An Assessment of Video Advocacy as an Instrument for Change
Case Study: The Our Voices Matter Campaign to Combat Sexual Violence Against
Women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Carmen Scherkenbach
Malmö University
Abstract

With the rise of new information and communication technologies, advocacy campaigns in development have experienced a resurgence of video as an instrument to enrich outreach efforts and build bridges, to empower marginalised groups and rescue the culture and heritage of indigenous people, and to reach decision-makers – and ultimately change policies and laws. The use of “humanising” elements through film, such as the oral testimonies of individuals, allows practitioners to transport the realities and conditions of specific localities to audiences otherwise unable to experience them directly.

The present study examines the mechanisms through which video advocacy reaches audiences, looking specifically at trade-offs and knock-on effects among key stakeholders, based upon the case study of the Our Voices Matter advocacy film. The video features oral testimonies of local women survivors of rape from the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). It is employed to campaign for justice for women victims of sexual violence and to mobilise social change to alter the role of women in the region. In light of the multifaceted nature of video advocacy use in development, the study utilises a composite of three analysis techniques, employing the collection and critical examination of information both qualitative and quantitative in nature: A content analysis of the case study, examining the narrative and semiotic elements used by the film’s producers, was designed to complement interviews with stakeholders of the campaign. An international survey of women was conducted to shine light on how vulnerable groups across the world relate to the video in question and evaluate the effectiveness of video advocacy. The composite discussion reveals insights into video advocacy conception, strategy, and implementation, with particular emphasis on stakeholder mapping, while underscoring the potential for trade-offs and knock-on effects among stakeholder groups. The case study also provides a theoretical and practical basis for similar communication for development campaigns.

Keywords: video advocacy, oral testimony, sexual violence against women, DRC
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List of Abbreviations

AWID…….. Association for Women’s Rights in Development
CAR......... Central African Republic
CSW.........Commission on the Status of Women
DRC.........Democratic Republic of the Congo
FARDC------*Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo*
FDLR.........Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda
HIV/AIDS.....Human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
ICC.........International Criminal Court
ICT.........Information Communication Technology
IRC.........International Rescue Committee
NGO.........Non-Governmental Organisation
SAFECO......Synergy of Congolese Women’s Associations
UCBC-------*Université Chrétienne Bilingue du Congo*
UK..........United Kingdom
UN ..........United Nations
UNHCR......United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIFEM.....United Nations Development Fund for Women
USA.........United States of America
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1.1 Background of the Study

Over the past few decades, an increasing number of development cooperation and advocacy organisations have employed video to enhance and elevate their communications efforts. Video integration can be a powerful complement to more traditional methods of advocacy for development, allowing practitioners to transport the realities and conditions of specific localities to audiences otherwise unable to experience them. It is unique for its ability to convey personal stories and impressions, its practicality in explaining complex or foreign circumstances, and its impact in evoking change among viewers. It is also used as an instrument for oral testimony – the documentation of direct verbal testimonials from the witnesses of crimes or other events. Since the 1980s, video advocacy has benefitted from leaps and bounds in filmmaking and editing technology, and enormous expansion in access. In particular, the rise of high-speed Internet, which allows instant distribution across the world, has been a game changer, enabling video advocacy tools to easily reach audiences from industrialised to developed regions. Because of this, advocacy videos have the potential to target a wide variety of stakeholders, including judicial, legislative, and executive bodies, human rights commissions, financial institutions, corporations, aid agencies, NGOs, solidarity groups, and community-based organisations (What is video advocacy? n.d.).

The advocacy video Our Voices Matter, created and published jointly by the human rights organisations WITNESS and Women’s Initiative for Gender Justice (hereafter referred to as Women’s Initiatives), provides a strong example of a film produced and utilised to act as a major component of a broader advocacy campaign for social and legislative change. Through the video, WITNESS and Women’s Initiatives are campaigning for justice for women victims of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and to mobilise social support to alter the role of women in the region. The film features oral testimonies of local women survivors of rape and other forms of sexual violence from the Eastern provinces of the DRC. Dubbed by former United Nations Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict Margot Wallström as the “the rape capital of the world” and widely referred to as “the worst place on earth to be a woman”, the Eastern DRC has since 1996 experienced a near-constant state war and enduring insecurity, with militia groups
repeatedly and relentlessly engaging in acts of violence – including sexual violence – against local populations, and particularly against women.

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

The centrepiece of this paper is a case study analysis of the advocacy video *Our Voices Matter*, and the campaign that utilised the film in order to reach specific objectives with regard to sexual violence against women in the DRC. The selection of *Our Voices Matter* was borne out of the author’s research interest in women’s advocacy – and specifically campaigns to incite social change to alter the role/status of women in their communities and society at large – as well as a fascination with film as an instrument of change.

The research aim has experienced an evolution over the course of the project, driven by a number of factors. The original aim was to extrapolate, from the analysis, insights into the effectiveness of video advocacy as a strategy for social change in development communication, and specifically for altering the role of women in conflict/post-conflict regions. As the researcher came to learn more of the existing literature on video advocacy, of the specific campaign, and of the exceedingly complex situation in the DRC, it became clear that the original research aim was too ambitious in its goal of measuring and assessing real effectiveness. At the same time, several other aspects of the project emerged that appeared under-addressed by the literature, such as certain trade-offs and compromises inherent in video advocacy campaigning, and the knock-on, or incidental, subsequent effects, positive and negative, of video advocacy campaigns among stakeholders, including the primary stakeholders. These aspects were incorporated into a revised research aim, which is to examine the mechanisms through which video advocacy reaches stakeholders – from narrative devices to campaign outreach efforts – looking specifically at trade-offs and knock-on effects among key stakeholders, based upon the case study of the *Our Voices Matter* campaign.

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1 At the time, the advocacy film KONY 2012 was garnering widespread news coverage, aimed to raise awareness of the conflict in the DRC. KONY 2012 was a documentary film that sparked a social media movement, aiming to end child soldier recruitment and sexual violence in the DRC. The film was created by director Joseph Kony and aimed to raise awareness of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and its leader, Joseph Kony. The film was an attempt to harness the power of social media to bring attention to the plight of children and women affected by the conflict in the DRC.

2 "Trade-off" refers to a situation in which a decision is made to sacrifice a positive aspect of a choice or choices in return for a positive aspect of an alternate choice(s). The term generally implies a weighing of positive and negative aspects, and an understanding of the consequences of potential decisions. "Knock-on effect" refers to an indirect secondary, and often unintended, effect of an action.
The case study shines a light on how video advocacy techniques and tools can serve multiple purposes and target divergent audiences in order to move change at various societal levels – for instance by inciting legislative debates or influencing relevant decision-makers, or by prompting community or neighbourhood-level responses to a set of circumstances. The study also reveals insights into how trade-offs and compromises can be inherent in targeting these multiple audiences, and how those trade-offs are manifested. The information and insights gained through the analysis may also be seen as guidelines for current and future practitioners of video advocacy in certain circumstances, although the creation of guidelines per se is not a primary objective. While the case study chiefly analyses the extent and character of effects upon stakeholder behaviour and related outcomes, it also introduces another incidental effect of oral testimonial as video advocacy upon primary stakeholders: namely the psychological aspects of oral testimony for victims, and specifically effects upon coping with traumata. Unfortunately, as is explained in the methodology section, this aspect of the case study remains under-explored due both to time constraints for the present project, and to logistical complications caused by the security situation in DRC, and merits further examination in future work.

1.3 Outline and Research Design

In order to create “common knowledge ground” and thus a basis for fully comprehending the issues and events described in the thesis, Chapter 1.4 defines the relevant key terms used in this project.

Chapter 2 sets the context and reviews existing literature and examples of video advocacy, which are further explored in the composite discussion. Based in part on the literature and associated case studies, the author identifies and assesses a number of key themes governing the use of video advocacy, which serve as a theoretical basis upon which to examine the case study in question.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the theories and methods used within the current study, weighing the strengths and weaknesses of each method and explaining the particular suitability of the combination of the chosen methods.
Chapter 4 presents and analyses the advocacy video *Our Voices Matter*. The chapter introduces the case, background, and contextual information, and assesses the campaign audience(s), messages, and narrative devices, using primary and secondary source material for information. The questions guiding this part of the study are practical ones: To whom is the video directed – i.e. whether the video is directed to local stakeholders, to international audiences, or to both? What narrative and semiotic elements are used to reach them?

In tackling the corollary questions, subsequent sub-chapters contain interviews and a survey with various stakeholders to paint a picture of the campaign’s effects and impacts among different groups, and to extrapolate from these an assessment of video advocacy and oral testimony for similar contexts and situations. Among the interviewees and survey participants are the project manager and director of the film, representatives of the international community based in the DRC, a women’s rights activist from the DRC, a doctor with experience with survivors of sexual violence in the DRC, as well as potentially vulnerable groups from various backgrounds and parts of the world.³

1.4 Definition of Key Terms

1.4.1 Advocacy

The origin of the term *advocacy* stems from the Latin meaning for “to call to.” A person who advocates pleads the cause of another by “calling” to persuade people with power (e.g. policymakers) to act, address, and consider the concerns, wishes, or needs of a particular group of people and ensure public support for or recommendation of a particular cause or policy. Traditional forms of advocacy include a range of ways to exert pressure for a defined goal of change, including persuasion, relationship-building, lobbying, organising, and mobilising (Gregory,

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³ Some key questions guiding this part of the research are: Has this communications tool had the impact(s) intended by its creators – for instance, has it helped bring about the specific and stated objectives of the producing organisations and participants? How have its creators measured and/or assessed its effectiveness, and what might be other potential quantitative and qualitative indicators of effectiveness? What lessons can advocates of similar campaigns take away from this effort?
In order to accommodate the various demands for advocacy, a variety of different forms and sub-forms have developed.  

### 1.4.2 Video Advocacy

Video advocacy refers to the utilisation of video recordings as a targeted tool within more traditional advocacy campaigns. The major reason for using video advocacy can be found in its ability to offer not only a way of documenting complex processes, but also of personalising and “humanising” the particular issues to be advocated (Lie et al., 2009) by being able to feature people, and extracts from actual lives. The tool is thus used to more effectively engage people to create change (What is Video Advocacy? n.d.).

### 1.4.3 Oral Testimony

Oral testimony, in the broad sense of the term, denotes the giving of a verbal statement to an individual or group, usually in order to provide information regarding an event that has occurred. Probably the most well-known and widely understood use of oral testimony is in the judicial context, as part of a trial in which a witness is interviewed in order to provide information regarding judicial proceedings. Oral testimony is also an important tool for historians. Through oral testimony, information can be collected from contemporary memories that would otherwise not be available through traditional forays into the written historical record, particularly within communities in which written record-keeping is minimal or non-existent.

In the context of development communication strategies, including video advocacy, oral testimonies are often used to “give a voice” to the otherwise “voiceless;” such as marginalised individuals or groups. Oral testimony is in most cases the result of free-ranging, open-ended interviews drawing on direct personal memory, experience, reflections, and opinions (Bennett, 2003). Through the process of storytelling, persons who give testimony often emerge empowered by their collective voice to change their lives (Gender-based violence, n.d.).

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4 Such sub-forms largely fall under three categories (Types of Advocacy, n.d.): **Self-advocacy**: the act of speaking for, representing the interests of, or defending the rights of oneself; **case advocacy**: speaking for, representing the interests of, or defending the rights of another person or specific group of people; **cause or public advocacy**: speaking for, representing the interests of, or defending the rights of a general category of people, or the general public.
1.4.4 Stakeholder
Generally, a stakeholder refers to any person or group of people who has a “stake” in, i.e. who can influence or be influenced by, the outcome of a decision or process (Bryson, 2004; stakeholderfoum, n.d.). Since the agendas of stakeholders involved in a given project may vary considerably – and may be contradictory or incompatible – project managers aim to identify and map stakeholders and agendas at an early stage in order to take into account issues of power, convergence, interaction, or opposing positions that can have an impact on the success of a project.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction
Although video as a tool for development communication is seeing increasing popularity, publications on the subject remain somewhat scarce, with relatively few studies or documentations of practices. A particular paucity of literature seems to exist in the area of interviewing strategies and of documentary filmmaking for advocacy, indicating a need for increased co-ordination and exchange of experiences and practices in the field (Lie & Mandler, 2009; Perks & Thomson, 1996; White, 2003). Still, there can be found several excellent documentations and case studies demonstrating video advocacy’s unique ability to communicate across boundaries – whether geographical, cultural, temporal, or social. In order to advance the current study and to understand the power of video advocacy for development and social change with particular regard to (post) conflict zones, the chapter will briefly outline existing literature, including case studies and related research.6

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5 In the context of video advocacy, the stakeholder constellation consists of the primary stakeholders (the target beneficiaries of the advocacy, i.e. those being advocated for); the agents (activists, NGOs); associated interest organisations; donors and sponsors; government agencies; law-makers; and more.
6 Specific examples, arguments, and conclusions from the literature will be subject to further scrutiny and discussion in the analysis (Chapter 4) to strengthen and reinforce the findings from the case study, or to provide examples of dichotomies and illustrate areas in which additional study is necessary. The subject of oral testimony is briefly addressed as it relates to video advocacy; however, since it is only a subsection of the overall picture, it is not as extensively examined in this work.
2.2 Video Advocacy in Literature and Research

In the current body of literature on video advocacy, one can find a number of rich examples demonstrating its benefits, some critical inspections of its constraints, and the beginnings of a general framework for constructing video advocacy campaigns. Among the various works read in preparation for the analysis of this case study, the most pertinent are likewise case studies, or focus in large part on specific aspects of video advocacy for development. In studying the literature, a number of thematic elements, explained and developed by one or more authors, can be identified, which together form a framework upon which the analysis sections of the paper were erected. These categories traverse the various creative, strategic, ethical, and other elements that together constitute video advocacy. Although there is a significant interrelation between these ideas, they can be generally distilled into the following:

Table 1

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<th>Thematic elements of video advocacy from literature</th>
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<td><strong>Objectives, uses, and special cases</strong></td>
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<td>The use of video advocacy to raise awareness among specific stakeholders.</td>
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<td>The use of video advocacy to address, destigmatise, and/or demystify taboo subject matter.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The use of video advocacy to address or represent non-literate, or underrepresented individuals or groups, and/or overcome language barriers.</td>
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<td>The use of video advocacy as a direct mediator between stakeholders.</td>
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<td>The use of video advocacy for oral testimony and (historical) documentation.</td>
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<td><strong>Technical, artistic aspects of content creation</strong></td>
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<td>The technical and creative elements to video advocacy.</td>
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<td><strong>People and stakeholders</strong></td>
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<td>The “ownership” question: empowerment, victimization, and the role of the subjects in video advocacy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The necessity of stakeholder understanding and mapping in video advocacy.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Strategy, distribution/outreach, and effectiveness</strong></td>
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<td>Embedding video advocacy tools into broader campaigns and associated outreach efforts, in order to reach stakeholders, have impact, and create outcomes.</td>
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<td>The potential for unintended consequences in implementing video advocacy.</td>
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The existing literature on video advocacy focuses in large part on the technical and artistic aspects of the content creation itself; on the aspects of stakeholder identities and ownership; and on the distribution mechanisms and strategies that in a sense constitute the “campaign” of video advocacy campaigns. Much of the literature is concerned as well with specific case studies, which give insight into the purpose and objectives practitioners have in mind when deciding to implement video in their advocacy efforts.

“Video for Development” (1998), by Braden and Than, is a casebook from Vietnam, which explores participatory video advocacy for villagers in a commune in the North-Central region of the country, and highlights several strengths of video as an advocacy medium. The authors lend particular focus to the ability of video to overcome language and literacy barriers, allowing for the representation of underrepresented groups, and for the inclusion of non-literate groups in the audience for advocacy efforts: “Video can enable under-represented and non-literate people to use their own visual languages and oral traditions to retrieve, debate, and record their own knowledge (…)” (p. 19). Slim and Thomson (1993, p. 3) also explore the mechanisms and advantages of “listening to the voice and experience of ordinary people,” illustrating the ability of video advocacy to “cut across barriers of wealth, class and race” – and indeed, across the boundaries of language and literacy. Berger (1997) encapsulates this power of the moving image (related to television but here transposed to video):

> We often have the illusion when we watch TV of actually being with other people. That is why people often have parasocial relationships with television performers, that is, they feel that they know them intimately (…) the medium provides people who watch it with a spurious kind of companionship. (p. 114)

In this vein, video advocacy can act as a direct channel between stakeholders inhabiting vastly different physical, temporal, cultural, social, or economic regions – in effect allowing individuals and groups to directly represent themselves before stakeholders with whom such representation would otherwise be impossible. It is not just a message but also the people themselves who are brought “to the doorstep of decision-makers, in a mediated way” (Witteveen, Enserink, & Lie 2009b, p. 36). In contrast to a direct confrontation of two opposing sides, this allows space for
recipients to assess their own positions, mitigating immediate conflict. Caldwell (in Gregory, Caldwell, Avni, & Harding, 2005, p. 13) also touches on this, noting that decision-makers are not regularly exposed to the voices of those affected by abuses, so hearing them directly in their offices can be “powerfully effective” when presented in tandem with accompanying material.

White (2003) delivers a thoughtful analysis of video as an advocacy tool, and cites several key cases for its use. In particular the case of video as a tool to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS in Kenya was informative for this study, especially in its ability to destigmatise and demystify the difficult and taboo subject of HIV/AIDS among communities. This is explored in greater detail in the analysis (Chapter 4). The author (2003, p. 100) ascribes “unlimited potential” to the power and potential of video as a tool for advocacy, noting that “it becomes more than a tool when used within developmental conceptual frameworks such as self-concept, reflective listening, dialog, conflict management, or consensus building. It then becomes a vital force for change and transformation of individuals and communities.”

The potential of video advocacy use for oral testimony at the community level in conflict zones was investigated by Bennett, Bexley and Warnock (1995) as part of the “Panos Oral Testimony Project”. The project, which took place in Northern Uganda, documented women’s experiences of war and assessed the enabling, empowering, and voice-giving qualities of oral testimony. The researchers identified several strengths and weaknesses of the method while, interestingly, also collecting the perspectives of the interviewees. These aspects, and how the findings of Bennet et al. relate to other examples of video advocacy, will also be covered in greater depth in Chapter 4.

Many authors touch on the technical and creative elements of video advocacy. Lie and Mandler (2005, p. 12), for instance, identify a number of key elements or requirements for effective video advocacy, including knowledge about “theories of persuasion and audio-visual communication,” and the ability to “capture the narrative,” among others. These and other aspects of the creative and technical video production and editing process were a central part of the interview analysis in Chapter 4.4, and will be further elaborated upon in that section. “Giving Voice” and “Listening for a Change” by the Panos Institute, and “Cycles of Violence: Gender
Relations and Armed Conflict” by El-Bushra and Sahl (2005) provide further examples and practical guidelines for implementing oral testimony projects – which are in many cases applicable to active video advocacy campaigns as well.

Along with presenting cases of successful video advocacy, Nair and White (in White, 2003) delve into the fundamental issue of ownership – a question that should in general be central to advocacy campaigns, but which takes on particular importance when primary stakeholders and their stories are portrayed in film. Do the primary stakeholders – generally the subjects themselves – feel they are in control of how they are portrayed to others? Are they “empowered” by the video advocacy process and product, or do they feel betrayed by the results? Practitioners of video advocacy often risk continuing or repeating the “victimising” that primary stakeholders have already experienced. Nair and White use the example of a video advocacy project undertaken in India on behalf of rural women. The storyline and initial editing were completed independently of the subjects, and the result was an initial draft that did not portray the women as they had expected. In this case, the subjects still had the opportunity to influence the product before its release, and were able to alter it accordingly.

The question of ownership cannot, of course, be entirely separated from the technical issues of production and editing. Many of the authors emphasise the importance of integrating primary stakeholders in the production processes in order to ensure that their expectations and needs are met, and to avoid re-victimisation. Lie and Mandler (2009) and Gregory et al. (2005) emphasise the need for integration in various stages of the production process, including the actual filming; although even in cases where this is not possible, stakeholders can still have an impact on the final product if integrated in the editing stages, as the Indian example above indicates. The analysis section of the present study also looks at how the ownership question and inclusion of stakeholders were handled in the case study, and further incorporates themes from the literature.

The literature illustrates to great effect how the use of video and oral testimony can significantly augment the impact of traditional advocacy, due to its “humanising ability” to generate emotional and empathetic responses among viewers by featuring actual people, and extracts from actual lives. Yet the literature also makes a point of
emphasising the *supplementary* nature of video as an advocacy tool – that video advocacy must be part of a larger strategic campaign, and not simply exist in a vacuum.

Among the works available in the field, “Video for Change” (2005)\(^7\), edited by Gregory et al. offers the perhaps most comprehensive and current picture of video advocacy campaigning. The authors look at a number of mechanisms and strategies for incorporating video into campaigns for change, including the use of video as a grassroots educational or organising tool; participatory video; documentaries; as evidence presented before a court or tribunal; video as an archive for news media, and many more. They also elaborate on the strategic planning necessary for the successful implementation of video advocacy campaigns, such as defining goals and motivations for a campaign, and obtaining information, counsel or assistance from other organisations working in the same area. Video advocacy campaigns are not “conducted in isolation” (Gregory et al, 2005, p. 6), a key observation that is further studied and reinforced in the analysis portion of this thesis.

Caldwell (in Gregory et al., 2005) stresses the importance of networking and professional outreach in order to secure both powerful, new material in the production phase, as well as the eyes and ears of key decision-makers in the audience. Of course, professionalism alone is not sufficient to have impact. Gregory et al. (2005, p. 9) remind the reader that it is necessary also to look at stories, and to match them with the key receiving stakeholders; to “recognize what will be appealing, persuasive or intriguing” to a particular audience – in terms of factual information, personal stories, and experts included for commentary. This stakeholder analysis is covered more extensively in Chapter 4, including potential drawbacks when multiple viewing audiences will likely perceive a film or video product very differently.

Finding the right distribution strategy for a video targeted to a range of audiences is a challenge requiring thorough planning, reaching relevant decision-makers a critical success metric to any project. As Caldwell argues, “it isn’t always the number of eyeballs that see a video, but which ones” (in Gregory et al., 2005, p. 13). When

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\(^7\) Beyond its value as a detailed guide to human rights and video campaigning, this book is particularly relevant to this study due to its link with WITNESS, the organisation responsible for the video that forms the case study at hand.
approaching broader audiences, practitioners are faced with numerous options for
distribution: while streaming video on the Internet is a useful way of reaching
sympathetic international audiences or diaspora and exile populations, the most
successful campaigns often employ a combination of fora and formats (Caldwell in
Gregory et al., 2005).

On a critical note, Slim and Thomson (1993) point out that simply gaining access to
specific audiences is not always enough. Many local efforts, and indeed efforts by
development practitioners, to advocate change through participation and consultation
have existed for quite some time:

All too often, however, planners and policy makers hear only what
they want to, and adopt methods of listening which ignore the more
challenging or awkward views and testimonies. And even if people's
attempts to talk and to listen are successful at field level, donors,
governments and policy makers still have to be convinced. Without the
political will to take account of the results of such an exchange, people
will be poorly rewarded for giving others the benefit of their time and
thoughts. (p. 3)

This aspect is also covered in more detail in the analysis section.

While the effectiveness of an advocacy video certainly stands and falls with its
success in reaching audiences and “being seen”, video advocacy does have other
potential positive effects, including a possible psychological healing power for
traumatised victims giving oral testimony, and the longer-term historical and
educational value of testimonial and collective. These aspects are examined to some
degree in the analysis, although it became clear during the project implementation that
the subject matter is so rich, and adequate study of it so time-consuming, as to merit a
some of these issues, concentrating primarily on the use of oral testimony for
archivists and historians, while also offering interesting insights into how testifying
can itself be empowering for individuals, and how the process and practice of
remembering can have meaningful effects on others.
A small subsection of the literature touches on specific issues of video advocacy in conflict and post-conflict areas, aspects that were relevant to the project at hand given its location and the nature of the crimes being documented. As Bery in White (2003) noted, risks are an inherent aspect of many video advocacy projects, and these risks are exacerbated in time of war. Braden and Than (1998) discuss the difficulty of putting together video projects in crisis areas, noting that people in many cases are exerting so much effort merely to obtain food and shelter for themselves and their families, that that they are little moved by the “intangible” outputs of advocacy. El-Bushra and Sahl (2005, p. 137 f.) also deal with these difficulties, and discuss practical aspects of working with people in conflict areas – aspects that will be more thoroughly explained in the analysis.

The authors are upfront as well about video advocacy’s disadvantages and the potential for unintended consequences (most of which would be applicable to other types of advocacy but are magnified in the case of video advocacy). Braden and Than (1998) note that artistic elements may be unconsciously yet persuasively imposed upon primary stakeholders, leading them to alter unrelated communication in other ways, with potentially negative consequences. Seidl (in White, 2003) also focuses on unintentional impacts on communities during production work in the field. The unintended consequences identified in the literature in some instances overlap with the knock-on effects and trade-offs among stakeholder groups mentioned previously, which will be further examined in Chapter 4.

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8 Aside from an increased awareness of the project within the community, film teams attract people’s curiosity, with other unintentional impacts of video documentation happening regularly. According to Seidl (2003), it is crucial to understand how the exposure of some community members can change community dynamics or relationships, and that a video shooting may portray circumstances different from those of the everyday, since the presence of a film crew often results in changes in behaviour.
3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction
At the initial stage of a study, a researcher is tasked with examining their own orientation to basic tenets about the nature of reality, to the purpose of research, and the type of knowledge that can be gained from it (Merriam, 1988). Assuming that no one research methodology is per se better or worse than the other, but merely different, the aim should be to choose the combination of those methods\(^9\) that can best illuminate the most angles and dimensions of the issue in question (Hansen et al., 1998). Accordingly, it is important for the researcher to seek balance in methodologies, which allows for gaining multiple perspectives on a specific research question.

3.2 Presentation of Methods
In approaching the research question, the author decided upon a composite of three analysis techniques. The analyses employ the collection, and critical examination, of information both qualitative and quantitative in nature – in some cases using a combination of qualitative and quantitative evidence in a single analytical exercise. The methods are: a) a content analysis of the case study producing the narrative elements used by the filmmakers to create certain meaning, designed to complement b) interviews with stakeholders of the case study\(^{10}\) and c) a short opinion survey of women, located around the world, on the case study video. While not creating new oral history itself, the study also looks at the video’s function as a tool for securing the documentation of crimes, specifically sexual and related crimes against women, in ways previously not available to victims.

\(^9\) Using different methods can also increase the researcher’s reflexivity; it is crucial that, throughout the study, the researcher continuously reflects upon the research aims, and whether the project remains in accordance with them (Pickering, 2008).

\(^{10}\) These interviews included the agents, i.e. the advocacy organisation that led the multilateral effort to create, distribute and promote the campaign.
The reasons for this composite are reflected in the complexity of the case study, and its wide spectrum of quantitative and qualitative inputs and outcomes.\textsuperscript{11} Based upon the observations and analyses in these three sections (or four, including the narrow inclusion of oral history documentation), and incorporating positive or negative reinforcement from the outcomes of previous studies noted in the literary review, the insights and outcomes revealed may be to a degree understood as guidelines for practitioners of video advocacy\textsuperscript{12}.

Broadly, the content analysis should reveal insights into the communication techniques, artistic requirements, storyline, and narrative devices; the interviews should reveal insights into the technical backdrop and strategic context for the video advocacy tool(s), as well as some of the quantitative metrics regarding viewership; the surveys should reveal insights into how the video advocacy tool is perceived by specific groups, as well as into some additional aspects of the case study. These are not formal delineations; rather, it is likely that some information from the interviews will also reveal insights into artistic factors, and some information from the content analysis will reveal insights into technical requirements. The following sub-chapters discuss the different methods used within the current study in more detail.

\subsection{3.2.1 Content Analysis}
A content analysis was chosen as the foundation of the composite. The method allows for the objective examination, separate from peripheral information regarding the broader campaign and stakeholders, of how the film incorporates narrative and messaging approaches, linguistic elements, signs, and symbols to create meaning and instil specific emotions – thereby inciting specific reactions among the audience. The testimonies of the women in this case study are all unique, yet include overarching

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{11} For instance, the examination takes into account quantitative data of viewership for a particular online version of the video. This data is only relevant when considering one minor subset of the campaign’s objectives and implementation, although the information, and how it is derived and utilised, may be informative for potential subsequent or similar campaigns.

\textsuperscript{12} As described in the literary review, there exist interpretations of similar guidelines. Gregory et al. (2005, p. 12), for instance, identified a number of “key requirements” for video advocacy campaigning, including a fundamental knowledge requirement for practitioners of “theories of persuasion and audio-visual communication;” an artistic requirement for “capturing the narrative” of the issue at hand; and the technical requirement of “working with local experts and mixed video teams.” To what extent these and other undetermined factors play a role in the implementation and successful realisation of video advocacy will be further explored across the spectrum of methodology with regard to the case study.
\end{footnotesize}
elements and patterns that connect them, and serve to increase the impact of the complete video. It is important to identify the specific elements, as well as the probable sources of those elements, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the communications tool in question.

Analysing the narrative of a text means investigating how it is put together, and what methods it uses to reach its audience. Narratives are often thought of as contrivances of fiction – that is, invented stories unfolding over time. And in contrast to most forms of audio-visual media, such as television or cinema, film documentaries usually present facts, and recount history, through interviews, portraying observers and experts rather than showing events as they occur. Yet they do contain narratives – just as any kind of media text they transmit information regarding events to consumers, which Berger (1997) notes is a basic part of narrative.

Narrators in a documentary film, for instance, present a narrative ‘on behalf’ of an author, who is the ‘real’ narrator (Gripsrud, 2002, p. 205). In the present case study, the women (the narrators) are presenting the narrative on behalf of the producers of the film (the authors/‘real’ narrators). While the narrators are visible, the author remains invisible, governing what is narrated from “somewhere in the background” (Gripsrud, 2002, p. 207). Berger (1997) reinforces this by noting that many phenomena we might not consider as narrative texts have strong narrative characteristics in them and follow certain rules that we find in more conventional kinds of narratives. This is the case in *Our Voices Matter*.

In qualitatively analysing communication, we must look not only at individual letters and words, but also structures: phrases, sentences, and complete ideas; as well as various external factors crucial to their true expression, such as pronunciation, dialect, accent (if spoken), use of slang and colloquialisms, technical or otherwise specialised jargon, emotive or sensitive words and phrases, commands, patterns, interactions, etcetera. Accordingly, the work for this section began by breaking down the finished communications product into component parts, as an understanding of how each piece functions on its own is critical to comprehending the impact of the whole. Despite the challenges and limitations of the analysis due to the language barrier (see also Chapter 3.2.1.1), it was still possible to glean qualitative insights from the spoken testimony,
taking into account basic characteristics such as volume and intensity. For this reason the first step was to separate the testimony into text and speech. To filter out the text, the video was transcribed in its entirety for analysis.

Another step to identify narrative elements was to view the film and listen to it repeatedly, paying special attention each time to a different distinct feature: At one viewing, for instance, the focus was on sounds; at another on the subtitles, and certain patterns used in the spoken language.

Images, signs, and representations were also examined in the light of how they work to support the campaign’s message. Semiotics, “the study or ‘science of signs’ and their general role as vehicles of meaning in culture” (Hall, 1997, p. 6), implies that signs function to construct meaning and to transmit it. In this function, these elements – particularly as they combine with the linguistic characteristics to be fleshed out in the analysis as well – contribute significantly to the video’s overall effect. There are at first glance a number of overarching motifs at hand, which symbolic and other visual imagery serve to advance, as will be explored in the content analysis.

3.2.1.1 Limitations

Examining the film for its narrative and semiotic representations and looking at how they work to support the campaign’s message was not an easy task, particularly in view of the fact that signs are not always immediately apparent as such. As the analysis proceeded, it became evident that for the scope of this project it would be too much to analyse all elements in detail. Therefore, the focus was limited to central elements.

It should be noted that in the case study, the dynamic is more complex than that of an interviewer and interviewee, as the video is a completed communications product, already edited by the interviewing agent. Yet, the analysis must take into consideration also the women giving testimony, and try to detect the means with which they tell their stories. Even though the researcher had not seen the raw footage, it was still possible to get an idea of how the women originally spoke: despite editing

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13 Indeed, as van Zoonen (1994, p. 74) points out, “almost anything can be considered a sign.”
and post-production, people’s unique ways of telling stories are difficult to manipulate.

The content analysis was also limited by language. The DRC is home to five official languages, and no fewer than 16 languages are spoken among various tribes living in the country. The oral testimonies presented in Our Voices Matter (which make up the bulk of the film’s expression) are given in the local languages, Lingala and Swahili, and translated into English subtitles. Having to rely on subtitles both simplifies and limits the analysis in several ways. For instance, the analysis cannot take into account any of the elements of speech (pronunciation, accent, dialect, et cetera), and how those may affect the impact of the testimony on particular audiences.

Conducting a transcription of the entire film proved to be very valuable for the content analysis. The writing down of not only the words spoken, but also of the displayed text and the situations surrounding the women, helped to clarify various narrative and semiotic elements that might otherwise have gone unnoticed. In general, one must be careful in performing this operation, as in transcribing speech one risks losing the various dimensions with which the spoken word is able to convey fact and feeling, such as volume, speed, and pronunciation (Baum, 1977).

The spoken word can very easily be mutilated when it is taken down in writing and transferred to the printed page. Some distortion is bound to arise, whatever the intention of the writer, simply but cutting out pauses and repetitions – a concession which writers very generally feel bound to make in the interests of readability. In the process, weight and balance can easily be upset. (Samuel cited in Perks & Thomson 1998, p. 389)

3.2.2 Interviews

Interviews were chosen, and functioned as an important method, because they help understand the issue at hand through the unique perspectives and experience of multiple knowledgeable informants, and facilitate the acquisition of first-hand information on the subject in question.14 Interviews can produce in-depth and complex knowledge and, according to Meyer (in Pickering, 2008, p. 76) offer

14 Meyer calls participants of qualitative interviews “active meaning makers rather than passive information providers” (Meyer in Pickering, 2008, p. 70).
personal narratives that reveal “an individual’s practices, attitudes and experiences”. This was valuable for the case study, as it offered a chance to bring the informants’ diverse experiences, opinions, and insights to the research process (Kvale, 2009). At the same time, understanding and analysing the evidence gained through experience must also be balanced with a critical regard for the meaning of that evidence (Pickering, 2008).

3.2.2.1 Selecting the Interviewees
Before the final questions were designed, steps were taken to identify, select, and approach the potential interviewees, while critically weighing how many and which people to approach in order to adequately encompass the issue under investigation, as recommended by Pickering (2008). The final interviewees for this project were chosen in view of the wide range of perspectives they would potentially offer. A broad group of different stakeholders and potential gatekeepers was approached for interview in order to reduce “perspectivalism” (Hansen et al., 1998) and to allow for a balanced assessment of the effectiveness of the tool in question and the issue in general, ensuring credibility of the thesis. The challenges of making and maintaining contacts with informants are explained in Chapter 3.2.2.3. The persons ultimately interviewed were:

- Bukeni Tete Waruzi, director and project manager of Our Voices Matter
- Dr. Elisabeth Fries, a German doctor with experience working with survivors of sexual violence in the DRC, as well as refugees abroad
- Neema Namadamu, a Congolese women’s rights activist and member of the DRC Ministry of Education
- André Abel Barry, a humanitarian correspondent working for the French Embassy in Kinshasa
- David Schwake, a German diplomat, formerly based in Kinshasa
- Additional information and guidance via email was provided by a programme specialist at the German NGO, which supports women and girls in war and crisis zones; and staff from both WITNESS and the Women’s Initiatives.
More information on the reasoning for selecting the particular interviewees is provided in Appendix A.

### 3.2.2.2 Designing the Questions

The interviews conducted for the current study contained mostly open-ended qualitative as well as a few quantitative questions, designed in a semi-structured format to best capture the informants’ experience of the phenomenon studied (Pickering, 2008). While all interviews follow the same basic and overarching outline and theme referring to video advocacy, the following guidelines were adapted to each individual informant based on their contextual differences, roles, and occupations (Deacon, Murdock, Pickering, & Golding, 1999):

- Has this communications tool been effective in helping bring about the objectives of its creators and participants?
- How have the producers measured its effectiveness, and what might be other potential quantitative indicators of effectiveness?
- Perspectives on video advocacy in development work.
- What role do oral testimonies and storytelling play in the representation of coping with traumata?
- What lessons can advocates of similar campaigns take away from this effort?

The wording of questions was kept short and clear, as English was not the native language of any of the informants. Although most were proficient in English, two interviews required a translation of the questions into French, which was provided by a professional translator engaged by the researcher.

Relevant excerpts of the interviews can be found in Chapter 4 and Appendices B and C.

### 3.2.2.3 Limitations

Planning, designing, and conducting the interviews brought with it obstacles. Being unable to travel in order to conduct face-to-face interviews, the researcher had to rely on phone and email interviews. These have the disadvantage of not allowing one to
gauge “reactions through visual clues” and making it “difficult to establish a relaxed rapport with a distant and disembodied voice” (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 64). Yet, the advantage of saved time and resources, and the willingness of most informants to answer follow-up questions and provide additional information surrounding the interviews, made up for the lack of proximity.

Gaining access to informants is often problematic for all sorts of reasons, including ethical ones (Pickering, 2008, p. 59). In the case of this project, the power of the author was primarily constrained by logistical and organisational issues, resulting in fewer interviews than originally planned. Throughout the process, numerous repeated attempts were made to speak with altogether about 30 relevant individuals\textsuperscript{15}, most of them without success. Efforts to speak with the local activists who filmed the women survivors were also for nought, as the Women’s Initiative declined to establish contact. Finally, the author changed a planned focus group of women to a survey, for one due to logistical constraints, and to ameliorate potential distress when addressing a delicate issue such as the one at hand, as survey participants could refrain from openly dealing with such issues in a group (Meyer in Pickering, 2008, p. 75 ff.).

3.2.3 Survey

A survey questionnaire was initially selected by the author in order to ascertain information on how the film and the campaign were perceived by the primary stakeholders – that is, local women living in the Eastern DRC. A corresponding survey was designed to glean comparative information on how those perceptions relate to the perceptions of women (from similar age groups) in other parts of the world, and from varying circumstances. The survey for local women was in particular meant to gain insights into how they felt about giving oral testimony, how they believed the information would be employed, and whether they felt it would have an impact on their lives, for better or for worse. The comparison survey for international participants also queried personal responses to giving oral testimony, while asking survey takers about their attitudes regarding the film’s utility in raising awareness among international actors, and the role and nature of international actions in addressing the issue of sexual violence against women in the DRC, among others.

\textsuperscript{15} Among others, attempts were made to interview at least one person from the Ministry of Justice, which, although promising, eventually did not work out due to scheduling conflicts.
The original objective of the survey was confounded by logistical difficulties related to participation of local women in the Eastern DRC. Specifically, the security situation hindered delivery of key data to the author’s partner in the region, the Université Chrétienne Bilingue du Congo (UCBC) in Beni, North Kivu. Without this information, there was insufficient data to make specific assertions regarding the psychological and practical aspects of oral testimony for the primary stakeholders. Nevertheless, the data from the international survey, together with information from other sources (such as the interviews) allows for the formation of initial suppositions in this area. Further, the international survey of women provided interesting insights into, among others, how the women view video advocacy in general, how they felt connected to the primary stakeholders, and how they perceive the role of the international community in this case.

The complementary use of surveys and interviews allows for the examination of the issue from two different positions of proximity (Pickering, 2008). As Deacon et al. (1999) suggest, making use of surveys as a research method not only enables us to ask questions to a larger number of people, but also to learn more about the reality constructed through statistical “truths”.

### 3.2.3.1 Designing the Questionnaire

The nature of the investigation and the availability of resources are among the determining factors when designing a survey questionnaire (Hansen et al., 1998). Because of the global scope and limited time and resources available for the survey, a computerised self-completion questionnaire was deemed appropriate for low cost and ease of analysis. It is also the type preferred by respondents (Hansen et al., 1998).

The design of the survey and its implementation must be viewed in the context of the comparative analysis, which, unfortunately, was not available due to the aforementioned security issues in the Eastern DRC. As the primary stakeholders were women within a certain age range, the participants for the international survey were also to be women within the same age range, a demographic limitation that might otherwise not have been utilised. The key questions relating to the psychological and practical aspects of giving oral testimony, such as whether the women believed giving such testimony would make them feel better about themselves, or whether it would
likely result in concrete measures, were thus only answered from the perspective of women internationally. These results can deliver some insights into how the primary stakeholders were likely to have perceived the video and campaign, but the strength of those insights is nonetheless compromised by not having information directly from the primary stakeholders.

Added to the survey were questions as to how the participants felt vis-à-vis the subjects of the video, the campaign, and video advocacy in general. These results, in some instances strengthened by overwhelming leanings, can be extrapolated into general opinions of viewers, and thus provide insights into some of the effects and benefits of video advocacy. A variety of questions was used, parts of which were discarded in order to keep the questionnaire at a length that would not deter the recipients from filling it out. The survey ultimately consisted of 31 questions. Paying attention to the potentially biasing effect of the positioning of questions in a questionnaire (Sudman & Bradburn, 1983), they were grouped into four parts to minimise confusion and allow for a logical flow (Table 2).

Questions were rephrased to ensure clarity and straightforwardness while making efforts to remain sensitive of the topic. Positive statements were used within the predefined answers, and negatives or double negatives avoided. Special attention was also paid to avoiding the “general fallacy” of structuring the questions too generally and failing to define the topic (Freed cited in Foddy, 1994, p. 31). A checklist of major points to take into consideration as provided by Sudman and Bradburn (1983, p. 152) proved a helpful tool in the process of developing the survey questionnaire.
Table 2

*Survey guide*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asks for demographic information and aims to identify any existing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-knowledge about the video or type of video as well as possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relations to the DRC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aims to identify the extent of knowledge of and experiences with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexual harassment and sexual assault in order to determine a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>correlation between this and the felt connection to the film and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evaluation of its use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deals with the respondents’ level of agreement/disagreement with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certain statements after viewing the film that talked about the ascribed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effectiveness of the film.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inquires about the respondents’ level of agreement/disagreement with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more general assumptions of the impact that videos such as *Our Voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matter might* have on governance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The questionnaire contains closed-ended questions, divided into dichotomous and interval scale questions. Closed-ended questions were used because they are especially suitable to get basic information about respondents (Hansen et al., 1998). Although the researcher is unable to follow-up responses, the key advantages of time-efficiency and convenience when coding and interpreting were important factors. Open-ended questions, although in many ways advantageous, heighten the risk that participants fail to complete the survey in its entirety.

Subsequent to phrasing and ordering the questions, the questionnaire was constructed with an online programme, which upon closure of the survey period also generated final statistics and graphical representations of responses in the form of charts and tables. An opening was composed introducing the survey, explaining who was collecting the feedback and why, including details about the confidentiality of the
information collected, and setting expectations about survey length and estimated
time it will take to complete.\footnote{The introduction also contained a prominent warning to inform respondents that the content of the
video in question may be disturbing and/or trigger traumatic memories for survivors of sexual violence,
and that some of the questions may cause to recall unpleasant or emotionally upsetting experiences. It
was also noted that participation was voluntary and that respondents may choose not to take the survey,
to stop responding at any time, or to skip any questions that they did not want to answer.}

3.2.3.2 Sampling and Distribution
Deciding how many responses are “enough” is a difficult question with no clear
answer (Hansen et al., 1998). Next to the issue of a suitable sample size there is the
question of the return rates a questionnaire is likely to produce. While generating high
return rates is a challenge in most surveys, a small and specialised sample size was
expected in this case, due to the fact that a relatively long video needed to be watched
in order to answer the questions. Although the general aim of a survey to gain data
from a statistically representative and significant sample of respondents does not
entirely apply to the present case due to the limited sample, it does allow for making
assumptions regarding a tendency of the responses. The aforementioned factors of
cost, access, and time demanded the use of a convenience sampling.

Before launch of the survey, it was tested among a small group of people and
improvements were made where necessary to ensure the comprehensibility of the
questions. The link to the survey was then distributed to women across the world via
the Internet. The survey was kept open for 30 days, and the invitation to fill it out was
sent to different groups of respondents across the globe, including:

- The researcher’s own network consisting of friends, acquaintances, work
colleagues, former and present classmates
- Friends’ and co-workers’ networks
- A contact at The International Women’s Media Foundation who made the link
available on the organisation’s social media channels

3.2.3.3 Limitations
One limitation that any researcher faces in employing a survey is uncertainty over
whether respondents truly understand the questions. This risk was mitigated through
careful introduction of the topic, and explanations of the concepts upon which some of the questions were based. Another limitation was the aforementioned low return rates for such questionnaires, aggravated by the fact that a video had to be watched prior to answering the questions. As the survey was seen as a complementary tool to the interviews, this was considered an acceptable limitation.

As mentioned, it had been planned to conduct a corresponding survey among local women from the Eastern provinces of the DRC to investigate perceptions of oral testimony, and of the video and its effectiveness on different levels. A contact had been established with the academic dean at Université Chrétienne Bilingue du Congo (UCBC) in Beni (a town in North Kivu), and screenings planned for women at the local parish and the university, at which French versions of the survey sent via post were to have been distributed. However, the contact abruptly ended, the logistics firm FedEx declared several unsuccessful attempts to deliver the shipment, and unfortunately no further information is available as to whether it ever actually arrived. These difficulties unfortunately confounded a central part of the case study analysis for oral testimony, and the psychological consequences of the video advocacy.

The unsuccessful attempt to conduct this survey was nevertheless an eye-opening experience: The researcher had shared an initial draft of the questionnaire with a programme specialist at the German NGO medica mondiale, which supports women and girls in war and crisis zones, asking for review of the questions and tips on how best to contact women in the DRC remotely. Based on her experience, the person heavily criticised parts of the survey, especially those questions that dealt directly with sexual assault. Reminding the researcher of the traumata that many women in the region go through, even those not under psychological treatment, she recommended to revise the questions. After initial surprise, as the researcher had made deliberate efforts to remain sensitive in light of the material, she thankfully accepted the criticism, which eventually led to a complete makeover of that part of the questionnaire. This experience came at a right time within the process as it sensitised her about the difficulties of establishing an ethical relationship at a distance, and was thus helpful for subsequent stages of the practical research.
3.3 Reflections, Ethical Issues

Because much of the quantitative metrics and associated analysis came from the producer of the communications product, particular weight is given to a comparative study of independently determined (i.e. from the author) metrics and those from the producer. The augmented amount of work due to the use of multiple analysis techniques, although complex, was considered acceptable bearing in mind that the content analysis was a necessary basis for the interviews and survey to follow. Further, the author’s great interest in the subject matter made up for the additional workload. Overall, the practical research for this project has been a process with many stages, ups and downs, and (at times involuntary) changes of directions. While some of the obstacles mentioned in previous sub-chapters were of a logistical nature, others were of an ethical one.

The relationship between a researcher and his or her informants is also important to consider. For the present study, while the primary research (the oral testimonies) had not been carried out by the researcher, a relationship of sorts developed between the researcher and the informants, although naturally in only one direction. The researcher’s interpretation of the material was certainly to some degree influenced by feelings of empathy and sympathy for the informants.

Liking or not liking, feeling repelled by difference in ideology or attracted by a shared world-view, sensing difference in gender or age or social class or ethnicity, all influence the ways we ask questions and respond to narrators and interpret and evaluate what they say. (…) We must view our difficulties as important data in their own right. (Yow in Perks & Thomson, 1998, p. 67)

Following this, for the analysis it was important to reflect on what these effects are, how they manifest themselves in the qualitative analysis, and how the researcher’s reactions impinge on it.

17 While some twenty years ago the importance of considering how informants and interviewers are affected by interviews was not acknowledged, this has gradually changed to a paradigm in which the effects on both sides are increasingly taken into account (Yow in Perks & Thomson, 1998).

18 This relates to the validity of the study. Although measuring validity of qualitative methods is not always feasible, the author aimed to enhance the trustworthiness of the qualitative interviews by making potential influences of transcription work on data analysis transparent and acknowledging the interpretive nature of the transcripts (Hansen et al., 1998).
4. Analysis

4.1 Introduction

As introduced in the literature review, the existing body of work generally views video advocacy from a number of standpoints, which the author, for purposes of comprehensibility, arranged into the following categories (see also Table 1):

- Objectives, uses, and special cases
- Technical and artistic aspects of content and narrative creation
- People and stakeholders
- Strategy, distribution/outreach, and effectiveness
- Limitations and precautions

As explained in Chapter 3, the researcher utilised for the case study a composite analysis comprising three methodologies: content analysis, stakeholder interviews, and an international viewer survey. This section will describe the results of each component, followed by a composite discussion of the results in the context of the categories above, demonstrating as well how results and conclusions of the analyses support or contradict existing literature. The section will examine those areas in which trade-offs and knock-on effects were identified among stakeholders, including primary stakeholders. The section will further extrapolate, when possible, appropriate practical conclusions for practitioners.

4.2 Case Study: Our Voices Matter

*Our Voices Matter* is a 25-minute long video that is part of a campaign aimed at ending gender-based violence and impunity in the DRC and increasing access to justice for survivors in countries under investigation by the International Criminal Court (ICC). Produced in 2011, the film features oral testimonies from six women who are survivors of rape and other forms of sexual violence from the Eastern DRC provinces North Kivu, South Kivu and Province Orientale. In giving testimony, the women call for justice, assistance, and the effective implementation of legislation to prevent and address sexual and gender-based violence (Women’s Initiatives, 2012).
The film stresses the multiplicity of perpetrators operating in the Eastern DRC, the lack of accountability for their crimes, and the medical services, psychosocial assistance and economic support urgently needed by victims/survivors (WITNESS, 2012; Women’s Initiatives, 2012).

4.2.1 Brief Background on the On-going Conflict in the Eastern DRC and Rape as a Weapon of War

The DRC has been in a state of war since 1996. Local and foreign militia groups continue to operate in the resource-rich Eastern provinces of the country, along with the armies from neighbouring countries, and the DRC national army (Women’s Initiatives, 2012). According to UN reports, millions of people have been killed and hundreds of thousands have become internally displaced and recognised as refugees. M23, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), and other rebel groups in North and South Kivu continue to control especially remote areas, causing new displacement and making it impossible for those already displaced to return to their land (Refugees, International, 2012).

Today, almost a decade after the war officially ended, hostilities still have not ceased. The widespread use of sexual violence and the prevalence of rape in the DRC have been described as worst in the world (McCrummen, 2007), with armed groups, including the national army (FARDC), repeatedly engaging in acts of sexual violence, especially against young women and girls (Refugees International, 2012). It is estimated that hundreds of thousands of women and girls have been the target of rape and other forms of sexual and gender-based violence, forced into sexual slavery, and/or tortured since the beginning of the conflict (Yanda, 2010).

Despite the vast numbers and wantonness of these atrocities, the implementation of rape as a weapon in war is at a global level under addressed (Baaz & Stern, 2009). While existing laws in the DRC criminalise sexual violence, perpetrators are rarely prosecuted and impunity is common – even when perpetrators are prosecuted, sentences are often not enforced; and for those imprisoned, escape is a regular outcome (Women’s Initiatives, 2012). The reasons for rape and other forms of sexual violence can be manifold, and they often exceed, or are even independent of, the mere satisfaction of a perpetrator’s sexual pleasure. In the Eastern DRC and other areas
experiencing armed conflict, population displacements, and in post-conflict situations, sexual violence often takes on another dimension, one that is characterised by systematic domination with the goal of advancing military objectives. In these instances, rape and other forms of sexual violence against women, including gang rape, abduction for purposes of sexual slavery, forced participation of family members in rape, and genital mutilation, are employed as a methodical tactic of war, ordered and carried out by organised fighting groups – among them government military forces, militias, members of rebel or insurgent groups, et cetera (Weijs, Hilhorst, & Ferf, 2012). Also referred to as circumstantial sexual violence (Yanda, 2010), the concept sees sexual brutalisation “in the name of revenge on a population for a failed campaign, or to punish it for resisting, to celebrate a victory or the conquest of a town or area”, or in other tactically significant situations. Rape as a war tactic destroys communities and family bonds, destabilises populations, and clears civilisation populations from the respective areas. According to a study by Baaz and Stern from 2009, which explored the motives that soldiers in the Congo ascribe to the enormous numbers of rapes carried out in their country, they label the aforementioned category as “evil rapes”:

There is the rape when a soldier is away, when he has not seen his women for a while and has needs and no money. This is the lust/need rape [viol ya posa]. But there are also the bad rapes, as a result of the spirit of war (…) to humiliate the dignity of people. This is an evil rape. (Baaz & Stern, 2009)

As there is no evidence that sexual violence was especially severe in the DRC before the war, compared to other countries, a significant correlation can be said to exist between the extreme frequency of incidents of sexual violence in the specific local context of the DRC and the situation of armed conflict (Baaz & Stern, 2009).

4.2.2 Agents

The Our Voices Matter campaign was orchestrated by WITNESS and Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice, in collaboration with local grassroots partners19 who contacted the interviewees, conducted the interviews, and carried out the filming.

19 ADF-Fizi, CERDF-Kisangani, LSC-Goma, Initiatives Alpha-Bukavu, LSC-Goma, and UMA-Fizi.
Information on the two organisations and their work in the field of video advocacy is presented in Appendix D.

4.2.3 Stated Goals of the *Our Voices Matter* Campaign

The campaign objectives are to fight impunity and build a foundation for gender justice in the DRC; to ensure the effective implementation of existing laws criminalising rape and sexual violence in the DRC; to ensure that court decisions rendered in cases of rape and sexual violence are appropriately carried out; and to ensure that survivors are given adequate assistance to address their basic needs and long term sustainability (B. Waruzi, personal communication, April 17, 2013).

4.2.4 Training, Production, Editing

The six local partner organisations were heavily involved in the production process, carrying out the initial approach to the women, interviewing and filming, and parts of the editing. Because it was, for the majority of them, their very first time filming they received intensive training from WITNESS, for which they were brought to Kenya. Over the course of two weeks, the women were taught not only how to compose shots and handle the technical aspects of filming, but also how to use video for advocacy and storytelling, how to create a story that will engage and move its audience, how to secure consent from participants, and how to sensitively interview victims of sexual violence. After the training, they returned to the DRC with cameras to begin filming, under coordination from Mr. Waruzi as project manager and director of the film. The finished footage was sent to him for review and feedback. In cases where the delivered footage did not meet his expectations, the women were asked to re-film. A screening guide provided to the researcher by WITNESS offers a primer, that is also taught during training, on the five steps to organising a successful screening in a workplace, home, or community:

1. Identifying your objective(s) for the screening – why are you showing the video?
2. Publicising the video screening (optional, depending on your need)
3. Screening the video
4. Holding a post-screening conversation with the audience
5. Providing the audience with information on how to take action
The editing took place afterwards over a period of two weeks in Rwanda, for security reasons as well as infrastructure benefits. A consultant editor who spoke the language of the partners was hired to complete the final editing, paying attention not only to imagery, but also to statistical information about rape and sexual violence in each province, in order inform about the magnitude of these crimes.\(^{20}\)

WITNESS decided to produce four versions of the film’s subtitles to accommodate the broadest audience: English, French, Swahili, and Lingala. The choice was driven by the fact that the primary languages spoken in the Eastern DRC are Swahili and Lingala, with French and English helping reach national and international audiences (B. Waruzi, personal communication, April 17, 2013).

4.2.5 Target Audience
The following are the three key audiences the campaign’s project managers identified in a video action plan (B. Waruzi, personal communication, April 17, 2013):

- **Primary audience**: The DRC government in general and the Minister of Justice specifically, as the matter of justice and accountability for sexual crimes lies with the Minister of Justice.

- **Secondary audience**: The UN peacekeeping missions in the DRC, some regional bodies, including the Great Lakes Conference, which takes place around once a year. This audience also included members of parliament because of their ability to pressure and to monitor the actions of the government.

- **Tertiary audience**: Communities in the Eastern DRC.

4.2.6 Outreach Activities (as of April 2013)
The security situation in the Eastern DRC has delayed some of the organisations’ outreach plans, since screening videos in a war zone is not an easy task. The screening of videos was incorporated into the advocacy strategy at a very early stage, and will be on-going for the next couple of years, subject to circumstances. Table 3 illustrates the key screenings to date.

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\(^{20}\) Mr. Waruzi verified this information, collected by the partners of the film, with Oxfam, IRC, UNIFEM, and other organisations that deal with sexual crimes. The film also underwent a review process among members of WITNESS and Women’s Initiatives.
Table 3

**Screenings to date**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type of Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>June 2012</strong></td>
<td>Kinshasa, DRC</td>
<td>Privately screened for the Congolese Minister of Justice and Human Rights, Wivine Mumba Matipa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kinshasa, DRC</td>
<td>Public launch attended by representatives of the Congolese Government, the UN, the diplomatic missions, and the media at Grand Hôtel in Kinshasa. The Deputy Minister of Justice came and spoke at the event, promising to make the fight against gender crimes one of the ministry’s top priorities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>September 2012</strong></td>
<td>The Hague, Netherlands</td>
<td>Screening of the film at the start of the International Symposium Strengthening Gender Justice through International Prosecutions, organised by the Women’s Initiatives and UN Women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>March 2013</strong></td>
<td>New York, USA</td>
<td>Screening as part of the Women’s Initiatives co-hosted event “Sexual Violence in Conflict: Delivering Justice” together with the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office during the 57th session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hague, Netherlands</td>
<td>Screening at a reception to celebrate the International Women’s Day, hosted by the British Embassy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>March 2013</strong></td>
<td>Bukavu, DRC</td>
<td>Launch in the Eastern DRC, with a public screening attended by approximately 70 representatives of the provincial government, the Congolese Army, the judiciary, and human rights organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>March 2013</strong></td>
<td>Goma, DRC</td>
<td>Private screening for UK Foreign Secretary William Hague and UNHCR Special Envoy Angelina Jolie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>April 2013</strong></td>
<td>Istanbul, Turkey</td>
<td>International launch of the video at the Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID) Forum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Since March 2013</strong></td>
<td>DRC and USA</td>
<td>Regional and local screenings (DRC screenings organised by the partners).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As part of video screenings, whether at a regional launch, a local screening, or an international screening, the organisations always include a post-showing discussion or question-and-answer session to allow for a dialogue with the audience about the film and the broader issues it raises.

Outreach to the media resulted in many print and online newspapers in Kinshasa featuring the story of *Our Voices Matter*. In addition, the video was screened on national television, which reaches over 40 million people. In terms of proximate effectiveness, i.e. practical success in reaching an audience and conferring the message successfully, the researcher was able to obtain the following quantitative metrics from the producers for the online version:

Table 4  
*Quantitative metrics (as of April 28, 2013)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views on Youtube</th>
<th>2,857</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top viewership</td>
<td>USA, United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top playback locations</td>
<td>Youtube watch page: 49,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Embedded player on other sites: 31,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobile devices: 18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average viewing duration</td>
<td>7:06 minutes (27.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak in the number of viewings</td>
<td>November 2012 (464 views)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of these multiplier postings</td>
<td>Embedded on the Women’s Initiative Web site (unable to track metrics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Posted link to Youtube on Democracy &amp; Governance Web site in November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excerpt of video posted online, linked to via WITNESS blog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News media mentions</td>
<td>Has not been tracked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social media mentions</td>
<td>Not able to track</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WITNESS, personal communication, March 11, 2013
4.2.7 Measurable Impact (as of April 2013)

As evident in 4.2.6, the agents had visible success in targeting key audiences, and they continue to do so. Caldwell’s aforementioned statement, “it isn’t always the number of eyeballs that see a video, but which ones” (in Gregory et al., 2005, p. 13), has rung true in this case with regard to the video’s effect on its primary target group, the central government of the DRC. Indeed, Mr. Waruzi and local partners were even able to meet with the Minister of Justice herself in 2012, to show her the film and discuss it. Surprisingly, she had invited her deputy and the director of the cabinet, so the three heads of the Ministry of Justice were present. The meeting, which was scheduled for one hour, lasted two and a half hours. At the time, the Minister was drafting her action plan, while she was waiting for the budget to be adopted. According to Mr. Waruzi, she was able to integrate some of the recommendations made in the film into the plan. Further, she agreed to make the video available to magistrates, in order to raise awareness and understanding of the scale and scope of rape and sexual violence, and to inform their judgments in cases before them. In addition, the Deputy Minister of Justice toured all the prisons in the East, trying to make sure that the penitential system was effective (B. Waruzi, personal communication, March 28, 2013 and April 17, 2013).

In March of 2013, after viewing Our Voices Matter at a special screening with UNHCR Special Envoy Angelina Jolie, UK Foreign Secretary William Hague announced that £205,288 (US$321,110) in new funding would be used to help efforts to develop local and national capacity to document and collect evidence of sexual violence in the DRC, as well as £850,000 (US$1.292,458) of support for Women’s Initiatives over three years. While this support cannot of course be attributed solely to video advocacy, the Our Voices Matter campaign was a central piece of outreach efforts from advocacy groups in the region.

One of the original intentions of this project was also to look at the “effectiveness” of the case study in achieving its “ultimate” objectives – e.g. the objectives in the

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21 At the point of writing, the organisations are still measuring impact from the campaign. Since the Justice Minister’s budget has been adopted, they aim to follow how steps proposed by the Minister of Justice will be implemented.
mission statement of the originating organisation – by looking at trends in statistical data, for instance on attacks, on prosecutions, on related legislative or executive outcomes, on international outcomes, funding, and so on. The interview section of the analysis demonstrates the futility of any short-term attempt at such an assessment, particularly given the early stage of this particular effort.

4.2.8 Ethical Issues
Certain ethical issues reverberate from the filming through to the editing process (Caldwell in Gregory et al., 2005). According to Mr. Waruzi, the most important aspect of the process’s first stage – approaching and selecting the women – was to ensure they received informed consent, which is a prerequisite for filming. This entails full disclosure on the risks associated with taking part in the project, and informs on specific safety issues and the protection provided. In this case, the subjects were approached and filmed by other women they knew, and who were intimately aware of their backgrounds and experiences with sexual violence. According to Mr. Waruzi, a level of trust between participants of an advocacy video and the interviewers is integral, and it must be ensured that the interviewees feel respected and secure, during the shooting phase and afterwards.

With regard to the filming and post-production, it was also obligatory to consider the ethical representation of the survivors, and to be constantly aware of the difference that can be made through the use of a certain camera angle or frame, the situations in which the women are shown, the use of their voices, et cetera.

4.3 Content Analysis: Key Results
The content analysis revolves around identifying elements of the film’s artistic identity, and linking them with practical outcomes associated with key stakeholders: what group or groups comprise the key audience, and what narrative elements are used to support the campaign’s message to the audience(s)?

Among the most important concepts used when dealing with narrative texts are the notions of *plot* and *emplotment*. In narratology, a plot is usually defined as the sequence of actions, effects, events, or incidents of which a narrative is composed. In the case of *Our Voices Matter*, which deals with oral testimonies and the recounting
of multiple separate events and facts, the plot is distinct from the subplots of each testimonial or interview, thus maintaining a narrative arc for the viewer. Ricoeur (1984) moved beyond plot to the act of emplotment\textsuperscript{22}, that is, the grasping together of characters, plot, scenes, et cetera, which play a mediating role between time and narrative. The notion of emplotment encompasses “plot” as an aspect of the second of three stages of mimesis\textsuperscript{23}—mimesis being the process of interpreting and re-displaying reality. Ricoeur’s (1984) theory of narrative was informative in implementing this study, given its applicability to expressions of media beyond text—including video advocacy—and its intriguing echo in the Our Voices Matter film.

The plot/narrative of the video is characterised by three distinct stages, each of which employ expressions of time and chronology, each for a different purpose. They are perhaps not wholly analogous to the phases of mimesis, but in some ways reflect similar practical ends: forming a pre-understanding of the subject for the viewer; contextualising the subject in a narrative; and exploring the application of the narrative in the viewer’s world—“bringing it to life” through watching the film.

The film begins by establishing several facts and figures relating to the general situation concerning sexual violence in the DRC, displayed as text. Following these sequences is a map of the DRC, zooming in to one of the provinces. Subsequently, segments of individual testimonies of women from the respective provinces are shown, giving accounts of their rapes. The testimonies can be said to be made up of two parts, punctuated throughout by short sections displaying statistics and quotes from high-level policymakers and UN officials on the situation in the DRC, as well as interviews with a psychiatrist, Dr. Eric Kwakya (a mental health professional who works with victims of sexual violence in the DRC) and Judge Baudoin Kipaka (President of the Court of Uvira). The first testimonial section generally concerns itself with stage setting, giving factual accounts of the events themselves. The second

\textsuperscript{22} Emplotment, according to Ricoeur (1984), combines a chronological dimension of the narrative made up of events, and a configurational dimension in which the plot turns the events into a story.

\textsuperscript{23} Mimesis\textsuperscript{1}, according to Ricoeur (1984), is a stage of narrative prefiguration, using basic competencies from everyday life (e.g. social and ethical norms); in Mimesis\textsuperscript{2} the elements of a situation are ordered into an imaginative whole; in Mimesis\textsuperscript{3} this imaginative perspective is completed and brought to life through reading.
part addresses the deeper consequences – the mental, physical, emotional, and social fallout of the sexual assaults for the women.

The first part of the women’s testimonies – the descriptions of the sexual assaults themselves – is notable for its relative lack of emotion. Each victim describes the circumstances of their attack and rape, noting in precise detail what they were doing just before the incident, as well as the sequence of events.

Examples and Notes (excerpts from transcript):

(01:37) Riziki Shobuto: “My name is Riziki Shobuto. We are 12 children in our house. I am a student but I missed the school opening this year. On that Monday, I stayed home crying because I couldn’t afford the school fees. I was in ninth grade.”

*Riziki is a child* – this is obvious from her appearance, but reinforced as she states it herself: one of 12. Riziki is home on the day of her attack because she is not in school; Riziki is not in school because she could not afford to be in school.

(02:00) Riziki’s mother: “Riziki Shobuto was wounded on 5 April (2011). The criminals came at 10pm. Four of them raped her. They were stronger than her, they fought her and started raping her. Afterwards, they shot her. Many bullets. Many hit her. Her whole body has scars.”

Riziki’s mother states matter-of-factly the day and exact time of Riziki’s attack. *April 5th. 10pm. Four assailants. Rape and mutilation; attempted murder with a firearm.*

Riziki herself told us the place of the attack – her home.

(03:01) Jeanne: “My name is Jeanne. I am the youngest in our family. I am the only girl out of eight siblings. I had a problem when I went to the fields. I encountered three men. They raped me suddenly and ran away. I got pregnant, endured many troubles. I hardly get food, hardly get clothes, even housing is a problem. I hardly get anything.”

Jeanne, while she does not state the precise date and time, nonetheless brings the viewer into the scene of her attack using plain, non-emotive language. Jeanne was in the fields, presumably at work. *She encountered three men. The men raped her and*
ran away. *She faced difficulties afterwards.* That her statement lacks apparent emotion or any detailed description itself has impact, because it is unexpected; because it may appear – at least for Western audiences – almost unnatural.

(04:33) *Elisabeth Kandolo:* “Some armed people came into my house after they forced the door, in a brutal way. They asked me for money and I didn’t have any. Then, two of them caught me and started raping me. When the first one satisfied himself, the second one also came. After that, they wanted to call on some others, so they would come and do horrible things to me. The next morning, I went to the Congolese police in order to complain. There, at the police, one told me: ‘You’re too old, you can’t be raped.’ I didn’t get justice. Nobody gets justice. They only told me: ‘Go home! We’ll see what to do about it!’ And then nothing ever happened. Those who assaulted me were soldiers from our government.”

Elisabeth’s testimony reinforces those of Jeanne and Riziki. Without evident emotion, Elisabeth gives her account: *Several men entered her house. They wanted money – instead, they raped her.* Elisabeth, unlike Jeanne and Riziki, also discusses her efforts to seek justice. “You’re too old, you can’t be raped,” she is told. *The police will not help.* Elisabeth also identifies her assailants as government soldiers. *Those in control are those behind the attacks.*

(06:20) *Feza Wabilindila:* “My name is Feza Wabilindila. I have four children. I used to have a husband. He left me after I was raped. It was in March 2009. In the afternoon, after harvesting green vegetables, I decided to go chop firewood.

On my way to collect my things, I found myself in front of three unknown men. As I met them, they held my wood load down. Then, they started to quarrel since each of them wanted to be the first to get on me. One of them said: ‘I am the chief, I have to be the first.’ He punched me and I fell down, then he started raping me. When he finished, he signalled his accomplices, shouting: ‘wou-hou!’ Another came. He jumped on me, and raped me too. When he was finished, he laughed and called the third one. I was in pain. At each of my shouts, they burst out laughing, and were making noise in order for no one to hear my cries from afar. The rape continued until the third had finished. They told me ‘By the way, you are lucky that we kept you alive; don’t you know about those to whom we insert sticks into the vagina, and who die from it? You are lucky we raped you and kept you alive.’ Then they took their belongings and left.”
Feza’s account of the actual assault and rape by three men is the most detailed, although she also begins with an unsentimental description of the date, time, and place of the attack. *March 2009. On the way to chop firewood. Three men.* Feza also provides the most detailed description of the assailants themselves. The men do not simply rape and beat her; they laugh at her and argue amongst themselves who may rape her first. Yet, as with Riziki, Jeanne, and Elisabeth, Feza describes the attack directly and without explicit emotion. The contrast between the enormity of the experience and the way in which she relates it is stark.

These women all describe their ordeals clearly, in similar patterns of talking. Thus is set a tone of “everydayness” for the dreadful crimes in question. The women are all attacked and raped in their houses or while working. But what does this mean?

The existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger used the term “everydayness” in describing a concept of being (Heidegger, 1977). The foundation of “everydayness” is that it is inescapable. It is this reality that the testimonies of Riziki, Jeanne, Elisabeth, and Feza drive home so forcefully. This reality has several strong impacts upon the viewer: First, it crystallises the time, place, and circumstances of the attacks in objectivity for the viewer, transporting them to the scene of the crimes. Second, it shows the women did not in any way contribute to their fate by engaging in risky behaviour. Third, it underscores the arbitrariness of the attacks and complete lack of personal safety for women in the DRC. That the attacks could have happened to anyone is immediately evident; that they will happen again is equally certain. This observation is in line with Yanda (2010) stating that the type of violence in the Eastern DRC “is today committed against women and young girls in areas where they used to be safe: with their family, in school, in their neighbourhood, in church.” This horror has become the everyday.

In relating to mimesis1, the first part of the film cements a “pre-understanding” of human actions that is gruesome and dysfunctional, and entirely foreign to many viewers. The narrative that follows is built upon this pre-understanding.

Another interesting aspect to consider might be found in Iser’s reference to receptionist theories, noting that writers often select certain things to tell to their
audience in the assumption that readers will augment what they read with their own fund of knowledge (in Berger, 1997). Transposed to Our Voices Matter, this means that the editing and post-production of the video imply these very stores of information and knowledge among the viewers, assuming certain meanings – e.g. the recount of a rape being an emotional event for the victim – will arise as a product “out of the interaction between text and reader” (Iser in Berger, 1997, p. 13). These do not need to be manifested within the film through, for instance, cutting in explanatory scenes of the women crying into this first part of the testimonies. Are we to assume, based on the testimonials, that the women do not feel the emotions we perhaps would expect? Or are we meant to fill in the emotional chasm with our own?

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>(Work)</th>
<th>Reader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>author</td>
<td>reader, audience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artistic plane</td>
<td>aesthetic plane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sender</td>
<td>receiver</td>
<td>text as a site for creation of meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creates a text</td>
<td>realizes a text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>text as a system of signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be understood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Berger cited in Berger (1997, p.13)

Iser calls these two sides the “artistic” and the “aesthetic” (Table 5), in which the former refers to the creator of a text, and the aesthetic to the “realization accomplished by the reader” (Berger, 1997, p. 13). This assumption imposes an important role upon the audience of a text, in our case upon the stakeholders and intended audiences of the film, who are expected to process what is being shown to them in the film, and create a certain kind of meaning that will ultimately lead to the desired effect. The notions by Berger and Iser reinforce Ricoeur (1984), who underscores the need for a practical understanding and knowledge of the symbolic resources and processes of culture – the signs, rules, and norms of a given context.

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24 Iser assumes a text is “full of holes”, thus the actual “work” does not take place by simply creating a text, but is happening halfway in between the creation by the author and the perceiving, realising, and “filling in the holes” by the reader.
The second part delves into the practical and emotional consequences of the attacks for the women. They are unable to think or concentrate; they are contaminated with diseases and in many cases rejected by their husbands and families. This second part, dealing with emotional fallout, is itself tinged with the sort of emotive language missing from the first part: anger, grief, accusation, resentment, desolation.

(16:15) Elisabeth Kandolo: “Many women who are raped go to seek justice. When you go to the police, you’ll find that they contribute to the rapes. You might arrive at the police and they’d refuse to listen to you. They’re discouraging us by not taking our complaints into consideration. The security of the women from Fizi isn’t assured by our government. They refuse to hear our cries. They don’t want us. I don’t know what is going on, whether there is some complicity from the government. There are also those military culprits who were brought to a military tribunal. Now they came back into this village, and act the same.”

Elisabeth’s testimony reflects anger and resentment felt toward the authorities – the police, the military, the government – and helplessness in the face of the crimes. The police are also the rapists; the government does not provide security; in those cases where a process is carried out, the culprits return to their old ways. “I don’t know what’s going on,” Elisabeth says, communicating an exasperation and resentment toward the complicit authorities.

(20:52) Riziki Shobuto: “Here in Masisi, we have nothing at all. Even the plates we’re using were given to us by a neighbour. They are even trying to evict us for lack of payment. Before, I knew that I could always manage in life. Now I don’t even have the strength to walk. I don’t have any means to address my needs. I am asking for help for the school fees, as I don’t have legs to get somewhere to work.”

Riziki’s testimony in the second part of the video transmits the dreadful practical consequence for many victims of these attacks – an inability to function as a productive member of society. Before, I could manage; now I cannot. Before, I worked; now, I rely on help from others to survive. This consequence is felt by both the victims themselves and society at large (although to vastly different degrees).

(21:27) Jeanne: “If it keeps going on like that, I’ll always be afraid in my heart of meeting again those bandits in the field. If only I could get help with schooling, I could at least keep raising my child whom I got
out of violence. So that he wouldn’t become a street child. I could never bear that. Real help would be to put and end to the violence. If there wouldn’t be all that violence I could work and keep living in a good way.’”

Jeanne’s testimony in the second part of the video conveys the mental and emotional effects of the attacks: fear. *I will always be afraid. If only the violence would stop, life could be normal.* As in the testimony from the first part of the video, this also reinforces the fact that Congolese women, whether they have already been raped or not, are forced to live in constant fear of attack. This fear pervades every aspect of their lives, and has indeed become so pervasive that it is now part of normal existence. It is inescapable.

(22:21) *Feza Wabilindila:* “We hoped that our authorities would help us, as we’re suffering. We are so many victims who are no longer farming. We are no longer going into the bush. We constantly think that we will face those guys. Some of us do not want to talk about their experience. They say: ‘You go, we are tired of telling our sufferings, our difficulties; as no one cares, we are not taken into account.’”

Feza, in her testimony, distils the practical and emotional consequences: *We went to the authorities, they do not help us. We are afraid, we can no longer work, and live in fear because of our attacks. We have given up.*

The testimonies, in their two stages, complement each other. The first stage matter-of-factly sets the scene, conveying a pre-understanding of the everydayness of the brutal attacks being described, the arbitrariness of the crimes, and the near universal vulnerability of Congolese women to violent sexual assault. And yet, as is demonstrated in the second part of the interviews, the women are not without emotion: they have suffered immense physical and mental pain and anguish, and while they continue to live their daily lives, they feel grief over their attacks, anger at their assailants and at the government that refuses to step in, helplessness, and hopelessness in the face of insurmountable odds.

The powerful personal experiences are interspersed at various times with black screens upon which statistics or quotes are written in white lettering. The statistics are sobering reminders of the scale of the problem, and help frame the testimonials as part
AN ASSESSMENT OF VIDEO ADVOCACY

of a broader narrative. These women are just a few of the many thousands of women who have suffered similar fates, and the contrast between the intimate testimonies and the impersonal statistics is palpable.

The statements by both the psychotherapist and the judge substantiate the women’s testimonies, and from a narrative perspective, supposedly appear in their distinct places within the film to show just that. For instance, a statement by one of the women:

(19:34) Unnamed woman: "The government does not lack the means to pay us. It is the lack of respect and consideration towards women that is the cause."

is followed by a comment from the judge:

(19:40) Judge Baudoin Kipaka: “It’s not a problem of the lack of means, the state has never been poor, and I think this problem should call upon everyone’s consciousness among us. The civil society should not get tired of advocating before the state, and should demand that the Congolese state fulfils its responsibilities. It’s a problem of political will. And I think the message is clear: we all need to work on the rehabilitation of these women. Otherwise the potential future victims will tell us: Why go to the court, since others were not rehabilitated?”

In addition, an excerpt from the interview with the psychiatrist comes directly after a series of very emotional statements by the women. “As a mental health professional,” he says, “in my experience, sexual violence remains the most traumatising factor, beyond all other factors that I know.”

There are likely several reasons that the two men were chosen to give the statements they did – such as known expertise or engagement in the issues, proximity, or familiarity to the filmmakers or activists. Interestingly, their use might have another, albeit unintended, effect: While it brings across a degree of academic “endorsement” of the seriousness of sexual violence and the lack of prosecution, it nevertheless casts the two men into a traditional male societal role, one that is starkly different than that of the women who are the primary subjects of the film. In their roles as psychiatrist and judge, the two men appear super-ordinate, representing the voice of “the knowledgeable” (science and law), as opposed to the women, who speak based on
immediate experiences and emotions. The super-ordinate role of Congolese men – in the case of the perpetrators shown through the use of sexual violence and freedom from prosecution – risks being unintentionally reinforced.

Aside from storyline and narrative, individual elements of sound and picture can have singular impact on audience perception. To focus on visual factors, the film was viewed with the sound off and subtitles covered, in order to focus on the non-verbal language of the interviewees, and on other signs and symbols. Realms in which visual codes are determined include the “language of colour,” which was among the key considerations of this part of analysis as it can evoke certain desired responses from a target audience, dependent upon context (Gripsrud, 2002; Hall, 1997; van Zoonen 1994). The colour red is a prime example: While the meaning of red is often decoded in a positive context through the association with love, it can have many different meanings, as diverging as death, pride, revolution, shame, danger, or simply signalling halt in the context of traffic. Applied to the present film, within the displays of the numbers of victims of rape in the three provinces, red is used to expose the respective number, presumably in order to create the meaning of urgency and violence. Thus, the colour “visually denotes” the number as important and shocking, reinforced by its relation to the other numbers and words.

With regards to editing, meaning can perhaps be found in the fact that twice, the faces of other persons visible on camera who are in the background of the women talking and are not actively taking part in the film, have been blurred:

(18:57) Another woman is shown as the camera turns to the left, who is hanging laundry up to dry. Her face has been blurred in post-production.

(20:11) Chantal Izango in interview situation, talking to the camera while a man in the background is shown with a blurred face.

This tool of post-production indicates the risk of being associated with this project, thus underscoring the courage of the women who give testimony. They have not chosen to have their faces blurred; they are standing up for themselves and other victims.
Concerning aural factors, the editors did not, for the most part, make use of sound effects or music for the film. Still, the absence of music itself has meaning, as when it comes to analysing media texts, everything has significance (Berger, 1997). Music “is ‘like a language’ in so far as it uses musical notes to communicate feelings and ideas” (Hall 1997, p. 5). Given music’s near-ubiquity in documentary filmmaking, the absence of it might be interpreted as an absence of language. It is likely that the editors’ intention was to let the facts “speak for themselves”, using silence, rather than music, to enhance the solemn weight of the information upon the viewer.

Towards the end of the film, however, in a segment displaying in writing the demands the women make on their governments and on decision-makers at the local and global level, the words are accompanied by an up-beat musical piece. Although it may be understood by some viewers to be an illustration of self-confidence and strength, the exact effect on the audience will depend on their own background, origin, and cultural codes (meaning of the type of music to locals vs. people not accustomed to the music). Noting Saussure’s work on signifiers, as cited in Hall (1997, p. 31), it is likely the music was designed to have a particular effect upon the primary audience, although it may send different messages to others.

A look at the camerawork used in Our Voices Matter revealed further semiotic elements, taking into account the fact that different shots and camera techniques can create different meaning (Berger in van Zoonen, 1994, p.76), as illustrated in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signifier</th>
<th>Signified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close up (face only)</td>
<td>intimacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium shot (most of body)</td>
<td>personal relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long shot (setting and characters)</td>
<td>public distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full shot (full body of person)</td>
<td>social relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan down (camera looks down)</td>
<td>power, authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan up (camera looks up)</td>
<td>smallness, weakness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Berger in van Zoonen (1994, p. 76)
The present film makes use of these signifiers, most of the testimonies starting off with close ups or medium shots. While they alternate between the different signifiers (Table 6), those signifying intimacy and personal relationship are more frequently used. In the case of Jeanne, it is noticeable that she is mostly filmed from a pan-down perspective. Her portrayal signifies the degree of power and authority the perpetrators had over her and are continuing to have:

(21:27) Jeanne: “My life has completely changed, I have lost weight. In a word, I’ve lost all value. I am not sure I can get back to who I was before. We’re suffering, you know, you get raped and contaminated with some diseases. These diseases keep disturbing you, and you become disheartened.”

Another powerful element of imagery came with the ringing of a mobile phone during one of the interviews. The moment was one almost of waking from a dream, with an artefact of the modern everyday world around us intruding into an atmosphere so carefully crafted to allow the viewer to concentrate fully on the women and their stories. Rather than re-shoot or edit-out the noise, the producers left it in, showing at one level the authenticity of the testimonies and, at another, forcing the viewer to evaluate their own place in the world, and their own role in helping to create societal change. Do we stop thinking about these women when the ring of our daily lives intervenes?

4.3.1 Content Analysis Discussion

When discussing a narrative text such as Our Voices Matter, it might appear insensitive to look at possible techniques the editors used to accomplish their aims – in other words, the artistic process through which the creators of narrative texts generate their effects (Berger, 1997). Yet as the above examples show, a narrative was generated in the film. Audiences in most cases tend to require a “bridge” between their own lives and those portrayed on film – whether in a cinema, in an official screening room, or on the Internet – in order to feel impact and eventually result in action or change. Even in narrative texts that contain eminently explicit statements as the present one, authors speak to readers in indirect ways, many of which have been explored in the previous section.
To an extent, the results of the content analysis of Our Voices Matter correspond to the general framework of video advocacy as presented in the literature review. From the content analysis, for instance, several aspects of representative video advocacy campaigning present themselves: typical objectives of video advocacy are evident, (such as raising awareness of the crimes, acting as a mediating device for direct contact between victims and authority entities, and educating viewers on the issue at hand); emphasis on artistic literary themes such as plot, emplotment, and narrative, is apparent; and some information regarding audience and stakeholder identity can be gleaned. These elements are further examined with the help of additional information from the interviews and survey results in the composite discussion (Chapter 4.6).

Based on the content analysis, indications also emerge of trade-offs and potential knock-on effects video advocacy may have among divergent stakeholder groups. These are in some instances extensions of the limitations and precautions discussed in the literature, although many permeate throughout other, or all, of the categories. Some of these trade-offs are inherent by-products of contradictory stakeholder motives and worldviews – such as those held by national parliamentarians compared to local militia leaders – while others are subtler, for instance those involving the psychosocial circumstances of the primary stakeholders.

At first glance, the narrative and semiotic elements analysed in the case imply that this specific film can be directed to a number of stakeholders – from the local community to central authorities to wider international audiences. For local women, for instance, the video could serve to help act against the marginalisation and shaming of those involved through the sharing of stories of others who have been affected. For the local perpetrators, it may serve as a warning that crimes will not be forgotten (tied into oral testimony). For international audiences, it may serve to raise awareness and elicit emotive responses, while acting as a detailed narrative to previously unseen crimes. Yet, just as it is true that stakeholders often have divergent, or even incompatible, understandings of a given situation, it will often be the case that a narrative element, message, or “call to action” of an advocacy campaign will have different effects upon the various stakeholders. Agents must therefore make trade-offs in designing advocacy campaigns and materials (such as videos), dependent upon the importance of stakeholders in relation to each other for the purposes of the campaign,
the likelihood and scale of incidental (negative) consequences due to the targeting of one stakeholder group as opposed to another, the costs and benefits of these actions, and so on.

The content analysis also relates to questions of ownership. Both the film’s title *Our Voices Matter* and the term “video advocacy campaign”, as used by the producers, suggest that the owners are the women who give testimony in the film. To an extent, this is certainly the case. Through their courageous statements and clearly articulated demands on their governments, the women make clear that they wish to have their stories heard, and to induce change. From a narrative perspective, however, there are limitations to the control those women have on the way their voices are being portrayed. The question about who really is in control of the project begins with the aforementioned issue of translation, and the subsequent dichotomy of the women’s voices and those of the producers. Within the process of post-production, the video editors have the power to decide on the emphasis of certain parts of the testimonies, by cutting other parts out, or placing them at will. This last limitation is interesting, emphasised by the fact that one does not hear the interviewer during the videos, rather only the women being interviewed. Because the women and their stories make up part of a completed communications product, the viewer must trust the producers that their objectives are aligned with those of the women; that the women are portrayed as they are and not as something else.

### 4.4 Interviews: Key Results

The interviews provided key insights into several aspects of the case study and relevant external circumstances. The interview with Bukeni Waruzi was crucial to gaining first-hand information on the strategy and planning behind the *Our Voices Matter* advocacy film and campaign, the technical aspects of creation and implementation, and specific individuals involved – both the agents and the primary stakeholders (victims). Dr. Elisabeth Fries’s testimony provided a critical but constructive view of advocacy in conflict zones in general, and the case study in particular, and kindled some difficult questions into the trade-offs inherent in targeting particular stakeholders over others. Neema Namadamu’s moving testimony imparts insight into the backdrop – from the dual-perspective of both an agent and primary stakeholder – of the socioeconomic situation that women in the DRC
currently face. André Abel Barry and David Schwake both provided unique viewpoints from international diplomatic professionals operating, or having operated, in the country.

Returning to the categorical framework introduced in the literature review, some key results can be taken from the interviews, which are in turn important for the composite discussion of the case study:

**Video advocacy objectives, uses, and special cases**

Mr. Waruzi during his interview reinforced the importance of awareness-raising as a core objective of *Our Voices Matter*, saying that the campaign seeks not only to reach political and authority figures specifically, but also to raise general awareness on the ground. Dr. Fries, who has long worked as a doctor in the DRC and with refugees from the DRC in Germany, critically reflected on the potential of advocacy videos to genuinely raise awareness in the region, as its success may be limited to people who are used to critical thinking, and are not themselves in a threatening situation. She also noted that bottom-up activism via awareness campaigns is a long-term undertaking, while the women in the DRC are in need of short-term relief.

In my judgment, the way from video to social change or even legislative change is a long, gradual process through the institutions, because it presupposes awareness-raising for individuals, groups, political parties and parliaments. How long such things can take may be estimated along the lines of the movement of the Green parties in Europe: decades. (E. Fries, personal communication, April 6, 2013)

Mr. Waruzi also touched on the importance the producers attached to **overcoming language barriers** with the video\(^\text{25}\) (also see 4.2.3):

We wanted to make sure the audiences in the Congo could watch the video and understand it, and the international audiences as well. (B. Waruzi, personal communication, March 28, 2013)

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\(^{25}\) The women testifying in the film speak Swahili and Lingala, while the experts speak French. WITNESS decided to produce English, French, Swahili, and Lingala versions of the film’s subtitles to accommodate the broadest audience. The choice was driven by the fact that the primary languages spoken in the Eastern DRC are Swahili and Lingala, with French and English helping reach national and international audiences. The primary audience (Congolese government officials) generally speak and understand French and Lingala.
Technical and artistic aspects of content and narrative creation

Mr. Waruzi confirmed that artistic direction and semiotic and narrative devices were central in the development of the film and throughout the editing process, stating that “everything you see in the film is put there intentionally.” Close attention was paid not only to achieving suitable images, but also to obtaining accurate statistical information about rape and sexual violence in each province (see 4.2.3). Because editing remains a more complex technical skill than filming (Gregory et al., 2005), a consultant editor was hired to do the final editing.

People and stakeholders

The programme managers took special care in addressing the question of ownership:

If someone tells about something like the women in the film do, it helps them to get in charge of it. (…) In advocacy we do not say “we give you money” or we support you, but we try to make sure they can lead the effort. (…) We are not trying to own this effort, but we are trying to make sure they own it. (B. Waruzi, personal communication, March 28, 2013 and April 17, 2013)

The women were initially approached and eventually filmed by women activists with whom they had previously worked, and thus were familiar with their backgrounds and experiences with sexual violence. According to Mr. Waruzi, a level of trust between participants of an advocacy video and the interviewers is crucial, and interviewees must feel respected and secure, during the shooting phase and beyond.

We think it is important to know and to make sure that the communities in which these women live understand what’s happened to these women, and also that the communities give some support to the women. And they can only do that if they know what happened to them. The women survivors were aware of the possibility of screening that very film in their communities. (B. Waruzi, personal communication, March 28, 2013 and April 17, 2013)

Dr. Fries’ experience adds important insights to this issue of ownership and re-victimization, stating that a person giving testimony should not have to do so at the request of others, as this would “instrumentalize” the person and might make them a victim again.
Some traumatised persons by no means want to re-expose themselves to the memory, but instead remain silent, and “take it to their graves.” Both ways of dealing with trauma need to be respected and victims should always have the control over their decisions. (E. Fries, personal communication, April 6, 2013)

Braden and Than (1998) underscore that in such projects it is the primary stakeholders, rather than the agents, from whom the initiation and primary direction should come, and that a participatory approach to video should allow for them to determine themselves how, and how much, they will contribute: Subjects “should use the camera as a tool to focus on the different aspects of their lives, as they wish. They should select the agenda and use recordings to reflect on what they have said and shown” (p. 21). Hardy, discussing oral testimony projects, calls them a “dialogue” and “joint creation” (in Perks & Thomson, 2006, p. 399), with both interviewer and informant sharing a conscious intention – that of creating a permanent record to contribute to an understanding of a specific circumstance or of the past (Principles and Best Practices, 2009).

**Strategy, distribution/outreach, and effectiveness**

Concerning the necessity of stakeholder understanding and mapping in video advocacy, Mr. Waruzi pointed at the importance of mapping and thoroughly assessing the potential audiences:

It depends on the country, and the type of audience. Is it easy to access your audience? You have to assess your audience well, to find out if they will be against or in favour, or if they will be just neutral toward your cause. You assess how they will view your objectives, how they will view your video. Is it something they will watch really passionately and then agree with? After they have agreed, they may commit to do something, or maybe they will be against what you are doing, and will say that to you. Then you need to see how you can strategize accordingly. Or they will say: “We understand, but we don’t know what to do about this”, which is more toward being neutral. These are the kinds of attitudes that occur, and you have to strategize accordingly. In many instances we have had not only one single audience, but two or three. So you have to have an audience that can put pressure to your primary audience. That audience will be the secondary audience. Let’s say you’re targeting the parliament as your primary audience. Then you know those who can put pressure on the parliament will be the people, and must mobilise them so they put...
pressure on the legislatures to pass a specific law on gender-based violence, for example.

These are the things you do to make sure your campaign is successful. Successful because the objectives you have identified are smart, that means specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-bound. These are the things you assess before, and then you know how you stage your audience. Maybe you have a primary audience that requires pressure or influence from a secondary audience. Maybe that secondary audience requires pressure from the tertiary audience, etc. And then you may decide how you are going to submit the video, maybe online, or maybe offline. (B. Waruzi, personal communication, April 17, 2013).

In addition, the interview with Dr. Fries illuminated how the effect of these elements can differ depending on the audience:

It is still a long way from there [the making of the video] to change things at the social, political, and legislative levels [in the DRC]. I would hardly expect any direct impact on these levels. People who have lived under a system of impunity for a very long time become demoralised and brutalised. Show the video to a militia and they will draw different conclusions from it than we would wish for (women as a group worthy of protection? Women as fair game! One can see that: the authorities don’t do anything.)

(…)

The impact of the video would probably not be the same for everyone. The local communities, families, clans, the villages in which such atrocities have happened do not remain the same. Every single member [of the community] is changed by it, and the relationships are usually permanently damaged. The social net itself, which would normally aid the sick or mourning, is damaged through the violent acts. Everybody is under stress. This often leads to speechlessness [and inability to act] among the members of a family that has been hit by violence. The experience of not having been able to save one’s own wife can also destroy the husband. Why does he divorce his wife? Because a taboo has been broken, because he fears being contaminated by a sexually transmitted disease, or because he wants to get rid of his own feelings of guilt? Thus, to begin with for an affected family this video would be an unwelcome reminder of the moment that has changed everything. (E. Fries, personal communication, April 6, 2013)

These observations are important in understanding the trade-offs associated with stakeholder targeting of varying degrees, which are magnified or exacerbated in high-stress, high-tension situations such as those in conflict zones.
Knock-on effects
When video advocacy utilises oral testimony, as is the case with *Our Voices Matter* and similar projects, practitioners must take into account not only how effective a campaign will be in influencing social, political, or legislative change, but also how the testimonial and video creation process may indirectly affect stakeholders in other ways. Specifically, there is evidence that such projects can impart a degree of psychological benefit for traumatised victims.

The Congolese women’s rights activist Neema Namadamu in her interview made a strong case of the powerful psychological impact she ascribes to the method, emphasising above all its inwardly strengthening ability and the potential to validate oneself as a person:

> Giving testimony can be inwardly strengthening because you are being asked to give witness to the injustices done you in the hopes of possibly bringing about justice for yourself, or prevention of such atrocities against others, or in the hopes of receiving some assistance to help get yourself back on track. But giving testimony so as to take a stand against your attackers can help psychologically because you are fighting back with all you have to fight back with – your person. By doing so you announce that you are a Person and you are demanding Rights of Personhood, and you want justice for those who ignored your rights and violated your Person. Psychologically you validate yourself by giving value to yourself. You are a Person and not an object only for service and sex.

> Women giving testimony to one another can create a support group of caring and understanding individuals who will take time for one another and invest in one another’s person, bringing healing to one another. Giving is also empowering. Receiving is necessary, but giving is empowering because it requires inner resource. Inner resource is developed when we give. We can give because we received. But evidence that we are recovering is that we are also able to give. (N. Namadamu, personal communication, April 12, 2013).

Klempner (in Perks & Thomson, 2006) touches on this as well, referring to Laub who stated that with the act of narrating, victims attempt to find closure, using narratives to
re-externalise\textsuperscript{26} the traumatic event, in the process “drain[ing it] of some of its toxicity” (p. 201).

Yet, the authors note concerns with narrative as a “resource in diagnosis and an arena for therapeutic intervention”, since conducting interviews with survivors puts certain demands on both sides, and the recounting of traumas can be “a psychically charged event entailing great vulnerability” (Klempner in Perks & Thomson, 2006, p. 199). Dr. Fries, in her interview, also revealed insights into these concerns, based on her experience as a medical doctor working with traumatised persons in and from the DRC for 15 years:

\begin{quote}
This is not an easy question. Some people are able to gain strength from giving self-determined testimony of the violence they have endured. That would approximately correspond to empowerment. It is like an outcry, necessary and relieving. However, this would not lead to the trauma being “integrated” as therapists call it. That is, wounds do not heal that way, as healing is a process over different stages. (…)

What is most important according to my experience with tortured and traumatised persons is that there are people by their sides to advocate for them to help them get the most basic necessities, such as shelter and protection. (E. Fries, personal communication, April 6, 2013)
\end{quote}

Klempner (in Perks & Thomson, 2006, p. 208) rightly argues that the narrator’s emotional wellbeing must be prioritised, “for it is never advisable to push for material that might lead to an internal re-enactment of the trauma rather than its re-externalization.” He also notes the vulnerability of an interviewer when listening to recounted traumatic experience and becoming part of the survivor’s process: “Hearing a person talk about trauma can stir up nearly every fear to which human beings are subject” (p. 203 ff.) At the same time, this vulnerability and lack of defense mechanisms available to the interviewer (in contrast to the informant who was forced to develop these coping mechanisms) can evoke acute emotional reactions and influence the course of an interview.

\textsuperscript{26} Klempner (in Perks & Thomson, 2006, p. 201) explains re-externalisation as putting a formerly internalised event (here the sexual violence) back into the outside world through the therapeutic process of constructing a narrative and telling it to a listener. In the process, the meaning of the event changes and may be re-evaluated by the victim/narrator, “due in part to the empathy of the listener and the safety of the setting in which the narrative is shared.”
These observations underscore potential knock-on effects, both positive and negative, and demonstrate the heightened degree of sensitivity – and durability – video advocacy practitioners need to conduct such interviews (Klempner in Perks & Thomson, 2006, p. 208).

4.5 Survey: Key Results

Demographic data
77 women responded to the web-based survey from locations across the world:

The women were between 18 and 54 years old, and more than half of them between 25 and 34. The following results have proven to be the most relevant for the analysis and are listed according to the categories identified in the survey guide (Table 2).
Previous Knowledge about the video or type of video as well as possible relations to the DRC:

Do you understand any of the languages spoken in the film (except subtitles)?

- Yes: 22%
- No: 78%

Have you ever been to the DRC or neighbouring countries?

- Yes: 8%
- No: 92%

Figure 1  Figure 2

The level of agreement/disagreement with certain statements about the ascribed effectiveness of the film:

The potential of video advocacy to address or represent non-literate, or underrepresented individuals or groups, and/or overcome language barriers is, according to the survey results, significant, which showed that the majority of the respondents felt close to the victims through seeing them on video, even though 78 per cent of all respondents did not speak their languages (Figures 1, 2, 3, 4).
Figure 3

Watching the women tell their own experiences on video is more moving than just reading about the experiences

- Strongly agree: 74%
- Agree: 23%
- Neutral: 3%
- Disagree: 0%
- Strongly disagree: 0%

Figure 4

Watching this video makes me feel more connected to the women in the region/other survivors of sexual violence

- Strongly agree: 45%
- Agree: 48%
- Neutral: 6%
- Disagree: 1%
- Strongly disagree: 0%
Furthermore, with regard to **distribution and outreach**, the survey showed that over 60 per cent would be more likely to engage in concrete activities to work against sexual violence after viewing the video, which indicates the film’s success in bringing an activist message across to a broad audience at the international level (Figures 5, 6).

![Figure 5](image1)

The video has caused me/will cause me to do further research on sexual violence against women (in the DRC or in general)

![Figure 6](image2)

I am more likely to engage in activities (petitions, demonstrations, letter-writing campaigns, etc.) against sexual violence after seeing the video
With regard to **ownership and empowerment**, the survey showed that out of the respondents, the majority believes that the video has made the women who took part in it feel stronger and has given them more confidence, and that it will have a multiplying effect in making other women with similar histories feel empowered and more confident (Figures 7, 8, 9).

![Figure 7](image-url)

**I believe taking part in this video made the women feel stronger and gave them more confidence**

- Strongly agree: 49%
- Agree: 39%
- Neutral: 10%
- Disagree: 3%
- Strongly disagree: 0%

![Figure 8](image-url)

**I believe this video makes other women with similar histories/lives feel stronger and gives them more confidence**

- Strongly agree: 49%
- Agree: 40%
- Neutral: 10%
- Disagree: 1%
- Strongly disagree: 0%
Interestingly, the distribution of responses to whether the campaign will actually lead to justice – in the form of the prosecution and punishment of attackers – was essentially “normal” (a bell curve) around neutrality, indicating complete uncertainty among the respondents (Figure 10).

Figure 9

I think taking part in this video was probably the only opportunity the women had to speak out against violence and their attackers

Figure 10

I believe this video campaign will help lead to the prosecution and punishment of the attackers the women describe
The level of agreement/disagreement with more general assumptions of the impact videos such as this might have on governance/international action:

**Figure 11**

The situation for women in the DRC and in other (post) conflict zones will only improve with help from the international community (the United Nations, African Union, other international organizations, Western or other countries)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 12**

Oral testimony video campaigns such as "Our Voices Matter" will help convince the international community that they need to do more to fight sexual violence in the DRC and other (post) conflict zones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When asked about the importance they attributed to the use of video advocacy for oral testimony and (historical) documentation the vast majority of the survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed in regarding it an important tool to document crimes that would otherwise not be documented (Figure 14).
As discussed above, the sample size is relatively small. However, the results presented in this chapter suggest a tendency in different cases: Through the findings, the importance of awareness as a basis for change was stressed, in particular that violence against women in the DRC and other (post) conflict zones is thought to decrease if more people are made aware of it. Moreover, the level of awareness about the situation of women in the DRC is generally thought to be low in the respondents’ countries. A more detailed discussion is presented in the following chapter.

4.6 Composite Discussion (Content Analysis, Interviews, Survey)
The composite analysis can be loosely laid out upon the categorical framework identified in the literature review (see Table 1), allowing for analogous information of multiple types to be processed together and augmented with previous findings gleaned from the literature review. Where possible and appropriate, practical conclusions (or “guidelines”) for existing and future practitioners of video advocacy may be extrapolated from the results.

Objectives, uses, and special cases
The use of video advocacy to raise awareness among specific stakeholders is repeatedly emphasised in the existing literature. As noted in the interview with Mr. Waruzi, raising awareness of multiple audiences locally, nationally, and internationally of sexual crimes against women in the DRC was a core objective of the campaign. The survey strengthened, to a degree, the basis for this, with nearly 60 per cent of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that sexual violence against women in the DRC and other conflict zones will decrease if more people are made aware of it, a significant number considering the implied causality of the statement.

The case study demonstrated the great potential of video advocacy to address or represent non-literate or underrepresented individuals or groups, and/or overcome language barriers. The survey results showed strong evidence that this occurred in the case of Our Voices Matter, with 86 per cent of respondents feeling closer to the victims than if they had just read about the women, despite the fact that nearly 80 per cent did not speak any of the languages in the film. Slim and Thomson (1993, p. 3) reinforce this strength, providing an exploration of the ways and advantages of “listening to the voice and experience of ordinary people” and the
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special power of using direct speech for empowering communities to set their own agendas for development, and for creating a better understanding among, and ultimately reaching, decision-makers:

The spoken word cuts across barriers of wealth, class and race. It is as much the prerogative of ordinary people as of those in positions of power and authority. It requires neither formal education, nor the ability to read and write, nor fluency in any national or official language. Most importantly, it gives voice to the experience of those people whose views are often overlooked or discounted. The significance of this cannot be overestimated. To ignore these voices is to ignore a formidable body of evidence and information. (Slim & Thomson, 1993, p. 3)

They further note:

There has always been a special power in direct speech. The raw recounting of experience has an authenticity and persuasiveness which it is hard to match, and most of us would rather hear someone speak directly than read about them through another's words. Even on the printed page, passages of speech tend to attract our attention: first-person testimony is simply more engaging than impersonal commentary or interpretation. (p. 3)

Braden and Than (1998), when talking about the power of video as a medium for change, mention this special ability to reach even the illiterate. But it is not just reaching the non-literate or under-represented; it is granting them both a voice and, in a way, direct access to their audience. Depending upon the distribution and outreach strategy of the agent(s), that access may be significant, and the video may act as a direct mediating device between primary stakeholders and decision-makers:

Video can enable under-represented and non-literate people to use their own visual languages and oral traditions to retrieve, debate, and record their own knowledge. Moreover, these recordings may enable excluded people to enter into negotiation with those in power over them, and to challenge the representations of others (…). (Braden & Than, 1998, p.19)
The authors see the particular value of video in its enabling quality, allowing local participants to determine the forms of the showing and the telling (Braden & Than, 1998). This modified type of face-to-face interaction is a central strength of video advocacy. As many examples, including the case study, show, it can lead to promote inclusion of the primary stakeholders’ stories, concerns, and proposals in the decision-making process by enabling (secondary) stakeholders to learn through this interaction with other (primary) stakeholders (Caldwell in Gregory et al., 2005).

As described in the content analysis, there is a transition in the film from the straightforward language of the women’s initial recollections of their attacks to more emotive and expressive language, bringing across anger, despair, resentment, and accusation – directed at, perhaps, the very authorities who will be watching it. WITNESS, the Women’s Initiatives, and their partners have, through their work on the film and on securing high-level attendance at showings forced the authorities to listen to these women who have been so often ignored. This effort, and the on-going efforts to follow-up with the Minister of Justice on her commitments to the women of Our Voices Matter, is one of the great successes of the case study. The details of this aspect of the campaign should be studied by any practitioner seeking to employ video advocacy to mediate on behalf of the under-represented.

The use of video advocacy to address, destigmatise and/or demystify taboo subject matter became apparent in the content analysis. The producers, however, sometimes used almost contradictory imagery to do so. One of the themes imparted by the first stage of the film is the ghastly “everydayness” of the crimes being described. It is likely that this theme was meant to confront, to shock; and indeed to shame those in authority. At the same time, it is perhaps also destigmatizing “victimhood” for other women who have similarly been assaulted, both by demonstrating the ubiquity of the crimes and, with statistics, the sheer numbers of victims. The attacks could have happened to anyone. Further, as Dr. Fries pointed out in the interview, the women in the video are very open about the consequences they suffered – physical disability, psychological traumatization, stigmatization, and the resulting distress – counteracting powerful social stigmas in the DRC and forcing the discussion of these topics in a public forum.
Various examples in the literature mention the relevance of this aspect, particularly the video advocacy project to counter the tabooing of HIV/AIDS in Kenya described by White (White, 2003). *Springs of Life* used video advocacy as a strategy to challenge public stereotypes, targeting community leaders to bring the AIDS pandemic into the faith community in Kenya. In a society where AIDS had been a taboo and thus unaddressed subject, video delivered a novel way of “slipping the untouchable message into the church to creatively communicate the difficult subject” (White, 2003, p. 309). While several strategies to limit the spread of the disease had failed, the video campaign helped to demystify and destigmatise the disease by showing footage of actual people living with it. As a result, “one community leader after another has found his attitude and stance challenged after watching the video” (White, 2003, p. 315). The effort saw results among community leaders, many of whom altered previous positions.

The utility of *Our Voices Matter* for oral testimony and historical documentation is touched on. The vast majority of survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed the video is an important tool to document crimes that would otherwise not be documented. In his interview, David Schwake noted as well that central authorities often use testimonials from similar projects for several reasons, including in judicial processes. Although it would be difficult in this case to identify individual perpetrators, it may be possible to identify groups responsible for crimes. These testimonies also provide historical documentation, echoing a case from Bennet et al. (1995) as part of the “Panos Oral Testimony Project”. The programme took place in Northern Uganda, documenting women’s experiences of war and, among other activities, assessing the documenting and informing qualities of oral testimony. The women viewed it as an opportunity for their voices to be heard, and their stories to reach a wide audience, allowing for a sort of self-advocacy and empowerment. For the researchers, “the information presented enormously enriched the understanding of conflict as a dynamic process, and of the involvement of ordinary citizens in the social change that accompanies it” (El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005, p. 136). They particularly valued its capacity to provide in-depth knowledge of realities as seen at the local level grass roots. In the “Oral History Reader”, Perks and Thompson (2006, p. 0) point out the power of oral testimony as a tool to include “within the historical record the experiences and perspectives of groups of people who might otherwise
have been ‘hidden from history’”. Arguing that the cultural practice of oral testimony epitomises the importance of remembering, Armitage and Gluck (1998) note the particular political urgency of oral testimony in the context of women’s oppression and the silencing of women’s voices in many parts of the world. These statements are substantiated by Slim and Thomson (1993): 

In most societies men's voices are heard over and above women's, and it makes the role of oral testimony collection even more important as a way of redressing that balance. The relative silence of women in many societies means that listening to them should be a priority. (p. 5)

Bringing otherwise invisible crimes into light is a major theme, and success, of Our Voices Matter.

**Technical and artistic aspects of content and narrative creation**

The content analysis illustrates the careful artistic direction and semiotic and narrative devices utilised for Our Voices Matter, aspects that Mr. Waruzi further elaborated upon in his interview. The editors paid close attention to storytelling and narrative arcs, using only those testimonies that perfectly fit the film’s artistic design. WITNESS and Women’s Initiatives also engaged a professional consultant editor to finish the product. Having a deep understanding for the art of filmmaking – and the ability to carry it out – is a core prerequisite for video advocacy that was repeated throughout the literature. Lie et al. (2005, p. 12) list several requirements as guidance that directly relate to this:

1. Knowledge about theories of persuasion and audio-visual communication

2. Capturing the narrative (this requires, in turn, allowing enough time in the preparatory stages for building rapport, based on explaining why the video is being made and helping interviewees to present their views coherently)

3. Matching the video’s audio-visual language with the audio-visual language abilities of the target audiences

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27 Further requirements not directly relating to the technical and artistic aspects are: Working with local experts and mixed video teams where possible, and ensuring gender balance; encouraging the participation of the target audience in the production process where possible; identifying appropriate distribution channels for the target audiences; considering supplementary activities, as the video alone may not be enough (e.g., embed the video in an awareness-raising campaign) (Lie et al., 2005, p. 12).
These are sensible guidelines for advocacy practitioners, and were reinforced by the process undertaken by WITNESS and Women’s Initiatives.

**People and Stakeholders**

The question of **ownership** permeates the literature on video advocacy, as well as the case study. As Mr. Waruzi describes, WITNESS leaned heavily on six local organisations throughout the process. Those local organisations reached out to victims they already knew, and actively carried out the interviewing, filming, and parts of the editing themselves. Involving local stakeholders is a key mechanism to ensure that ownership remains with the primary stakeholders – the survivors – and that they feel empowered, rather than re-victimised, by the process and the result. This was a major concern of Dr. Fries, who noted the psychological states of victims are not only fragile, but also vary greatly in terms of coping mechanisms. Some victims may be re-traumatised by such a process, so it is crucial they fully understand and support the advocacy project for which they are providing testimony. El-Bushra and Sahl (2005, p. 137 f.) touch on this, emphasising the importance of building trust and rapport through listening, and maintaining gradual and open-ended communications.

Further authors reinforcing this aspect of the case study include Hesford and Kozol (2005) who in “Just Advocacy? Women’s Human Rights, Transnational Feminisms, and the Politics of Representation” shed light on “the often overlooked ways that women and children are further subjugated when political or humanitarian groups represent them solely as victims and portray the individuals that are helping them as paternal saviours.” Nair and White (in White 2003) also take on this issue, describing a video advocacy project initially called “Trapped”, produced by a professional videographer and written by a well-known narrator in Indian cinema, which aimed to portray the problems of rural Indian women.28 Aside from merely involving primary stakeholders as interviewees, video advocacy allows addressing development needs and issues from a different perspective by integrating those who are being advocated

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28 Trapped was based on data collected from thorough research and literature on rural women; however, the storyline was developed completely independently of the primary stakeholders. After local women previewed the initial version of the tape, it became clear that the portrayal of the women, tinged with weakness and despair, did not match their own perception of themselves. Once the women were able to take control of the production, the contrast of their way of storytelling to that of the producer became visible, and the women could portray the reality of their daily lives “without pity or apology” (2003, p. 211).
for in different stages of the production process, strengthening empowerment among those stakeholders. Involving primary stakeholders into the production can also help “demystify” the process of creating video, which many assume is exclusively the domain of professionals (Gregory et al., 2005).

**Stakeholder Mapping and Audience**

Given the widely variant nature of actors and stakeholders involved, or potentially involved, in development issues, and the myriad ways in which they interact and influence each other\(^29\), it is essential for practitioners to understand and assess the stakeholder landscape before creating goals and designing advocacy projects. Figure 15 is a representation of the stakeholder interactions and influence for the case study.

\(^29\) Much has been said about the roles of stakeholders and the importance of reaching specific groups in advocacy. This paper assumes, for the sake of brevity, that the reader has a basic understanding of how stakeholder groups exert influence upon, or are influenced by, other groups in a given system. For instance, citizens of foreign countries cannot directly influence criminal actions in the DRC, but might potentially lobby their own governments, which in turn interact with national governments or intergovernmental bodies that can exert direct influence. At the same time, some of these mechanisms are quite subtle (such as social pressures) and are deserving of further exploration in their own right.
Asked about the strategies to target the audiences and stakeholders as part of video advocacy campaigns, Mr. Waruzi underscored the importance of mapping and thoroughly assessing the potential audiences, including their positions and motivations vis-à-vis the issue at hand, how they may act or not act, how they influence and are influenced by other stakeholders, and what actions can be realistically expected. Many authors also stress the importance of clearly defining and studying one’s audience, thinking through if alliances or intermediate audiences may be needed to access them, and how to communicate the message to them. For instance, Gregory et al. (2005, p. 9) remind the reader that it is necessary to “recognize what will be appealing, persuasive or intriguing” to a particular audience – in terms of factual information, personal stories of advocatees, and experts included for commentary. The audience plays an integral role during both the pre- and post-production processes, where careful attention needs to be paid to the stories, images and narratives that will engage them. Here, also the question of the accessibility of images needs to be taken into account, including the obstacles and risks potentially involved in obtaining them (as particularly the case in conflict zones) as well as the question of how realistic it will be to convey the intended message through the images available.

In the content analysis, several examples of targeted messaging might be identified, alternately focusing on the stated primary audience – central government authorities in Kinshasa, particularly the Ministry of Justice – and secondary audiences, which are generally international stakeholders. The emotive messages of anger and accusation from the women, for instance, are certainly directed at the authorities. The interspersed text blocks showing sexual assault and rape statistics are also directed at authority and international audiences. Another message clearly meant for central authorities was that of the deleterious effects of these crimes not only on the women and their families, but also on the economy, and society as a whole.

At the same time, messages can have very different effects upon other audiences and stakeholders, a reality that practitioners must take into account when creating advocacy strategies and materials. One instance of this, albeit relatively minor, is the use of the two men, a psychiatrist and a judge, to testify on behalf of the women, documented in the content analysis. This testimony acts almost as an official “stamp
of approval” – and serves to superordinate the men in the film, and in doing so reinforce the superordinate role of men in society in DRC.

Another example was provided by Dr. Fries, who emphasised that the reactions and messages among local stakeholders could be not only very different, but also entirely incompatible, with the video’s objectives. Further, she noted that the lack of security has dissolved traditional and typical social structures, often leading to perverse perceptions of what is “good” or “right”. In conflict areas, young people often learn that the only way to survive is to brutalise others. They will thus not take seriously a testimony video interspersed with UN statistics. In this instance, the benefits of reaching the authority audiences targeted by WITNESS and Women’s Initiatives would have outweighed the benefits of not reaching specific local audiences, for various reasons. But these trade-offs are an inherent part of audience targeting, and a calculus of those risks, and the risks of incidental knock-on effects (such as provoking reprisals or retaliation from perpetrators, for instance) must be part of any stakeholder mapping and targeting strategy.

**Strategy, distribution/outreach, and effectiveness**

The distribution and outreach strategy for a video advocacy campaign is the direct outgrowth from a stakeholder mapping strategy, and is important both for the explicit success of a video advocacy campaign as well as for the confidence of those giving testimony in the respective video. The authors emphasise the issue of getting one’s own voice heard, the transformation from a simple monologue by someone summarising and interpreting the views of others, into a dialogue that occurs through letting “the others” speak for themselves.

> It is important that the process of listening does eventually result in acknowledgement and action, and that those who have given up their time to talk, know that their words have been taken seriously. (Slim & Thomson, 1993, p. 2)

An example illustrating the benefits of a robust strategic outreach plan is the advocacy video project *Bought and Sold* by Caldwell (in Gregory et al., 2005), in which profound research combined with the collaboration with well-placed key experts resulted in high-level impacts. The film investigated and reported on the international
trade in women using undercover footage, interviews with victims, advocates and
counsellors, and garnered widespread media coverage worldwide. The project
managers involved top advisors from the Clinton administration in the USA, and
helped craft the first multi-agency task force on trafficking, which drafted a resolution
that became the basis for the bipartisan Trafficking Victims Protection Act. Here, the
highly collaborative approach enriched the video campaign with valuable information
and facilitated the revelation of ground breaking data, adding to its credibility as it
was viewed by a large array of audiences including policymakers, NGOs, and law
enforcement.

In the case study, WITNESS and its partners expended great effort in the distribution
and outreach and achieved great success, securing direct meetings with heads of the
Ministry of Justice, and members of UN and other diplomatic posts in the country.
The film was also broadcast on national television in the DRC, and shown across the
country in special screenings. While the information of online viewership indicates a
negligible online presence of the campaign, the very low levels of Internet penetration
in the DRC, combined with the fact that core audiences were approached more
efficiently and effectively via traditional means, renders the online data largely
irrelevant in this case. This is echoed in the literature.30

Here, too, however, one must recognise trade-offs and knock-on effects. As
introduced in the literature review, the notion of success in video advocacy being
inexorably tied to success in reaching a particular audience is limiting in
understanding video advocacy’s full value. Indeed, it may have other potential
positive effects, including, in some cases, psychological healing power for
traumatised victims giving oral testimony, and the longer-term historical and
educational value of testimonial and collective memory. This was reinforced, among
others through the work of Perks and Thomson (2006), who offer insights into how
testifying can itself be empowering for individuals, and how the process and practice
of remembering can have meaningful and affirming effects on others. The effect was
further evidenced in the survey results, as well as in the powerful interview with the
Congolese women’s rights activist Neema Namadamu (see p. 62 f.).

30 See page 21, Caldwell.
Just as practitioners must take care to assess and balance trade-offs among audience stakeholders, they must also weigh trade-offs and incidental effects among the primary stakeholders on whose behalf they are operating, and seek to internalise these into their processes. In assessing results and effectiveness of such campaigns, practitioners should take into account those positive effects that are more difficult to quantify and measure.

5. Conclusion

The *Our Voices Matter* case study, which analyses and assesses the advocacy film and associated campaign of the same name, is characterised by exceptional and careful research, strategy, planning, execution, and follow-up. It provides a powerful example of how video can complement traditional methods of advocacy for development, transporting the realities and conditions of specific localities to audiences otherwise unable to experience them directly. It was used not only to assist, but also empower, women in one of the most dangerous places for women on earth.

Based on the relatively little literature on the theories and practices of video advocacy, the case study can be viewed as an archetype for its integration of a spectrum of key themes, including objectives and uses, artistic and narrative treatment, stakeholder understanding and integration, outreach and distribution strategy, and accounting for limitations. Moreover, *Our Voices Matter* provides unique insights into the inherent trade-offs associated with in-depth stakeholder mapping and targeting, and the potential for unintended knock-on effects of video advocacy among stakeholder groups. In many cases, as in the case study, trade-offs are unavoidable, and the costs and benefits of the particular strategy implemented weighed and integrated into the advocacy campaign process. This aspect is of special interest and use to current and future practitioners operating among diverse stakeholder groups. The case also demonstrated the potential knock-on effects of video advocacy for development, including the under-studied and underappreciated potential for psychological and emotional benefits among primary stakeholders. This is a delicate subject, and one for which both great care and further study are needed.
Moreover, the case study provided insights into gauging the effectiveness – and thus “success” – of video advocacy projects. Social change is, of course, in most cases a process that unfolds over years and decades, and the quantifiable results of advocacy efforts can usually not be measured within short time frames. The success of the video advocacy campaign to alter the role of women in the Eastern DRC is, furthermore, deeply intertwined with a number of parallel efforts, including efforts to improve the security situation in general, to relieve poverty among the local populations, to foster intercultural understanding and tolerance among tribal groups, and to deter the exploitation of the region by external groups for its mineral wealth. The success will ultimately be measured in hard data – how many women suffer sexual assaults per year; how many perpetrators are imprisoned for their actions; how many families are destroyed by these crimes. These must be measured dynamically, over longer intervals, by local advocacy groups, international organisations, NGOs, and government agencies working on the ground. In the future, social scientists with access to comprehensive data, not only of these specific advocacy efforts, but of those in the associated social spheres mentioned above, will be better equipped to analyse trends, timelines, causalities – and, thus, the ultimate success of Our Voices Matter as one element of the movement to improve the lives of women in the Eastern DRC.
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Bibliography


Appendices

Appendix A

Reasons for Selection of Interviewees and Brief Background Information

a) Bukeni Tete Waruzi was selected as a potential interviewee because of his role as WITNESS program manager for Africa and the Middle East, and director of *Our Voices Matter*. Mr. Waruzi is a human rights advocate and a field worker from Uvira in the Eastern DRC, where he worked for over nine years on child soldiers and children affected by armed conflict. His advocacy and videos were instrumental in the International Criminal Court's first trial on child soldiers (WITNESS, n.d.). In approaching Mr. Waruzi for interview, it was hoped to get first-hand insights into the processes surrounding and including the campaign for *Our Voices Matter* as well as video advocacy projects in general. When designing the interview questions for Mr. Waruzi, special attention was paid to the outreach undertaken for the film and the broader campaign; the collaboration with local partner organisations; the production and post-production phases of the film; as well as the quantitative measuring of its impact. Both interviews with Mr. Waruzi were conducted via telephone.

b) Dr. Elisabeth Fries was on the list of potential interviewees because of her in-depth experience working as a doctor in the Hospital and Health Centre Nundu in South Kivu from 1984 to 1997, as well as coordinating the medical services of the protestant church in Bukavu. Dr. Fries is the vice chairwoman of ProKivu e.V., an association advocating for the people of Kivu. The questions for the online interview with Dr. Fries were designed with special emphasis on her experience as a medical doctor in the region, and with refugees from the DRC in Germany. The focus in this case was the potential impacts on the primary stakeholders of this and similar campaigns, i.e. on local women and communities, rather than on decision-makers and the international community.

c) Neema Namadamu was deemed a very suitable informant due to her work for the Congolese Ministry of Education, in addition to her occupation as a human rights
activist promoting the lives of women in the DRC, and founder of SAFECO - Synergy of Congolese Women’s Associations, besides other networks and organisations. The researcher contacted her following the advice of the Congo Relief DRC Mission, a grassroots organization fighting, amongst other causes, for women’s rights in the DRC. The questions for Ms. Namadamu were designed to make use of her background as a woman from the Eastern DRC as well as an activist for women in the DRC.

d) André Abel Barry was chosen based on a referral by Bukeni Waruzi whom the author had asked for contacts that had been present at the launch of Our Voices Matter in Kinshasa in June of 2012. His insights were especially useful due to his occupation as a humanitarian correspondent for the French Embassy in the DRC. The particular aim and thus basis for the design and direction of the questions for Mr. Barry was to receive information on how the video was presented and perceived at the launch and to further investigate into the evaluation of video advocacy as a suitable tool for social change by a person who has lived and worked as part of the international community in the DRC.

e) David Schwake was approached for interview as the researcher had gotten to know him during her work at the German Embassy in Washington, DC in 2008/2009, and knew his subsequent post to be the German Embassy in Kinshasa, DRC. As a person who had been active in the field of humanitarian issues and who has lived and worked as part of the international community in the DRC, his information and perspective were regarded, and turned out to be, valuable for the project at hand.
Excerpt from Interview with Mr. André Abel Barry, Attaché régional de coopération Correspondant humanitaire, French Embassy in Kinshasa, DRC

The following is a translation from French, carried out by the researcher.

Researcher: Have you heard of any impacts/change that have resulted from Our Voices Matter or the associated campaign so far? If yes, could you give an example(s)?

Mr. Barry: Not specifically at this stage. But the advocacy of WITNESS and Women’s Initiatives and other initiatives that we support has the effect of awakening and maintaining the Congolese public vigilant on the subject. This has the effect of "free speech" of victims, to bring communities to overcome the stigma that can afflict victims of sexual violence, to push national authorities to fight against impunity for perpetrators. Finally, the first direct desired effect is the prevention.

Researcher: What is your opinion of using video to reach humanitarian or development goals, and of video’s effectiveness in this regard? Do you think there are advantages or disadvantages to video compared to other types of communication tools?

Mr. Barry: Video, like other media, is a vehicle for meaningful communication. This utility in campaigns has a multiplying effect, particularly in Africa, when it is accompanied by fun activities on the ground, closer to the communities. I remain, however, convinced that, given the African realities (and this is objectively proven) that the media, which has the best penetration (due to the low cost of the device and its energy supply) is and remains the radio (but it will never be known, such as video broadcast reads the emotion on the face of a victim...). In fact a campaign of this type should take advantage of all existing communications.
Excerpt from Interview with David Schwake, German diplomat formerly at German Embassy in Kinshasa, DRC

**Researcher:** Based on your experience in the region, how would you estimate the potential or real impact of campaigns such as *Our Voices Matter* on local or communal legislation and politics? Do you think the campaign could realistically play a role in helping bring about legislative, political or social change to benefit women in the DRC, or are you perhaps even aware of any action/change that has resulted from similar campaigns (video advocacy/testimony)?

**Mr. Schwake:** I would expect that campaigns like this put pressure more on international donors and foreign governments than on the Congolese government. This pressure might arrive at the Congolese government level via the international community, however. In my contacts with the Congolese prosecution I learned that some prosecutors were grateful for the support of INGOs via similar campaigns because they benefitted from the evidence collected – and sometimes even from funds made available to them to interview and protect witnesses.

**Researcher:** How much, and what sort of impact do you think campaigns like this (video advocacy/testimony) have on local communities in the DRC in changing the situation for victims and other women?

**Mr. Schwake:** I believe videos campaigns can be helpful. I doubt, however, that they can influence government decision directly since the public sphere in developing countries such as the DRC are rather poorly developed. Governments tend not to respect public opinion. However, they have to act if donors come under pressure and demand action.
About the Producers of Our Voices Matter

WITNESS
WITNESS is an international non-profit organization based in New York that specializes in producing and utilizing video and storytelling for advocating social change. Their videos have been used in diverse arenas and have targeted a wide variety of audiences including judicial, legislative and executive bodies, human rights bodies, commissions, special rapporteurs and working groups, key decision-makers with influence on human rights issues (international financial institutions, corporations, aid agencies, etc.), press NGOs, solidarity groups and community-based organizations. WITNESS is a small organization working at an intersection of multiple professional worlds, including those of human rights (in which it primarily places itself), strategic communication, news media, and entertainment media. It was founded in 1992, inspired by the idea of placing video cameras in the hands of human rights activists around the world—the “frontline” defenders of human rights who witnessed what was happening as it happened. WITNESS currently partners with between 12 and 15 locally based human rights organizations, all at different stages of this process of using video in advocacy (WITNESS, n.d.).

Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice
The Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice are an international women’s rights organization based in The Hague, advocating for gender-inclusive justice both at and through the International Criminal Court (ICC) and through domestic mechanisms, including peace negotiations and justice processes. The organization works with women most affected by the conflict situations under investigation by the ICC in Uganda, the DRC, Sudan, the Central African Republic (CAR), Kenya, Libya and Kyrgyzstan. Their larger advocacy initiatives in the DRC include:
• Documentation of sexual and gender-based crimes
• Direct assistance and support initiatives for victims/survivors of sexual and gender-based violence including the establishment of a Transit House and access to medical support
• Advocacy and legal filings before the ICC regarding the prosecution of sexual and gender-based violence in Eastern DRC
• Advocacy and monitoring of the implementation of the 2009 Goma Peace Agreements and their impact on the security situation in Eastern DRC
• Monitoring outbreaks of fighting and tracking militia movements
• The women’s human rights defenders support programme, assisting with the temporary relocation of women’s human rights defenders and their families due to threats and harassment from militia
• Electoral monitoring, including documenting the participation of women as candidates in provincial elections
• Co-hosting country-based workshops, strategic meetings and events in Province Orientale, North Kivu, South Kivu and Kinshasa

(Women’s Initiatives, personal communication, April 16, 2013; Women’s Initiatives, 2012)