in Cultural Studies research is advocated by Mhiripiri (2008:71) as he writes “whatever ‘texts’ are put under study or enquiry should supplement and complement actual lived experience, that is to say there must be a relationship between the text and its social context, as well as how readers interpret the text.” “The interaction between the researcher and his or her subject(s) is highlighted through personalized narrative, written in the first person, and accompanied by personal anecdotes” (Tomaselli *et al.*, 2008:348).

However, in order to understand my interpretation of the representation of the participants‘ in their cellphilms, I will need to explore the concepts surrounding the encoding and decoding of meaning in a text, how this meaning is manifested and why it is that I have interpreted the text in the way that I have. I shall then triangulate this interpretation against the opinions of the cultural tourism performers who participated in the research and created the cellphilms.

Contextualising the Research

PheZulu

The PheZulu Safari Park and Cultural Village is close to Durban. The Zulu community working here fulfilled all the criteria, namely, being indigenous, they own cell phones and they depend on cultural tourism for employment.

PheZulu Safari Park is situated in the Valley of a Thousand Hills, in the province of KwaZulu-Natal South Africa. It is privately owned and encompasses a snake park, crocodile farm, game drives, curio shop and cultural village. The cultural village employs members of a local Zulu community as tour guides and performers (including dancers, singers and actors). Typical of a low-capital cultural tourism endeavour, the performers do not live in the grass-huts of the front-stage¹²⁵ but commute from their homes off-site.

That I am an acquaintance of Leo Kroone, the owner of PheZulu, was a concern of mine as I had hypothesised that our familiar relationship might influence my research with the cultural performers. I thought this would manifest itself as him requesting updates on my interactions with his employees and to tailor my research questions to his liking. However, at our initial meeting where I detailed my intentions and he laid down the ground rules, namely don't interfere with the employees while the tourists are present (i.e. don't break the backstage/front stage veil), he explained that he had other work commitments and would not be available every day. Other than that initial meeting, Kroone had no further involvement in the research process, other than informing Patrick Ncobo – the head tour guide and my main informant in my preliminary research - that he had given permission for my research.

¹²⁵ Erving Goffman's (1959) adaption of theatre terminology for application in sociology is well documented. For an in-depth understanding of the use of the front-stage and backstage and its effect on authenticity in tourism, especially cultural tourism, refer to the publications of Dean McCannell (1973).

The communication channels set in place in PheZulu allowed for this micromanaging of situations. There are different managers and co-managers for the crocodile and snake park, cultural village and game drives and each week there is a general meeting where information is relayed, discussed and acted upon. This results in open-communication channels and an environment of trust allowing Kroone to have confidence that the employees would let him know if they felt that I was overstepping any boundaries by affecting their performance, either by taking up too much of their free time in between shows or by conducting research while the tourists were present.

Due to its close proximity to Durban the employees are accustomed to researchers visiting PheZulu Safari Park to conduct research, through both active and passive research (i.e. Direct interviews and participant observation). Thus, Leo, Ncgobo and the cultural performers were relaxed around me as a researcher.

Originally, in the formative years of PheZulu Safari Park, the cultural performers were hired according to their relation to a prominent Zulu family, the Gasa family, who live close by¹²⁶. In recent years this prescriptive requirement has loosened to include any one who is Zulu, knowledgeable about traditional Zulu principles and practices and that they live in the same area as the Gasa family (Ncgobo, 2012;personal communication). This has resulted in the cultural performers belonging to a shared community with clearly defined geographical, economic and cultural boundaries, similar to Worth and Adair's choosing of the Navajo community (1972) in Pine Springs. This is a necessary quality for my research as it minimises the contextual variants in the analysis of the cellphilms.

¹²⁶ Information from PheZulu's website <http://www.phezulusafaripark.co.za/zuluculture.htm> confirmed through personal interviews with Leo Kroone (2011) and Patrick Ncgobo (2012).

Participants

The participants were chosen according to a purposeful sampling method. In the formative stages of my research I requested preliminary visits to PheZulu Safari Park in order to assess whether it was an appropriate site to conduct my research. Although written in the context of grounded theory, the following excerpts from Barney G. Glaser (1978:45), draws on purposeful sampling methods when he writes of the need to:

...go to the groups which they believe will maximize the possibilities of obtaining data and leads for more data on their question. They will also begin by talking to the most knowledgeable people to get a line on relevancies and leads to track down more data and where and how to locate oneself for a rich supply of data.

Purposeful sampling is best suited to qualitative research as its in-depth technique gives the opportunity for the researcher to obtain the most nuanced and appropriate answers from the participants. It is a sampling technique characterised by being adaptable to the amount of time the researcher has available, the researcher's framework, and ~~by~~ his starting and developing interests, and by any restrictions placed upon his observations by his host" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1978:39). By narrowing the sample according to the needs of the research question, purposeful sampling allows the researcher to assess which participants have the potential of producing the most illuminating data on the topic studied.

Choosing someone at random to answer a qualitative question would be analogous to randomly asking a passer-by how to repair a broken down car, rather than asking a garage mechanic—the former might have a good stab, but asking the latter is likely to be more productive (Marschall, 1996:523).

During these preliminary visits I was formally introduced to Patrick Ncgobo, the head tour guide in the cultural village. Through informal interviews with him I learnt that the cultural performers would be suitable participants. ~~The~~ calculated decision to sample a specific locale according to a preconceived but reasonable initial set of dimensions (such as time, space, identity or power) which are worked out in advance for the study" (Glaser, 1978:37).

The criteria which the performers fulfilled were: they all categorised themselves as Zulu, they depend on re-representing their culture to earn an income (cultural tourism) and they have access to video enabled cell phones (Ncgobo, 2012: personal communication).

The sample size of participants needed was determined by the needs of my research questions and influenced by the qualitative nature of my research design. “An appropriate sample size for qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question” according to Martin Marschall (1996:523). Due to my research questions focusing on how a group works together to produce a cellphilm, the number of people who work in the defined geographical and psychological space of PheZulu Cultural Village cultural performers will form the participant group.

Through preliminary interviews I concluded that this group included a broad range of participants to encourage a maximum variation in the sample. Excluding Patrick Ncgobo, there are fifteen people who work as cultural performers at PheZulu¹²⁷.

Tight-rope walking the Language Barrier: Cross-Language Research

The majority of the cultural performers’ first language is Zulu. However, due to their varying degrees of English fluency it would have been near impossible, and unfair, to conduct my research in my first language of English. Therefore, I made use of both a translator and an

¹²⁷ I admit that this is an ambiguous statement as in reality about twenty people are on the payroll; however, only fifteen people are required for the daily performances. If one of the performers cannot attend work they are required to notify one of the performers on stand-by to ensure that there are fifteen people present every day. During the three days that I conducted my primary research, there was only one incident of this occurring. One of the female participants who was in attendance for the initial briefing was not there for the following two days. The participant who took her place had been briefed by the other participants about the research. Through the translator I confirmed that she was interested in participating in the research.

interpreter for my primary data collection. A translator translates written documents whilst an interpreter translates oral communication between two people or more (Squires, 2010).

Cross-language research is considered sound if the researcher is transparent and forth-coming about the translator or interpreter. Acknowledging the significant role which the translator or interpreter plays in the research process, documenting the translator or interpreter's credentials and ensuring conceptual equivalence¹²⁸ are vital in safeguarding dependable research according to Allison Squires (2009).

In order to guarantee that the informed consent forms, questionnaire¹²⁹ and focus groups and were understood by the participants (McCabe *et al*, 2005) I needed to hire a Zulu/English translator and interpreter. In order to maximize conceptual equivalence in the translation my primary requirement was that they could communicate, at a sociolinguistic level, in both Zulu and English as well as having a sound understanding of academic terminology. Sociolinguistic language competence is a necessary trait in an interpreter, according to Marcel Danesi (1996), as this enables the interpreter to "communicate between languages using complex sentence structure, a high level of vocabulary, and the ability to describe concepts or words when they do not know the actual word or phrase" (Squires, 2010:4). This is important as "the relation between subjective and experience and language is a two way process; language is used to express meaning, but the other way round, language influences how meaning is constructed" (Nes *et al*, 2010).

¹²⁸ Conceptual equivalence, according to Fred Jandt (2003), requires that the translation is kept conceptually and technically equal to both the researcher and participant's communicated concept.

¹²⁹ The questionnaires served to collect demographic and cell phone usage information as secondary data to be used to back up claims which I hypothesised I would make in the data analysis chapter.

Another necessity was that they fully understood my research's intentions and that they understood the factors involved in intercultural research – they had to have qualities such as sensitivity and patience. In the case of the interpreter this would ensure that they gave the participants the respect and time they needed to assimilate the questions asked and form appropriate answers in a safe and non-judgemental environment.

The Translator

The translation¹³⁰ of my Informed Consent Forms and questionnaires was done by an undergraduate student from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, named Mngobi Nyathikazi. After interviewing 5 applicants from the University I choose Nyathikazi as he had prior experience working with translating English documents to Zulu, through his choice of University subjects, mature attitude and firm grasp of my research concepts.

In order to confirm that the translation was conceptually equal to my original documents I had three independent Zulu speaking University students examine them. Due to funding constraints Nyathikazi was not able to accompany me to PheZulu for the duration of my research.

The Interpreter

While conducting preliminary interviews with Ncgobo, defacto manager of the cultural performers, the topic of language often arose. Ncgobo was interested in why I did not speak Zulu, seeing as I grew up in KwaZulu-Natal and I interact with Zulu speakers every day. At first, Ncgobo volunteered to act as my translator. I hesitantly accepted, wary that his position of authority would affect the research process. My fears were confirmed during my first

¹³⁰ The original and translated documents are kept in my possession and may be seen on request

formal meeting with the cultural performers. After I had informally visited PheZulu, participating as a ‘tourist’ in the performances and observing and evaluating how I should conduct my research in this context, I requested a formal meeting with the cultural performers so that I may announce my research intentions and allow the performers a chance to evaluate whether they would like to be involved as participants.

In their lunch hour Ncgobo announced that there would a meeting in the boma¹³¹. Although he assured me that he would translate what I was saying directly into Zulu, I became sceptical of his translation when each time I posed a question (either querying the use of cell phones amongst the performers and their level of interest in my research) the answer was always “Yes” – both when Ncgobo translated what someone answered or when the performers spoke directly to me. This led me to question the appropriateness of having someone with direct authority over the participants act as my translator.

As the time which I was allocated to spend with the participants was erratic and often interrupted by extra tours being booked finding someone from the University of KwaZulu Natal was difficult as it would require them to be available at any time. So finding Pearl Shazi, who was studying education through correspondence and thus has a flexible timetable was fortunate. She is fluent in both English and Zulu, urbanised but with strong rural ties and she has a passionate interest in her Zulu culture and traditions.

Although her positive attributes outweighed her negative ones, I would like to discuss a few items that might have impacted on the research process (Squires, 2010). Due to her inquisitive nature she became interested in the economic and social situation of the cultural

¹³¹ *Boma* is the Zulu term for an enclosure (adopted from the Swahili language) (Stanley, 2010).

performers. Although we discussed the responsibilities of being an interpreter, she did not fully understand the impact and gravity involved when working with participants at their place of employment. In between focus groups she would informally talk with the performers about their economic situation; this led to one of the performers repeatedly asking to be paid to participate in the focus groups, even though it was repeatedly explained from the onset of my research that I could not provide any monetary reward. Eventually, when my research was almost stopped half way through due to internal politics, possibly related to her informal conversations, Shazi saw the effect which her negatively slanted questions was creating. She then developed a firmer grasp on the context of the research and the importance of staying focused on the research questions when conducting qualitative interviews into a specific area of an employee's work life.

As the cellphilms created by the participants were in Zulu, I required a translator to assist me in their transcription. Patti Mthembu, a high school Zulu teacher, offered her assistance when Shazi was unavailable due to work commitment. As she has a similar background to Shazi she was a perfect substitute. Mthembu translated the cellphilms and offered her opinion on the _philms, adding another dimension to the analysis.

Documenting the Details

Asking Permission

I distributed Informed Consent Forms¹³² to the participants which required their signature before the focus groups took place. Before they signed the form, I explained to them, through my interpreter, exactly what the aims of my research are, why I chose to interview them, that they have the opportunity to remain anonymous in my referral to them in this research

¹³² The signed Informed Consent Forms are kept in my possession and may be seen on request

project, that their interview will be recorded using a voice recorder and that they could withdraw from the interview process at any time. Deacon explains that the necessity of gaining consent from interviewees arises from the research codes of conduct which registered academic organisations adhere to (Deacon, 1999:375).

In order to respect the participants' request for anonymity¹³³ I will refer to the participants by code names. The first half of the code represents the original focus group number while the second part represents the order that they handed in their questionnaires in. For example, the first participant to hand in their questionnaire from Group 1 will be referred to as "G1P1".

Focus Groups

In order to not disturb the work schedule of the performers I was allocated three time slots of thirty minutes within which I could schedule focus groups with the participants. In the initial briefing I asked the fifteen participants to organise themselves into three groups of five. I had hoped that by giving them the chance to choose groups the participants would form groups with their friends and people who they felt comfortable with. The focus groups would thus be relaxed and natural, allowing each participant an opportunity to voice their opinion.

However, on the day of the first focus group I learnt that Ncgobo had spilt the participants into three groups comprising of a random mixture of age and gender. This resulted in the group members segregating themselves according to age and gender demographics, for example in Group 1 the two older women sat on one side of the boma, while the three young men sat on the other side. Fortunately, during the first ten minutes of each of the sessions the

¹³³ As this research takes place at the participants place of work, and due to the topic of my dissertation referring to personal feelings on their cultural representation, the participants requested that their names be kept private.

participants were required to read and sign the informed consent forms and questionnaires. Although they had been translated into Zulu some of the participants had questions pertaining to the questionnaire. As there was only one interpreter and one researcher, I would take a couple of minutes answering and explaining one question to a participant. As we were short on time the participants would all gather closer together in order to hear the explanation. I have quite an animated way of explaining which often led to the group giggling and teasing me, this resulted in the whole group relaxing and interacting rather than sitting awkwardly on far sides of the boma.

Unfortunately, due to restrictions that proved inevitable in attempting to do research with paid employees in a real world working environment, I was unable to hold the third focus group. In summary, I interviewed and collected data from questionnaires from ten participants in the focus groups. The other five participants from the third group participated in the initial explanatory meeting, and the final focus group where the cellphilms and participatory filmmaking process were discussed. I was also unable to practice any of the ice-breakers and cellphilming and editing techniques which I had hoped to play with the participants. Instead our pre-agreed two hours per group per day (split into two thirty minute, one forty five minute and one fifteen minute time slots) was slashed to 1 hour a day, and a snatched extra fifteen minutes every other day. Although the official time that I spent interviewing and interacting with the participants did not fit in with the traditional time allocation required for participatory filmmaking methods, I supplemented my research from my auto-ethnographic data collection. I was able to roam, relatively¹³⁴ unobtrusively, around PheZulu's cultural village.

¹³⁴ I use the term relatively as I was acutely aware of fact that my presence was noticed and influenced the participants, the other employees and even the tourists at PheZulu.

Although I prepared a list of questions to be answered¹³⁵, in reality, when conducting the focus groups with the participants, the proposed questions acted more as prompts, due to their open-response nature. According to David Deacon (1999: 79) the strengths of open-response questions, lie in facilitating the participants to ~~ar~~articulate their own answers in their own terms, there is no danger of undermining rapport by imposing inappropriately restricted response frameworks.” This form of questioning, when recorded, makes it possible for the researcher to develop new thematic schemes after the interview has taken place. This is often more useful than themes that were hypothesised when the questions were originally constructed (Deacon, 1999: 79).

By including the words and stories of the individuals interviewed I can highlight the complexity of understanding the participants’ view of being involved in a participatory video project. The use of open-ended questions allowed me to be non-prescriptive in the way that my questioning did not try and evoke a certain set of answers. Thus, I was able to analyse their answers from a clean perspective.

However, there are weaknesses to the open-response form of questioning, such as the open-response questions placing more of a demand on the responses of the respondents; the answers are less easy to summarise and there is a large chance of the interviewer placing subjective interpretations onto the interviewees’ answers when placing them into categories (Deacon, 1999:80).

¹³⁵ The focus group questions and transcribed responses are kept in my possession and may be seen on request.

Recording

The development of technology has aided the qualitative researcher by allowing them to record interviews to play back and transcribe at a later stage (Stockdale, 2002). This enables the researcher to give their full attention to the participants during the interview period allowing for a more natural flow of conversation and putting the participants at ease (Bloor *et al*, 2006). It was traditionally thought that voice-recorders resulted in the participants being uncomfortable, but Michael Bloor and Fiona Wood (2006:16) explain how voice-recorders have become so prolific that the majority of participants are familiar and comfortable with it.

The digitisation of voice-recorders allows for more data storage space, instant playback, and easy archiving (Bloor *et al*, 2006). When combined with a laptop focus group recordings may be archived and transcribed in the field. Making use of the combination of these two technologies I was able to work directly with my interpreter to transcribe focus group audio recordings while we were at PheZulu while the participants were performing for the tourists. This eradicated the need for follow up interviews as we could clarify the transcriptions with the participants the same day.

Transcription

The transcription of audio recordings of focus groups and interviews has increased the authenticity of qualitative methods (Markel *et al*, 2011). Even though the physical act of transcribing is tedious and time-consuming (Matheson, 2007) the transcription of spoken interviews into typed form has allowed the data to be more accessible, quantifiable and time-saving in the long-term.

There are, however, constraints which the researcher must keep in mind when utilising the transcripts of their interviews:

The professed benefit of using recorded audio and video is increased authenticity. Yet transcribing spoken data inevitably loses information as the concrete event or emotional response is translated into written language—a symbolic form inherently less rich and authentic. Thus transcription can result in the loss of pragmatics—the role of context and inflection on speech (Markel *et al*, 2011:11).

It is thus beneficial to make field notes and keep an ethnographic diary to use in conjuncture with the transcriptions of the audio-recordings. Both Shazi and I kept a field diary within which we made notes during the research process. Shazi's notes were especially useful during the transcription of the focus groups as she had noted the specific context within which something was said, such as facial expressions and body language, which would have been impossible to pick up from listening to the recordings alone.

Cell phones and the Cellfilming Group: Data Collection

The formal data-collection stage of this dissertation consisted of questionnaires¹³⁶, three focus groups of thirty minutes each, and the production and evaluation of the cellfilms. This will be combined with the informal data collected via field notes and the informal interviews that took place during my initial visits to PheZulu and throughout the formal research period.

The questionnaires were structured to collect data on the participants' cell phone ownership and usage. While the focus groups were aimed at eliciting the participants' opinions on their representation in the media as well as the performers' opinions as to what extent they would like to be involved in the production of their representation in the media (if at all). Then the

¹³⁶ The original questionnaires and a spread sheet tabulating the participants' responses are kept in my possession and may be seen on request.

production of the cellphilms took place with the research concluding with a final focus group who evaluated the cellphilmmaking process and the philms made.

Initially I had planned to request that the participants divide themselves into three groups of five, with each group focusing on producing three one minute cellphilm clips. The participants would then exchange (via Bluetooth and swopping memory cards), watch and comment on each other's videos. One clip from each group was then to be chosen and the three clips saved together in one folder to be watched in sequence. However, due to unforeseen circumstances regarding work hours and the participant's availability the cellphilming group was reduced to one group of seven participants.

The participants assured me that they all owned a cell phone¹³⁷ but none of the participants proved reliable in bringing them to work on a steady basis, citing reasons such as a low battery, to they lent it to their mother. Sandy, the manager of the curio shop, brought up that they had often discussed "banning" cell phones at work as often the performers would have their cell phones out while there was still one or two tourists walking around which resulted in breaking the front stage/back stage veil. As bringing in equipment to be used for a participatory filmmaking endeavour is precisely the opposite of my dissertation's grounding assumptions the participants and I agreed that they would philm using one camera, which they would share amongst them. G2P2, one of the more outspoken participants, always had her cell phone, a Nokia C3¹³⁸, in full display, in fact the first day that I arrived at PheZulu with my clipboard, voice recorder and general 'researcher' attitude, she was philming me walking from hut to hut, chatting to the performers. She agreed that we could use her cell

¹³⁷ This was backed up by affirmative answers to the questionnaire question asking if they own a cell phone.

¹³⁸ An affordable video enabled cell phone.

phone in order to make the philm, although she did need a larger memory card, which I provided.

The games proposed by InsightShare which I had designed to ensure that all of the participants were comfortable with using the cell phone to philm with, were not necessary as G2P2 and the others insisted that they were capable of using the cell phone to philm. She showed me video clips which she had recorded on her cell phone to prove it. These clips were of her singing and having her hair done by one of the other cultural performers in the PheZulu cultural village. G2P2 showed signs of offence, as if I was patronising her and the other participants, when I suggested that we “learn how to philm with the cell phone.” I was unsure whether to press the matter by insisting it was for the sake of everyone else in the group (ages ranged from 19 – 54 years old). Shazi recommended that I listen to their wishes as she overheard them saying how excited and eager they were to begin philmng their planned philms (Shazi, 2012:personal communication).

The cellphilmng group took two days to complete their philmng. On the last day of my research we gathered around the fire in the young women’s hut in the cultural village. Shazi and I had prepared a traditional Zulu meal of *phutu*, spinach and meat that we shared while G2P2’s cell phone was passed around for each of the participants to watch the cellphilms. We then discussed the cellphilmng process and the philms that were made during it.

*Cellphilms*¹³⁹

The participants shared fourteen short clips using participant G2P2’s¹⁴⁰ Nokia C3¹⁴¹. Due to the decreased amount of time which the participants had to create the films they were unable

¹³⁹ The cellphilms may be viewed on the attached disk.

to edit them, however, out of all of the clips that they filmed (undisclosed amount) the cellphilmimg group chose these fourteen to be a part of the final collection.

The philms, ranging from thirty seconds to three minutes each, are grouped in the following categories: *Practice* (three philms), *Skipping* (three philms), *Come Inside the Golden Gate* (one philm), *Thatching and Cooking* (three philms), *Singing* (two philms) and the *Thank-you Lunch* (two philms).

Thematic Analysis and Coding: Data Analysis

According to Jodi Aronson (1994) ethnographic interviews have become a commonly used form of qualitative methodology in order to collect data. The researchers find that once the data is captured, be it recording or writing during the interview process, finding common themes in the data is an efficient way of analysing it. This especially helps if the researcher is collecting data from more than one source.

For the purpose of this research project I used a thematic form of analysis, as I feel that it is the best method of interpreting the data which I have collected. I analysed the information under specific themes which were taken from informal interviews with the lead tour guide, Patrick Ncgobo; the three focus groups with the cultural performers, as well as mine and my interpreter, Shazi, observational field notes. It is important to “identifying generative words or themes which represent the highest profile issues in the speech and life of a community, as a foundational subject matter for a critical curriculum” (Freire, 1993:31).

Using a deductive approach I will determine my data set from the focus groups, personal interviews and field notes. I will search for themes in the data set relevant to my research questions.

Data corpus refers to *all* data collected for a particular research project, while data *set* refers to all the data from the corpus that is being used for a particular analysis. Data *item* is used to refer to each individual piece of data collected, which together make up the data set or corpus...Finally, a data *extract* refers to an individual coded chunk of data, which has been identified within, and extracted from, a data item” (Braun & Clarke, 2006:5-6).

This is a top-down approach to thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998) which allows for the researcher to “include, speak to, or expand on something approximating [the researcher’s] original theme” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:13). The themes will be drawn out of the data set at a latent level, which entails the researcher to interpret the underlying processes that have shaped the surface items visible in the data set (Boyatzis, 1998:). These processes range from the “ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and Ideologies” which have resulted in the opinions apparent in the data collected from the participants and the researcher (Braun & Clarke, 2006:12).

Prevalence of themes in a data set does not determine the theme when using a deductive approach, its relation to the research question does (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, the researcher must keep in mind that repeated patterns of meaning are one of the core characteristics of a sound thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006:12). Prevalence may be an influential factor in tailoring a research question, especially when working empirically and when the researchers allows the data to establish a dialogue with the theory originally researched. If this is the case, then how prevalence is measured is important (Braun & Clarke, 2006:10).

How the researcher determines a data extract, whether it be one sentence, word, or direct or indirect reference, is less important than the active effort to keep consistency of determining these instances throughout the analysis process.

Furthermore, the “~~key~~ness” of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures – but in terms of whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question(s) (Braun & Clarke, 2006:10).

In order to determine larger themes I will first code my data set so that ~~the~~ the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (Boyatzis, 1998:63). During the coding process I will make use of the computer assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) software *Nvivo 10*. Helpful advice to keep in mind during the coding phase is given by Braun & Clarke (2006):

Key advice for this phase is:

- a) Code for as many potential themes/patterns as possible (time permitting) – you never know what might be interesting later;
- b) Code extracts of data inclusively – i.e. keep a little of the surrounding data if relevant, a common criticism of coding is that the context is lost (Bryman, 2001); and,
- c) Remember that you can code individual extracts of data in as many different ~~themes~~” as they fit into

The use of visual representations is recommended¹⁴² by Braun & Clarke (2006) to determine which of the codes the researcher will use to form themes and sub-themes. Once the coded data has been organised into themes, the final write-up of the thematic analysis may take place.

Conclusion

The focus group interviews with the participants, my interpreter’s opinions and field notes will be cross-referenced with my interpretation and field notes. This is to ensure a variety of

¹⁴² Visual representations such as tables and mind-maps are easily created with the use of CAQDAS *Nvivo 10* (Flick *et al.*, 2004; Roberts *et al.*; 2010)

reception has been considered in order to best answer the grounding questions of this dissertation.

Chapter 5: Analysis

In order to assess the effectiveness of using video enabled cell phones to create participatory videos as well as establishing for what purpose a group of Zulu cultural dancers use this medium I will use thematic analysis. Qualitative research methods have resulted in a copious amount of data to which thematic analysis is applied in order to draw out answers pertaining to this dissertation's research questions. This chapter will assess the data, ordering nuances and repetition into codes¹⁴³ using the CAQDA programme *Nvivo 10*. Codes were influenced by the theory and literature discussed in the previous chapters.

On recommendation from Braun *et al* (2006) the data was initially coded for as many themes as possible, in order to ensure that any recurring topic was not looked over. The resulting twenty nine themes were then grouped and ordered according to relevancy to the research questions. In answering the first research question pertaining to whether cell phones may be used as a participatory filmmaking medium I will evaluate the data for references to participatory notions such as conscientisation, empowerment, ownership and dialogue.

Evaluators must measure what participants *do* and describe what happens as a result of participation. Participatory outcomes may be external, like increased incidence of conversation among visitors, and internal, such as development of new skills or enhanced relationships (Simon, 2010:302).

The reality of the participants' use of video-enabled cell phones will be noted from the participants' answers to the questionnaires and response to the focus group and informal interviews, and then compared against the literature's hypothesised prevalence. This will be used to answer the second question which asks "For what purpose do the Zulu participants represent themselves through the subject-generated cellfilms?"

¹⁴³ Although codes are referred to as 'nodes' in *Nvivo*, in order to avoid confusion for the reader, I will continue to use the term 'codes' to describe data categorised in related themes.

Related themes were then categorised under parent codes. This chapter will analyse these codes (namely *Lived Culture*, *Gender (Dual)ity*, *Change of Heart*, *Language Liberation*, *Peeragogy and Comments on the PV Process*) attempting to situate the data within the context of the participants' situation within a cultural tourism work environment and foregrounding mine, and my interpreter's auto-ethnographic reflections.

Code: Lived Culture

Over the course of the research, a difference between the cultural life which the participants portray in the performances at PheZulu and the cultural life which the participants spoke about was apparent. The performance at PheZulu centers on the warrior/maiden stereotype. The participants are content with performing this version of their culture for the tourists as they understand that their role in the cultural tourism business requires it:

Most of the time we think that what we should do is make the customers happy. What we want to do is not important. What makes the customers happy is what makes us happy. (G2P2, 2012: Focus Group 2)

What we do every day, is that basically we just want to make the tourists happy. (G2P1, 2012: Focus Group 2)

Although this is not what we do every day, we do this sometimes and it's nice to see people get so excited when we show them parts of our culture (G1P3, 2012: Focus Group 1).

Love my people, love my tourists. Me working here isn't just about me (Ncgobo, 2011: personal communication).

People come here to see us every day, and they are inspired. And this makes us happy - that people get happy when they see *this* Zulu culture (G1P5, 2012: Focus Group 1).

However, they note that there is a discrepancy in the culture which they portray in their practised performance during their work hours, and the cultural life which they live in their private life.

We are very happy that is being filmed here because here we are wearing what we are wearing now – and back at the village we don't get to wear this every day – when we go home we take this off and put our clothes back on (G2P5, 2012: Focus Group 2).

The participants did not dispute the veracity of the performance, but they did say that they do not perform the same traditional dances which they perform for weddings and other cultural ceremonies. The majority of the men in the focus groups were proud of their involvement in the cultural dancing groups which they practice with in their spare time, and expressed an interest in filming these dances for wider viewing (Ncgobo, 2011:personal communication; G2P5, 2012:personal communication).

The most ardent interest in showing more common aspects of their culture came from the women participants. Their interest centered around the authenticity of the traditional food which they cook; their memories of playing games as Zulu children growing up in their respective rural homesteads and their singing talents, of which they are especially proud.

If they film here then they would just have to film what they film - the dance – and maybe traditional music – _cos if they see inside the huts – in the pot – there is nothing much for us to cook – we don't have things from our yard – we just have to cook rice...whatever. If you filmed back home then they must film us making samp (G1P5, 2012:Focus Group 1).

I would love to do that, because we all have our own talents. Here we are not able to show our other talents because we have to do what we do every day. You just sing, do a Zulu dance, and then that is it (G2P2, 2012:Focus Group 2).

The cellfilms are testament to the participants', especially the females, earnestness in changing the way in which their _everyday' culture is portrayed. With the films covering childhood games (skipping and *Ngenani Isango Legolide*¹⁴⁴); men's work (thatching a new *qhugwane*¹⁴⁵) and women's work (brewing *umqombothi*¹⁴⁶ and making *phutu*¹⁴⁷); and singing

¹⁴⁴ *'Come inside the Golden Gate'* (Mthembu, 2012:personal communication)

¹⁴⁵ Beehive shaped hut (Mthembu, 2012: personal communication)

¹⁴⁶ Zulu beer made from fermented maize meal (G1P2, 2012:Cellfilm 8)

(gospel songs: *Ukholo Lwami Ngiyongena Nalo Ezulwini*¹⁴⁸ and *Kuthi Mangigiye, Ngigiyele uSomadla*¹⁴⁹).

It is better to philm yourself because you know each other very well, and you get to choose what to philm (G2P5, 2012:Focus Group 3).

The nice thing about having to philm yourself is that you feel confident and you're not ashamed or shy, and if you make a mistake you just laugh about it and it just passes by – because we are so used to each other (G2P1, 2012:Focus Group 3).

The typical performance that is usually performed by the participants and filmed by tourists and outside film crews is one that is easily recognised as being Zulu. This is due to the established framework that has been set up by the dissemination of the 'maiden/warrior' stereotype. In the films, however, even though the movements, songs and cultural artifacts (such as the grass huts, and beaded clothing worn by the performers) are easily identifiable as being Zulu, they seem to have a noticeably profound effect on Zulu viewers. This was demonstrated in both of my interpreters reaction on seeing the films as both Mthembu and Shazi welled up with emotion after watching the cellfilms with the gospel songs. Mthembu, a school teacher, explained that the songs made her emotional as they reminded her of growing up in the rural areas as she had not heard, or sung, the songs since then. The interpreters both had a similar reaction to the viewing of the game *Ngenani Isango Legolide*. With Mthembu once again explaining that the game filled her with nostalgia for when she grew up in the rural Zulu¹⁵⁰ community. This unexpected reception by two viewers, whose only commonality was their gender and Zulu upbringing, of the cellfilms on separate

¹⁴⁷ A maize meal dish, traditionally served, in the Zulu culture, with meat and spinach (Shazi, 2012: personal communication)

¹⁴⁸ 'I'll fly with my religion to heaven, my home' (Mthembu, 2012: personal communication)

¹⁴⁹ 'I want to sing and dance for my Creator, my God, my Father' (Mthembu, 2012: personal communication)

¹⁵⁰ Although the game is not classified as a traditional Zulu game (Mchunu, 2013) as it is an adaption of the British children's game 'Oranges and Lemons', it is one which the interpreters and the participants 'grew up playing, and they say that their parents grew up playing as well.

occasions is interesting but, unfortunately, a reception analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Code: Gender (Dual)ity

Through our focus groups; the PV process; and Shazi's reflections¹⁵¹ the difference between male and female's viewpoints was a recurring theme. This underlying topic was physicalised in the spontaneous formation of the cellphilm group being entirely female and the cellphilms, the men distanced themselves from the _philm as they felt it was the women who were more interested in _philm and who had more to say. I feel comfortable making gender generalisations as the first two focus groups consisted of males and females of varying ages and the opinions were repeated in both groups. These same opinions were voiced during the PV process as well as in the final focus group which involved all of the participants together.

In the focus groups the young men said that they were happy with being filmed performing their cultural dances as they were on TV. Shazi interpreted that the men were talking with pride about how they are filmed and given time on broadcast television, the Internet and in print for being true to their culture and ~~being~~ "being themselves" (G1P1& G1P3, 2012: Focus Group 1; G2P2, 2012:Focus Group 2) while celebrities ~~like~~ "Chris Brown" (an American pop star) have to dress up and act the same as everyone else to get noticed. Even during the PV process, in Cellphilm 7 one of the men excitedly interjects ~~We~~ "We are going to appear on television!" (G1P4, 2012:Cellphilm 7).

¹⁵¹ Especially regarding Shazi's opinion on polygamy and her opinion that much of what the participants were referring to in their conversations was a concern for and focus on food (for example self-grown and traditional food versus cheap and modern food).

This difference between the women wanting to showcase their other talents and the men accepting the way they are currently portrayed has brought about an interesting insight into the dynamics of culture and the changing attitudes towards it. Zulu culture (along with many traditional cultures and religions) has often been criticised as being patriarchal and promoting the subservience and passivity of women while encouraging men to take the leading, active and dominant roles.

The men showed their pride by inviting Shazi and I to join them after working hours and watch them practice traditional Zulu dances which they perform at weddings and by saying that they would like the camera crews to film them at home so that people can see them performing in an ‘authentic setting’:

...everything here is pretend – if we were at home it would be real and normal. It would be much better if we were at home (G1P3, 2012:Focus Group 1).

The women often discussed how they enjoy showing the aspect of their culture which they perform at PheZulu. Although they spoke a lot more than the men about how their portrayal at PheZulu is not necessarily accurate, for example the food that they say that they cook during the performance as well as the choreography and the narration. They were quick to add that they understand that it is for the tourists benefits and they spoke about how their main tasks as performers is to make the tourists feel happy and entertained.

Although this is not what we do every day, we do this sometimes and it’s nice to see people get so excited when we show them parts of our culture (G1P5, 2012:Focus Group 1).

However, they would like to have more control over what people see, especially when their performances are filmed as they feel that that has a larger impact, as when people come to PheZulu to watch their performance they are in the ‘tourist mind-set’, which encourages the performers to feel more comfortable in this mutually created context where culture is viewed

as a performance¹⁵². The women in both focus groups repeated that they would like to create films showing them performing their other talents, such as singing gospel and dancing to music which they enjoy, as a community, and other traditions which they view as being important in the documentation of their cultural life:

I would love to do that [create cellphilms]. Because we all have our own talents. Here we are not able to show our other talents because we have to do what we do every day. You just sing, do a Zulu dance, and then that is it (G2P3, 2012:Focus Group 2).

Code: Change of Heart

The men were originally content with the way in which they were portrayed by the commercial film crews (2012:Focus Group 1) and were not overtly interested in participating in the cellphilming process. However, in the final focus group, where we discussed the cellphilms and the PV process, the men had become more interested in the cellphilming group's take on the portrayal of their culture. They enthused about the change in performance and showed a keen interest to create more films themselves:

I feel that we can also use our cell phones now to do philming – watching the other five philming we are now going to use our phones (G1P1, 2012:Focus Group 3).

However, the ‘_Gender (Dual)ity’ theme was apparent, even after the dialogue evoked by the PV process with one group of male performers proposing that a possible performance which they would like to philm is the *Indlamu*. An exclusively male traditional dance involving slower movements and a steady and rhythmic tempo played by male drummers (G2P5, 2012:Focus Group 3).

¹⁵² Definition of performance: noun 3a: the action of representing a character in a play; b: a public presentation or exhibition (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/performance>)

Code: Language Liberation

The cellphilms were controlled and filmed by and for the participants, all of whom were first language Zulu speakers¹⁵³. Thus, there was no issue with language barriers or cross-cultural communication as had been the issue during the focus groups and informal interviews with me, the English-speaking researcher. The cross-cultural research process had been one troubled by ambiguity due to the stilted nature of hosting focus groups through an interpreter (Squires, 2010). However, the participants were free to converse in Zulu during the PV process as I was not involved.

With permission from the participants, Shazi interpreted the cellphilms for me before I transcribed them in order to make the data more accessible for analysis. On comparison of the transcriptions of the cellphilms against that of the focus groups it is apparent that the participants are more relaxed in their conversations (both content and tone) when they were recorded in the cellphilms. One of the examples may be seen in Cellphilm 8 when G2P3 spoke candidly about the food which I shared with the participants at the conclusion of our final focus group:

We've been hungry. These whites they know who how to treat black people. We will perform well now that we are fed.

Another example of their relaxed attitude is seen in the cellphilms of the participants, women ranging in age between 25 and 47 years old, skipping:

G2P2: It's so nice seeing Bu jumping. You're going to do away with the fat. (Repeated twice)
It's Busisiwe and Stha. Who's going to play now?

G1P5: Don't be scared, show them how it's done.

The skipping rope broke and everyone breaks out in laughter

(G2G3 and G1P5, 2012:Cellphilm 4)

¹⁵³ Referenced from the tabulated analysis of the participants responses to the questionnaire which are available on request.

G2P2: Who is jumping? It's Stha!
Complimenting Stha

G1P5: You are better than Bu!
G2P2 and G1P5: The parent is playing! (repeated)
Ululating

(G2G3 and G1P5, 2012:Cellphilm 5)

Code: Peeragogy¹⁵⁴

G2P2 was the only participant from the cellphilm group who was proficient at cellphilm. As she wanted to be in front of the camera she had to teach the other participants how to use the cell phone to philm. She explained how she had to show the older women how to use a more complicated cell phone than they were used to and the skills involved in cellphilm such as how to not move the camera around too quickly as it would blur the video.

We didn't have many problems. There were times when it would just stop because someone else was using my phone and philm me because I was in the philm. And then I had to stop everything and go out of the philm and show them what to do and help them with the phone and then they learnt how to use it (G2P2, 2012:Focus Group 3).

As the participants become more involved in the performing for the camera, the older women who were often tasked with philm (due to the younger women being more interested in being in front of the camera than behind it) one of the more senior participants took over the role of being the more skilled 'cellphilter'. This was jovially displayed in Cellphilm 4 under the category *Golden Gate* where G1P2, a 47 year old participant who has never seen a video on a cell phone or used a cell phone for anything but phoning¹⁵⁵, reprimands the G2P2 (the owner of the cell phone) for changing her self-designed cell phone stabiliser (rocks on a wooden beam, nestled in thatch).

¹⁵⁴ 'Peeragogy' is the combination of the terms 'pedagogy' and 'peer-to-peer learning'.

¹⁵⁵ Referenced from the tabulated analysis of the participants responses to the questionnaire which are available on request.

Code: Comments on the PV Process

The primary hindrance to this PV process, as highlighted by the participants, was the relatively short time frame with which they had to work. However, this was less of a problem than hypothesised due to the participants' full attention and interest in the process in the time that they had. This resulted in the participants demonstrating an interest in future PV projects, and in creating cellphilms on their own accord.

We were not really prepared for it so we would not want just anyone to see this as we would need more time to prepare. If we prepare, I'd like to show people
(G2P1, 2012:Focus Group 3)

It is something we would enjoy to do in future (G2P1, 2012:Focus Group 3).
Yes, we would love to do our own philms using our own cell phones (G1P1, 2012:Focus Group 3).

What I could say is we were happy about the whole process and what you showed us is something that we never really thought of. We didn't know it could happen. And we say thank you and we would like to see you again and you to come back and teach us something new (G2P2, 2012:Focus Group 3).

During the final focus group we discussed the PV process, the contents of the cellphilms and whether any of the participants would be interested in carrying out this process independently of the research.

There are other things we didn't do in the philm that we would want to like *Three Tins*¹⁵⁶ and hide and seek (G2P1, 2012:Focus Group 3).

Answering the Questions

In light of the presented literature and theory regarding the use of cell phones for filming, especially in the context of participatory filmmaking, the data was analysed with the aim of answering this dissertation's two research questions. The questions being: To what extent can cell phones be used as a participatory filmmaking technology? For what purpose do the Zulu participants represent themselves through the subject-generated cellphilms? In order to do

¹⁵⁶ A game, often played by Zulu children, which makes use of three empty tins, a circle in the sand and a ball (Mthembu, 2012:personal communication)

this I will compare parallels in the data with participatory development communication principles (and, thus, participatory filmmaking foundations) conscientisation, dialogue, empowerment and ownership.

PV Principles

In the case of this research conscientisation¹⁵⁷ has resulted in the participants' thinking critically about the way in which they are being portrayed, through their performance¹⁵⁸. Their insight at the focus groups and during the PV process showed that they are a varied group with different opinion about their working environment and representation. These differing opinions naturally led to differing views on what action should be taken (if any action at all – none in the case of the majority of the men¹⁵⁹). The patterns emerged as the research progressed, and the acknowledgement then came out through constant reflection and action.

Intrinsically linked to conscientisation is the ability for a participatory initiative to enable members of a community to speak, listen and understand each other, in other words to create dialogue. PV is notably beneficial when, through the participatory process, the participants discuss topics which were previously taboo (Kossmann *et al*, 2009; Lunch *et al*, 2006; 2012). This took form in the participants discussing their differing opinions on their work environment and their representation in the media.

¹⁵⁷ Conscientisation links awareness to social transformation, through action (Servaes, 1996).

¹⁵⁸ Which they acknowledge as being repeatedly filmed and photographed, and their image disseminated and understood as being 'authentic.'

¹⁵⁹ Four women and one man volunteered to be a part of the cellphilming group. The cellphilms featured only women, directly, with the one male participant only referred to 'off camera'. Men were featured, indirectly, in the cellphilms while building the huts or in the philming of the final focus group and *Thank You Lunch*.

The cell phone camera, held in the hands of one of the participants, acted as a catalyst in creating this environment of dialogue. As the cellphilms were viewed as being instigated by a neutral researcher, the participants felt comfortable in encouraging each other to hold discussions ‘off-the-record’. G2P2 epitomised this when she encouraged the men, who were thatching a grass hut, to be free in their conversation even if they thought it might offend her as they were talking about how it was ‘men’s work’:

This isn’t for work purposes, who would be interested in you, don’t be crazy.
It’s not mine, I don’t care - say whatever but whatever you are saying is getting recorded, I don’t care (G2P2, 2012:Cellphilm 3).

During the discussion after the viewing of the cellphilms the men showed a keen interest to be involved in any future cellphilming endeavors. Through the PV process the women (who dominated the cellphilming group) had become proud of the philms which they had collaborated on and the men, who had initially chosen to be on the side-line of the process, now demonstrated regret in not participating.

The participants’ level of a sense of ownership over their image’s representation in visual media can be seen to be strengthening in their comments categorised under the codes *Lived Culture* and *Gender (Dual)ity*. This led to an important insight into the way in which ownership of means of representation can create a sense of empowerment was demonstrated in the participants:

Ja, in our culture there is history, there are things that we don’t know about and you only get to hear other people’s views about when you were small or about our culture. Before, it is passed on, now we can record it, and see it as it changes (G2P2, 2012:Focus Group 3).

The fact that the reality¹⁶⁰ was in contradiction to my hypothesis that there would be a high number of video enabled cell phone users‘ amongst the participants led to an unexpected result. This was the establishment of a self-initiated form of ‘peeragogy‘ within the cellphilm group with the one proficient cellphilter (G2P2) teaching the other group members, two of whom were twenty years her senior, to use a video enabled cell phone.

The *Language Liberation* code depicts how the PV process, using cell phones as a relatively unobtrusive transmitter, encouraged dialogue between the genders and the age divide and let each other see how the other groups feel about their representation. This resulted in the dialogue which the PV process created leading to a sense of empowerment evolving from the participants discussions in the third focus group (as demonstrated under the code *Lived Culture*).

Cellphilm Content

The answer to the second question regarding for what purpose an indigenous community involved in cultural tourism represents itself through cellphilm may be found in the content of the cellfilms, and the analysis filed under the codes *Lived Culture* and *Gender (Dual)ity*. I originally hypothesised that the participants would use the PV process to either self-promote their performance at PheZulu as it is the communities main income source, or, alternatively, that they would use the opportunity to counter the Western media’s portrayal of their image.

¹⁶⁰ As depicted in the tabulated analysis of the participants responses to the questionnaire which are available on request.

After assessing the data collected, I found that the resulting cellphilms were a combination of my two original hypotheses. Through the participatory process the participants' initiated a comparison of their attitudes towards their current visual representation in the media and their level of contentment with their interpretation of their culture for the benefit and enjoyment of cultural tourists. This dialogue resulted in the conscientisation of the need for economic stability (in terms of their employment in the cultural tourism business), and the understanding that although they are a cohesive group they have differing opinions on the way in which their cultural is, and should be, represented.

The cellphilms provided an insight into the contradictory opinions that an indigenous community involved in the cultural tourism industry has of their representation in the media. On the one hand they were proud that there is an on-going interest from the public (as represented by tourists and visiting film crews) in learning about the Zulu culture. While on the other they demonstrated keenness in providing the public with an alternate representation of their culture. This was physicalised in the cellphilms where the participants focused on more personalised aspects cultural performances such as gospel singing, and childhood games. They also demonstrated an interest in filming 'behind-the-scenes' footage showing the different ways in which the women (cooking and brewing beer) and men (thatching) prepare for the cultural village for the tourists.

It is important to keep in mind that the cellphilms are to be read with a gender bias in mind, as only female participants took the initiative to participate. However, the remaining participants who did not participate (notably the younger men) showed a keen interest in participating in future PV projects, as well as an interest in creating more cellphilms using the same process implemented in this research. This is a notably positive result of the PV process

and this provides an affirmative answer to the hypothesis whether cell phones may be used as a participatory filmmaking technology.

Linking with the Literature

The findings of my research are congruent with the findings of the bio-documentary endeavours of Worth and Adair in their *Through Navajo Eyes* research (1970). Especially in demonstrating a group of mixed gender and age indigenous community members' ability and interest in learning to repurpose an available technology into a visual communication medium. Their use of the filmmaking technology (their cell phones) allowed the participants to express opinions that they previously did not have a formal communication method or means of expressing them through.

This thesis's research highlighted the use of the participatory filmmaking process to catalyse the adaption of an accessible technology (cell phones) in order to stimulate dialogue and a process of conscientisation among cultural performers who are involved in the business of selling a representation of their indigenous culture in the cultural tourism industry. Peer-to-peer skills transferal; the ability for participatory video to enhance and assist cross-cultural and multi-lingual research; and, the unexpected result of a gender divide, which surfaced in the opinions regarding their current representation in the media, were three notable results of this data collected from the research.

Linking these results with Freire's diction in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, the dialogue catalysed by the focus groups provided the insight (realisation of oppression); the PV process provided the opportunity to express the assimilation of possible paths for liberation and the formulation of action; while the means was provided by the adaption of cell phones into a

participatory filmmaking technology which resulted in the performing of action, in the form of cellphilms. These steps resulted in the satisfaction of Freire's (1972/1990) participatory development principles: conscientisation, empowerment, dialogue and ownership. As discussed in the preceding analysis.

The techniques of hosting a participatory filmmaking workshop were adapted and applied from InsightShare's (2012) handbook and field notes, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. The adaptability of their process's steps were beneficial to this research as while working in the field I discovered that focus groups and workshops are not guaranteed to run as planned, especially when conducting research with participants at their place of employment, during work hours.

The satisfactory adaption of the participant's cell phone as a participatory filmmaking technology had an influential impact on my research. As when using a digital video camera-like InsightShare does in their workshops – there are limits which may hinder the research process. This is typically because as the camera belongs to the researcher (or is on loan from an aid organisation or academic institution). Due to the high cost of camera equipment the researcher, naturally, has a degree of power over the use of the equipment and often the participants will not necessarily feel comfortable filming in dangerous situations or risky areas in case something happens to the researcher's equipment. However, when the participants use their own cell phones, the equipment itself is less obtrusive and easily hidden (exemplified in Fahri's (2009) *Tehran Without Permission*). The unequal power relation between the researcher and the participants, related to the loaning of the equipment, is also rendered obsolete.

Although cellphilms were a recognised and accepted medium of visual communication by the majority of the participants, it is pertinent to include a remark made by one of the participants in their response to the question –“Would you prefer to use other equipment to film?” G2P1 (2012:Focus Group 3) responded: –“Yes, like cameras and videos. Because it would make it even more real when use bigger equipment.” Thus even though from a researcher’s perspective it is practical to encourage the use of cellphilming as a PV technology, it is still a relatively new medium and thus it risks being viewed with skepticism by participants¹⁶¹.

The participants’ expression of interest¹⁶² in continuing cellphilming to further explore their culture’s representation in the media once the research had concluded is a testament to the hypothesis that cell phones can be used as a participatory filmmaking technology (cf. Lunch *et al*, 2006). This statement is linked to Lunch *et al*’s (2006) recommendation that the participants continued interest in the PV process, especially after the researcher’s period with the participants has concluded, demonstrates their assimilation of the notions of the participatory development principles that were expressed in the focus groups.

Conclusion

This chapter served to summarise the aspects of the collected data which applied directly to this dissertations main research questions. The participants’ discussion in the focus groups, the cellphilms produced during the PV process, and the opinions of the Zulu interpreters’ has been woven with that of mine, as researcher. The preceding chapters acquainted the reader with the theory and literature underpinning my research objectives, while Chapter 5 will

¹⁶¹ There is a common negative perception of cellphilms for being of low quality, viewed on too small of a screen and amateurish. These views are discussed and critiqued in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

¹⁶² As referenced under the code *Comments on the PV Process*.

conclude this dissertation by readdressing the limitations of this research and highlighting areas of further research in light of my findings.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This dissertation evaluated the possibility of using video enabled cell phones as a participatory filmmaking technology, and to assess the purpose the Zulu participants, who are involved in cultural tourism, represent their selves through cellphilm. Here I will briefly summarise the findings discussed in Chapter 4.

Video enabled cell phones were indeed a viable technology to use in place of traditional digital video camera in a participatory filmmaking project. This is concluded after analysing the data collected from the focus groups prior and post the production of the cellfilms, as well as from the cellfilms themselves. The data was then assessed for participatory development principles as discussed in Chapter 4, with parallels being drawn between this dissertations data and the literature reviewed from Worth and Adair's *Through Navajo Eyes* (1970) research and InsightShare's (2006) *Insights into Participatory Video: A Handbook for the Field*. These assessments provided affirmative conclusions for the proposal of using cell phones as a participatory filmmaking technology.

Through a thematic analysis of the cellfilm and focus group translated transcriptions I examined the purpose to which the participants represented themselves. The cellfilms that the participants produced resulted in the participants negating the typical Western media disseminated representation¹⁶³ of Zulu culture, as is typified in the participants' performance at PheZulu Cultural Village. Compared to the streamlined cinema-as-we-know-it films, the participants' films were organic in their script, execution and editing. The films do not adhere to a script which represents their culture for an audience, but instead they represent the way in which the participants experience their culture. Therefore the purpose to which the

¹⁶³ As discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

cellphilmers represented themselves through the cellphilms was interestingly not specifically targeted at promoting their cultural performance at PheZulu; however, it was not dismissing their performance's validity either. Instead the participants used the cellphilms to express other, more personal, aspects of their Zulu culture.

The benefits of digitisation was the most notable improvement on the participatory video techniques used by Worth and Adair (1970) and InsightShare (2006). In order to review and edit the Navajo's films made with 16mm film cameras, Worth and Adair had to send the footage by plane and then once processed, the participant's spent days in the editing room (with expensive, heavy equipment brought by the researchers) cutting, splicing and pasting the film. The Navajo participants worked individually so that the researcher's had 6 films to review. The filmmaking process would have been too time-consuming if the group was to work together to produce seven films. InsightShare's use of digital video cameras and computers as editing equipment meant that their participatory video projects are considerably more time-effective than the Navajo project. Play-back on a digital camera's screen and editing on a computer results in almost instantaneous review of the videos allowing for easier and faster collaboration between a large group of participants on a single video. Faster turnaround time on a single video means that more videos can be produced in a shorter time period thus allowing more videos to be made in a more participatory manner.

This dissertation proved that by replacing a video-camera with participant-owned video-enabled cell phones production time is minimised and collaboration is increased. In less than forty eight hours the participants had filmed fourteen films. As the participants already had prior knowledge of filming with a cell phone there was no need for prior training or for the traditional filmmaking roles to dictate who operated the camera and who was in front of

it. Participants were comfortable and relaxed in the films as they were not loaning expensive and intimidating filming equipment. The resulting films were thus abundant and insightful.

Limitations, their unexpected benefits and further research

Conducting cross-language research during work hours, with an indigenous community who is actively involved the reproduction of their cultural for economic reasons resulted in time constraints, unexpected delays, interruptions and influences from various gate-keepers. These factors were included in the methodology and analysis chapters in order to highlight the unpredictable nature of empirical research. Fortunately, these unplanned interjections added pertinent nuances to the research.

The cellfilms produced an unexpected benefit for cross-language research as they allowed the participants to have complete control over the content. The participants were noticeably more relaxed during and after the cellfilms were produced. This can be attributed to the researcher not being present during the filming process, therefore the participants claimed ownership of the content of the films. The absence of an English speaking researcher gave the participants the freedom to communicate in Zulu, their home-language, which resulted in the conversations being more natural and honest.

This result combined with the compact, transportable and unobtrusive nature of cell phones, as well as their relative ease of access in countries such as South Africa¹⁶⁴, will not only benefit the PV process of future participatory filmmaking projects but that it is highlighted the benefit of using cell phones for research purposes. The video recording, photography,

¹⁶⁴ As discussed in Chapter1 of this dissertation.

voice recording, note taking and communication functions of many models of cell phones will allow both the researcher and the participants to record and exchange data. The benefit of cell phones as a research tool is not necessarily a new revelation (cf. de Bruijn *et al*, 2009) however my study has added to this body of research.

This dissertation's findings have highlighted the possibilities for further research to be conducted regarding the use of video enabled cell phones in participatory video projects in other contexts. I hypothesise that their use may be beneficial to communities and development communication facilitators who are already involved in established development projects, especially where a cross-language barrier is evident. It would be interesting to evaluate whether cell phones, and thus cellphilms, may be beneficial in allowing the community to communicate their needs and problems in the development process more efficiently.

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